INTERCULTURAL RHETORIC OF ENGLISH NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

A PhD Thesis submitted

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in English at the

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

MAY 2018

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DECLARATION

I, **Albert Agbesi Wornyo** (student # 16023614) hereby declare that this thesis has not previously been submitted to this or any other university, and that it is my own work in design and execution; all reference materials contained therein have been duly acknowledged.

Signature:……………………………….. Date:……………………….

DEDICATION

To God almighty, I give all the glory and praise for how far He has brought me. He makes things happen in certain ways that we do not understand.

I dedicate this work to my lovely children Ethan Edem Wornyo, Alvina Nunana Wornyo and David Horlali Wornyo.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to my promoter, Professor Ernest K. Klu for the interest he showed in my proposal which paved the way for me to pursue my PhD at the University of Venda. I admire his rich experience in supervising post graduate studies which enables him to see at a glance and tell whether a proposal is good or not. I am also grateful to my co-promoters Dr. MN Lambani and Dr. LMP Mulaudzi for their support.

I would like to acknowledge the management of the University of Education, Winneba for granting me study leave to enable me pursue my PhD at the University of Venda. I am grateful to Dr. Mrs. Magaret Ansre for introducing University of Venda to me and for the role she played in getting me enrolled for the PhD programme at the University of Venda.

To my family, friends and colleagues at the University of Education, Winneba, I say thank you all for your support and words of encouragement in the diverse ways that I received them from you.

Thank you all.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to analyse the discourse strategies in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* newspaper as texts constructed in an African English as a Second Language (ESL) setting and the editorials of the *New York Times* of America as texts constructed in an Anglo-American English environment. The objective of the study was to discover the differences and the similarities that exist between the discourse strategies of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the editorials of the *New York Times*. This objective is achieved by analysing five features of text. First, the rhetorical structure of the two editorials were analysed to find out the rhetorical strategies used in composing the editorials. Second, the micro-genre variation between the two editorials was examined. In addition, the thematic development of the two editorials was carried out. Also, the study investigated the rhetorical appeals preferred by the editorials from the two different socio-cultural settings. Finally, as newspaper editorials, the use of attribution was studied to find out how the editorials disclose the sources of their information to make it clear to their readers where they get their information from. The findings of the study revealed some differences and some similarities in the discourse strategies employed by the two editorials. The *Daily Graphic* as a newspaper published in an ESL setting in Africa exhibited the unique use of some discourse features that reflect the socio-cultural setting different from that of the *New York Times* as a newspaper published in the socio-cultural environment of Anglo-American English.

***Key words**: intercultural rhetoric, newspaper editorial, rhetorical structure, thematic development.*

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Intercultural rhetoric is the current trend in contrastive rhetoric (Connor, 2008). The basis of intercultural rhetoric is that different speech communities and different cultures differ in the way they organise their thought and ideas in writing. The various ways that each speech community organises ideas in writing reflect the thought patterns of that culture or speech community. There is therefore a close link between how language is used to organise ideas into text and the culture of the people who use the language.

Boas (1858-1942), as a result of his studies in anthropology, established that there is a relationship between language and culture. According to Boas, languages tend to organise or classify things in the world arbitrarily. The way one language builds vocabulary to express experiences differs from the way another language does it. Boas' ideas were later developed into what became known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which posits that our thought is influenced by the language we speak. This is explained in details under the theoretical framework section. According to Kubota and Lehner (2004) it is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which later became the theoretical basis of contrastive rhetoric, and now intercultural rhetoric.

The foundation of intercultural rhetoric is that a person's native language influences the thought pattern of the person. This means that even when one acquires a second language, one's use of the second language is still conceptualized in the native language. With the influence of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Robert Kaplan conducted a study which revealed that the way his students expressed themselves in their writings was a reflection of their cultural thought patterns (Kaplan, 1966).

Kaplan's study established the field of contrastive rhetoric in 1966. He studied the expository essays of his students who were learning English as a Second Language (ESL) and observed that the native language background of each student tended to reflect a unique paragraph order. This led him to conclude that every language has its own logical system of organizing ideas. The observations of Kaplan led him to coin the term “contrastive rhetoric” which has become a field of study which Connor (2004) has suggested to be broadened as intercultural rhetoric.

Many of the studies which were initially conducted in the field of intercultural rhetoric were devoted to the study of the expository essays of ESL learners who were mainly students at the university level. The focus of these studies was to discover writing problems that were linked to the rhetorical strategies of the native language of the students. However, studies within the field of intercultural rhetoric have gone beyond studying ESL students’ expository essays to the study of different genres. Connor (2004:293) points out that since ‘1966 when Kaplan’s original work on contrastive rhetoric appeared, many new trends have appeared in research approaches and method’ in the field of contrastive rhetoric. According to Connor, ‘written texts that are considered second language writings’ have expanded beyond the expository essays of ESL students. All over the world, written texts such as job application letters, business proposals, academic research articles, research reports, grant proposals, newspaper reports, newspaper editorials and newspaper commentaries constructed within ESL environments are all considered ESL writings to be studied with the aim of improving upon ESL pedagogy.

As part of the expansion of intercultural rhetoric studies beyond students’ essays, genre analysis is incorporated into intercultural studies. John Swales’ publication in the 1980’s theorized genre analysis as a methodology in the study of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) research. The work of Swales (1990) led to the use of genre analysis in intercultural rhetoric. The inclusion of genre analysis in intercultural rhetoric resulted in intercultural rhetoric researchers studying new types of writing produced within ESL domains. This partly led to the studying of newspapers as professional genres within intercultural rhetoric studies.

A number of studies within the field of intercultural rhetoric began to focus on newspaper editorials. This is because newspaper editorials tend to be ‘cheap’ and readily ‘available authentic texts’ (Pak, 2010: 106) and portray how text construction varies form one language and cultural background to the other. For example, Flowerdew and Dudly-Evans (2002) conducted a study of editorial letters. Dantas-Whitney and Grabe (1989) conducted an intercultural rhetoric analysis of the editorials of English and Portuguese newspapers. Ansary and Babaii (2005) compared Iranian and Pakistani newspaper editorials written in English with newspapers written by native English writers. The rhetorical structure of Swedish, Finnish and English business newspapers were analysed by Katajamaki and Koskela (2006). Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013) investigated how English and Persian editorials frame their news.

Apart from the fact that intercultural rhetoric as a field of research has expanded in terms of texts that are studied, it has also gone beyond the geographical setting where it originated from. Though intercultural rhetoric as a field of research started in America, it has now spread to other parts of the world. In 2002, Connor conducted a review of intercultural studies. Her review revealed that intercultural rhetoric studies have been conducted not only in America but also in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. These studies have contributed immensely to the teaching of English in ESL and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) settings.

Some examples of intercultural rhetoric studies conducted in Europe are Ventola and Mauranen's (1991) comparison of Finnish scientists' articles written in English with the articles of English-speaking scientists, Moreno's (1998) comparison of Spanish and English research articles, and Golebiowski's (1998) study which revealed stylistic differences between English and Polish writings.

In Asia and the Middle East too there have been a number of intercultural rhetoric studies. There have been intercultural rhetoric studies which compared Chinese-English writings with native English-speaking writings and studies that compared Japanese-English and Chinese-English. It is reported in Connor (2002) that Scollon and Scollon (1997) found, that there is seemingly a much more rigorous attribution of authorship in Western journalistic reports than in Chinese news reports. In another study, Zhu (1997) used the rhetorical moves analysis of Swales (1990) and found that there are differences in how the rhetorical moves, sequencing and structure occur in Chinese letters versus English letters. An example of intercultural rhetoric studies conducted in the Middle East is Hatim's (1997) study which discovered that Arabic argumentation styles are constructed differently from the way English argumentations are formulated. In addition, Hottle-Burkhart (2000) found that what constitutes an argument in Arabic culture is different from what constitutes an argument in the Anglo-American English culture.

Intercultural rhetoric research thus started in 1966 with Kaplan in the United States of America but review studies carried out in the field show that intercultural rhetoric research has not remained in America. It has been taken up by ESL and EFL researchers in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The review by Connor (2002) shows that intercultural rhetoric studies have been conducted by ESL researchers in the continents mentioned above but none in Africa. This study therefore attempts to compare the editorials of the Daily Graphic, a newspaper published in Ghana as an ESL setting in Africa to the editorials of the *New York Times* to determine the differences and similarities between them.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Though there are a number of African countries that study English as a second language, it appears no intercultural rhetoric study has been conducted to analyse the differences and the similarities that exist between texts constructed in these settings and those constructed in native English speaking settings. The literature shows that the ways ESL writing in Africa varies form Anglo-American writing is not established in intercultural rhetoric research. This study is therefore a preliminary investigation to identify the discourse strategies used in the editorials of an ESL country in Africa - Ghana.

The review by Connor (2002) shows how intercultural rhetoric studies have been applied to the teaching of writing on the continents in which such studies have been conducted. The comparison between native English texts and texts constructed in ESL settings tend to expose how rhetorical patterns in ESL texts differ from the native English texts that they are compared with. This gives great insights into ESL writing which can, in turn, inform ESL writing instruction.

For the case of ESL countries in Africa, it has been established that school leavers at various levels have writing problems. At the high school level, Chief Examiner's Reports have persistently highlighted the problem of poor English proficiency. At the university level, some studies have established that university students have writing problems. Some of these studies include Tandoh (1987), Odamtten, Denkabe and Tsikata (1994), Dako, Denkabe and Forson (1997), Hyde (1991), Adika (1999), Anyidoho (2002) and Ngadda and Nwoke (2014) in the case of Ghana and Nigeria in West Africa. Gonye, Mareva, Dudu and Sibanda (2012), Magret, Chirimuuta, Bhukuvhani and Zuvalinyenga (2013) have also found problems in students' writing in Zimbabwe and Kenya. In South Africa, some of the studies which have established the writing problems of university students include Chokwe (2011), Jabulani (2014), Pineteh (2014), Tshotsho (2014), Cekiso, Tshotsho and Somniso (2016). Some of the infelicities identified in university students' writing include weak handling of information relationships, lack of cohesion, breakdown in communication in portions of the text; weak thematic progression and undeveloped themes (Adika 1999; 2003).

More importantly, what is highly relevant to intercultural rhetoric analysis is the observation that the social and cultural contexts in which African ESL students write is responsible for the way they write. Adika (1998; 2012) links university students' writing inadequacies to the social and cultural contexts in which the students write. According to him, there is a socio-cultural dimension that partly accounts for the lack of a critical voice in the writing of university students. This finding by Adika makes intercultural rhetoric analysis of texts from ESL countries in Africa relevant to intercultural rhetoric research. Intercultural rhetoric research in African ESL context would help to find out how the socio-cultural environment of Africa make English texts constructed in these settings different from that of Anglo-American English environment.

Moreover, as it has been found that the social and cultural context of university students in Africa shapes the way they write (Adika 1998; 2012), it would be interesting to determine how this reflects in professional texts constructed in African ESL settings. This is because university graduates work in various capacities after graduation. Some of these graduates become public servants or civil servants and others work as public relations officers, journalists and people who work in the media. Journalists and others who work in the media engage in writing stories and news reports published in the media houses they work for. One would like to determine how the social and cultural context in which they write make their text construction or rhetorical patterns different from those produced in an Anglo-American English environment.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to analyse the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* newspaper as texts constructed in an African ESL setting and the editorials of the *New York Times* of America as texts constructed in Anglo-American English speaking environment. The objective of the analysis is to discover the differences and the similarities in the discourse strategies used by the two newspaper editorials and to explain the differences with reference to the socio-cultural settings of the two newspapers. This broad objective is achieved by analysing five discourse features of text and examining the implications of the findings on students' writing in ESL settings with specific reference to the ESL setting of Ghana. Therefore, the specific objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To identify the rhetorical structure of the editorials of the two newspapers.
2. To determine the micro-genre variation between the editorials of the two newspapers
3. To trace the thematic progression of the editorials of the two newspapers
4. To establish the rhetorical appeals used by the editorials of the two newspapers
5. To analyse the use of attribution in the editorials of the two newspapers
6. To examine the pedagogical implications of the findings on students' writing in ESL context

1.3 Research Questions

This study is a professional genre study within the field of intercultural rhetoric. It seeks to compare and contrast the discourse strategies used by the two editorials. On the basis of the objectives set for the study, the main research question is: **What are the discourse strategies used by the *Daily Graphic* and the New *York Times*?**

To investigate the main research question, the following sub-questions are posed:

1. How do the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* realise their rhetorical structures?
2. What are the micro-genres in which the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* editorials occur?
3. How do the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* develop their themes?
4. What are the rhetorical appeals used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times*?

5. How do the two newspaper editorials use attribution?
6. What are the pedagogical implications of the findings on students' writing in ESL context?

1.4 Assumptions

The basic assumption in intercultural rhetoric research is that text construction is influenced by one's cultural background. English is now widely spoken and written by people from different linguistic backgrounds world-wide. As a result of this, texts constructed by ESL users of English tend to differ from texts constructed by Anglo-American English speakers as concluded by Kaplan (1966) that Anglo-America paragraph structure is generally linear while ESL students' paragraph tend to be circular or digressive. In general, research in rhetorical pedagogy is based on the assumption that a careful analysis of successful speaking and writing can help improve learners' speaking and writing and, for that matter, communication in general. Successful speaking and writing are considered good practices to be highlighted for teaching purposes.

The basis of intercultural rhetoric is that one's cultural background plays a significant role as a far as the transfer of rhetoric from a writer's first language to the target or second language is concerned. Best practices in English rhetoric serve as the ideal that ESL students have to be exposed to. It is believed that people who learn English as a second language transfer the rhetorical styles of their first language to English rhetoric. Generally put, the first language of a learner affects the learning of a second language because learners tend to construct their thought in the first language and try to express this thought in the second language. Languages and cultures are linked. It is always a difficult task to make a clear distinction between language and culture. This is because culture is the social behaviour of a society guided by norms which determine what is expected and considered acceptable in that society. And language is used as the means of communication among a social group of people. The norms that guide social behaviour are communicated using language. As Nault (2006) observes, it is difficult to separate language and culture from each other. The way one expresses oneself in one's own language and other languages is believed to be influenced by one's socio-cultural background. And this is the basis of intercultural rhetoric.

Since its introduction, intercultural rhetoric studies have contributed to ESL pedagogy by comparing ESL students' compositions with those of native speakers to address rhetorical challenges of ESL students. Intercultural rhetoric studies continue to analyse how texts composed in ESL settings differ from those composed in an Anglo-American English speakers setting for the purpose of improving ESL pedagogy. The basis of the study therefore is that since the *Daily Graphic* editorial is a professional writing constructed within an ESL domain, it is likely to reflect cultural thought patterns that are different from the editorials of the *New York Times* as a professional writing within an Anglo-American English speaking environment.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

This study seeks to compare the discourse strategies used by the *Daily Graphic* as a professional genre composed within an ESL setting in Africa and the *New York Times* as a professional genre composed within an Anglo-American English setting. The study operates on the premise that the newspapers represent the two settings because they have been able to stand the test of time and are highly regarded as credible. Further reasons for the choice of the newspapers selected are provided under the methodology section of the study. There are several other newspapers published within the two socio-cultural backgrounds. The study is therefore limited in some respects. In the first place the study focuses on only these two newspaper editorials. Moreover, the newspaper editorials selected are limited to the period of four months.

1.6 Relevance of the Study

It is relevant for intercultural rhetoric studies to be conducted in ESL African countries to determine how the rhetorical patterns in African ESL texts vary from the rhetorical patterns in the native English (Anglo-American English) texts. This is relevant to ESL writing pedagogy in Africa because there is a huge cry over poor writing skills in ESL countries in Africa (Tandoh, 1987; Odamtten, Denkabe & Tsikata 1994; Dako, Denkabe & Forson 1997; Hyde 1991; Adika 1999; Anyidoho 2002). This study is therefore relevant to:

1. the teaching of English communication skills at the undergraduate level,
2. the teaching of advanced composition and rhetoric at the post graduate level, and
3. the teaching of professional writing in communication and media studies

1.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study

Intercultural rhetoric as a field of study was inspired by three theories. These theories according to Connor (2008) are '(1) contrastive analysis hypothesis, (2) the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity and (3) rhetoric.' Below is a brief description of each theory and its relevance to the study.

1.7.1 Contrastive Analysis

The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis was formulated by Robert Lado in 1957. He proposed that difficulties in acquiring a second language are mainly due to the differences that exist between the target language and the first language (L1) of the learner. If there are great differences in the grammatical structure between the learner's L1 and the target language, then the learner will find it difficult to learn the second language (L2). If the L1 does not vary greatly from the second language, then it means that the learner will not have great difficulty in learning the L2.

The aim of contrastive analysis is to identify linguistic difficulties so that linguists would be able to predict the challenges that a second language learner is likely to encounter in the learning of the L2. What this means is that it is believed that errors that second language learners make in the process of acquiring the target language are due to interference from their L1. Comparing the structure of two languages to establish the differences and similarities in their structure is known as Contrastive Analysis. Contrastive Analysis was used in the 1960s and the1970s as a method of analysis in teaching L2 to explain why some linguistic features of the L2 were more difficult for learners to acquire than others (Rustipa, 2011).

The purpose of conducting contrastive analysis is to help improve the teaching and learning of a second language. The differences and the similarities between the L1 and the second language help in the teaching of the second language because (1) one's L1 forms the foundation upon which one builds another language, (2) the structures that are similar in both the L1 and the target language tend to facilitate the acquisition of the second language (positive transfer), (3) the differences in structure between the L1 and the target language results in difficulties (negative transfer/interference). From the assumption of contrastive analysis, the L1 does not only play a negative role in second language acquisition, but also a positive role. Besides, the thought processes developed in L1 is also helpful in learning a second language (Yu & Ren, 2013).

The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis compares learners' L1 and the L2 to find out the similarities and differences to inform how to teach the L2. Intercultural rhetoric research is based on contrastive analysis hypothesis in the sense that it also compares L2 learners' texts with L1 speakers' texts to find out the differences and similarities between the texts. Intercultural rhetoric is built on the contrastive analysis hypothesis by going beyond the comparison of the L1 and the L2 at the structural level to the discourse level by comparing texts from different socio-cultural backgrounds. In this study, the editorial of the *Daily Graphic* an ESL text is being compared with the editorials of the New York Time, which is a text constructed in English as L1 setting to find out the similarities and differences between them

1.7.2 The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Contrastive rhetoric, now intercultural rhetoric, is an area of research in ESL that compares texts across cultures. It is supported by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis known as linguistic relativism or linguistic relativity. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is deeply rooted in the early studies of Franz Boas. Boas is said to be one of the founders of American anthropology. He argued that one needs to have direct access to the language of a people in order to understand the culture of the people. Later on, his views of the necessity of language for human thought and hence for human culture became a basic thesis of American cultural anthropology. Agar (1994) points out that in the process of carrying out anthropological studies on different speech communities, Boas noticed how different languages classified the world and human experiences in different ways. This observation of Boas became the foundation of cultural relativism, the theory that posits that cultures should be studied on their own terms. Beliefs, attitudes and norms of one culture should not be considered in the description of the other cultures.

According to Duranti (1997), Boas' idea was transmitted to his students and one of them Edward Sapir, went on to make important contributions not only to American linguistics but to how language is studied in general. It is Edward Sapir's contribution that became known as the Sapir-

Whorf hypothesis. The views expressed by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis were advanced by Sapir's student, Whorf.

According to Kay and Kempton (1984: 66) Benjamin Whorf puts forward two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that 'structural differences between language systems will, in general, be paralleled by nonlinguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of the two languages.' The second hypothesis is that 'the structure of anyone's native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language.' Whorf's proposition, according to them, led to two different but related views. The first view is that language does not only shape a person's thought, it also determines their thought patterns. The second view is that people's thoughts are influenced by their native language. The first language of a person becomes the language in which one forms his thought patterns; from the point of view of the Whorfian hypothesis.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis brings to the fore the relationship between language and culture and how culture influences the use of language. In this study, the values, conventions and the belief system of a social group of people is termed as the culture of that group of people. It is recognised that there are broad cultures and sub cultures but what is referred to as the socio-cultural background of the editorials analysed refers to the broad culture or the homogenous culture of the two countries in which the newspapers are published. And the relationship between culture and language in this study is that language is used in context; and the socio-cultural context in which language is used influences the way language is constructed.

The conclusion of the Whorfian hypothesis is that the thoughts of human beings are influenced by the language they speak. This hypothesis argues that people from different cultures and languages perceived the world differently and organise their thoughts differently. It is therefore the thought patterns and the cultural background of ESL students that are reflected in their rhetoric and form the basis of intercultural rhetoric. Intercultural rhetoric is therefore based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis by comparing ESL texts to Anglo-American English text to find out the difference and similarities in their cultural thought patterns. In this study therefore, the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* as a text composed in an ESL country in Africa is being compared with the editorials of the *New York Times* to find out the differences and the similarities in how they reflect the cultural thought patterns of their respective socio-cultural backgrounds.

1.7.3 Rhetoric

Rhetoric is about how a text is organised. It is concerned with the way of organizing one's thought that is considered good and effective writing that conveys the ideas the writer wants to put across. Rhetoric involves conveying the writer's information to the reader. Rhetoric is therefore about text organization and style of presentation. This is the foundation of rhetoric. The view of rhetoric as text organization and style presentation has however expanded to include the intention of the writer as well as the way the reader receives the information being delivered (Connor 2008).

Intercultural rhetoric is based on comparing texts from different cultures to find out the differences and similarities in how text is organised across cultures. The initial studies in the field of intercultural rhetoric concentrated on analysing the paragraph structure of ESL learners' composition. However, just as the view of rhetoric has expanded beyond the notion of text organization and style, the view of rhetoric in intercultural rhetoric has also expanded. Connor (2008) indicates that the definition of rhetoric in intercultural rhetoric has expanded and broadened the scope of intercultural rhetoric as a field of study. Intercultural rhetoric now incorporates other views of rhetoric beyond text organization and style. An example is Sullivan and Porter (1997: 25) who define rhetoric as 'an act of communication or utterances made for a purpose.' This definition of rhetoric for example helps one to consider the goal the author wants to achieve in any analysis of the text. Also, an analyst can assess the impact of the text on the receiver. There is also the view of rhetoric that considers what compels the author to produce the utterance. For example, Kennedy (1998) sees rhetoric as text production that has mental and emotional energy. This view of rhetoric paves the way for intercultural rhetoric studies to analyse the intention behind the author's text.

Apart from the view of rhetoric that has expanded in intercultural rhetoric, the texts that are considered as second language writings have also expanded as indicated in the introduction section. A number of genre specific studies have been conducted in intercultural rhetoric. Some of these studies include Connor, Davis and De Rycker's (1995) cross-cultural analysis of job application letters, the analysis of newspaper editorials by Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013), Kim (1996), Ansary and Babaii (2009), Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) and the study of editorial letters by Flowerdew and Dudly Evans (2002).

It is important to explain why professional genres within ESL settings constitute written texts which fall within second language writings and therefore contribute to the goal of intercultural rhetoric in promoting pedagogy. English is learnt in ESL countries as a second language. That is what Kachru (1986) refers to as English in the Outer Circle; non-native English speaking countries that use English as their official language. Since English is learnt as a second language in these settings, professional genres in these settings fall within second language writings. On the basis of this, genres such as newspaper editorials, news reports, and job application letters could be compared with those composed in Anglo-American English speaking settings to find out the differences and similarities between them.

1.8 Research Methodology

The focus of contrastive rhetoric is to compare texts from two different socio-cultural settings. Because of this, there is the concern for intercultural rhetoric research to ensure that the texts being compared are comparable. As a result of this concern, Connor (2004) suggested the need to establish equivalence or *Tertium Comparationis* so that items that are comparable are studied. For this reason, data collection in intercultural rhetoric studies is guided by making sure that the texts that are going to be studied are comparable. She proposed the twelve points below as steps towards the establishment of *Tertium Comparationis*. These points proposed by Connor serve as a general guide in the collection and analysis of data in this study.

The steps proposed by Connor are summarised as follows:

1 Formulate clear hypotheses about the writing cultures to be compared.

2 Define the population of accomplished text to be compared.

3 Select a representative sample of that population in each writing culture.

4 Identify comparable textual units to be investigated.

5 Validate the units of analysis in each culture.

6 Quantify the occurrence of these textual universals in each corpus.

7 Devise objective criteria to describe the textual realisations of the universals proposed in the two texts.

8 Apply the devised analytical criteria to the two corpora independently.

9 Juxtapose the taxonomies.

10 Contrast the quantitative results for each comparable qualitative category.

11 Interpret the significance of quantitative similarities and differences.

12 Draw conclusions about the relation between writing cultures.

1.8.1 Data Collection

Following the steps suggested to achieve *Tertium Comparationis*, the study is guided to select texts from the same genre from two different sociocultural backgrounds. The genre selected for the study is newspaper editorials. The two sociocultural settings from which the newspaper editorial are selected are ESL setting in Africa and Anglo-American English setting. In selecting a sample for the study, random sampling is employed to select newspaper editorials from the two sociocultural settings for the study. The newspaper editorials selected for the study are the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times*. The *Daily Graphic* represents an ESL setting from Africa and The *New York Times* is the newspaper that represents Anglo-American English setting. In adopting random sampling, forty (40) editorials were selected for the study. Twenty (20) of the editorials were selected from the *Daily Graphic* newspaper and (20) from the *New York Times*. The on-line versions of the *New York Times* editorials were used for the study. To ensure *Tertium Comparitionis*, the editorials of a specific period of time (the editorials published in the first four months of 2016) were selected for the study.

1.9. Data Analysis

The central question of this research is to find out the discourse strategies used by the two editorials – the *Daily Graphic,* a newspaper published in Ghana, an ESL setting in Africa and the *New York Times*, published in America, an Anglo-American English speaking setting. The central research question was broken up into specific research questions. For each specific research question of this study to be answered, there is a method or a model designed for the analysis of the data. Therefore, each research question is answered by subjecting the data collected to the method or model that is known in the literature of text analysis for answering that question. The specific research questions of this study and the methods of analysis applicable to each of them are explained briefly below.

1.9.1 Analysis of Rhetorical Structure

The first research question concerned how the two newspaper editorials organised their rhetorical structure. A number of models have been proposed for analysing the rhetorical structure of newspaper editorials. The rhetorical structures of newspaper editorials proposed are the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) of newspaper editorials by Halliday and Hasan (1989), Hoey's (1983) problem-solution structure of newspaper editorials, Van Dijk's (1992,1993,1995) three moves model of newspaper editorials, McCarthy's (1991) claim-counterclaim model of newspaper editorials and Bolivar's (1994) triad model of newspaper editorials. The rhetorical structure of the two newspaper editorials is analysed by comparing the structure of the two newspaper editorials to these proposed models to determine the differences and similarities in the subgenres of the two newspaper editorials.

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1.9.2 Micro-genre Analysis

The second research question involves the differences and similarities between the two editorials in the way they present the news and the different approaches they use to form public ideologies. In other words, the answer to this research question focuses on identifying the micro-genres used by the two editorials.

To achieve this, the categorization of expositions and media commentaries and the social functions they perform is done following the categorization put forth by Martin and Peters (1985), Hoey (1983) and White (2002). This categorization has been used by Wang (2007) and Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013). This categorization is used to classify the newspaper editorials into micro-genres to find out the micro-genre similarities and differences between the two newspaper editorials. Details about the categorization of expositions and media commentaries and the analysis is provided in chapter five.

1.9.3 Thematic Progression

To analyse the thematic development of the two newspaper editorials, the theme-structure approach formulated by Halliday (1994) is used. This approach has been used by Adika (2003: 55). According to Adika, the theme-structure approach 'gives us a theoretically consistent way of describing the communicative roles of parts of clauses and analyzing progressions of meaning in a piece of writing.'

In addition, the type of thematic progression used by the two newspaper editorials is determined. This is done by using the analytical framework known as thematic progression (TP). This framework stems from the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976) and has been studied by Danes (1974) and improved upon by McCabe (1999). This framework establishes the types of thematic progression used in a text. This framework has been used by Khany and Nejad (2010).

1.9.4 Rhetorical Appeals

The rhetorical appeals used by the two newspaper editorials is analysed using Aristotle's rhetorical appeals as persuasive tools that have been used to analyse different kinds of texts. An operational framework for the analysis of persuasive appeals has been developed by Connor and Gladkor (2004). Their framework for the analysis of rhetorical appeals in fundraising letters draw on the three Aristotelian persuasions of ethos, pathos and logos. A modification of this framework is used for the analysis of the two editorials. The use of this model for analysis enables one to establish whether the writer is using rational appeal, credibility appeal or affective appeal. These are the appeals that are made by writers in persuasive writing.

These three appeals are in line with what is known in classical rhetoric as ethos, pathos and logos. Credibility appeal means that the writer of a text tries to persuade the reader by providing information that comes from an authority or a source that is knowledgeable. This is an appeal to ethos. Ethos is the projection of trust by the writer in order to persuade the audience (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). Affective appeal means that the writer presents information in a way that makes readers feels persuaded. This is what is referred to in classical rhetoric as an appeal to the pathos. Pathos is the writer's appeal to the emotions of the audience in the way information is provided to the audience (Aho, 1985). A rational appeal means that the writer of a text tries to persuade the reader by providing details that are connected in a way that makes the reader arrive at a conclusion by reasoning. This is an appeal to logos. Logos is the use of logic by the writer to persuade the audience.

1.9.5 The use of Attribution

The use of attribution in the two newspaper editorials is analysed following a frequency count of how often the source of information is provided. The sources that are often referred to by the two newspaper editorials are also analysed to determine the types of sources that are frequently cited in the newspaper editorials. Attribution simply means to state who said what in a text. This is a practice that is upheld in journalism and media reportage for the purpose of authenticity and credibility of the sources of news items. Pak (2010) analysed attribution in the editorials of three newspaper editorials. The steps used by Pak (2010) is adapted in the analysis of attribution in the two newspaper editorials.

1.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in communication and newspaper reports in general 'involve the principles of truthfulness, accuracy, objectivity, impartiality, fairness and public accountability' (Ethical Journalism Network, accessed online, December, 2017) All communication is based on what to say, what not to say, and how to say it. Today, we have the opportunity to communicate with people all over the world via the Internet. Ethics play a huge role in defining a writer's character. The choices made will reflect back on the writer and can make or break a reputation.

Newspaper editorials are opinion pieces usually written by the editorial board of a newspaper. The individuals who write editorials are usually senior editorial staff. Editorials may also be written by the publisher of the newspaper. Sometimes editorials are written by individuals who are not staff of the newspaper. Editorials are written to portray the opinion or the stance of the newspaper (Walbert, 2008; Breed, 2012). Great care is taken not to inflame passion in editorials. The issues that are written about in editorials are carefully chosen and evaluated by the editorial board. Editorials are therefore assumed to be credible and reliable sources of information.

In the analysis of rhetorical styles, this study seeks to use newspaper editorials since they are credible sources of information and are available to the reading public. Since newspaper editorials are available in the public domain, the researcher did not need to seek the consent of the publishers. However, the editorials that are selected and used are duly acknowledged.

1.11 The Cultural Background of Communication in Ghana

This section provides a brief cultural background that seems to underpin modern communication technologies in Ghana. According to Yankah (2012) communication in contemporary Ghana has certain cultural foundations. Some of the cultural foundations of communication in contemporary Ghana are highlighted in this section to pave way for an easy understanding of the explanation of the findings which is done with reference to the socio-cultural background of communication in Ghana.

Yankah (2012) points out that freedom of speech exist within traditional Ghanaian communication but traditional society has norms that govern free speech. In the traditional Ghanaian society, public criticism of authority is permitted only when speech is decorous. Cultural norms allow communication that is styled to avoid open confrontation with authority. Yankah (2012) refers to an incident on Ghana Television in which a student leader confronted the authorities of the National Accreditation Board and indicated that the student leader's action received public condemnation because of the traditional norm that does not permit an open confrontation of authority. Adika (2012) refers to this explanation as 'do-not-question authority principle' and pointed out that the exercise of this principle by traditional norms of communication is responsible for the lack of critical voice in the writing of students at the university level in Ghana.

In addition, Yankah (2012) indicates that traditional society observes compliance with verbal taboos as part of its ethnography of communication. For this reason, certain words that are perceived to be vulgar or face threatening in formal speech are said in euphemisms and polite disclaimers to avoid being disrespectful to traditional authority. Agyekum (1996) also observes that a verbal taboo in the communication of many Ghanaian cultures is called 'reminiscential oath'. This is usually an evil thing or a tragedy that had happened in the past and should not be referred to because it is likely to cause sorrow and bad feeling.

Another point worth taking note of about the cultural foundation of communication in the traditional Ghanaian society is that traditional society aims at preserving social harmony and maintaining social structures through the use of language in a manner that encourages social decency (Yankah, 2012). In formal interaction, efforts are made to acknowledge power relationships through the use of deferential honorifics and courteous ways of addressing persons who are elderly or hold positions of authority in the society.

Ghana as a modern nation state is now confronted with a conflict between traditional norms and modern notions of free speech, free press and free expression (Yankah, 2012). The media in Ghana are torn between the modern concept of free speech and journalistic practices that allow argumentation and criticism of authority versus the apologetic traditional norms. Media practice in Ghana to a large extent seems to be regulated by the apologetic traditional norms.

1.12 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into the following chapters

Chapter One presents the background to the study. This covers a general introduction to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, delimitation of the study, assumptions of the study, the significance of the study and the structure of the study.

Chapter Two is the literature review. The review focuses on studies conducted within the field of intercultural rhetoric. The first section of the chapter reviews intercultural rhetoric studies and their contribution to ESL writing pedagogy. The chapter also points out the criticisms raised against intercultural rhetoric studies. The review continues with the expansion in terms of texts used in intercultural rhetoric studies to cover genre and professional studies. The rest of the review then focuses on studies conducted on newspaper editorials and newspaper discourse by looking at intercultural rhetoric studies on newspaper editorials and other studies conducted on newspapers as professional genre.

Chapter Three presents a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework of the study. This covers the three main areas that underpin intercultural rhetoric studies. These three areas are contrastive analysis, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and rhetoric. For these three areas, the discussion traces their origin, practice and application to the teaching of a second language. The discussion further reviews the challenges of the application of these areas and the current trends of their application to the teaching of a second language.

Chapter Four presents the methodology and the collection of data for the study. The methodology section explains the concerns in collecting data for intercultural rhetoric studies and the importance of establishing *Tertium Comparitionis* in intercultural rhetoric research. This chapter describes the guidelines for the collection of data for the study and spells out how data for the study is collected taking into consideration how to achieve *Tertium Comparitionis*. It presents the population of newspaper editorials for the study and explains how the selection of samples of each editorial is carried out.

Chapter Five deals with the analysis of the data collected and the presentation of the findings. The first part of this chapter reports on the data analysis. The analysis of data presents the various models of text analysis for each objective and subjects the data to the models for analysis. The second part of this chapter presents the findings of the study. The findings are presented based on the objectives set out to be achieved.

Chapter Six focuses on the interpretation of the findings of the study and the discussion of the findings. The findings are interpreted by making reference to the sociocultural background of the two newspaper editorials. The findings are discussed in relation to previous studies and the theories and practices within language teaching, second language acquisition, professional genre analysis and the areas that underpin intercultural rhetoric research. This is followed by a summary of the findings and the conclusions of the study. It also presents the pedagogical implications and recommendations of the study based on the findings and the conclusions drawn.

1.13 Summary

This chapter has presented the background to the study and situated this study within intercultural rhetoric research as a field of study within ESL. It has articulated the need for this study by giving an account of the challenges of ESL writing across Africa at various levels, especially at the university level. It has stated the objectives of the study and spelt out how the study is carried out to achieve the stated objectives. The significance of the study is stated. Also, this chapter has indicated the theories and practices that underpin the analysis and comparison of texts from two different socio-cultural backgrounds and given a brief explanation of the theories the study. The chapter ends with a breakdown of how the thesis is organised.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

English Language Teaching (ELT) pedagogy has used several pedagogical approaches over the years. ELT started with the Grammar Translation Method of teaching. Richard and Rogers (1995) explain that when English was introduced into the curriculum of European schools, students were taught grammar rules of English. Stern (2001) states that the teaching of grammar rules has been an important part of ELT pedagogy. This approach of teaching grammar rules dominated the teaching of English until researchers and teachers in the field of ELT realised it was not addressing the communicative needs of learners; hence the introduction of other approaches to the teaching of English. ELT pedagogy has therefore used several pedagogical approaches until the famous Audio-lingual approach (which emphasises speech-based instruction) for the teaching of English. The Audio-lingual approach became the pedagogical approach in the late 1950s and early 1960s that was adopted to improve the communicative competence of people learning English; especially English as a Second Language (ESL) learners (Richard & Rogers, 1995).

It became evident that ESL learners in higher education needed more than what the Audio-lingual approach offers learners. ESL learners from divergent cultural backgrounds who find themselves in American and British universities pursuing various degrees have to turn in term papers, project work and dissertations as requirements for degrees. These ESL learners in higher education face the challenge of writing papers that conform to the standards of English use in the academic discourse community. This requirement of writing academic papers goes beyond communicative competence which the Audio-lingual approach proposes as the ultimate goal. Writing academic papers involve composing texts that have well developed themes.

ESL courses became common in American colleges and universities in the 1960s. The reason for their proliferation is captured by Kaplan (1966:13) as he points out that 'foreign students who have mastered syntactic structures have still demonstrated inability to compose adequate themes, term papers, theses and dissertations.' Instructors have written, on foreign student papers, such comments as: 'the material is all here, but it seems somehow out of focus,' or 'lacks organization' or ‘lacks cohesion.’ Kaplan’s observation shows the problems of ESL writers in writing texts that meet the requirements of their supervisors. This difficulty faced by ESL writers called for special language skills courses to be organised for ESL learners pursuing their courses at the universities and in colleges in the USA and Britain. Ramirez (2015) points out that English courses for ESL learners became necessary as a result of the large numbers of international ESL/EFL students studying in English-speaking countries; especially in the USA and the UK.

The writings of ESL students are said to be out of focus because the students employ rhetoric and a sequence of thought which violate the expectations of an Anglo-American English reader. This has been attributed to the failure of the existing pedagogical approaches to the teaching of English (Connor 2008). Text construction in English has a rhetorical pattern that it follows. ESL writers therefore, face difficulties - to compose texts that conform to the rhetorical conventions of English. This aspect of ESL writing had therefore not been addressed in ESL pedagogical approaches. The need for ESL learners and professionals to compose texts that follow the rhetorical patterns of Anglo-American rhetorical patterns resulted in ESL learners at American and British universities being taught how to compose texts that are acceptable to enable them pursue their courses at these universities. This is the concern that led to the field of intercultural rhetoric as an approach to the teaching of ESL writing.

As pointed out in chapter one, Intercultural rhetoric, henceforth (IR) is a field of study well attributed to Robert Kaplan’s seminal work in 1966 when he discovered that ‘the reason his ESL students’ writing looked different from native English speakers’ writings was because their cultural thought styles were different’ (Connor, 2008: 4). Intercultural rhetoric as a field of research and as an approach to the teaching of L2 writing has been described as a relatively newcomer to the field of teaching L2 writing (Badger & White, 2000). Though relative new, intercultural rhetoric studies have had a great impact on teaching L2 writing – specifically ESL writing. Bruce (2008) points out that the difference between intercultural rhetoric studies as applied to the teaching of L2 writing and the other approaches to the teaching of writing (such as the process approach) is that the intercultural rhetoric approach recognises writing as a social activity. This perspective of viewing writing as an activity which takes place within a social and cultural context enables researchers in the field to appreciate how the socio-cultural background of ESL writers influence their writing. This might have contributed to the impact that intercultural rhetoric studies have made as an approach to the teaching of ESL writing.

The recognition of writing as a socio-cultural activity by intercultural rhetoric researchers calls for the need for L2 writers to be exposed to the discourse conventions of the second language because these conventions have been shaped by the socio-cultural background of the target language. As pointed out by Hyland (2003), the exposure of L2 writers to the discourse conventions of the L2 will enable them to function effectively in the L2 social context. Rafiee, Dastjerdi and Tavakoli (2013) point out the need for Iranian EFL learners to receive specific instruction on English writing discourse conventions because the writing conventions of Iran tend to differ from that of English.

Although IR is a relatively new approach to text analysis and to the teaching of ESL writing, Rafiee et al. (2013: 95) observe that intercultural rhetoric has produced the 'vast majority of research in the field of text analysis.' The main focus of the majority of studies produced within the field of intercultural rhetoric have been studies that compare texts written in native English contexts (English as first language) to those written in ESL contexts. The focus of these studies has been to find out the differences in the rhetorical patterns of native English texts and ESL texts.

The differences found reflect how rhetorical patterns are transferred from a learner's L1 to English. Some studies that have investigated rhetorical pattern transfer from the L1 of ESL learners by comparing their texts to native English texts include Kobayashi (1984), Ostler (1987), Maurahen (1993), Kubota (1998) and Hirose (2003). Some of the studies that have investigated the transfer of rhetorical patterns have even explored the effect of raising ESL students' awareness about how their L1 rhetorical patterns differ from English rhetorical patterns. Examples of such studies are Liebman (1992), Petric (2005) and Jun (2008).

It should however be noted that though intercultural rhetoric studies have been generally accepted by researchers in ESL writing, it is not without criticism. It is some of the criticisms of the field that led to a change from contrastive rhetoric to intercultural rhetoric (IR). Some of these criticisms have been admitted by IR researchers by pointing out that comparing texts across cultures without regards to genre is wrong. One of the factors that have expanded IR as a field of research is the criticism of the IR research and its pedagogical recommendations. The literature review of this study focuses on the contribution of IR research to ESL writing pedagogy, the arguments raised against it, its expansion to professional genres across cultures, and its application to media discourse and newspaper editorials.

2.1 IR Studies and ESL Writing Pedagogy

Intercultural rhetoric emerged as a field of study as a result of the writing needs of ESL students studying in the United States of America. Initial studies in IR studies compared ESL writings with Anglo-American pieces of writing to find out how ESL writing differs from Anglo-American writing (Connor, 2002; 2008). The aim of the comparison is to understand the differences and to explain why the differences arise. This has remained the focus of IR studies even though the initial concern of looking at the differences identified as problematic has changed to regarding them as differences in rhetoric across different cultures. Tracing the contribution of IR to ESL writing pedagogy is not a difficult task. This is because IR has been hailed and used by ESL instructors from different parts of the world. Connor (2008) points out that the first study conducted by Robert Kaplan in 1966 was novel because of three reasons. The first reason is that ESL instructors at the time had not thought much about teaching writing. Their focus was mostly on oral skills. The second reason is that the focus of ESL was on clausal level and not at the level of composing text. The third reason is that writing was thought of as a gift and not a skill that could be taught. The focus of IR on ESL writing was therefore new and promising for the teaching of ESL writing.

As a result of the innovative nature of the initial study that heralded the field of IR, it became an area of study that other ESL instructors have found useful. Though Connor (1996:166) states that IR was not meant for teaching but to provide 'knowledge and awareness about differences in writing patterns across cultures', it is widely used in second language writing instruction.

The first study in the field of IR compared the paragraph structure of ESL students from different cultural and language backgrounds with the paragraph structure of Anglo-American English paragraphs and established differences in the rhetorical styles of the paragraphs from the various cultural backgrounds. Kaplan (1966: 12) in his pioneering study points out that the thought patterns in English evolved out of Anglo-European cultural patterns and was later shaped by 'Roman, Medieval European and Western thinkers.' This rhetorical style according to Kaplan is linear. The Anglo-American rhetorical style is therefore different from the rhetorical styles of other languages and cultures.

The concern of IR studies is that since the rhetorical style of Anglo-American English differ from the rhetorical style of other languages and cultures, in teaching students from other cultural backgrounds to write English, there is the need to make them aware that the rhetorical style of the English language is different from that of their cultural background. The baseline in IR studies is to compare writings within Anglo-American English context with pieces of writings outside this context to understand why they differ (Atkinson, 2000; Connor 2002). Since English is used in other settings outside Anglo-American English contexts as a result of the spread of English to other parts of the world due to various reasons, pieces of writings from these settings are compared with pieces of writings within Anglo-American English contexts to establish the differences and similarities between their rhetorical patterns and to understand the sources of the differences (Atkinson, 2000; Connor 2002).

Kubota and Lehner (2004) point out that within IR studies very few studies have investigated rhetorical differences related to the teaching of other languages. Intercultural rhetoric studies have therefore focused mainly on the comparison of Anglo-American English writing with ESL writing. English use within Anglo-American contexts is what Kachru (1991) refers to as English in the Inner Circle. It should be noted that the various terms used synonymously are 'native English norms', 'native speaker norms', 'native user norms', 'Inner Circle norms', 'Anglo-American English norms' and Standard English (Connor 1998; Davies 2013; Hamid, Zhu & Baldauf Jr 2014). English use outside the Inner Circle contexts is what Kachru refers to as English in the Outer Circle and English in the Expanding Circle. English in the Outer Circle is referred to as English as a Second Language (ESL) and English in the Expanding Circle is referred to as English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Both ESL and EFL refer to English use outside Anglo-American contexts. Both ESL and EFL are learners of English as a second language. For this reason the term ESL is used in this work to refer to all persons learning English outside the Inner Circle (

Though the overall aim of IR studies is to investigate how rhetorical styles vary across cultures and languages, the specific focus of studies within the field have been to understand how ESL rhetoric differ from the rhetoric of Anglo-American English rhetoric. The various studies carried out using ESL texts have been classified by Connor (2002) into four domains of investigation with different purposes. The first domain is IR studies conducted using linguistic studies of discourse analysis with the purposes of comparing how texts are formed and interpreted in different languages and cultures. Another domain in which IR studies have been conducted is studies of writing as cultural and educational activity with the purpose of investigating literacy development. The third domain is IR studies carried out in the classroom to investigate cross-cultural patterns in process writing. The fourth domain in which IR studies have been carried out is the genre-specific studies applied to academic and professional writings. All these domains in which IR studies have been carried out demonstrate that IR research is focused on ESL writing pedagogy. This study falls under the domain of IR studies carried out on academic and professional writing.

Intercultural rhetoric studies as a whole regardless of Connor (2002) classification have made significant findings about ESL writing. Intercultural rhetoric studies have discovered various ways in which ESL writings differ from Anglo-American writing. In the pioneering study carried out by Kaplan (1966:13), he explains that ‘the thought patterns which speakers and readers of English expect is a sequence that is dominantly linear in its development.’ The English expository paragraph therefore typically begins with a statement which expresses the main idea followed by details that develop the main idea and relate the main idea to other ideas in the essay. Kaplan discovered that the rhetorical style of students from cultural backgrounds outside Anglo-American English contexts differ from that of the English expository paragraph. He concluded that while the English paragraph is typically linear, (starting with the thesis and providing details) that of Asians is circular and recursive (giving details, getting to the thesis and going back to details) and those of the Semitic, Romance and Russian are digressive (including information that is not related to the thesis being developed).

The initial findings of Kaplan about the differences in the structure of Anglo-American paragraph and that of ESL learners paragraph has been further investigated by other researchers. Hinds (1990) points out that English writings generally start from general by stating the broad idea and then progressing to specific details while Japanese, Korean, Chinese and Thai (Asian) expository writings delay the statement of the topic. The findings of Hinds (1990) re-echo the conclusion of Kaplan (1966) that English expository paragraph is linear by structure. Kobayashi (1984) also found out that English expository writings begin from general to specific while Japan ESL writings as well as writings in Japanese begin from specific to general. Kamimura and Oi (1996) confirm the difference between American students' writing and that of Japanese students: pointing out that American students' writing start from general to specific while Japanese students' writing begin with details and the topic is delayed. Kubota (1992) also found out that Japanese students place the main idea at the end of their paragraphs.

Some IR studies have been conducted by comparing the writing of Finish writers writing in English with those of Anglo-American writers. Ventola and Mauranen (1991) compared the articles of Finish scientists written in English with the articles written by Anglo-American writers and found out that Finish writers scarcely use connectors as compared to Anglo-American writers. Mauranen (1993) discovered that Finish writers delay the statement of their main idea. Connor et al (1995) confirm the findings of Mauranen (1993) in their study of grant proposals written by Finish writers.

Intercultural rhetoric studies have been conducted to establish Arabic-English contrast in rhetorical patterns. Hatim (1997) points out differences between argumentation in Arabic and that of English. Hatim establishes that argumentation in Arabic is characterized by supporting the thesis and substantiating it. English argumentation on the other hand is based on opposing the thesis and offering a counterclaim. Hottel-Burkhart (2000) also confirms differences in argumentation between Arabic and English and concluded that what is considered an argument in one context is shaped by the broad linguistic culture of the people.

Differences have also been found between Chinese and English rhetorical styles by some IR studies. Scollon and Scollon (1997) discovered that quotations are not clearly attributed in Chinese newspaper reports as opposed to a clear attribution of authorship in Western newspaper reports. Zhu (1997) in an analysis of sales letters found out that Chinese discourse is circular as opposed to the linear structure of English discourse. This finding confirms Kaplan's (1966) conclusion that Asian text is circular in structure. Gao (2012) also reports that Chinese graduate students studying in America initially find their papers unacceptable to the writing centre assistants because they tend to write in a non-linear and "complicated" way which is the Chinese rhetorical expectation. Li (1996) found that in narratives, teachers in the United States of America value logic and good introductions as good writing. On the other hand, teachers in China value sentiments and moral messages as good writings.

As pointed out earlier, as far as the teaching of writing is concerned, IR therefore emerged as a field of research in teaching English that devoted its attention to the teaching of ESL writing. As a result of the fact that IR started as a response to students' need to acquire English discourse conventions, IR researchers, on the basis of their findings suggest techniques that can help ESL students to overcome their writing difficulties. Intercultural rhetoric studies therefore propose various techniques that should be adopted in ESL writing instruction to enable ESL students acquire the rhetorical conventions of English. The techniques suggested endorse explicit teaching of English rhetorical norms in ESL settings and prescribe activities for ESL students. The various techniques suggested could be grouped into three categories. These three categories are things that ESL students should be told for them to be aware of: the conventions of English rhetoric, things that the students should be exposed to for them to see conventions of English rhetoric and things that the students should be asked to do for them to master the conventions of English rhetoric.

In order to help ESL students acquire the conventions of English rhetoric, some IR students recommend that ESL students are made aware of certain issues about writing in English. Kaplan (1988) suggests that ESL students should be made aware of the cultural differences in how texts are composed; cultural differences in the expectations of audience and cultural differences in world knowledge and technical knowledge. Reid (1989) suggests that ESL instructors should discuss rhetorical differences between English academic prose and ESL students' first language prose. Reid (1996) recommends that the native-speaking readers' expectations of the second sentence following a topic sentence should be discussed with ESL students.

Apart from creating awareness about English rhetoric through discussions, IR studies recommend that ESL students are exposed to samples of ideal English rhetoric for them to get acquainted with the conventions of English rhetoric. Grabe and Kaplan (1989) recommend that ESL students should be given authentic English texts for them to identify the topic sentences. Reid (1984, 1989) suggests that ESL students should be asked to examine the formats of various academic assignments and pay attention to lexical and morphological structures of edited texts.

In addition to the recommendations given above, IR studies suggest that ESL students do exercises that would help them acquire the conventions of English rhetorical patterns. Kaplan (1966, 1967, & 1972) recommends some pedagogical devices for teaching rhetorical structure of English to ESL students. He recommends devices such as giving students scrambled paragraphs to rearrange, giving students carefully written topic sentences for them to supply the details, asking students to fill in missing sentences and asking students to do controlled exercises. Reid (1984) recommends that students are asked to make outlines of various points to be developed.

Some IR studies have reported the impact of IR approaches on ESL writing. Connor and Traversa (2014) report that there are promising results from the use of IR writing instructions that adopted IR pedagogical devices. Xing, Wang and Spencer (2008) report improvement in the writing skills of Chinese students who were made aware of the expectations of native speaker audience. In Japan, Yoshimura (2002) gives account of improvement in Japanese students writing effectiveness after IR pedagogical approaches were used for instructing them. Walker (2006) also indicates improvement in the writing of Korean students following the use of IR writing instructions. Intercultural rhetoric studies have had great impact on ESL pedagogy. Walker (2011) points out that IR instruction is important to be used in ESL settings.

Intercultural rhetoric as an approach to the teaching of writing has had great impact on the training of ESL and EFL instructors. As a result of the findings of IR studies, instructors and researchers involved in teaching ESL learners have become aware of the difficulties that their students face in writing good and effective compositions in English. Casanave (2004) recommends that ESL teachers should ask their students to compare texts in their L1 with texts in English at the discourse level for various genres for the purpose of making students aware of how text construction in their L1 differs from text construction in English. This is likely to facilitate effective writing in English.

Many teachers and researchers in the field of second language acquisition research have recommended the use of IR – oriented instruction in the classroom specifically for the teaching of ESL (Casanave, 2004; Walker, 2006; Xing, Wang & Spencer, 2008; Walker, 2011; Connor & Traversa, 2014). Kristen Foster calls for the pedagogical use of IR concepts in ESL instruction by indicating that 'teachers can begin incorporating IR into their classrooms by bringing to their students' awareness the concepts of purpose, audience and genre in writing.' Nishi Kaori states that there is the need for ESL writers to be aware of the differences between English rhetorical conventions and that of their first language. He emphasizes that teachers of English in ESL and EFL settings should be mindful of English rhetorical conventions in developing the English writing skills of their students.

The goal of IR in helping both teachers and students to address the writing difficulties of ESL students has not changed. The efforts of IR in achieving this goal has expanded to include studying professional genres composed in ESL settings by comparing them to similar genres composed in native English speaking settings to find out the similarities and differences across cultures. The goal of these studies continue to be that of helping instructors, ESL students and professionals in ESL settings around the world to identify how professional genres composed in ESL settings vary from those composed in native speaker settings. This is necessary because the teaching of writing has also expanded beyond the teaching of students' composition to the teaching of professional genres.

In concluding this section, it is clear from the literature reviewed so far that IR research has a laudable pedagogical intention to make both teachers and students become aware that there are cultural differences in the rhetorical strategies of the different languages that they learn. Connor (1996: 5) defines IR as 'an area of research in second language acquisition that identifies problems in composition encountered by second language writers and, by referring to the rhetorical strategies of the first language, attempts to explain them.' The focus of intercultural rhetoric therefore is to identify differences and similarities in writing across cultures for the purpose of enhancing second language learners' way of writing, especially ESL learners in the universities and colleges. As noted from the introduction to this chapter, IR research started as a result of the writing needs of ESL learners to write academic papers to conform to the rhetorical style of Anglo-

American English. The next section reviews how this specific need referred to as English for Specific Purposes emerged.

2.2 English for Specific Purpose (ESP)

The history of English as a second language in several parts of the world as a result of the spread of English in several parts of the world due to colonialism and migration is common knowledge. However how ESP started as a field of English language pedagogy within ESL needs some explanation. According to Laborda and Litzler (2015), ESP started after the second world war when people had to learn English not for prestige or pleasure but for the purpose of work. They however indicate that ESP pedagogy became significant in the 1960s. This assertion is confirmed by other practitioners of ESP (Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001; Hyland, 2006).

Two related reasons have been offered to explain why ESP started as a field of study within ESL. One of the reasons for the development of the field of ESP was as a result of changes in the field of linguistics from the description of language to the use of language to satisfy communicative needs in specific context (Hyland, 2006). Linguists began to view languages as a tool for communication. What was needed at the time was an approach to the teaching of English language to be used in specific target situations. There was therefore the need to prepare people who learn English as a Second Language to be able to function effectively in using English for academic as well as professional purposes (Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001; Laborda & Litzler, 2015).

The other reason for the development of ESP as an area of study was due to changes in trends in educational psychology where learners' needs have to influence pedagogy. This coincided with the needs of people learning English at that time when most countries which were British colonies had gained independence and had adopted the English language as their official language. There was therefore the need for large numbers of learners in these countries to learn the English language and use it to function well in their educational pursuits as well as their professional delivery (Ramirez, 2015).

The next issue to deal with about the explanation of ESP pedagogy is what ESP is and how it differs from the teaching of English in general. Laborda and Litzler (2015) observe that ESP lacks definition. The field has not been captured as a definition of what it is though several explanations and classifications of what ESP constitutes exist in the literature. According to Mohan (1986:15) ESP is an area of English language teaching that is directed towards the training of ESL learners ‘for chosen communicative environments’ where English ‘is used for a limited range of communicative events.’ A detailed explanation of ESP is offered by Strevens (1988). According to Strevens, there are four features that define ESP. The first defining feature of ESP is that it aims at meeting the specific language needs of the learner. Second, the content of ESP courses is related to the discipline or occupation of the learner. Thirdly, ESP is focused on the language that is most appropriate for the learner’s discipline or area of study. The fourth defining feature according to Strevens is that ESP is different from General English (General ESL and EFL) which is not directed towards the language needs of any particular discipline or occupation.

The last issue about the explanation of ESP pedagogy is the classification and purpose of ESP as a field or an aspect of ESL. ESP aims at addressing two main issues which are related. For this reason, ESP is classified into two main branches or areas. The two main areas under ESP are English for Academic Purpose (EAP) and English for Occupational Purpose (EOP). In fact, both EAP and EOP are meant to achieve the same purpose. That purpose is to prepare ESL students for success in their academic studies and for their work. Some researchers however, are of the view that EAP is different from EOP and should be separated for specific focus (Jordan, 1997). On the other hand, Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) point out that the difference between EAP and EOP is not clear because much of what is done for academic achievement is to prepare learners towards their profession or occupations. There is therefore the need to establish a clear distinction between EAP and EOP even though they are closely related.

The basic distinction between EAP and EOP is that, EAP is English directed towards the language skills that the ESL learner needs to perform academic tasks. These tasks include the ESL learner’s ability to read journals within his or her field of study and write review papers, term papers, research reports, research proposals and theses and dissertations. EOP on the other hand refers to the language skills that ESL learners need in the working environment Carver (1983).

It is also noteworthy to point out that some ESP practitioners even identify more than two branches of ESP but the additional branches they identify are actually part of the two main branches which are EAP and EOP. For example, Carver (1983) specifies three areas under ESP as: English as a restricted language, English for Academic and Occupational Purposes and English with specific topics. From Carver's classification one realises that what is referred to "as a restricted language" and "English with specific topics" constitute the languages skills required under the two main branches which are EAP and EOP. Basturkmen (2010) also classifies ESP into three categories. These are English for Academic Purpose (EAP), English for Professional Purposes (EPP) and English for Occupational Purposes (EOP). Basturkmen's classification also reveals that ESP has only two main branches – EAP and EOP, because English for Professional Purposes (EEP) is for all intents and purposes the same as English for Occupational Purposes (EOP).

In concluding this section on the explanation of ESP pedagogy, it is also important to note that even though ESP has two major areas, EAP and EOP, the field of ESP is dominated by EAP. This is obvious because as Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) point out, much of the tasks that prepare ESL learners for academic success also prepare them for their professions and occupations. For this reason ESP is often equated to EAP. The field of ESP is therefore mainly understood as EAP.

2.2.1 The Content of EAP

EAP courses are designed to meet specific needs of learners. This requires that the content of EAP courses is selected to meet the specific language skills that the learners are expected to acquire. Hyland (2006) observes that initially, EAP courses lacked theoretical and research rationale and EAP textbooks were prepared based on the writer's experience in teaching the course. He, however, pointed out that this trend has changed. EAP courses are now designed taking into consideration current pedagogic approaches.

Some of the features that are taken into consideration in designing EAP courses include students' needs, the discipline, the teaching situation, age, and socio-cultural status of the learners (Laborda & Litzler, 2015). Paramount among these features is students' needs. Robinson (1991) observes that EAP is directed toward a goal and the courses are based on needs analysis in order to provide the language skills the learner needs. Jordan (1997) also emphasises that EAP courses should be designed for the purpose of achieving academic literacy abilities. Shing and Sim (2011) also point out that EAP courses should be designed after carrying out needs analysis. They therefore indicate that needs analysis should be conducted before EAP courses are designed for learners.

As a result of taking several things into consideration before EAP courses are designed, the content of EAP courses vary according to the needs of learners (Orr, 2001). Despite the variations in EAP courses, they are designed to cover three main skills. These are study skills, grammar skills and academic literacy skills. Academic literacy skills are paramount in EAP courses.

2.2.2 The Demands for EAP

Dudley Evans and St. John (1998:34) identify four demands or needs for EAP depending on the learning context. These are:

1. In an English speaking country like the UK and USA. In these countries where instruction is conducted using English and the students are expected to turn in academic papers as university requirements, ESL learners need to be prepared to write such papers in accordance with university requirements, which are based on Anglo-American writing conventions.
2. An ESL situation, such as in former British colonies in Africa or South East Asia. All universities in former British colonies which use English as the medium of instruction in their schools and universities have adopted the English language as the language in which academic work is carried out. The adoption of the English language means the adoption of the rhetorical conventions of Anglo-American English. All ESL students in such countries also need to be prepared to acquire academic literacy; in English hence the need for EAP.
3. A situation where certain subjects are taught in English and the remaining in the national or official language. At some European universities, even though they have different national and or official language, there are some courses that are taught in English in some of their universities. Once some subjects are taught in English, this requires that the students who receive instruction in English should be taught academic literacy. These students therefore need EAP.

4. A situation in which all subjects are taught in the national language and English plays an ancillary role.

2.2.3 EAP Practitioners

There are different types of experts involved in EAP pedagogy. Because they are not all involved in actual teaching in the classroom, Dudley Evans referred to such experts related to EAP pedagogy as "EAP practitioners." There are various types of EAP/ESP practitioners. Five different practitioners are identified. ESP practitioners as:

1. Teachers.
2. Course designers and material providers.
3. Researchers. (These are researchers in the field of genre analysis mainly IR researchers using genre analysis).
4. Collaborators. (Consultation of subject specialists, team teaching and carrying out field work).
5. Evaluators, testing students, evaluating the course and teaching materials.

2.2.4 The Role of IR Studies in EAP Pedagogy

Intercultural rhetoric studies are concerned with the analysis of texts across cultures. In the comparison of texts across cultures the Anglo-American culture of constructing text has become the basis that is used to compare other cultures' way of organizing text. As a result of this, several IR studies have been conducted by comparing Anglo-American rhetorical conventions with the rhetorical conventions of texts from several different cultures. The findings and recommendations of these studies have contributed tremendously to EAP pedagogy.

A number of EAP practitioners have lauded the analysis of texts from various genres as a useful contribution to EAP pedagogy. Streven (1988) maintains that EAP pedagogy is directed towards the specific language needs relevant to the discipline of the learner and EAP research should focus on the description of the target language. This is exactly the research focus of IR studies as a field that supports EAP pedagogy. Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) state that rhetorical and pragmatic analyses of texts are useful to EAP pedagogy. They mention genre analysis as an approach that is useful to satisfy the text specific needs of learners and refer to genre analysis conducted on research articles as very useful to EAP research.

Analysis of specific genres benefits EAP pedagogy in two main ways. It benefits both the learners and the teachers of EAP courses. Hyland (2006) points out that genre analysis provides teachers with great insights into the target texts that are analysed. It also directs teachers to the approaches or specific activities that they can adopt in the teaching of ESL learners in various disciplines. Genre analytical studies that compare texts from Anglo-American backgrounds and other cultures tend to show how texts from Anglo-American backgrounds differ from texts from the other cultures. This helps EAP instructors to appreciate the difficulties of their learners and it exposes them to the areas that they need to emphasize to help their students overcome their difficulties.

The research findings of IR studies which expose the differences and similarities between Anglo-American rhetorical conventions and those of other cultures serve as a guide for EAP teachers to adopt activities that can help their learners to acquire the rhetorical styles they need to acquire to enhance their academic success. Analysis of texts from various genres also helps to expose learners to the best way to structure various texts. For example, how to structure an essay differs from how to structure a term paper, and how to structure a term paper differs from how to structure a research proposal within disciplines and across disciplines.

Intercultural rhetoric studies, with their pedagogical intention, offer various recommendations based on their findings. One of such recommendation that several IR studies have offered is to raise the consciousness of learners about the rhetorical conventions of specific genres (Kaplan, 1966; 1988; Reid, 1989; 1996). This recommendation has been lauded by EAP instructors. Hyland (2006) suggests ways of raising the consciousness of learners. One such way is to pick samples of the target discourse and expose it to learners in a practice exercise known as 'Rhetorical Consciousness Raising.' Another way is to compare texts from different genres to identify the differences and similarities. Johns (1997) also suggests a form of consciousness raising referred to as the 'socioliterate approach.' This is the exposure to discourse from different social contexts. Some other EAP practitioners have also emphasized the importance of creating awareness about language use in different genres as part of EAP pedagogy (Liyanage & Birch, 2001; Shing & Sim, 2011).

Another contribution of IR studies to EAP pedagogy is cultural awareness in the teaching of English language skills. Intercultural rhetoric studies emphasize that language use varies from one socio-cultural context to another. This kind of awareness is also useful to EAP pedagogy. Mckay (2003) points out the role of cultural knowledge in teaching ESL learners. According to him, cultural knowledge of the learner provides the content that is used in learning the English language.

EAP instruction has benefited greatly from the recommendations given by IR studies about the specific activities that ESL learners should be exposed to in order to help them acquire Anglo-American rhetorical conventions which they need for academic success. Hyland (2006: 90) refers to these activities as 'Scaffolding' activities 'rooted in Lev Vygotsky's (1978) idea.' The various activities suggested by IR studies such as writing an outline, asking learners to arrange scrambled sentences and developing given topic sentences into paragraphs provide instructors with guided learning activities. In this way, these activities fit within Vygotsky's idea of facilitating learning by interacting with experienced others. In this case, the EAP instructors serve as the experienced others who interact with the learners in carrying out the activities to improve on the performance of the learners.

The use of authentic text in EAP instruction is a recommendation offered by IR studies. Intercultural rhetoric researchers such as Grabe and Kaplan (1989) and Reid (1984; 1989) have suggested the use of authentic texts in EAP instruction. The use of authentic text for instruction in EAP pedagogy is highly endorsed. Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) observe that one of the characteristics of EAP programmes is that the materials used are authentic texts. Carver (1983) also states that one of the characteristics of EAP courses is that authentic materials are used for instruction.

2.3 Criticisms of IR Studies

The field of IR has come under criticism from various perspectives. Some criticisms were leveled against the seminal work of Kaplan (1966) which heralds the field of IR studies. Other criticisms are directed against the concept of comparing texts from other cultural backgrounds with texts constructed in Anglo-American backgrounds and pointing out how the rhetorical styles of other cultural backgrounds differ from that of English rhetorical conventions. Some criticisms have also been leveled against recommendations of IR studies for ESL writing instruction.

To begin with the criticisms of IR studies, it is appropriate to begin with the criticisms of the seminal paper of Kaplan. Liebman (1992) points out that Kaplan's study is rather product-oriented instead of examining the writing process. The way in which Kaplan's conclusions, based on the nature of the paragraph of the ESL students and how he related this to their cultural background have been criticized as overgeneralisation without taking into consideration variations in the writing of a single individual in the same language (Connor, 2002). Moreover, Kaplan's work has also been criticized for comparing ESL students' writing with professional writing in Anglo-American English and ignoring differences in genre.

Criticism has also been leveled against researchers who point out the different writing styles exhibited by ESL students as a result of their cultural background, and say that these differences constitute a violation of Anglo-American English speakers' expectation and lack cohesion and focus. Kachru (1995) argues that this conclusion is based on the premise that there is a uniform norm of writing in English use in Anglo-American settings. She claims that there are differences in the rhetorical conventions of English use in the Inner Circle though she has not established what the differences are. She further points out that the conclusions drawn by IR studies that the writing styles of ESL writers lack focus means that IR researchers expect ESL writings to conform to the writing norms of English in the Inner Circle.

Kachru points out two negative consequences of a conclusion that ESL learners' writing violates the norms. The first one is that to regard the writing styles of ESL writers as the result of the negative influence of their LI rhetorical styles is to say that their L1 rhetorical styles are not important and that the LI rhetorical styles are detrimental to writing in English. The second point is that other languages have rhetorical styles that are different from that of English. The point that Kachru seeks to project is that it is wrong to use the norms established in Anglo-American English to judge ESL writing.

The setback of the above argument is that ESL writers writing in English using the rhetorical style of their various L1s will result in several texts constructed in English with different rhetorical conventions. Learning a language comes with learning the culture associated with that language. Once ESL writers have learnt to write in English, there is the need for them to learn how to construct their text in English using the rhetorical conventions of English and not that of their L1. It is fair to point out that this is how their texts constructed in English are to be considered truly English. If a text is constructed in English using the rhetorical style of a different language which is the case in the ESL writers' texts, as discovered by Kaplan and other IR researchers, such texts cannot be accepted as truly English as they fail to conform to the rhetorical conventions of English.

Kachru's arguments are from the point of view of World English that recognises that the global spread of English has led to the diverse use of English in ESL countries and for that reason holding on to the rhetorical conventions of Anglo-American English is a failure to validate the varieties of English used in the Outer Circles and the Expanding Circles. This argument makes sense to some extent. However, the use of any language without regards to standards or norms is bound to lead to a situation where there would be the possibility of lack of mutual intelligibility. It should also be noted that ESL writers are bilingual are mostly bilinguals. If their L1 has rhetorical conventions that they observe when writing in their L1, then it is fair that they should be expected to write their English texts to conform to the rhetorical conventions of English.

Some researchers have criticized IR studies for taking a simplistic stance towards the understanding of rhetorical conventions in English. The view point of IR studies is that for a text constructed in English, it is essential for that text to possess the features that a native speaker of English expects; referring to Anglo-American English speakers . This view has been criticized by some researchers, calling for the need for variations in rhetorical conventions within languages. These criticisms seek to encourage differences in rhetorical styles among the various varieties of English used all over the world. Zamel (1997) for example, calls for variability in rhetorical styles and argues against the view point of IR studies that an English text generally should be predicted to begin from the statement of the topic to the specific details. Spack (1997) pointed out that it is unfair to view ESL students as members of a cultural group and not as individuals. Leki (1997) is of the view that holding on to Anglo-American rhetorical conventions as the ideal for English, tends to make ESL rhetorical styles exotic to English and ignores the unique idiosyncratic differences that even first language writers bring to the act of writing.

A number of IR studies have pointed out how Japanese ESL writers' texts, Chinese writers' texts differ from Anglo-American English texts (Hinds, 1987; 1983). For example, Hinds (1987) has referred to Japanese texts as 'reader responsibility' (that the understanding of the text depends on the responsibility of the reader). With reference to the differences pointed out and how Japanese texts have been labeled as reader responsibility, some writers have criticized IR studies for drawing this conclusion. McCagg (1996) points out that Japanese readers do not require any additional cognitive effort to understand the Japanese writers, and the Japanese writers and readers share a common cultural and linguistic knowledge base. Donahwe (1998) also points out that since the Japanese texts are written for an audience in Japan it poses no problem to the Japanese readers.

Some criticisms have been raised against the field of IR study for comparing two texts that are not of the same genre. Kubota and Lehner (2004:13) point out that one 'problem with regard to comparing is the issue of genre.' The texts used by Hinds (1983, 1987, 1990) have been criticised by Donahwe (1998) and Kubota (1997) as texts which are not typical expository writings. This criticism has been acknowledged by IR researchers and steps have been taken to address the issue of genre and texts that are comparable. For example, Connor (2004) proposes *Tertium Comparationis* (discussed in the methodology section of the thesis) as a means of ensuring that IR studies compare texts from two different cultural backgrounds which are equivalent.

Though some IR studies have been conducted using published texts written by expert and experienced writers, one of the criticisms against the area of study is that most IR studies have analysed ESL students' texts to arrive at the cultural influence of ESL writers' L1. The criticism is that ESL texts are used for analysis by IR studies without taking into consideration the factors that contribute to ESL writing. There are studies that have found that there are several factors that contribute to ESL writing (Mohan & Lo, 1985; Cumming, 1989; Kubota, 1998; Sasaki & Hirose 1996). These findings reveal that the rhetorical styles of ESL writers cannot be attributed solely to their cultural background but rather due to multiple factors. Kubota and Lehner (2004) reject the IR idea of "cultural influence" of the rhetorical style of ESL writers and call for the study of multiple factors that contribute to the shaping of ESL texts. They point out that in learning ESL in this age of globalization; the learners come into contact with different forms of language and different rhetorical styles. For this reason, ESL learners bring to the writing of English multiple forms of rhetoric. As a result of this, ESL writers' writing performance and perspectives on writing may not be static as portrayed by IR studies.

The enforcement of English rhetorical conventions as pedagogical recommendations within IR studies has also been criticized (Ramanathan & Atkinson 1999 Kubota & Lehner 2004). Kubota and Lehner (2004:15) for example describe the IR pedagogical approach as an approach which 'legitimates the norm as a given, into which the marginalized are to be acculturated because they are seen as innately deficient because of their cultural and linguistic background.' Making reference to Freirean critical literacy (Freire & Macedo, 1987) and contrasting that approach with the IR approach as expressed by Kaplan (1966), Purves (1986) and Purves and Purves (1986), they argue that while the Frierean approach to literacy aims for varied types of empowerment, IR studies encourage the assimilation of ESL writers into the norms of Anglo-American rhetorical conventions. Kubota and Lehner (2004) call for what they referred as "critical perspectives" in IR studies.

Despite efforts by intercultural rhetoric studies to point out that the cultural differences observed in rhetoric strategies across cultures do not imply that one culture, especially native English rhetorical strategy is superior to others, there have been several criticisms against intercultural studies pointing out differences in rhetorical conventions across cultures. Intercultural rhetoric studies have maintained that cultural differences do not imply that the rhetorical strategies of the English culture are preferred to the rhetorical strategies of other languages. For example, Purves (1986) explains that the differences that are found between the rhetorical conventions of Anglo-American English writings mostly America and the rhetorical conventions of other languages do not indicate that the rhetorical conventions of Anglo-American English writing are superior to those of other cultures.

Though IR researchers have explained that Anglo-American rhetorical conventions are not superior to those of other cultures, Kubota and Lehner (2004:23) argue that intercultural rhetoric has ‘implicitly reinforced an image of the superiority of English rhetoric and a deterministic view of second language (particularly English) learners as individuals who inevitably transfer rhetorical patterns of their L1 in L2 writing.’ This argument is heartwarming because I see it as a reinforcement and explicit articulation of the findings of intercultural rhetoric studies. Guiding ESL learners to acquire the rhetorical conventions of English is not an enforcement of the superiority of Anglo-American rhetorical conventions. It is just appropriate to compose a text following the rhetorical conventions of the language in which the text is being composed. For example, it is not proper to compose a text in Arabic using the rhetorical conventions of English, just as it not proper to compose a text in English using the rhetorical conventions of Arabic.

Kubota and Lehner (2004:23) further argue that IR has ‘perpetuated static binaries between English and other languages and viewed ESL students as culturally lacking.’ On the basis of this argument they propose an alternative conceptual foundation for IR which they called ‘critical contrastive rhetoric’ that will ‘create new space for divergent ways of understanding writers and text in cross- cultural contexts.’ Though their argument and proposition are laudable to help expand research in IR studies, existing studies do not claim that, ESL students who obviously come from cultural backgrounds that are different from English are culturally lacking. On the contrary, IR studies have made significant contributions to ESL writing pedagogy and to the field of English for Academic Purposes (EAP).

The rhetorical foundation of IR studies has also been criticised by some researchers. Whorfian linguistic relativity, according to Kaplan, is the primary theory that influenced IR as an area of study. Intercultural rhetoric studies are said to be inconsistent with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity. The critics argue that linguistic relativity is critical of Anglo-American English and other European languages and cultures because of how the structure of English and other European languages shape thought of Anglo-American speakers of English and make them unable to understand other cultures while IR studies endorse the Anglo-American English rhetorical patterns and thought (Schultz, 1990; Kowal, 1998; Kubota & Lehner, 2004).

In 2002, Connor reviewed the criticisms against IR studies on how differences in the rhetorical structure of ESL writers are attributed to cultural differences by IR studies. Connor referred to three authors in the 1997 edition of *TESOL Quarterly* who criticized IR studies for attributing rhetoric differences to culture. She pointed out that two of the authors, Spack (1997) and Zamel (1997), call for a change in the view of culture as a homogenous group of people to one that makes room for heterogeneity. As a response to this criticism, Connor indicated that Atkinson (1999) answered the question of culture by presenting the traditional view of culture as homogenous and the alternative views of culture as encompassing various entities. The point of view of culture that IR researchers have ascribes to is the homogenous point of view.

2.4 Genre and Professional Studies in IR

Intercultural Rhetoric Studies were initially concerned with ESL writing in the form of essays, assignment paper and term papers written by ESL students. The texts used for IR analysis now include ESL writings beyond the classroom such as job application letters, research articles, business letters, journalistic reportage and other pieces of writing in the health sciences. Connor (2004) indicates that the scope of ESL writing products used in IR studies has expanded beyond students' essays to the analysis of pieces of writings in professional circles.

It should also be noted that the use of other genres in IR studies is also due to the fact that the teaching of writing in ESL settings has expanded beyond the teaching of essay writing to the teaching of other genres in the classroom. At universities and other tertiary institutions in ESL settings like Ghana, students are being trained in various professions as journalists, public relation officers, nurses, marketing officers, secretaries, accountants and professionals in many other fields. This training of students has made it necessary for professional genres to be taught in these institutions. This has also contributed to the ESL writings considered for IR studies now including professional genres.

John Swales' (1990) genre analysis theory has also contributed to the expansion of the field of IR study to include professional genres. As the domain of writing in ESL has expanded from the teaching of how to write essays to the teaching of other genres in academic and professional contexts, genre analysis has provided IR researchers with methods of analysis that supplement the discourse analytical methods previously used by IR studies (Connor & Traversa, 2014). Genre analysis has enabled IR researchers to compare the same genre across different cultures. This has disarmed the critics who have raised criticisms that IR studies were comparing texts from different genres and has led to IR researchers exploring the analysis of texts from different genres across cultures.

A number of IR studies have been conducted on professional genres. These studies have used rhetorical moves analysis and other linguistic analysis to identify the cultural differences and similarities in specific genres. Some of the genres that have been studied across different cultures include research articles, business letters, requests, sales letters, grant proposals, job application letters, letters of recommendation, web pages, newspaper commentaries and newspaper editorials.

A number of IR studies have analysed research articles (Ventola & Mauranen, 1991; Duszak, 1994; Golebiowski, 1998; Moreno, 1998; Bielski & Bielski, 2008; Mur Duenas, 2008; PabonBerbesi & Dominguez, 2008; Vladimirou, 2008; Tarrayo, 2011). Business letters have also been studied across cultures (cf. Jenkins & Hinds 1987; Yli-Jokipii, 1996; Kong, 1998). The grant proposal is a genre that some IR studies have analysed. Examples of such studies include Connor and Mauranen (1999) and Feng (2008). Job application letters have also been analysed by some IR studies. Some studies that have analysed job application letters are Connor, Davis and De Rycker (1995) and Upton and Connor (2001). Other genres that have been studied using IR approach are letters of recommendation. Examples are Precht (1998; 2000). Newspaper commentaries have also been studied by Bhatia (1993) and Wang (2007; 2008).

2.4.1 IR Studies on Newspaper Editorials

The use of professional genres in IR studies as specific genres has led to the use of newspaper editorials in IR studies across cultures. The analysis of newspaper editorials has been pointed out as a useful source relevant to ESL writing pedagogy. Newspaper editorials are powerful pieces of persuasive writing. Connor (1996: 144) writes:

> Research on editorials cross – culturally is significant even if ESL students do not become editorial writers for, in most cases, they are readers of editorials. Good editorials are considered some of the best examples of persuasive writing in all countries; they set standards for written persuasion. At the present time, little is known cross-culturally about the genre.

Genre analysis is an area of research that has been conducted using newspaper editorials. Genre analytical study was proposed as a theory by John Swales in his 1990 publications on writing in the academic circles. The genre approach has been used to analyse research articles and other genres. Newspaper editorials have also been analysed using genre analytical approach. In the analysis of general rhetorical patterns that exist in specific genres, it is not only Swales' analytical model that has been used to investigate the existence of general prototypical patterns in texts. Various models have been used to analyse their rhetorical patterns in newspaper editorials. From the IR studies that have been conducted on newspaper editorials to find out their general rhetorical patterns across cultures, newspaper editorials generally follow similar rhetorical patterns across cultures but there are interesting differences in how the subgenres are distributed between editorials that are published in Anglo-American English settings and those published in ESL settings (Giannoni, 2006).

As mentioned in section 1.9.1 in the analysis of the general rhetorical structure of newspaper editorials, there are a number of models or frameworks that have been proposed for the analysis of their general prototypical rhetorical pattern. There is Systemic Functional Analysis which is used to analyse the generic structural integrity of newspaper editorials. Systemic Functional Analysis which lays out the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) of newspaper editorials. It was proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1989). It spells out certain characteristics such as argumentation and counter argumentation that newspaper editorials possess which form the bases for the analysis of newspaper editorials. Apart from the Systemic Functional Analysis, Hoey (1983) proposed that newspaper editorials follow a problem-solution structure which is also an analytical framework that is used to analyse the general rhetorical structure of newspaper editorials. There is also Van Dijk's (1993) model of newspaper editorials which proposes that newspaper editorials have three moves (segments). These three moves are the introduction of an issue, the intermediate section which deals with the discussion of the issue and the concluding section which proposes a solution to the issue. McCarthy's (1991) model of newspaper editorials proposes that editorials follow a claim-counterclaim pattern. In addition, Bolivar's (1994) model of newspaper editorials proposed an analysis called 'Triad'. This model consists of three elements, the Lead, Follow and Valuate.

Using the Systemic Functional Analysis framework, Ansary and Babaii (2005) examined the editorials of the *Washington Times* and identified four obligatory structural elements and three optional elements in the editorials of this English newspaper which is an English newspaper. In their study, Ansary and Babaii used the *Washington Times* as a newspaper that represents editorials written in an Anglo-American setting. They indicated that another study could be conducted to (dis)establish whether the characteristics they found in Anglo-American newspaper editorials are maintained in newspaper editorials in other cultures or in ESL varieties of English across other cultures. Their study encourages more research to be conducted on newspaper editorials in ESL settings to find out the extent to which they conform or differ from the characteristics found in Anglo-American English newspaper editorials.

Probably, as a response to the remarks of Ansary and Babaii's (2005) call for other studies on editorials of newspapers in other cultures and ESL settings, Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) conducted a study on the editorials of business newspapers in English, Swedish and Finnish. They sought to find out if there was a typical rhetorical structure for the editorials, irrespective of national and cultural features. They concluded that the business newspaper editorials across the three cultures followed a common rhetorical structure.

Giannoni (2006) investigated how cross-cultural variations may "blur" the rhetorical structure of newspaper editorials written by EFL Spanish writers. The study concluded that there is a common generic framework across the editorials written by Spanish writers and Anglo-American English writers. However, concerning the subgenres (the focus or the functions that the editorials seek to perfom), the study concluded that the way the subgenres in the Spanish editorials differ greatly from how they occur in newspaper editorials written by Anglo-American writers. Yen and Chen (2008) investigated the differences and similarities in the rhetorical features of English business newspaper editorials and Chinese business newspaper editorials. In conclusion, they pointed out that the result show that editorials in both Chinese and English business newspapers have a common rhetorical structure but differ in the way they present their news. These studies therefore confirm that newspaper editorials tend to display similar rhetorical structures but differ in the way the subgenres are presented.

There are other studies that report how newspapers across cultures show similar organizational structure but differ in other features. For example, Fartousi and Dumanig (2012) attempt to identify the rhetorical structure of English editorials published in a Malaysian newspaper titled 'The New Strait Times'. The findings of their study show that the newspaper editorials have obligatory moves as well as optional moves which confirm the findings of Ansary and Babaii (2005). Sadeghi (2015) analyses the schematic structure of Persian and English newspapers and report significant differences and similarities between the editorials of the two newspapers. The similarities between the newspapers from the two cultures point to how the editorials are organised while the differences manifest in the way they present their news.

Barrios (2013) examines the organizational structures of the editorials of Philipine local newspapers and concludes that the editorials follow Hoey's (1983) problem-solution structure of newspaper editorials as well as McCarthy's (1991) claim-counter claim pattern. Sabzevaril and Sadeghi (2013) studied news reports written by American and Iranian writers and concluded that their findings confirm previous findings that establish that irrespective of the sociocultural context, specific genres follow the same rhetorical pattern.

The studies reviewed so far, show that newspaper editorials across cultures are similar in the way they are organised. They all generally start by identifying an issue and progress to discuss the issue and offer some recommendations. Irrespective of the analytical framework used, newspapers across cultures display similar rhetorical structure. However, the studies point out that despite the similarities in the organizational structure of newspaper editorials, newspaper editorials across cultures vary tremendously in the way they report the news. The differences therefore exist in the subgenres.

2.4.2 Sub-genre Analysis of Newspaper Editorials

Several studies that have used a genre analytic approach in analysing newspaper editorials have concluded that newspapers across cultures tend to follow a similar generic or rhetorical organisation. What has been found to vary greatly across different cultures is the strategies that writers from different cultural backgrounds use to realise the rhetorical moves. Subgenre analysis goes beyond dividing the entire text into segments to examine the text in terms of the functions it performs and how it is constructed to convey its message. Some of the subgenre analyses conducted on newspaper editorials are micro genre and thematic analyses.

Variations have been found in the micro structure of news reported in different cultures. Wang (2007) conducted a study on the newspaper commentaries in Chinese and Australian newspapers. The study reveals that argumentative exposition (to persuade that something is the case) does not occur in Chinese newspaper commentaries while it happens to be the most frequent subgenre in the Australian newspapers. On the other hand, explanatory exposition (to explain something) does not occur in the Australian texts but happens to be the subgenre that is frequent in the Chinese text. The differences in the micro-genre of the texts from the two settings were attributed to differences in the linguistic and cultural perspectives of the writers from the two different settings.

Another subgenre analysis conducted on newspapers is the thematic development or progression of information in newspaper editorials. The understanding of a text depends on the topic that forms the focus of the text and what is said about the topic in the text. To enable linguists to analyse the meaning that is built into a text, a model for the analysis of how the theme in a text is developed was formulated by Halliday and Hasan (1994). A search of the literature on studies that have been conducted on thematic analysis of text shows that thematic analysis has not been conducted on newspaper editorials. There is however a number of studies conducted on thematic analysis of text from other genres like research articles. A study of thematic progression that is close to newspaper editorials is a study conducted on newspaper reports. An example of thematic analysis conducted on newspapers is a study conducted by Shardama and Panamah (2013) in which the thematic progressions of selected Nigerian newspapers were analysed. The study reveals that most of the clauses consisted of multiple themes. Their analysis reveals that apart from the topical theme, there were added themes.

Other subgenre analyses conducted on newspapers are studies on the use of rhetorical devices and the use of politeness. Farrokhi and Nazemi (2015) conducted a rhetorical analysis of editorials from the *New York Times* and *The Australian* to investigate their use of hyperbole, metaphor and metonymy. The results show that both newspapers use these rhetorical devices to formulate their opinion and to enhance persuasiveness of their composition. They concluded that editorials written in the two cultures have similar ways of conveying their message despite the differences in their socio-cultural background. This shows another instance of similarity in the way newspaper editorials are written across cultures. However, one should not be too quick to generalize this finding to other cultures. Sadeghat, Biria and Amirabadi (2015) investigated hedging in Persian and English editorial columns. Hedging is a means of showing politeness. In their study, they compared the use of hedges in three Persian news editorials with the editorials of the *New York Times*. Their study reports that the *New York Times* and for that matter the English editorial use more hedges than the Persian newspapers.

Newspaper editorials may look very similar in terms of their general organizational structure. They may all follow a similar pattern of introducing an issue and then progress by discussing the issues in detail and offering a conclusion, this may be the same for newspaper editorials across cultures. However, newspaper editorials vary greatly in their subgenres.

2.5 Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that studies the way issues such as social power, abuse, inequality, dominance and injustice are projected in text and talk in social and political contexts. CDA adopts an explicit stance to expose how these issues are portrayed in text and to help resist the enactment of such inequalities. CDA is a tool of analysing text that is based on the assumption that language is not merely used as a means of communication but manipulated to portray ideologies. The major proponents of CDA are Faiclough (1992, 1995), Van Djik (1988, 1995, 1998, 2001) and Wodak (1999, 2006).

Sheyholislami (2001) traces the evolution of CDA to the development of critical linguistics in the 1970s. Critical linguistics is based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which proposes that language performs three main functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. CDA is therefore an extension of Hallidays proposition that language is used to perform a social act. CDA's basic assumption is that there is a strong link between linguistic structure and social structure or rather social structure is reflected in linguistic structure.

Intercultural rhetoric analysis and CDA are related in a number of senses. There is a relationship between IR and CDA in the sense that while IR investigates how cultural thought patterns are reflected in text, CDA investigates how social structure is reflected in text. Both fields of research analyse text to expose how human thought is reflected in the construction of text but IR research is broader than CDA. Intercultural rhetoric compares texts from two different cultural backgrounds while CDA analyses text without necessarily comparing texts. However, in CDA, two texts can be compared from two different cultural backgrounds. This kind of CDA analysis is intercultural rhetoric critical discourse analysis of text (Sheyholislami, 2001).

CDA has been used extensively to analyse news and media texts to reveal how media and political discourse reflect ideological stance and dominance. Youssefi, Kanani and Shojaei (2013) conducted a CDA analysis of how Western newspapers report the sanction imposed on Iran and point out that the report of the Western newspapers show ideologically biased discursive patterns in their effort to legitimize an international move against Iran. Zhang (2014) analysed political news report by the *New York Times* on the war in Iraq. It was found that the paper reported the war in Iraq in the interest of their country revealing ideological bias.

CDA has also been used to compare media reportage of the same event by different newspapers operating in the same sociocultural environment or country. These kinds of studies usually show that though the newspapers studied report the same event, their reportages differ in the way they construct meaning, revealing their ideological position on the event being reported. Ahmadi (2013) used CDA to determine how ideology is expressed in the newspaper editorials of four English newspapers in Iran which covered the ninth presidential election in this country. It was found that the newspapers covered the election in a manner that reflected their ideological position depending on their party affiliation, their relationship with government and the candidate they supported. Mahfouz (2013) compared how two newspapers framed news about the police before the January 25th Revolution that rocked Egypt in 2011. The analysis revealed a wide gap in ideological stance and presentation between the two newspapers. Mahmood, Javed and Mahmood (2011) studied the representation of the same news item by analysing the headlines of 37 different newspapers and observed that ideology plays a role in the framing of the newspaper headlines. Fornkwa (2015) analysed five newspaper articles in Cameroon on their report on the 2015 budget of Cameroon. It was observed that the framing of the headlines of the three of the five articles portrayed the budget as positive while two of the articles portrayed the budget as negative.

CDA is also used to compare media discourse from two different settings or sociocultural environments. These CDA studies are intercultural studies in that they compare discourse from two different sociocultural backgrounds to determinethe differences and similarities between the way they portray social structure. Wadi and Ahmed (2015) conducted a CDA of how the same news item is portrayed by two news sources; *Al Jazeera Online* and the *International Herald*, *Tribune Newspaper* to project different perspectives to the reader. This shows that news does not portray the world but shapes it by the way the news is reported. It is obvious that news is reported in a way that projects the ideological stance of the writer. Markkula (2014) analysed news reports on terrorism by the *Daily Telegraph* and *The New York Times* and found differences in the language they used to report the news. The differences were attributed to differences in the cultural background of the two newspapers. Zohre and Reza (2015) compared how the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Tehran Times* represent the outcomes of the negotiation of a nuclear programme of Iran and discovered that the *Los Angeles Times* portrays Iran's nuclear programme as deceitful and dishonest while the *Tehran Times* depicts the programme as honest.

2.6 Summary

This chapter traced IR research from its emergence to its current application and focus. The literature shows that IR research has been conducted to uncover the differences in rhetorical style between Anglo-American English and other cultural backgrounds, using ESL texts. The literature also shows that IR research has been applied to the teaching of ESL writing; especially to the teaching of English for Specific Purposes. Intercultural rhetoric research and its application to ESL writing pedagogy has been criticized. The focus of the arguments raised against IR research and its application to teaching is on IR researchers' adherence to Anglo-American English rhetoric as the norm for ESL writing. The chapter also reviewed IR research on professional genres across cultures, showing the various ways in which texts differ across cultures. The chapter also reviews IR research on newspaper editorials. The review of IR research on newspaper editorials revealed that newspaper editorials vary in the ways they engage their audience across cultures. The chapter ended with a review of CDA as a kind of text analysis that investigates how social structure is reflected in text.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

As pointed out in chapter one, IR research is based on three theories: (1) the contrastive analysis hypothesis, (2) the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and linguistic relativism, and (3) rhetoric. These three areas are discussed in this chapter as the theories that underpin this study. Two of these areas, contrastive analysis and linguistic relativism, are known as hypotheses. Rhetoric is a field of study that dates back to ancient Greek practices and is known in law, philosophy, politics and composition studies. The aspect of rhetoric that informs IR studies, and this study, is the aspect of rhetoric practised in composition studies. This chapter elaborates the three theories, traces how these theories have evolved and indicates their relevance to the field of IR, their relevance to the teaching of ESL writing and their relevance to the current study.

3.1 Contrastive Analysis

No one learns a second language from scratch. Once a person has learnt how to speak and use one language, when that person has to learn a second language, the L1 serves as the base on which the L2 is learnt. This can facilitate the learning of the L2 or hinder the learning of the L2 as pointed out in section 1.7.1 (White, 2003). This is what contrastive analysis is about; the extent to which the L1 can facilitate or hinder the learning of the L2. It should be noted that there is also an alternative view that L1 does not seem to play any significant role in L2 acquisition. In other words, there is no transfer from the L1 (Clahsen &Mysken, 1996).

Contrastive Analysis (CA) is the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences (Johansson, 2008). Comparing the structure of two languages to establish the differences and similarities in their structure is known as Contrastive Analysis. Such a comparison is carried out on assumption that the similarities are likely to facilitate the learning of a second language while the differences are likely to pose difficulties to the learner. This means that the differences identified and speculated to pose difficulties can be dealt with in a way to eliminate the difficulties that they are likely to pose to the learner (Johansson, 2008).

Lado (1957) points out that the plan of his book *Linguistics across cultures* is based on the premise that it is possible to predict and describe the structures that will pose difficulty to the learner by carrying out a systematic comparison of the language to be learnt with the first language of the learner. The principle of learning a second language rests on the basis that the difficulties of the learner are caused by transfer from the first language to the second language. The focus of CA therefore is to carry out a systematic comparison of the first and the target language in order to lessen the difficulties that the learner is likely to face.

The aim of Contrastive Analysis is to identify linguistic difficulties so that linguists would be able to predict the challenges that a second language learner is likely to encounter in the learning of the second language. According to Johansson (2008), there were numerous CA studies in America and Europe during the 50s and the 60s. Rustipa (2011) also points out that that Contrastive Analysis was used by teachers and researchers in the field of teaching a second language in the 1960s to explain why learners find it difficult to acquire certain features of their target language. The application of CA in second language instruction follows the simple steps of comparing the LI of the learner to the target language that the learner is going to learn. After identifying the differences and the similarities between the structures of the two languages, the differences are predicted to be the points of difficulty (Whitman, 1970). The points of difficulty are then used to prepare teaching and learning materials that can be used to instruct the learner to overcome the difficulties. The teaching and learning materials prepared therefore take into considerations the perceived difficulties so that they can be dealt with in a manner that is likely to let the learner overcome the difficulties.

The reason why IR research is based on CA is that CA compares the L1 with the target language to find out the differences and similarities in order to determine the instances that the learner is likely to find the learning of the target language easy or difficult. Intercultural rhetoric research also compares the writing of the learner with the writing of the target language to find out the differences and similarities between the two texts in order to determine why the learner's writing is different from the target language text. Both line of research are aimed at guiding the learner to master the target language.

3.1.2 Disenchantment with CA

Contrastive Analysis enjoyed its hay days in the 50s and 60s. From the later part of the 1960s and in the 70s, CA suffered severe setbacks. The implementation of every programme goes through the process of evaluation. The use of CA as the approach to the teaching of a second language went through evaluation from the various stakeholders and there were some problems that led to CA becoming unpopular. There were several reasons that accounted for this.

One of the reasons that accounted for CA becoming unpopular was the rise of the American linguist Noam Chomsky and his criticism of behaviourism. Chomky's response to B.F Skinner's Verbal Behaviour as an explanation of how language is acquired discredited behaviourism and structuralism which are the foundations of CA. Chomsky argued that the behaviourists' explanation that language is learnt through imitation was not wholly correct; and that language acquisition goes beyond imitation and involves mental processes that cannot be observed. Another reason for CA becoming unpopular was due to the close link that CA had with structural linguistics. Since structural linguistics was being overturned by Chomsky's transformational grammar theory, CA also went down. Closely related to the fall of structural linguistics is the fall of behaviourism as the two were linked. Apart from Chomsky's criticism of behaviourism, behaviourism was also being toppled by the cognitive psychologists in the field of psychology.

Another cause of the setbacks in CA is that scholars in the field of Applied Linguistics offered various criticisms against the use of CA in second language teaching. Nemser (1974) observes that CA was not suitable for classroom instruction. Johansson (2008:10-11) enumerates some of the arguments against CA as some of the claims made by contrastive linguists were 'exaggerated claims'; not all the learning problems could be predicted and there was 'complicated relationship between difference and difficulty.'

Some of the language forms that were predicted to be difficulties that the learners would face did not happen to be difficulties (Nickel 1971). It became evident that CA could not be solely relied upon for the success of teaching a second language. It is one thing predicting that a particular language form will pose a difficulty to the learner and another thing how the learner will process that language form. A particular language structure perceived to be difficult by the linguist may be easily processed by the learner without any difficulty.

The various issues that researchers in CA and applied linguists had with the application of CA in second language teaching led to arguments over the value of CA. This finally led to two different versions of CA.

3.1.3 Types of CA

Two versions of CA emerged as a result of the challenges that came with the application of CA as an approach to the teaching of a second language. The two versions that emerged were the Strong Version of CA, which is predictive, and the Weak Version, which is explanatory.

3.1.3.1 The Strong Version of CA

The Strong Version of CA is the version that claims to predict the errors of learners. This version of CA is known as CA *apriori*. In the views of proponents of this version of CA, the errors that the learners are likely to make in the target language can be predicted through the analysis of the learner's LI and the target language.

The Strong version of CA is based on certain assumptions. According to Byung-gon (1992:136), the strong version of CA makes the following claims. (1) The main obstacle to second language learning is the interference of the learner's native language system. (2) The greater the difference between native language and target language, the greater the difficulty will be. (3) A systematic and scientific analysis of the two language systems can help predict the difficulties. (4) The result of contrastive analysis can be used as a reliable source in the preparation of teaching materials, the planning of the course and the improvement of classroom techniques.

The strong version of CA according to Wardhaugh (1970) could be traced back to several statements made by some proponents of CA. He made reference to certain statements in the preface of Lado's *Linguistics across cultures* (1957) which states:

> The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty,

> by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student. (p. vii)

Another statement which articulates the strong version of CA is the statement by Benathy, Trager and Waddle (1966) which states that:

> the change that has to take place in the language behavior of a foreign language student can be equated with the differences between the structure of the student's native language and culture and that of the target language and culture. The task of the linguist, the cultural anthropologist, and the sociologist is to identify these differences. The task of the writer of a foreign language teaching programme is to develop materials which will be based on a statement of these differences; the task of the foreign language teacher is to be aware of these differences and to be prepared to teach them; the task of the student is to learn them. (p. 13)

Wardhaugh (1970) states strongly that an evaluation of the strong version of CA suggests that it makes demands on linguistic theory, and therefore, on linguists, that they are in no position to meet. It is not an easy task for linguists to systematically compare two languages and predict all instances of differences that are likely to pose problems to the learner of a second language. Though this is a difficult task, it was exactly what the proponents of the strong version of CA proposed and even went ahead to list the levels of difficulty predicted.

3.1.3.1.2 Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH)

The Strong Version of CA led to the formulation of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) from CA. The major concern of CAH is to compare the structure of LI and L2 so that they can identify the similarities and differences between the structures of the two languages. The similarities identified are interpreted as instances where there would be positive transfer from the L1 to the L2. In this case it means that it would be easy for the L2 learner to acquire the structures of the L2. The similarities in the structures of the L1 and L2 are indications that the learner is not likely to commit errors when learning the structures in the L2 that are similar to the structures in the L1. This was the original position of the proponents of CA.

On the other hand, the differences between the structure of the L1 and L2 are predicted as instances where the learner is likely to have difficulties in learning the second language, and therefore likely to commit errors. The errors likely to be committed by the learner are therefore predicted: the greater the difference, the higher the probability of the learner committing an error. On the basis of this notion, the proponents of CAH developed a model known as the Hierarchy of Difficulty.

3.1.3.2 The Weak Version of CA

The Weak Version of CA does not make claims to predict the errors that are likely to occur in the target language of a learner. This version of CA rather tries to explain why errors in the language occur. This version of CA is known as the *aposteriori* version of CA. For the weak version of CA, the focus is not on the ability to predict the errors that are likely to occur in the target language. This version of CA only seeks to offer explanations for the errors that occur in learning a second language by making reference to the analysis of the learner's first language.

According to Wardhaugh (1970) the weak version of CA requires that the linguists use their knowledge of the language system of a learner's first language and the target language to account for observed difficulties in second language learning. For the weak version, the evidence of contrast begins with the errors that learners make. On the basis of the errors made by learners learning a second language, the errors could be traced to their first language in order to explain the instances of transfer from the LI to the second language.

The weak version of CA has proven to be helpful and useful in the teaching and learning of a second language. Wardhaugh (1970) points out that the weak version will continue to be useful to the teaching and learning of second language as linguistic theory develops. Intercultural rhetoric is built on this version of CA in the sense that the comparison of the learner's text with that of the target text is carried out to enable IR researchers explain why the learner's text vary from the target text by making reference to the cultural background of the learner.

3.1.4 From CA to Error Analysis (EA)

The weak version of CA developed into Error Analysis (EA). The weak version of CA makes no claim to predict error but rather observe the problems that learners face in learning a second language by carrying out a systematic analysis of learner's errors. The analysis of the errors then reveals the difficulties of the learners. For EA, instead of predicting what learners will do when learning a second language, the emphasis is on the observation of the actual things that the learners are doing as they attempt to learn a second language (Schachter, 1975). For EA, the knowledge that is acquired from the analysis of the errors of learners is then used to help improve the teaching and learning of a second language. In EA, Contrastive Analysis is used to help explain the errors that learners make.

Instead of a systematic analysis of L1and L2 to predict errors, the L2 is introduced to the learners and in the process of learning, the errors that are made are taken note of and then analysed by contrasting the L1 and the L2 systems. Error Analysis therefore involves the identification of errors that learners make as the first step. This involves the collection of samples of learner's use of the second language in order to tabulate the errors.

The identification of errors is based on learner's use of the language. What happens when the learner speaks or writes the target language? In the use of language, Noam Chomsky has made a clear distinction between what the speaker knows about the language (competence) and what the speaker actually speaks (performance).On the basis of this distinction that is well known, it means that the researcher who is carrying out error analysis has to be able to determine whether the speaker possesses the competence or lacks the competence to perform a particular speech act.

Errors are the use of the target language in ways that deviate from how the target language is used. This extension of CA is still focused on identifying how the learner uses the target language in ways that differ from how the target language is used. This line of enquiry is what IR research is built upon; to find out how the learner's writing is different from that of the target user so the the difference could be explained and possibly addressed.

3.1.5 Learner Language (Inter-language)

Learning a second language is a gradual process full of trial and error. The learner listens carefully and gets a fair idea about the system of the new language and slowly begins to utter words, phrases and sentences in the L2. The initial expressions of the learner in the L2 are not perfect. Through error analysis, it is now widely established that the learner's use of the target language learning, is a kind of a new language system that is peculiar to the learner. This language system of the learner undergoes improvement as the learner continues to be exposed to new input in the target language. The language system of the learner, during the process of learning the L2, is referred to as learner language or interlanguage.

Interlanguage has three characteristics; it is permeable, dynamic and systematic. These characteristics are the universal properties of interlanguage even though learners differ in their learning style (Ellis, 1989; Song, 2012). The permeability of interlanguage means that the structures of interlanguage are easily changed when the learner receives new information about the target language. Interlanguage is permeable because the rules that govern the learner's interlanguage at any stage are not static. They lend themselves to continuous amendment. Interlanguage is also said to be dynamic because it is constantly changing. Change in the structure occurs when new information is introduced to the learner. The learner's existing language system is revised and adjusted to the new information received. Though interlanguage is permeable and dynamic, it is systematic. It is systematic because it is rule governed. The learner does not use the structure arbitrarily. The use of the structure in a learner's interlanguage is highly predictable (Ellis, 1989).

In addition to the systematicity of interlanguage, another striking feature about interlanguage is its variability. Variability of interlanguage is the phenomenor where a learner uses two or more linguistic forms to express something that has only one realization in the target language. It is found that the expression of a particular form is realised differently by the same learner. A well-known study of interlanguage variability is reported by Ellis (1985) about a Portuguese-speaking boy who was learning English and consistently varied the use of *not* and *don't*. Gass and Selinker (2008) point out that variability in interlanguage is due to certain factors. Ellis (1992) puts interlanguage variability into two categories; systematic variability and non-systematic variability. These two categories explain the factors responsible for interlanguage variability.

Systematic variability is classified into three types; situational variability, contextual variability and psycholinguistic variability. Situational variability refers to the instances where the learner uses different forms depending on the social context at the time of performance. If the learner is sensitive to the social context, different forms are likely to be used for the different social contexts. Sociocultural factors determine the linguistic form that the learner chooses at a particular time. The choice of a particular form is dependent on the sociocultural factor that seems pressing to the learner (Preston, 2000; 2002). Linguistic variability refers to differences in the choice of forms as a result of the sounds that occur in the environment of the linguistic forms being used by the leaner. Learners exhibit variation in their utterance due to linguistic factors such as the sounds that occur in the utterance, the position of the words in the utterance and the order in which the words are put together in the utterance. Linguistic variability is therefore due to phonology, morphology and syntax. Psychological variability refers to the role played by factors such as time pressure and attention influence on the learner. Adequate time to organise the information may result in the choice of a linguistic form that is likely to be the correct form while lack of time may result in the choice that may be wrong. Non-systematic variability is of two types; these are performance variability and free variability. Performance variability refers to instances such as slips of tongue and false starts. Performance variability may be due to the emotional state of the learner. Free variability occurs due to the existence of two or more competing rules within the learner's linguistic repertoire (Ellis, 1992).

The notion of interlanguage is useful to second language instructors in various ways. Frith (1977) reviews interlanguage hypothesis and suggests practical steps that the teacher of a second language can take to address the challenges of learners. He suggest that to help learners correct their wrong interlanguage hypothesis, teachers should direct their instruction towards focusing on the message in a communicative interaction rather than a focus on form. Henderson, (1985) affirms that the inerlanguage hypothesis is useful to second language researchers and teachers to address the errors of second language learners. Khansir (2012) evaluates interlanguage together with error analysis and contrastive analysis and points out that they help to deal with the complexities involved in learning a second language. He emphasises that the integration of these three notions could help improve on the teaching of a second language in terms of methodology, syllabus design and teaching techniques. Intercultural rhetoric research is based on CA and its extended forms of error analysis and interlanguage hypothesis in how the research process is conducted; by comparing the learner’s language to the target language to identify the differences and similarities between them so that the differences could be dealt with.

3.2 The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Linguistics Relativity)

In 1929, Edward Sapir proposed that language is not only the means of solving problems of communication but really serves as the means by which human beings adjust to reality. Sapir’s proposition was that the ‘real world’ is perceived according to the language habits of the group an individual belongs to. How an individual perceives, interprets and expresses reality is dependent on the language habits of that individual. Human beings are therefore products of the language that serves as the medium of expression in the society in which they live. Social reality is therefore determined by the language of a group of people. Therefore, Edward Sapir’s proposition means that each language group therefore has its own social reality.

Since social reality differs from one language group to another language group, it also means that each language group possesses a social reality that is different from that of another language group. The point is that no two languages are similar enough to be regarded as possessing the same social reality. This means that the social worlds in which different language groups live are different worlds. This also means that different societies are not actually living in the same world with different labels but are actually living in separate worlds. The language habits of the community in which a person lives largely determines how that person interprets what the person experiences (Whorf, 1940).

This idea projected by Sapir was extended in the 1930s and 40s by Sapir’s student Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf (1940) proposed that human beings understand nature the way their native languages had laid down systems. Whorf’s idea which is an expansion of the ideas of Sapir is that the world presents itself to us as an array of mist that we have to organise by the power of our minds. We therefore tend to organise the world by means of the linguistic systems present in our minds. We tend to put nature into meaningful chunks in accordance with how our speech communities have determined to classify things and assign meaning to them. This classification and assignment of meaning to the things that we observe is largely based on the patterns of the language that we speak.

From Whorf's point of view, our native languages serve the means by which we understand and interpret the world because we are parties to the way the linguistic system of our native languages are organised. We are parties in the sense that we agree to the linguistic system of our native languages. According to Whorf, this agreement is an implicit one not stated but the terms of the agreement are obligatory. The terms are obligatory in the sense that when we talk, we ascribe to the way our linguistic system is organised which we are a party to and for that matter agree to its dictates (Whorf, 1940).

The views of Sapir, extended by Whorf resulted in two principles. The first principle is that our thinking or our thought is determined by language. This is known as linguistic determinism. The second principle is that people from different language groups perceive the world differently and think about the world differently. This principle is referred to as linguistic relativity. The first principle of linguistic determinism is regarded as the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and the second principle of linguistic relativity is regarded as the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. These are the two interpretations derived from Whorf's statements.

These two views are both true to a large extent and point to the fact that the first language of a person becomes the language in which one forms his thought patterns. Since IR is theoretically rooted in the moderate or weak version of the Whorfian hypothesis, the extreme version is treated briefly but the weak version is considered in some details

3.2.1 Linguistic Determinism

Linguistic determinism became popular in the 1930s. This view that language determines our world view and thought is inferred from the statement of Whorf. Whorf's statement in Carrol 1956, pp. 213) is stated below:

> We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face ; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organised by our minds — and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. (Carroll, 1956, pp.213).

According to Hussein (2012), though Whorf's point of view in the quotation above is deterministic, Whorf never claimed that language absolutely determines the world view of the people who speak the language. The deterministic view point is implied from the stand point stated by Whorf in the quotation provided above. In fact the quotation is widely cited to make the point that Whorf actually proposed that language determines the world view of its speakers. What Whorf actually claimed in Carroll, (1956) is stated below:

> This fact [the close relationship between language and its speakers, world-view] is very significant for modern science, for it means that no individual is free to describe nature with absolute impartiality but is constrained to certain modes of interpretation even while he thinks himself most free. The person most nearly free in such respects would be a linguist familiar with very many widely different linguistic systems. As yet no linguist is in such position. We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated (Carroll, 1956, p. 214).

It is clear from the quotation that what Whorf actually claimed was that the language that a person speaks influences his/her world view. This view, as indicated by Whorf himself, is linguistic relativity. As Whorf indicates 'we are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity' which simply proposes that we view the universe differently because of the differences in our linguistic backgrounds, specifically, our L1.

3.2.2 Linguistic Relativity

The central argument in linguistic relativity is that, all languages are confronted with certain things that are universal and need to be put into categories. There are universal issues such as colours, actions, physical objects, time, space, and quantity to deal with in every language. Troyer (1994:166) points out that 'it was Whorf who set out to prove that these functions create special modes or categories of thought and it is his work that helped to establish partial validity for the hypothesis that bears his and his teacher's name.' Whorf's proposition of linguistic relativity has helped linguists and non-linguists alike to look beyond differences in the structure of languages to see how the difference in the structure is related to perception and thought and how these influence how we act or behave.

Whorf illustrated how linguistic categorization influences our perception and behaviour. Indeed it is Whorf's observation of how linguistic categorizations influence our perception and behaviour that drove him to conduct studies to provide evidence for the hypothesis of linguistic relativity. The initial observation of Whorf was that the use of the label "empty" and "full" made some workers smoke in the room where "empty gasoline barrels" were kept while they dare not smoke in the room where "full gasoline barrels" were kept. His concern was that the use of the word "empty" led the workers to unconsciously smoke in the room because the word implies the absence of gasoline. Meanwhile, consciously, the workers were probably aware of the risk of explosion that empty gasoline barrels could cause. Though this observation of Whorf has been ridiculed, it still makes sense of how linguistic labels influence our perception, thought and behaviour. There are several other ways that Whorf tried to prove linguistic relativity.

One instance of evidence for linguistic relativity is the existence of several terms for certain concepts in some languages, in sharp contrast with English and other European languages that Whorf referred to as Standard Average European (SAE) languages. An example of this instance is how Whorf found that the Hopi language uses two different words to refer to water, making a distinction between water in a container meant for drinking and a natural body of water. Whorf's observation was that some languages make different semantic distinctions than other languages. This makes direct translation from one language to the other problematic.

Another evidence for linguistic relativity is how different languages categorize time. Whorf argued that the Hopi language treats time as a concept that is on a continuum, contrary to how European languages treat time as a concept that is countable. This shows a difference in how the linguistic systems of the two languages have categorized the concept of time and shows how people from the two different speech communities or cultures perceive the concept of time differently. Whorf's findings prompted other researchers to investigate the concept of time in the Hopi language. Malotki's (1983) finding about time in the Hopi language confirms the claims of Whorf. Molotki observes that the Hopi language divides time into sequential categories. Though Comri (1985) sees the findings of Malotki (1983) as a refutation of Whorf's findings, McNeill (1987) cautions that sequential categorization of time does not contradict a world view where time is perceived as cyclic. Troyer (1994) points out that McNeill's (1987) caution is an assumption meant to support Whorf's linguistic relativity hypothesis. This shows that though some researchers had tried to refute Whorf's hypothesis, it still stands that language and thought are connected.

The existence of overt and covert categories in the linguistic system according to Whorf is evidence of how language influences our world view and thought. Grammatical categories that are marked in a language are those that Whorf refers to as "overt categories". The grammatical categories that are not marked are the "covert categories". Whorf's observation was that grammatical categories that are not marked are not noticed by the speakers and as a result the speakers may not be aware of their distinction and function. This led Whorf to conclude that thought is influenced by the linguistic system of the speaker.

The conclusion that is often drawn from Sapir-Whorf's linguistics relativity hypothesis is that languages vary in structure and how they categorize various concepts in the world. These variations in linguistic systems play a role in the way people from two different language backgrounds express their thought. This is a fair conclusion to be drawn from the hypothesis. Both critics and followers of the principle of linguistic relativity often come to conclusions that are similar to this one. For example, Corazzon (2016:1) observes that 'languages vary in the assemblage of categories into a coherent system of reference' and 'the system of categories which each language provides to its speakers is not a common, universal system but one peculiar to the individual language, and one which makes possible a particular fashion of speaking.' Troyer (1994:176), though a critic of Whorf's hypothesis, concludes that 'language does influence us to emphasize certain distinctions and to minimize others. It is a tool which we use to describe, and it therefore shapes the world in which we live.' Hussein (2012:645) in a concluding remark on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states that 'the fact that language plays a role in shaping our thoughts, in modifying our perception and in creating reality is irrefutable.'

The conclusion of the Whorfian hypothesis is that the thoughts of human beings are influenced by the language they speak. This hypothesis argues that people from different cultures and languages perceive the world differently and for that matter organise their thoughts differently. It is therefore the thought patterns and the cultural background of ESL students that are reflected in their rhetoric and form the basis of intercultural rhetoric.

3.2.3 Linguistic Relativity and Second Language Learning

In the words of Whorf, ‘a change in language can transform our appreciation of the cosmos’ (Carroll 1956: vii). This means that though our native linguistic system influences us to adopt a particular world view, this is not static but subject to change when we learn a second language. We then acquire the world view of the second language learnt. Troyer (1994) confirms this point when he states that language as a tool used to describe, shapes our world view but limits us only if we allow it. So, if we decide not to allow it, we can modify our world view through analysis of other languages. According to Troyer (1994), this happens if we accommodate and incorporate the linguistic system of the second language into our existing linguistic system, which is not static but dynamic and subject to modification and change.

These observations have implications for learning a second language and for that matter the teaching and learning of English as a second language. Linguistic relativity raises issues about the relationship between language and thought and the relationship between language and culture since these two are closely linked to language. What is the nature of the relationship between language thought and culture and how these relationships affect the teaching and learning of English as a second language?

3.2.4 Language and Thought

The relationship between language and thought is profound. Linguists have considered the relationship between the two from various perspectives. Before the various perspectives are considered, a broad explanation is provided of what these two concepts refer to.

Language is the means by which human beings communicate through the use of symbols which are primarily vocal symbols in spoken languages. Every human society uses language as the means of communication among themselves. Language is also unique to human beings. Though all languages use speech sounds in communication, languages all over the world vary greatly from one another. When children are born into a particular speech community, they grow up to acquire the language of that speech community. Children are not born with any language. Every child grows up to learn the language that it is exposed to. Language is therefore passed on from one generation to the next.

"Thought" refers to the mental activity that takes place in the mind of an individual. Thought is closely associated with "cognition" which refers to the mental process of knowing something, including one's ability to perceive, reason and take decisions. A lot of cognitive processes that go on in the mind of an individual finally get expressed. The expression of one's cognitive processes is recognised as one's thought. Cognitive processes cannot be seen (Kurcz, 2001). It is only when they are expressed that we "see" or get to know a person's thought.

Thought and language therefore have this close relationship because one's thought is expressed using language. It is language that carries one's thought. This makes it difficult to separate thought from language; hence, the close relationship between thought and language. The relationship between language and thought has been considered from different perspectives by linguistics. (Christie & Gentner, 2012). The basic question to be addressed about the relationship between language and thought is: does language shape thought? This question presumes that language is autonomous. According to David Kronenfield to address this issue, there are two perspectives. The first one is to consider language as an independent mental entity that contributes to the formation of thought. The second perspective is to consider language as a tool which a speaker uses in the process of thought formation. The first perspective views language as an autonomous mental activity, while the second perspective sees language as an integral part of thought (Kronenfield, n.d).

Another perspective from which the relationship between language and thought has been considered is thought exists without language. Not all human thought is expressed using language. Some thoughts are expressed as actions without using speech. Such thoughts indicate that thought is independent of language. Linguists who hold this view about thought use the actions of children who have not yet acquired language as evidence that thought exists without language. There are experiments that have shown that children, including infants, are capable of engaging in cognitive processes even though they have not yet acquired language. The evidence of the existence of thought without language manifests in adults as well (Frensch & Funke, 2001).

Language and Thought are also perceived as interdependent on each other. Language in this relationship to thought is perceived as a tool that thought uses. Language is not seen as part of thought in this sense (Kurcz, 2001). Language is seen as significant in rational thinking in the sense that language supplies our memory with labels (words) that refer to abstract ideas. Then, these labels, which are words and phrases, help our memory in processing thought.

A personal conclusion that one could draw from the relationship between language and thought is that language does not necessarily determine thought. It has been proven that thought exists without language. But, when we have to eventually express our thought, we need language. The conclusion therefore is that language actually determines how thought is expressed.

3.2.5 Language and Culture

"Culture" is broadly defined as the way of life of a people (refer to section 1.4). Every society or social group of people tends to have values, conventions and belief systems which are shared norms among the people. The process of socialization in every community involves the use of language. The norms, values and belief systems of every society are passed on from one generation to the other using language. The relationship between language and culture is therefore a close one that becomes difficult to separate. The way we talk and write are all practices that have evolved through the processes of socialization and are therefore culture bound and culture specific.

3.3 Rhetoric

The word "rhetoric" is not a new word. The use of the word "rhetoric" dates back to ancient Greece and Rome. It therefore has several shades of meaning. The contemporary meaning of rhetoric is negative in the sense that it is used to mean that there is no action but only writing. The discussion in this section traces the use of rhetoric from its meaning during the time of ancient Greece to its use in composition studies today.

3.3.1 The Origins of Rhetorical Theory

In the seminal work of Kaplan (1966) which brought about the field of IR studies, he explains that the rhetorical pattern of English developed through the Anglo-European cultural pattern. Kaplan indicates that what has become English rhetoric started from ancient Greece and was shaped by the Romans and later improved by Medieval European and finally by Western thinkers. This is a brief history of the origin of rhetorical theory.

As pointed out by the Kaplan, rhetorical theory started in ancient Greece. According to Foss (2009), rhetorical theory started in Syracuse, an Island of Sicily. It is said that at that time some dictators who exercised much control over the people were overthrown and this brought about controversy over ownership of land. Because of the overthrow of the dictators and the controversy that followed it, the citizens had to go to court and present their cases about people who owned certain pieces of property, before they were confiscated by the dictators. The literature on rhetorical theory have it that ordinary citizens with no training in law had to present their cases in court. Because ordinary citizens had to speak in court, there was the need to develop techniques about how they could present their cases in court. As a result of this, a handbook which provided guidelines on speech delivery was produced. This, according to the literature on the origin of rhetorical theory, marks the beginning of the teaching and practice of rhetoric.

3.3.2 The Teaching and Practice of Rhetoric

Kennedy (2007) confirms that the study of rhetoric started in Greece. At the time, there was the need for all citizens to take part in democratic governance which started in Athens. For all citizens to be able to participate in the democratic governance that had emerged there was the need for them to learn how to speak in public. Ordinary citizens had to speak in court if they needed to seek redress and if they were asked to speak as defendants. There were also other instances of public speech, such as speeches at meetings, symposia and funerals. In response to the needs of ordinary citizens at Athens, some people emerged as teachers of public speaking called ‘Sophists’. These sophists were engaged in the teaching of principles of speech and composition. These teachers built their teaching on the methods used by successful speakers and writers. The sophists got involved in teaching ordinary citizens how to give a successful speech in public. They taught their students how to develop their argument, divide their speech into logical parts and choose their words carefully. Kennedy (2007) states that one of the famous teachers at the time was Gorgias from Sicily. It is reported in the literature that Gorgias made great impact on his audience.

The teaching of the Sophists led to the writing of handbooks on the art of speech writing and delivery which spelt out instructions on how to compose speech for delivery in public. These handbooks offered guidelines, techniques and examples of speech that could be used on different occasions. The teaching of the sophists and their handbooks were said to be based on flattery and appealed to people's emotions.

The Sophists and their practice of teaching public speech and the writing of handbooks that teach public speech came under criticism. Kennedy (2007: x) states that 'Socrates and his student Plato distrusted the teaching of the sophists and handbook writers.' They accused them of using colourful words and exaggerations to project misleading arguments. According to Herrick (2001), the Sophists disregarded the ideas of the Greek about the moral uses of language.

In the midst of the argument over who was right about what public speech should contain and how it should be composed, Aristotle, a student of Plato, started writing about rhetoric as an art of communication. Aristotle's writings on rhetoric set the foundation for what rhetoric is to date. According to Kennedy (2007), the work of Aristotle had influenced the views of Cicero, Quintilian and other teachers in Rome and has been repeatedly studied in modern times.

Aristotle defines rhetoric as 'the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever' (Gowland, 2002: 68). Rhetoric is therefore a practice that aims at persuading an audience; the art of presenting information in such a way that it makes an impact on the audience. An audience according to Aristotle could be a judge or not a judge of the speech that is being presented. If the audience is a judge of the speech that is being presented, then it means that the audience is expected to make decisions about the content of the speech that is being presented. If the audience is a judge, there are two different decisions that the audience would make. The first type of decision is that the audience would judge events as they had happened in the past in this case the speech is 'judicial'. On the other hand, the audience may judge what actions to take. In this case the speech is classified by Aristotle as 'deliberative'. If the audience is not a judge, it means that the audience is not expected to take any action. In this case, the speech is ‘epideictic’, i.e it is meant to demonstrate something. This type of speech is often delivered on ceremonial occasions, like festivals and funerals. These kinds of speech according to Aristotle are meant to praise or blame.

The understanding of epideictic speech has been broadened beyond Aristotle’s explanation of praise or blame to include any discourse that is not meant to perform a specific action but is intended to have an impact on the values and belief systems of the audience (Kennedy, 2007). From Kennedy’s point of view, this type of rhetoric was developed by other rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quint a century later. It is this view of rhetoric that became classical rhetoric.

3.3.3 Classical Rhetoric

Aristotle was of the view that in making a speech, three things should be considered, namely, to produce persuasion, the language, and how to arrange the speech into various logical divisions. Aristotle became the primary source of classical rhetoric and whatever is studied today as rhetoric. The rhetoric of Cicero and Quintilian and the rhetoric of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance period, and the rhetoric of modern times, are the rhetoric of Aristotle. Kennedy (2007) points out that the work of Aristotle about the things that should be considered in preparing speech were fully developed by Cicero.

Classical rhetoric takes into consideration the things that are necessary when preparing speech and for that matter the things that are necessary in the composition of a piece of writing. Cicero developed the ideas of Aristotle into what is known in classical rhetoric as the Canons of rhetoric. Cicero, said to be a very important personality during the Roman government, developed what is widely studied till date - the five canons of rhetoric. The five canons: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery.

3.3.4 The Parts of Classical Rhetoric (The Five Canons)

The art of speaking in public was a concern among the Greeks. In the writings of Aristotle, he took particular interest to classify the various elements that are important to be considered in preparing a speech. The things that are considered in preparing a speech, are the elements of speech known as the canons of rhetoric. There are five canons of rhetoric. These are invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery.

3.3.4.1 Invention (*Inventio*)

The first canon of classical rhetoric is invention. Invention is the starting point of every piece of writing and speaking. It is a general problem that writers are faced with the task of getting a topic or what they want to write about. Even after a writer has decided on the topic to write about, the next difficulty is how to develop the topic chosen. This is what invention is about in rhetoric. Lauer (2004) points out that the understanding of invention in rhetoric varies among rhetoricians. Not only does it vary among rhetoricians but also varies across the ages. “Rhetorical Invention” is therefore a very broad term. Invention in rhetoric and composition is therefore understood to encompass several different components. There are various shades of elements that constitute invention.

The first point of view about invention is the question of what invention is. Some rhetoricians consider invention as the act of deciding one’s line of thought and how to present one’s thought. Other rhetorician sees invention as how to start one’s discourse. Aristotle considered rhetoric as the faculty of the rhetor (speaker or writer or composer of a text). This refers to the knowledge of the writer which is used to produce something. The two views are in sequence. First the writer uses his or her faculty which is his or her knowledge, to decide how to present the information. Then, when this decision is made; the writer begins to present his discourse. These two points of view about what rhetoric is are therefore on a continuum.

The next point of view about invention in rhetoric is: why does the writer engage in invention? The writer has to engage in invention in order to consider various ways in which his idea could be developed. The purpose of invention is to help a speaker or a writer to draw on the kind of details needed to develop his argument. The composer of the text has to rely on the power of his knowledge as well as look for information from other sources as evidence to support his or her ideas. Looking for the available ways to persuade or prove one’s point is an important part of invention in rhetoric. In looking for the available ways, the writer has to consult various sources and draw information from such sources. (Farrell, 1999).Whatever claims a writer makes needs to be satisfactorily proven. A writer is therefore compelled to find the sources needed to back his or her claims (West (2001).

There are various sources available for one to draw from. One such source is the writer's public memory. According to West (2001), public memory includes a person's idea about social knowledge, public opinions, certain values, beliefs conventions and shared knowledge. The writer's personal experiences throughout life, including the values and norms of the society in which the writer grows up, constitute the writer's public memory. Apart from the writer's public memory, a good piece of composition draws on several other sources. Some of these sources are maxims, facts, statistics, testimony, examples, narratives and topics.

Another important part of invention is how to relate the resources available. This is what Aristotle refers to as 'topoi'. This according to the English translation means places. This simply refers to how to provide relationship among the ideas in a text. The various resources available to the writer of a text, have to be placed properly within the text to show how they are related to convey an overall picture. There are various placements or relationships that may exist among the resources the composer of the text has gathered. Some of the sources may be pieces of information that may have several divisions. In this case the relationship that has to be shown would be the various divisions and how they come together to form a whole. Some of the sources may have similarities and differences. The relationship that has to be shown between them would be comparison and contrast. Some sources or pieces of information may have origins or what caused them or what led to them. In this case, the relationship is that of cause and effect. The composer of the text would have to portray all these relationships properly to make an impact on the audience. If this is not done properly, the composition may not achieve the desired effect. The display of the relationships that exist among the sources available to the composer of a text is therefore an important part of invention (West, 2001).

Invention also involves the presentation of the speaker's character and how the speaker is able to control the mind of his or her audience when delivering the speech. Classical rhetoric involved oral presentation and therefore considers the background of the speaker in order to make the desired impact. It also takes into account how the speaker is able to engage the mind of the audience. In addition, it is important for the speaker to substantiate his or her claims. These three things in rhetorical studies are known as the three rhetorical appeals.

3.3.4.2 Arrangement (*Disposito*)

Arrangement involves how to organise pieces of arguments into an effective speech or composition. According to Aristotle, it is important to first present the case and then provide the proof of the case presented. In classical rhetoric, a speaker is required to start with a broad introduction that provides the overview of the situation or the issue under discussion. This is then followed by presenting the case – the central idea to be discussed. After the presentation of the central idea, several divisions that seek to prove one main point each are raised as proofs of the central idea. The presentation ends with a conclusion.

The introduction of a speech or any piece of writing is expected to perform a number of functions. First of all, the introduction should present the topic or the issue to be discussed. This is done in various ways. The speaker or writer could do this by providing background information about the issue to be discussed or by explaining the issue to be discussed. The writer could also do this by telling a brief story that relates to the issue to be discussed.

Another function of the introduction section is to present the central idea to be discussed by the writer. The central idea should be stated clearly to announce the purpose of the speech or the piece of writing. The central idea is the focus of the speech or composition. Without this, the audience cannot tell what the speech or a piece of writing is about. It serves as the pivot around which every piece of information in the speech or composition revolves. It is the theme of the entire composition.

In addition, the introduction has to arouse the interest of the audience. It should be enticing enough to compel the audience to listen and pay attention. This is very important because if your audience is not interested in what you are telling them, then they will not listen to you.

The introduction should also lay out the major points that are going to be discussed. This gives the audience a preview of the entire speech. The major points to be discussed are mentioned briefly without providing detailed information about them. It is good to end the introduction section by letting your audience know that the introduction has come to an end and you are to start the main speech.

After the introduction section sets the pace by stating the central idea, the body of the composition or the speech now presents various aspects of the central idea to help develop the central idea. Each division that proves an aspect of the central idea is expected to be focused on one main idea. The various divisions that form the body of the piece of writing should reflect the central idea. Each division is developed by providing startling facts, making reference to current events and using humour to sustain the attention of the audience (Veeder, 1997).

By arrangement, what comes at the end of a piece of writing is the conclusion section. The function of the conclusion is to summarize the main points discussed in the body of the text and to emphasize the central idea. Suggestions are offered in the concluding section of the composition or speech.

3.3.4.3 Style (*Elocutio*)

Style is considered an important part of every piece of writing; especially for the Western classical authors. The Western authors considered four things as necessary parts of style. These are correctness, clearness, appropriateness and ornament. Correctness means that a speaker or a writer who is composing a piece of writing should adhere to the grammatical rules of the language being used. The writer has to use standard words, phrases and abbreviations that are acceptable. The purpose of keeping to standard grammar rules to achieve clarity is to allow meaning to be projected to the audience without ambiguity. It is correctness that helps a writer to achieve clearness (Peirce, 1950).

Appropriateness means that the various sentences being put together should fit in well. The sentences need to be well connected to project the idea that the writer or the speaker wants to put across. This calls for the use of words and phrases in constructing the sentences in such a way that all the sentences within the text are linked to facilitate the development of the writer's message. This ensures that the text hangs together as a whole piece of writing.

The last element of style is ornament. This refers to aesthetic use of language. Classical rhetoric divides ornament into three categories. These are the use of figures of speech, the use of figures of thought and the use of tropes. Figures of speech refer to the use of language in a way that creates a mental picture in the minds of the audience (Peirce, 1950). There are several figures of speech that are available to the writer to make use of in composing a text. Rhetorical practice attaches much importance to figures of speech. There are several figures of speech used in text construction. Figures of thought refer to artistic ways of presenting one's feelings, ideas and concepts and tropes refer to various ways of substituting one term with another. How a writer refers to an object or something in the course of writing is done in ways to avoid monotony.

3.3.4.4 Memory (*Memoria*)

Classical rhetoric was mainly oratory. The means of political participation and legal proceedings in ancient Greek and Rome, the origins of classical rhetoric were accomplished through spoken discourse. In those days, orators depended on their memory to a great extent, without holding or reading prepared speeches. According to Geh (1993) the power of memory in classical rhetoric influenced pedagogical practices in the 1470s. Crowley and Hawhee (2004) point out that ancient people used complex methods to help them keep huge volumes of information in their memory but today we use books and electronic means to store our information. This practice of relying on one's memory in giving a speech has declined since it is now acceptable practice for a speaker to prepare his or her speech and read it our loud to the audience.

3.3.4.5 Delivery (*Pronuntiatio*)

In Western classical rhetoric orators deliver their speeches before audience. In those days rhetoricians had guidelines that governed the use of voice and gestures during the delivery of speech. Voice modulation, such as volume, pause and emphasis, were regulated. The orator's voice is expected to be at a certain level of loudness suitable to the hearing and understanding of the audience. The physical aspects of delivery were also regulated. The actions of the orator during speech were controlled. Some of the actions include gestures, posture and facial expressions (Butter, 1922).

Below is a quote from Quintilian that shows the importance of actions during delivery.

> The head, being the chief member of the body, has a corresponding importance in delivery, serving not merely to produce graceful effect, but to illustrate our meaning as well. To secure grace it is essential that the head should be carried naturally and erect. For a droop suggests humility, while if it be thrown back it seems to express arrogance, if inclined to one side it gives an impression of languor, while if it is held too stiffly and rigidly it appears to indicate a rude and savage temper. (Butter, 1922, pp. 68 – 69)

It should be noted that effective delivery determines the persuasive power of the speech.

3.3.5 The Rhetorical Appeals

The Rhetorical appeals are part of invention. They are the means available to the speaker to persuade his or her audience. They are ethos, pathos and logos.

3.3.5.1 Ethos

Ethos is known as the ethical appeal. It refers to the credibility of the speaker. If a speaker is appealing to ethos in order to persuade his audience, it means that he is projecting information about his background that makes him look credible or trustworthy in the sight of his audience. For a speaker to rely on ethos to persuade his audience, he has to show his expertise in the issue or the subject under discussion. The speaker's previous experience which constitutes his background is required if he is appealing to ethos. There should be a reason why the audience has to listen to the speaker. That reason is that the speaker has had previous experience that makes the audience believe that he possesses the required knowledge about the subject matter. The speaker or writer has to present himself or herself as somebody who is an expert on the subject matter for the audience to trust him or her. The writer also portrays himself as trustworthy by relating to the audience (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). To let audience identify with the speaker or the writer, the writer has to use inclusive terms and pronouns such as 'we', 'us', 'our' and other inclusive terms to let audience identify with him or her.

3.3.5.2 Pathos

Pathos is an appeal to the emotions of the audience. This requires that the speaker knows his audience well in order to appeal to the right emotion. If the speaker fails to appeal to the right emotion of his audience, his presentation will not make the desired impact. The speaker can use personal stories to appeal to the sympathies and emotions of his or her audience. A speaker or a writer's appeal to pathos makes the audience respond emotionally and empathize with the writer. To achieve this, the writer can use emotional examples and figurative language.

3.3.5.3 Logos

This is known as the logical appeal. This involves the presentation of facts by placing them side by side to draw a conclusion based on how they are related. For a writer to use logos to appeal to the audience, they have to use statistics and research findings to support their claims. The writer has to give evidence by giving examples and illustrations to present their argument. The use of conditional clauses and cause and effect relationships are helpful when a speaker is appealing to logic to present a case. To enable the audience follow the logic in the presentation, a writer has to present his or her message in such a way that there is consistency and the conclusions are drawn based on premises that have been laid out clearly.

3.4 Summary

Contrastive analysis, linguistics relativism and rhetoric were discussed in this chapter. Contrastive analysis was the first area in second language acquisition that engaged in the analysis and comparison of two languages to identify differences and similarities, with the aim of improving the teaching of a second language. Contrastive analysis therefore underpin IR research and the current study. The discussion shows that though contrastive analysis is no longer popular in second language acquisition research, it has undergone modification from contrastive analysis to error analysis and to the interlanguage hypothesis which explains the processes involved in the acquisition of a second language. Linguists were able to discover the differences in the structure of languages but it was Sapir-Whorf's linguistic relativity that helped linguists and second language acquisition researchers to look beyond differences in the structure of languages to see how these are related to perception and thought and how these influence how we act or behave. Linguistic relativity therefore established how one's thought patterns shape one's language; and rhetoric is about how text is organised. There is therefore a strong relationship between thought patterns and text organization. Intercultural rhetoric explores how cultural thought patterns are reflected in text construction with the aim of helping improve the teaching of text construction (writing). The foundation of IR research and the focus of this study is to discover how cultural thought patterns are reflected in the texts that are analysed. To a large extent, the differences in the texts across cultures are a reflection of the differences in thought patterns across cultures.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

4.0 Introduction

There are two main approaches to research: the qualitative and the quantitative paradigms. Every kind of enquiry falls under one of these approaches. There are some studies that combine the two approaches. There are many features that define these two main approaches. In using the quantitative approach, generally, the researcher collects data that is large enough to represent a population so that the findings of the study can be generalized to the population that the sample represents. For this reason, data collection in quantitative studies is rigorous and highly scientific to be sure that the sample selected truly represents the population under consideration (Creswell, 2007; Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009; Berg, 2001). Using the qualitative approach, means that the researcher does not aim at generalizing the findings to a population and therefore does not aim at collecting data that is representative of any population. The qualitative approach helps the researcher to identify and gain an insight into a particular phenomenon.

These two main paradigms have specific methods of enquiry that fall under each of them. Creswell (2007) identifies five approaches that fall under the qualitative method of research design. These are narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study. In collecting data for qualitative approaches, some of the forms of data used are interviews, observations, field studies and documents and visual materials. On the other hand, the quantitative design aims at arriving at cause and effect relationships or establishing a correlation between two variables. Four of qualitative research are experimental research, causal comparative research, correlational research and survey research.

When it comes to analysing text or a written document, the nature of the analysis and how the analysis is carried out seems to determine whether it should be classified as a qualitative or a quantitative design. Berg (2001) reiterates that there has always been a debate over whether the analysis of the content of a text should be regarded as a qualitative analysis or a quantitative analysis. Some methodology writers classify it as a qualitative approach while others maintain it is a quantitative analysis. Silverman (1993), for example, objects to the content analysis of a text as a qualitative analysis and rather regards it as a quantitative analysis. Berg (2001), on the other hand, argues that though textual elements are counted in the analysis of the content of a text, text analysis in general should be regarded as a qualitative analysis. Berg (2001) concludes that text analysis is a blend of qualitative and quantitative analysis: the quantitative aspect being how researchers create ‘tally sheets to determine specific frequencies of relevant categories’ (p. 242) and the qualitative aspect of it being how researchers examine issues such as ideology, themes topics and other similar phenomena from the data that they use. Miller and Brewer (2003) also claim that different types of text such as newspaper articles, official and personal documents, books pamphlets, tracts and other types of text can be analysed either quantitatively or qualitatively or both. They also emphasise that the enumeration of the contents of the text makes it quantitative and a focus on the social meaning, explicit and implicit in the categories present in the text makes the analysis qualitative.

These assertions that text analysis is both qualitative and quantitative are shared by researchers in studies that involve the analysis of text. For example, Connor (1996) points out that text analyses are usually classified under the qualitative paradigm, and Connor and Moreno (2005) observe that much of text analysis especially under IR studies have been qualitative and call for large volume of corpora to be studied quantitatively. It could be concluded that text analysis is generally qualitative but could also be done quantitatively. Therefore, though text analysis is largely qualitative, certain aspects of the analysis could be quantitative. With this explanation, this study falls under the qualitative paradigm though certain categories within the data are enumerated. Intercultural rhetoric studies therefore fall under text analysis, largely within the qualitative paradigm though certain aspects of the analysis may be quantitative in nature.

The aspects of text analysis that makes it largely qualitative is that the analysis is subject to interpretation from different perspectives. Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) assert that the focus of attraction in text analysis is a concentration of different meanings and the role of the researcher in the interpretation of the selected text or texts. In the interpretation of the selected text, meaning can be analysed from different perspectives. According to them, one of the perspectives of meaning is from the writer’s intention. Another perspective of meaning is the reaction of the audience to the text. In addition to these, the historical and cultural context within which the text was created also give different shades of meaning. Each perspective of meaning is likely to result from the different interpretation of the text. Text analysis as a method of enquiry therefore deals with the analysis of discourse, especially written discourse and the analysis of written discourse such as academic and professional discourse is conducted from various angles or perspectives. As a result of the various perspectives from which discourse is analysed, there are various methods or models of text analysis.

4.1 Types of Text Analysis in IR

There are different types of text analysis. Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) identify three types of textual analysis with slightly different perspectives. The first type of textual analysis is the rhetorical perspective. According to them this perspective of analysis focuses on various ways of persuasion and the kind of influence they have on the audience. The second type of text analysis is the critical studies perspective. This perspective sees text as a form of power struggle and a means of propagating ideologies. Within this perspective, text can be interpreted to be portraying oppression, stereotyping, discriminating against a group of people or an exercise of power and authority over a group. The third perspective is discourse analytic perspective which maintains that a way of understanding a particular culture or social group is through a careful analysis of texts that the social group generates. This perspective holds the view that meanings are created through communication.

Flowerdew (2002) categorises research on written discourse into four method, namely, genre analysis, corpus linguistics, ethnographic methods of text analysis, and contrastive rhetoric analysis of text but Connor (2004:294) argues that contrastive rhetoric analysis of text 'is not a specific method, but rather a substantive approach or goal, which itself employs various methods.' The methods of text analysis such as genre analysis, corpus analysis, ethnographic analysis, rhetorical analysis, critical analysis and discourse analysis are therefore specific methods of text analysis which are used in contrastive or IR studies.

There are therefore a number of methods of text analysis employed by IR studies. Basthomi (2007) observes that IR studies have made use of interdisciplinary approaches such as linguistics, education, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. These are broad disciplines and not specific methods. For specific methods used in IR studies, Connor (1996) mentions reflective inquiry, quantitative descriptive research, prediction and classification studies, sampling surveys, case studies and ethnographies and experiments as some specific methods that have been used in IR research. Among the numerous methods used in IR research, the relevant ones to this study are text linguistic analysis, genre analysis and rhetorical analysis. This study makes use of these three methods in various ways in the analysis of the data collected for the study.

4.1.1 Text Linguistic Analysis

Text linguistic analysis is one of the methods that have been used in IR studies. According to Connor (1996, 2004), it is the method that has been widely used in the IR studies. Text linguistic analysis involves the study of how text is developed or how text is constructed with a focus on how text is developed or how text progresses from one idea to another idea until the full text is constructed.

It is important to identify what is considered as text for analysis in text linguistics analysis. Labocha (2011) points out that what is considered as text is the product of the process of communication that takes place within a particular context and is therefore subjective, pointing out the pragmalinguistic layer in text. According to him, the discursive character of text, the internal interactivity of text, is an important criterion of its coherence. What is considered as text should have some semiotic structure. This structure will make it noticeable. This means that it should be introduced into a certain communicative context.

The objects of text in text linguistics are utterances and written texts which are not dependent on the communicative situation that produces them for their meaning to be understood. These texts' subject matter is structured with pragmalinguistic components which depict the interactive strategy of the text; as the rhetorical success of the text depends on this. What is considered as text for study under text linguistics analysis therefore is a piece for which knowledge of the context is not required in order to interpret it.

Text linguistics according to Donnelly (1994) is directed towards the description of how texts are contructed and understood by studying the features that give a text texture and for that matter constitutes a text. This is because every text has texture and there are certain properties that give a text texture. Text linguistics therefore aims at analysing the properties that define texts; focusing on the things that hold a text together and give it texture (Crystal, 1992).

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:3) explain that what is considered as text 'will be defined as a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality.' The seven standards of textuality have been renamed as "principles of textuality" by De Beaugrande (1995). These are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, contextuality and intertextuality. Cohesion refers to how various parts of the sentences in a text are linked. It refers to the connections that exist among various aspects of the sentences of a text. This kind of connection is necessary for the interpretation of the text. Halliday and Hassan (1976:11) explain cohesion as the situation 'where the interpretation of any item in the discourse requires making reference to some other item in the discourse.' Cohesion is a semantic relation between one item and another item in the text for the reader to make meaning of the two.

Halliday and Hassan (1976) identify five features for describing and analysing the cohesion of a text. These five features are reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Reference as a cohesive device is how an item introduced in a text is not repeated in subsequent sentences but another word is used in its place. This is common in the use of pronouns in place of nouns in text construction. Substitution is the use of another word in place of a word mentioned earlier in order to avoid repetition. Ellipsis is the omission of elements in a text because the reader is expected to insert them in the process of reading. Conjunction is the use of conjunction markers and adverbs of different semantic or sense relations to introduce new information. These conjunctions show various senses such as the sense of addition, contrast, illustration, cause and effect relation and the sense of comparison. Lexical cohesion refers to the use of synonyms, antonyms or collocations to provide a link among various parts of the text.

Coherence is the holding together of all parts of a text in such a way that the text is logical and acceptable as a text. It refers to how various parts of the text stick together as a unit. Coherence is actually what makes a piece of writing a text. Without coherence, a piece of writing cannot be called a text. For a piece of writing to be called a text it means that the various parts of the text are related in a logical manner and that there is a flow of meaning from the beginning to the end of the text.

Intentionality and acceptability are usually put together. Every text has a producer, who has the intention to compose a meaningful piece of information to a receiver. The receiver on the other end of the communication process should also be willing to accept the text as a communicative text. This requires that the producer of the text and the receiver of the text adhere to pragmatic principles (De Beaugrande, 2006).

Informativity refers to how certain parts of the text have communicative value. Knowledge of the informativity value of expressions is required for a reader to understand the informativity of a text. Certain words and expressions tend to have more information value than others. The reader's knowledge of this is necessary to be able to tell which expression is of more information value than the other (De Beaugrande, 2006).

Contextuality has to do with the role that the context of the text plays in the understanding of the text. This is because every text happens within some context. The contextual knowledge shared by the participants is important in determining the success of the communicative event. Contextuality focuses on what the participants wish to accomplish and how knowledge of the participants contributes to the success of the communicative purpose of the text (De Beaugrande, 2006).

Intertextuality means that the construction and understanding of one text is influenced by a previous text that is similar to the present text. A reader is therefore likely to understand a novel because of a previous novel the reader had read. The reader's previous knowledge of a particular topic is perceived to enhance the understanding of a new text that is about the same topic (De Beaugrande, 2006).

Text linguistic analysis comprises theoretical textology also known as "text theory", descriptive textology and applied textology (Labocha, 2011). Theoretical text linguistic analysis concerns itself with the study of suprasentential units as an independent part of the process of communication. Descriptive text analysis focuses on the study of the semantics and pragmatics of text, using methods of linguistics and literary studies. Applied text linguistic analysis investigates practical operations on texts such as transformations, development and summarizing.

Text linguistics is also known as functional linguistics. There are various perspectives in functional linguistics. One branch of text linguistics is known as the Prague School. The Prague School of functional linguistics is a Czechoslovakian branch of functional linguistics founded by Vilem Mathesius and his students (De Beaugrande, 2006). This branch of text analysis has exploited communicative dynamism and informativity of elements in text. There are also text linguists who adopted the brand name “Systemic Functional Linguistics”. According to De Baaugrande (2006), these are mainly British functionalists who focus on lexicogrammar by uniting the lexicon and grammar. This branch of functional linguistics developed from Halliday and Hassan’s (1976) concept of cohesion and coherence, and Halliday’s (1992) systemic linguistics.

Text linguistic analysis or functional linguistics - especially Systemic Functional Linguistics as a method of studying text, has developed tools or models for the analysis of written text (Connor 1998). The analytical tools used by text linguistics analytic researchers are used to examine narrative text, argumentative/persuasive texts and compository texts. Some of the analytical tools are models for the analysis of super-structures of arguments, the analysis of cohesion and coherence, the analysis of thematic development and metatext analysis. These tools enable the discourse features of texts to be compared across cultures and across languages.

In this study, the text linguistic model developed for the analysis of how the theme of a text is developed is used to analyse the data collected for the study. The theme-rheme analytic framework is used to analyse the thematic progression of the two newspaper editorials for comparison.

4.1.2 Genre Analysis

The definition of genre has been an issue of debate for decades. It is however generally known and agreed upon among experts and lay people that various types of writing have a specific format. Texts that are said to belong to a particular genre are expected to manifest some similarities in a number of ways. For example, such texts are expected to be similar in their linguistic form, thematic content, rhetorical organization and communicative purposes. The definition of genre is therefore perceived to be identifying the various similarities exhibited by texts that belong to the same genre. The various definitions of genre portray the features that are considered to be important in classifying a group of texts that belong to a particular genre.

One of the features considered in the definition and classification of genre is similarity in the communicative purpose of texts. The principal proponent of this notion of genre is John Swales. In his 1990 publication, Swales defined genre as a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. Bhatia (1996) says this notion of genre emerged in the United Kingdom.

This orientation of genre focuses on the description of language use in professional and academic settings. The proponent of this perspective to genre tries to find answers to the question of why members of a particular discourse community use language in a particular way (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993, Hopkins and Dudley-Evans 1988). The answer seeks to clarify the communicative goal of the discourse community as well as the cognitive strategies the members use to achieve their communicative goals. To clarify this notion of genre, Bhatia (2002) attempts to explain genre as a reflection of the realities of institutional communication. In this orientation to genre, communicative purpose plays a major role in the identification and interpretation of genres.

Another feature that is considered in the definition and classification of genre is similarities in rhetorical organization. This notion of genre views genre as typified rhetorical action (Bhatia 1993). This understanding of genre according to Bhatia (1996) dates back to the writings of Bitzer (1968) and Miller (1984) who point out that genre refers to typical rhetorical action that requires meaning from the situation in which it is used and the social context in which the situation arises. This orientation to genre is said to have emerged independently in the United States of America (Bhatia, 1993). Genre in this sense is also referred to as genre analysis among the rhetoricians because it evolved among American rhetorical tradition.

A third feature around which the notion of genre is explained is similarity in the linguistic form of texts. This notion of genre is rooted in the systemic functional analysis known as the Hallidayan concept of register. The systemic functional notion of genre establishes a close relationship between text and context. This close relation reflects how language is used to perform a function. On the basis of this the systemic functionalists propose the concept of genre as Genetic Structure Potential (GSP) (Halliday, 1992).

There are however common grounds among the various notions of genre. John Swales' stance of communicative purpose as the central feature for identifying genre has shifted to a focus on the context with consideration given to issues such as the values, goals, material conditions, expectations and priorities of the discourse community which values the genre (Johns 2015). This is a recognition that whatever communicative purposes the writer wishes to achieve, these goals are achieved within the context of the values of the discourse community to which the writer belongs.

Bhatia (1996) points out that the common ground that unites the various orientations to genre is the communicative purpose of text. He emphasizes that the communicative purpose embedded in the rhetorical contexts determine the structural forms that are chosen to achieve communicative goals.

The various notions of genre are referred to as the schools of genre. There are three main international genre traditions (Bhatia, 1996; Hyon, 1996; Motta-Roth & Heberle, 2015) and Motta-Roth and Heberle (2015) add one more. The four schools of thought in genre are the following: (Motta-Roth & Heberle, 2015:23)

1. The British ESP School of genre, with emphasis on the communicative purpose within social contexts;
2. The North-American new rhetoric or socio rhetoric school with its focus on how rhetorical acts are realised in social contexts;
3. The Sydney systemic functional school with a focus on lexicogrammatical choices within social contexts; and
4. The Geneva school of the socio-discursive interactions (SDI), with a focus on semiotization of social relations and social actions.

The four schools of thought approach the analysis of text in a broadly similar manner with little variation in their focus and emphasis, which all constitute genre analysis. Bhatia (1993:54) indicates that the focus of genre analysis is to 'study how communicative purposes are achieved in specific rhetorical contexts using structural forms appropriate to specific content.' Genre analysis approaches the analysis of text by identifying the structural forms in the text.

In carrying out a genre analytical study of a text, the various structural forms in the text are identified and labeled. These structural forms, also referred to as moves or rhetorical structures or schematic structures, are examined to find out how regularly they occur in texts that belong to the same genre. On the basis of the regularity or recurrent nature of certain structural forms in texts that belong to the same genre, the recurrent structural forms are then established as the structural forms or rhetorical moves or macro structures present in a particular genre (Bhatia, (1993)

Genre analysis has been conducted on various text types or genres to establish the rhetorical structures or moves present. Notable among these studies is John Swales' analysis of the introduction section of research articles, which has established the moves that form the structural forms present in the introduction of research articles.

Genre analysis has several applications. Cheng (2015) maintains that Swales' (1990) genre approach is very influential in analysing EAP learners' discourse and developing materials for EAP instruction. He pointed out that genre analysis is applicable to EAP pedagogy at three levels. The first level of application is the pre-instructional stage to analyse the target discourse of learners. The second level of application is the instructional stage as a framework for guiding learners to shape their writing. The third level of application is the use of genre analysis as a framework for EAP teachers to improve upon their own knowledge.

Genre analytical studies have influenced language pedagogy in various ways. Bhatia (2002) explains that genre analysis has been exploited for pedagogical purposes as a tool for language teaching. Motta-Roth and Herbele (2015) point out that genre analysis has influenced language pedagogy in Brazil and has resulted in a shift from the teaching of grammatical features to the teaching of language use in various situations such as the family, school and professional settings.

Genre theory is extensively used for instruction. Genre theory helps students understand genre and should be equip students to be able to perform in particular situations. Devitt (2015) proposes that genre theory and genre instruction should explain genre performances and genre competence. In addition to analytical knowledge, learning to write requires practice. To teach genre performance as well as genre competence, Devitt (2015) suggests that instructors should ask students to explore why individual students' choice vary within the same genre task. Bonyadi (2012) applied genre analysis to newspaper editorials to discover the moves employed in editorials. He pointed out the importance of genre analysis of media texts to the teaching of journalism and technical writing in English language in ESL settings.

Some IR studies have used genre analysis to establish differences and similarities in text across cultures. In this study, a genre analytical approach is used to analyse the rhetorical structure of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times*.

4.1.3 Rhetorical Analysis

A rhetorical analysis of text examines how a writer presents his/her arguments. The focus of rhetorical analysis is on the author's purpose of writing. A rhetorical analysis is done to explain how the different elements of a piece of writing work together for the achievement of an author's point. It is an evaluation of that piece of writing. A rhetorical analysis assesses the strengths and weaknesses of a text and exposes how well or badly the writer communicated his/her points. It focuses on evaluating the style and effectiveness of a writer. It aims at describing, analysing, interpreting and evaluating the persuasive uses of language. The aim of the analyst is to help an observer to understand the unique qualities of the text being analysed. The goal is to tell how a writer composes his/her texts.

A wide range of elements are considered for evaluation in the rhetorical analysis of text. Some of these are the theme of the text, the organization of the piece or writing, the audience, the tone of the writer, choice of words, the author's purpose, the types of appeals used, the kinds of evidence produced by the author, and the claims made by the author (Peirce, 1950).

Some of the elements considered for analysis have been well defined. Some of these are the purpose of writing or rhetorical situation, the audience, the claims made by the author, evidence offered and the rhetorical appeals used.

The purpose of writing refers to why the writer is presenting the message to the audience. There are several issues that may be the purpose of writing. Some of these involve whether the writer is writing to express a certain idea, respond to another text, explore a topic, inform the reader about a topic, analyse, synthesise and interpret data, persuade the reader of an argument, reflect on a topic or advocate for a change. The purpose of writing could also be to educate, inform, explain, illustrate or demonstrate, argue, persuade, influence, convince or convert, entertain (please, make people laugh or make cry or make them anger) (Veeder, 1997).

The audience refers to the group that the writer is directing the message to. This may be the general public, a religious group, a political group, a regional group, the educated class, males, females, mothers, the elderly, academics or any identifiable group.

There are different claims that the writer could make. The writer could make claims of fact, which may sometimes be interpreted by the writer to support his/her argument. The writer could make claims of value which may be reflected in the writer's choice of value – laden words of good or bad to present an evaluation or judgment of event. The writer could also make claims of policy, calling for some action to be taken (West, 2001).

The evidence provided by the writer may be presented in the form of concessions and refutations made by the writer. The writer may sometimes provide evidence that is contrary to his claims by acknowledging that another view has some advantage over his claims. On the other hand, the writer may also point out the flaws or demerits of other claims or points of view and argue for his position (Butter, 1922).

The rhetorical appeals used by a writer are one of the elements of rhetorical analysis that has been widely studied as discussed in section 5.4. The three rhetorical appeals are ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos or ethical appeal means the writer tries to make himself an authority on the subject and for that matter deserves to be listened to or taken seriously. Pathos or emotional appeal means the writer tries to appeal to the emotions of the reader in order to persuade the reader. Logos or logical appeal means that the writer uses reasoning to persuade the reader.

One concern in carrying out rhetorical analysis is the issue of methodology. German (1985) reiterates that the rhetorical critic or analyst should be able to explain the criteria used to examine the text or rhetorical artifact. The criteria explained should then be applied to the analysis of the artifact or text. Then the result of the application should be interpreted and evaluated on the basis of the analysis conducted.

4.2 The Basis for Comparison in IR Studies

The argument against comparison in IR research has been the use of learner corpora as the basis for comparison. Connor and Moreno (2005) make reference to the argument of Reid (1988) that the use of learners' text is not sufficient for a valid analysis because rhetorical conventions of the L1 that are said to be transferred onto the L2 are mere speculations to make provisions for steps toward establishing comparability in IR research. The steps provided because of these criticisms have enabled IR research to advance beyond the use of ESL learners' writing to the comparison of experts' texts.

Connor and Moreno (2005) point out that as the study of IR has advanced, learners' writing in an L2 should not be compared with expert writing in the target language. This means that ESL learners' writing should not be compared with texts constructed by expert native users of English. Moreover, Connor (2004) indicates that IR studies have gone beyond the interpretation of differences in rhetorical patterns as transfer from L1 cultural thought pattern to the L2. The differences in rhetorical patterns are just differences in the composition style of the two cultures involved.

The major issue of methodology in carrying out IR studies is the issue of establishing the basis for the comparison of the texts being studied. Since the focus of IR research is to compare texts from two or more different cultural backgrounds, establishing the basis for comparison is very important. To deal with this issue, Connor (2004; 291) proposes 'a set of new methods for intercultural rhetoric research that is context-sensitive and goes beyond mere text analysis' to examine the situation that produces the text.

The set of new methods proposed by Connor (2004) seeks to provide guidelines that establish the basis for comparison in IR research. Connor refers to this set of new methods as *Tertium Comparitionis*. This is just a broad guideline within which several different specific methods could be used in IR research. In proposing this set of new methods to be used in IR research, Connor (2004:295) points out that 'there is a renewed interest in the study of written discourse. The focus is on context – sensitive text analysis, and the methods of study are diverse.' It should be noted that Connor recognises that the methods used in studying written discourse are diverse. Therefore, in carrying out IR studies, diverse methods are used.

The focus of contrastive rhetoric is to compare texts from two different socio-cultural settings. Because of this, there is the concern for contrastive rhetoric/intercultural rhetoric research to compare like with like. As a result of this concern, Connor (2004:299) suggests the need to establish equivalence or *Tertium Comparationis* so that items that are comparable are studied.

The basis for comparison in IR research therefore is that to establish that a particular rhetorical feature is similar or different across two cultures, the texts being compared should be composed by expert users of both languages or cultures. These kinds of corpora are referred to as 'parallel corpora', original texts in two or more different languages (Johansson, 1998:3). Intercultural rhetoric research now uses corpora of expert writers from two different cultural or language background.

For this study, the two corpora are expert texts from two different socio-cultural settings. This makes the corpora for the study parallel corpora. The purpose of using parallel corpora is to establish a common ground for comparison. The establishment of a common ground is needed so that there would be a base line for the description of the rhetorical and linguistic features across cultures. Establishing a common ground calls for rigorous steps to be taken to ensure that corpora from the two socio-cultural settings are comparable; hence, the need to conduct IR studies within the framework of *Tertium Comparationis* right from the collection of data to the analysis and interpretation of data.

4.2.1 Tertium Comparationis

Tertium Comparationis is used in intercultural analysis and translation theory as a concept that refers to maximum similarity or equivalence between two or more texts. The concept of *Tertium Comparationis* is however relative because the specific items that constitute similarity and how to measure them is dependent to some extent on the researcher. Despite the relative nature of the concept, *Tertium Comparationis* is achieved on the basis of certain constructs that can be compared cross – culturally at all levels of study. It involves the definition of the items or features that are prototypical features that are regarded as the constants. These constants should be defined and established at the level of data collection, data analysis and the interpretation and discussion of results. The first level at which *Tertium Comparationis* has to be established is the level of data collection. Connor and Moreno (2005: 6) point out that 'one of the greatest difficulties… in the comparison of texts across cultures is the selection of the appropriate texts for comparison.' To select the appropriate texts at the data collection level, the prototypical features of text form and genre are considered. The two texts being considered for comparison should both be of the same form in terms of what they express, such as a persuasive exposition, an argumentative exposition or a scientific exposition.

The two texts should also be of the same genre. In addition, a third feature that has to be established for the purpose of ensuring comparability according to Connor and Moreno (2005) is the level of expertise. The two texts that are going to be compared should be written by expert writers.

The next level of establishing *Tertium Comparationis* is the level of data analysis. At this level, Connor and Moreno (2005) point out two features to be considered. These are pragma-discursive equivalence and statistical equivalence. Pragma-discursive equivalence paves the way for qualitative contrastive analysis of the corpora. Statistical equivalence enables a quantitative contrastive analysis to be conducted to obtain the frequencies of the items being measured. This requires that models or theoretical frameworks or tools of the analysis that are applicable to the two texts are used to analyse the data independently so that after the analysis of each corpus, the results are compared to determine the similarities and differences.

Connor (2004) and Connor and Moreno (2005) present the steps involved in establishing *Tertium Comparationis* as follows:

1. Formulating clear hypotheses about the relationship between writing cultures and how textual meanings are expressed.
2. Defining the population of accomplished, or expert, L1 texts that can be considered comparable and specifying the basis of the similarity constraints.
3. Selecting a representative sample of that population in each writing culture compared.
4. Identifying comparable textual units (e.g. moves, such as establishing the territory or creating a niche, discourse functions such as defining or evaluating, pragmatic functions such as requesting or apologizing, or relational functions, i.e. coherence relations, such as cause-effect or claim- support.
5. Validating those units of analysis as recognizable functional or pragma-discursive units by language users in each culture either through literature review or further research (e.g. through interviews with L1 informants). This would allow the researcher to propose these units as language/textual universals, which can be taken as qualitative constants for the two (or more) languages compared, and therefore, allow juxtaposition of comparable rhetorical phenomena.
6. Quantifying the occurrence of these textual universals in each corpus. This may allow the researcher to propose these categories as quantitative constants if they occur with similar frequency in both languages.
7. Devising objective criteria to describe the textual realizations of the universals proposed in the two languages. This phase would imply designing specific criteria that do not privilege one language over the other. In other words, the criteria should not be biased towards any particular descriptive model of any of the languages compared.
8. Applying the devised analytical criteria to the description of the two corpora independently.
9. Juxtaposing the taxonomies.
10. Contrasting the quantitative results for each comparable qualitative category.

11. Interpreting the significance of quantitative similarities and differences by statistical analysis.
12. Drawing conclusions about the relation between writing cultures and how textual meanings are expressed on the basis of the comparative results.

4.3 Data Collection

This study is generally guided by the steps suggested towards the establishment of *Tertium Comparationis* as set out above. Following these steps three prototypical features were considered for the collection of data. The first two features are text form and genre. The two texts that are compared in this study are both newspaper editorials. Newspaper editorials are very powerful examples of persuasive writing. Connor (1996: 44) indicates that newspaper editorials are one of the best examples of persuasive writing across all cultures. The text form of the two texts is the same; they are both persuasive pieces of writing. The next feature that is also established is the genre; both texts are newspaper editorials.

In addition to text form and genre, both editorials are written by expert writers of the two settings. Newspaper editorials are written by the editorial board of a newspaper. The individuals who write editorials are usually senior editorial staff. Editorials may also be written by the publisher of the newspaper. As persuasive pieces of writing, editorials usually portray the opinion or the stance of the newspaper. Since editorials portray the stance of the newspaper, great care is taken to address the issues that the editorial is about and care is also taken not to inflame unnecessary passion in the reading public. The topics that are written about in editorials are carefully chosen and evaluated by the editorial board. Since newspaper editorials are written by senior editorial staff of newspapers, the two newspaper editorials are considered as texts written by experts in their professional fields. The two texts can therefore be compared to find out the similarities and differences in how they are composed reflecting the culture of the environment in which they were constructed.

Following the steps suggested to achieve *Tertium Comparationis*, systematic sampling was employed to select editorials from the two newspapers for the study. As part of ensuring *Tertium Comparitionis*, the editorials of a specific period of time were chosen for the study. For the purpose of avoiding difference due to changes in historical periods, editorials published in 2016 were selected for the study. Editorials published in the two newspapers within the chosen period were selected to avoid any influence that may be due to generational changes in the way the two newspapers present their editorials. The first four months of the year 2016 (which covers January, February, March and April were chosen as the period within which editorials were selected for the study).

In order to ensure that the editorials selected form a true representation of features present in the two newspapers, a large number of editorials published within the chosen period were collected as the pool from which editorials were selected for the study. The editorials collected within the chosen period form the population from which samples were selected for the study. For the selection of the samples that represent the two populations, a systematic sampling technique was adopted. This is a type of probability sampling in which every item in the population has a chance of being included in the sample. This technique of sampling draws randomly from the population. It involves the selection of the nth individual or item in a population. The interval or space between the items on the list is determined by dividing the number of items desired for the sample size with the total number of the items selected as the population for the study (Travakoli, 2012).

Within the period chosen, a total of 102 editorials were published by the *Daily Graphic* newspaper. Using an interval of five, twenty (20) editorials were thus selected from the *Daily Graphic* and twenty (20) from the *New York Times*. A total of forty (40) editorials were selected for the study. The on-line versions of the *New York Times* editorials were selected for the study. The online versions of the newspaper are identical to those published in print.

The table below shows the levels of *Tertium Comparitionis* in the data collected for the study. The table is adopted from Connor and Moreno (2005:8)

Table 1: Levels of Tertium Comparationis for the *Daily Graphic*-New York Times

Tertium Comparationis	**Value of prototypical feature perceived as a constant across the two corpora**	**N of texts in each independent corpus**
Text form	Persuasive writing	20
Genre	Newspaper editorials	20
Mode	Written language	20
Participants • Writers • Targeted readers	 • Senior editorial staff • The public	20
Situational variety	Formal	20
Tone	Serious	20
Format features • Length • Intertextuality	 400- 600 words of core text Reference to other text	20
Point of view	subjective	20
General purpose of communication	Writer view point: To persuade the readers to share the writer's view point	20
Global rhetorical strategy	Discussing an issue/event and offering solutions Persuading that something is the case/ ought to be done	20
Level of expertise	Expert writers	20
Textual unit of analysis	Complete texts	20
Global superstructure	Introduction-Consequences-Conclusion	20
Predominant text types	Exposition Problem/solution Challenge Discussion	20

4.3.1 The Daily Graphic

The *Daily Graphic* was established in 1950 by the *Daily Mirror Group* of the United Kingdom as the West African Graphic Company Limited. The name West African Graphic Company was changed to Ghana Graphic Company Limited after the Gold Coast gained independence in 1957. In 1962, the government of Ghana, through an act of parliament, acquired the Ghana Graphic Company through a legislative instrument and GCGL became a government company. The company became known as Graphic Corporation. In 1999, the company changed from a corporation to a private limited liability company. When it became a private company, it became known as the Graphic Communication Group Limited. Currently, the *Daily Graphic* is published by the Graphic Communication Group Limited (GCGL).

The *Daily Graphic* is reported as the most widely read newspaper in Ghana. The company re-launched its news website graphic online in 2012. It is reported as one of the top five news websites, graphiconline in 2012. It is reported as one of the top five news websites in Ghana.

4.3.2 The New York Times

According to Gale (2006), The *New York Times* is an American newspaper published in New York City, America. It is published by the *New York Daily Times*. In 1857, the newspaper changed its name to the *New York Times*. The *New York Times* is said to have won 122 Pulitzers prizes, more than any other newspaper. It is the second most circulated newspaper in the US (1, 865. 318 average circulations). The *New York Times* has an international appeal.

4.4 Summary

The method used to collect data for this study was explained in this chapter. The chapter starts by referring to the two main philosophical foundations that underpin research and positions where text analysis as a means of carrying out research belongs. The literature shows that text analysis is generally regarded as a qualitative research approach but when it comes to enumerating the categories in the text being analysed, then it is perceived as analysing text quantitatively. Intercultural rhetoric and the analysis of media text in general fall under text analysis research. As text analysis research, this study is mainly qualitative. The chapter also highlights the types of text analysis in general and the types of text analysis that are used in IR studies. The issue of *Tertium*

Comparitionis in IR research was explained and its importance pointed out. The steps that are followed to ensure *Tertium Comparitionis* were spelt out. The chapter explained how the steps are followed to collect data for this study. The data collection procedure is explained; indicating the population of the study and how the sample size is selected from the population using the systematic probability sampling technique to make sure that the sample selected reflects the general characteristics of the population.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The central question of this research was to determine the discourse strategies used by the two editorials –the *Daily Graphic*, a Ghanaian English newspaper, and the *New York Times*, an American newspaper. There are five discourse strategies that form the focus of the analysis of the two editorials. The first discourse strategy to be analysed is the rhetorical structure of the two editorials. This analysis takes into consideration the schematic structures in which newspaper editorials have been classified. Each schematic structure is taken as a unit for the analysis of the rhetorical structures of the two newspaper editorials. The second discourse strategy analysed is the micro-genre of the two newspaper editorials. This analysis sought to identify the functions that the micro-genre of the editorials perform. In addition, the thematic progression patterns of the two newspaper editorials are analysed to determine the preference for thematic progression patterns and what they are used to achieve in the two editorials. The next discourse strategy examined is the use of rhetorical appeals in the two newspaper editorials. The aim of analysing the rhetorical appeals of the two editorials is to find out which appeals are frequently used by the editorial writers to persuade their readers. The last discourse strategy analysed is the use of attribution in the two newspaper editorials.

5.1 Analysis of Rhetorical Structure

The rhetorical analysis of the editorials is carried out following the schematic structure of the editorials. The schematic structure of a genre is simply the typical form of that type of writing. Flowerdew and Dudley-Evans (2002) refer to this as the prototype. For newspaper editorials as a genre, studies have established their schematic structure (Hoey, 1983; McCarthy, 1991; Van Djik, 1993; Bolivar, 1994). These studies have established that newspaper editorials have three main schematic structures. The first schematic structure of a newspaper editorial generally provides a summary of a topic. The second schematic structure provides a detailed evaluation of the topic and the last structure provides a recommendation.

Though editorials are found to have similar schematic structures, there are studies that have reported differences in how the schematic structures are realised across cultures. Several studies on the schematic structure of newspaper editorials across cultures have revealed that though newspaper editorials are similar across cultures, they tend to vary in various styles in the realization of their schematic structures (Yen & Chen, 2008; Giannoni, 2006; Sabzevari & Sadeghi, 2013). Newspaper editorials across cultures may all have their first schematic structure devoted to introducing a topic but the way the topic is introduced may vary across cultures. For example, it has been reported that German editorials put their argument point first more often than English editorial (Tirkkonen-Condit & Lieflander-Koistinen, 1989).

The three schematic structures of newspaper editorials established are used as the units for the analysis. The three schematic structures according to Bolivar (1994) are the lead (L), the follow (F) and the valuate (V). These three are referred to as the triad. These three parts conform to Van Djik's (1992.1993, 1995) three moves classification of the schematic structure of newspaper editorials into the definition, evaluation and conclusion. In a similar fashion, McCarthy (1991) also classified the schematic structures of newspaper editorials into three moves as establishing a common ground, making a claim and issuing a counterclaim. Though Hoey (1983) puts the schematic structures of newspaper editorials into four moves as describing the situation, identifying and describing the problem, proposing a solution to the problem and evaluating the proposed solution, the first and the second moves (describing the situation, and identifying and describing the problem) could be merged to form the first schematic move. This indicates that generally, newspaper editorials have three schematic structures.

With the classification of editorials into three main schematic structures, the first part performs the function of presenting an issue. Bolivar (1994) refers to this move as the lead, which introduces the topic to be evaluated. Hoey (1983) refers to it as describing the situation, McCarthy (1991) refers to it as establishing a common ground and Van Djik (1993) refers to it as summarizing the event. In all these descriptions of the first schematic structure of editorials, there is an issue, an event or a topic that is presented and there is an indication that in the presentation of the topic, it is described briefly by way of summarizing to give the reader a fair idea about the topic. This is done to let the reader know what the topic is. This first schematic structure of the editorial which defines or summarizes the topic to establish a common ground is taken as the introductory structure of the editorial for the purpose of the analysis of the data collected for this study.

The second part of the editorial referred to variously as the Follow, evaluating or making a claim provides an evaluation or a discussion of the event or topic introduced in the first part of the editorial. This section of editorial forms the body where the event is discussed in detail. This part of the editorial has several sub-moves in dealing with the event under discussion. These sub-moves are referred to here as rhetorical strategies or rhetorical styles.

The third and the last major section or schematic superstructure closes the topic under discussion. As the closure, it is realised in various styles as giving recommendations or advice or warning (Van Djik, 1993). It may also propose a solution to the issues discussed or issue an assertion.

Since newspaper editorials are found to be similar in their general schematic superstructures across cultures but differ in how the sub-moves are realised (Yen & Chen, 2008; Giannoni, 2006; Sabzevari & Sadeghi, 2013), the focus of this analysis is to find out how the two newspaper editorials vary in realising their sub-moves under each schematic structure. Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) compared editorials from three different cultural backgrounds and found slight variations in how the editorials realise their rhetorical structures. For this reason each schematic structure of the two newspaper editorials is analysed independently and the results compared to determine the differences and the similarities that exist between the two editorials.

For the purpose of the analysis of their rhetorical structure, the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* are coded GRA 1 to GRA 20 and the editorials of the *New York Times* are coded NYT 1 to NYT 20. The editorials used for the study are provided as appendices: GRA in Appendix A and NYT in Appendix B.

5.1.1 Analysis of the Introduction

Bonyadi (2010, 2012) studied the schematic structure of editorials. Though his studies focused on editorials of criticism, he has established that there are two sub-moves within the first schematic structure of editorials. The first schematic structure of editorials is referred to as the introduction in this analysis. These sub-moves according to Bonyadi (2010) are orientation and criticism. The orientation move is where the writers set the scene and the criticism part is where they take a stance. The first sub-move under the introductory move performs the function of presenting the topic to the readers. Bonyadi (2010) explains that this move is realised through various rhetorical strategies. He indicates that this move is not only realised by presenting a summary of the issues as suggested by Van Djik (1996), but also 'by declarative and evaluative sentences, or rhetorical question and other rhetorical strategies' (p. 328).

The second sub-move under the introductory section usually follows the presentation of the topic. This move performs the function of taking a stance with reference to the topic presented in the first sub-move. This move is also realised through different rhetorical strategies. By putting the two sub-moves together, the following framework has been developed for the analysis of the data. The table below shows the results of the analysis of the introduction of the *Daily Graphic*.

Table 2: Results of the *Daily Graphic*

Sub-Moves	Realisation	No of Editorials
Initiation of Topic	By Evaluation	20
	No Evaluation	0
	By Criticism	0
Stating of the Thesis	By Opposing/Questioning	0
	By Expressing Worry/Concern	18
	By Endorsement	2

The analysis of the introductory section of the *Daily Graphic* revealed that the two sub-moves (initiating a topic and stating a thesis) are present in all the editorials analysed. The first sub-move of all the editorials are realised by providing a detailed evaluation of the topic. None of the editorials presented the topic by providing only a summary of the issue without evaluating the issue. The initiation of the topic by presenting an evaluation of the topic is thus clearly the rhetorical style used by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic*.

The second sub-move was realised by the writers expressing worry or concern about the topic that has been introduced in the first sub-move. Eighteen (18) out of the twenty (20) editorials analysed realised this move by expressing worry or concern. Only two (2) of the editorials analysed realised this move by endorsing the issue presented. The expression of worry or concern is the major rhetorical strategy by which the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* state their thesis. The examples below illustrate the rhetorical strategy used by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* to initiate the topic and state the thesis.

Example 1

Last Saturday at Bonsu Nkwanta in the Western Region, 60 passengers travelling to Kumasi were robbed at gunpoint by four armed robbers and dispossessed of their valuables, including huge sums of money and mobile phones.During the act, the driver of the bus, as well as some passengers, was shot .and injured. **(Initiating the topic)**

The troubling aspect of the robbery last Saturday is that it did not occur very late in the night as others gone before it. **(Stating the thesis)**

(Ref. GRA 3)

Example 2

The danger in the proliferation of social media platforms, however, is when it comes to the dissemination of information. Due to their wide reach, social media are able to spontaneously reach a lot more people at a go, even better than the traditionally known media. That in itself would have been a plus if it had not been for the fact that social media platform is operated by everyday people without the basics in journalism training and without the basic knowledge of ethics that guide the profession. **(Initiating the topic)**

Our consternation lies in the fact that in recent times, even trained journalists have fallen prey to information circulated on social media and passed on such information as the truth. **(Stating the thesis)** (Ref. GRA 4)

A common feature of the introductory section of the *Daily Graphic* editorials is that the initiation of the topic is preceded by a long piece providing background information on the topic. The background information is provided by narrating the history or the events that preceded the topic. So lengthy are the background information pieces that some make up more than one third of the total length of the editorial.

As a result of the long piece of background information, before the topic is introduced, the statement of the thesis is delayed. The thesis is stated after the topic has been introduced. It is after the topic is announced that the thesis is stated. The introduction of the topic and the statement of the thesis follow each other so closely that sometimes both can occur in the same sentence. Since there is always a long piece of background information before the topic is introduced, the statement of the thesis is delayed as it immediately follows the topic. Below are two examples of the long pieces of background information provided to precede the initiation of the topic and the statement of the thesis.

Example 3

> **<u>Korle Bu Hospital deserves fitting facelift</u>**
>
> When the ministration of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the then Governor of the Gold Coast, established the Korle Bu Hospital on October 9, 1923, it was to serve as a general hospital to address the health needs of the indigenous people.
>
> The hospital then had a bed capacity of 200. However, population growth and the proven efficacy of hospital-based treatment caused a rise in hospital attendance at Korle Bu.
>
> By 1953, demand for the hospital's services had gone so high that the government was compelled to set up a task force to study the situation and make recommendations for the expansion of the hospital.
>
> The government accepted and implemented the recommendations of the taskforce, which resulted in the construction of new structures, such as the Maternity, the Medical, the Surgical and Child Health blocks. This increased the hospital's bed capacity to 1,200.
>
> Korle Bu gained teaching hospital status in 1962 when the University of Ghana Medical School (UGMS) was established for the training of medical doctors not only from Ghana but other parts of Africa.
>
> The hospital currently has a bed capacity of 2,000 and serves as the biggest national referral centre and the third largest hospital in Africa. **(Background information)**
>
> However, over the years, instead of the hospital improving its infrastructure along with its growing significance in the provision of health care and medical tuition and training, it has

kept deteriorating, to the extent that Korle Bu is now a pale shadow of itself**. (Initiating the topic)**

The absence of a culture of maintenance, which has been the bane of our dear country, has adversely affected the fortunes of an international landmark institution such as the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital. **(Stating the thesis**)

Example 4

<u>We salute taxi driver</u>

Widespread indiscipline, impunity and corruption in our society seem to suggest the dearth of integrity in the country.

Sometimes our inability to rise up against wrongdoing, even at the official level, creates the impression that the entire society has acquiesced to the whims of the very few deviants who want to hold the law-abiding community to ransom.

No matter how scary the situation appears on the streets, in the schools, churches and mosques and the entire society, it does look like all is not lost yet.

Certainly it is not all a case of gloom and doom, as there are a few elements in society who, in spite of the temptation to be corrupt and submit to the decay of our times, still show honesty and integrity in their endeavours.

There have been occasions in the past when people had returned valuables belonging to others found on the street and in commercial vehicles to their owners.

Unfortunately, even in our rural communities where people used to demonstrate fellow feeling and the desire to be one another's keeper, the mad rush for material gains has killed the communal spirit.

The unwillingness of residents of our communities to demonstrate love these days shows in the lack of public response to distress calls, especially when people are attacked by armed robbers.

Everybody prefers to remain in his or her closet or behave like "Each one for himself, God for us all". **(Background information)**

It is in this vein that the *Daily Graphic* wants to associate itself with the tonnes of commendation that has poured in to recognise the act of valour demonstrated by the taxi driver who knocked down two suspected armed robbers in Accra last Saturday.

Reports say the taxi driver’s sheer bravado stopped the two armed robbers on a motorbike from robbing a young woman of her handbag.
It is said that the robbers believed the woman, who collects the sales of Koala supermarkets daily, had done so again last Saturday and so they trailed her to snatch her handbag. They failed in their bid to snatch the bag but succeeded in wounding her. Luck, however, eluded them as the taxi driver knocked them down from their motorbike. **(Initiating the topic)**
The *Daily Graphic* can only say 'bravo' to the taxi driver for mustering courage to stand up to the suspected robbers. **(Stating the thesis)**

The table below shows the results of the analysis of the introduction of the *New York Times*.

Table 3: Results of the *New York Times*

Sub-moves	Realization	No of Editorials
Initiation of Topic	By Evaluation	13
	No Evaluation	4
	By Criticism	3
Stating the Thesis	By Opposition/Questioning	15
	By Express Worry / Concern	2
	By Endorsement	3

The analysis of the introduction of the *New York Times* editorials shown in table 3 above, revealed that the first sub-move of the introductory section is realised by initiating the topic to be discussed. The rhetorical strategies used to initiate the topic are by evaluation, offering no evaluation and initiating the topic through criticism. The dominant rhetorical strategy used to initiate the topic is by evaluation (found in 13 of the 20 editorials). This is done by providing some background information, usually within the first paragraph. Unlike the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* where the topic is initiated by first providing a long piece of background information, any background information provided by the editorial writers of the *New York Times* is very brief.

The other rhetorical strategy used to initiate the topic is by providing a brief summary of the issue to be discussed without the writer using any word that expresses their opinion about the issue. With this strategy, the reader is introduced straight away to the issue under discussion. An example of this is the opening paragraph below.

Example 5

> On Wednesday, officials from Michigan and the Federal Environmental Protection Agency were called before a House committee to explain how they let the drinking water in Flint become poisoned by lead. Also testifying before the committee was a mother of four whose tap water has been so contaminated since early 2015 that her family has had to use bottled water for drinking and cooking and has often showered at friends' homes outside the city. (**Initiating the topic)**

Example 6

> This month, the Supreme Court will consider whether to hear the appeal of Duane Buck, a black man from Texas who was sentenced to die for the 1995 murder of his ex-girlfriend and a man who was with her. There is no dispute about his guilt; (**Initiating the topic**) the issue is <u>how he ended up on death row</u>. (Ref. NYT 16)

The second sub-move under the introduction section of the *New York Times* was realised mainly by opposing the topic introduced or by questioning the topic introduced. Fifteen out of the twenty editorials analysed used this rhetorical strategy in stating their thesis. Only two editorials stated the thesis by expressing worry or concern and three editorials stated their thesis by endorsement of the topic introduced.

There is therefore a difference between the rhetorical strategies the two newspaper editorials used to state their thesis. The *Daily Graphic* editorials mainly used the expression of worry or concern in stating the thesis, the *New York Times* editorials used the opposition of the topic as the main rhetorical strategy of stating the thesis.

Example 7

On Wednesday, Officials from Michigan and the federal Environmental Protection Agency were called before a House committee to explain how they let the drinking water in Flint become poisoned by lead. Also testifying before the committee was a mother of four whose tap water has been so contaminated since early 2015 that her family has had to use bottled water for drinking and cooking and has often showered at friends' homes outside the city. (**Initiating the topic)**

The crisis in Flint is the result of many failures, starting with governor-appointed emergency managers, who made catastrophic mistakes. It poses an important question for Congress and state legislatures: When and how should state officials intervene at the local level? (**Stating the thesis**) (Ref. NYT 6)

Example7

The world recoiled in horror in 2012 when 20 Connecticut schoolchildren and six adults were killed at Sandy Hook Elementary School by a deranged teenager using a military-style assault rifle to fire 154 rounds in less than five minutes. The weapon was a Bushmaster AR-15 semiautomatic rifle adapted from its original role as a battlefield weapon. The AR-15, which is designed to inflict maximum casualties with rapid bursts, should never have been available for purchase by civilians. (**Background information**)

This is the eminently reasonable point that the parents of the 6- and 7-year-old students cut down at the school are now pressing in Connecticut state court. They are attempting to sue the gun manufacturer, Remington; the wholesaler; and a local retailer for recklessness in providing the weapon to the consumer marketplace "with no conceivable use for it other than the mass killing of other human beings." **(Initiating the topic)**

The question of whether the lawsuit will be allowed to proceed is at issue because Congress, prodded by the gun lobby, in 2005 foolishly granted the gun industry nearly complete immunity from legal claims and damages from the criminal use of guns. (**Stating the thesis**) (Ref. NYT 11)

5.1.2 Analysis of the Body

The body of the newspaper editorial is the second schematic structure of the editorial. The focus of this section is to discuss or evaluate the topic or the issue initiated in the introductory section. The body of the editorial is considered the section responsible for developing the issue or the topic under discussion (Bonyadi 2010). Bhatia (1993) refers to this section of the editorial as the argument move of the editorial. The body of the editorial from various points of analysis is regarded as the section of the editorial where the writer presents the details of the issue or the topic initiated in the introduction by developing content that highlights the problems posed by the issue presented and offering a solution to the problem (Hoey, 1983) or by offering arguments and counter arguments on the issue presented (McCarthy, 1991).

The analysis of the two newspaper editorials was carried out to determine the rhetorical strategies used by the editorial writers in developing content for the issues presented. Since the body of the editorial is found between the introduction and the conclusion, the presentation of the analysis of the body included the introduction and the conclusions though these two sections (introduction and conclusion) were analysed separately. The introduction and the conclusion are in bold to show the rhetorical strategies used to realise the body of the editorials. This helps to show the rhetorical strategies used by the editorial writers to develop content for the issues presented in the introductory section of the editorials.

The presentation of the analysis of the rhetorical strategies used to develop content shows each of the twenty editorials selected from each of the two newspaper editorials. Unlike the introduction and the conclusion where a number of editorials could use a particular rhetorical strategy and could be classified under that rhetorical strategy, the presentation of the rhetorical strategies used by the editorials analysed shows each editorial and the rhetorical strategies used to develop it.
Below is the presentation of the rhetorical structure analysis of the *Daily Graphic* editorials.

Table 4: Rhetorical Structure Analysis of the editorial of the *Daily Graphic*

EDITORIAL	RHETORICAL STRUCTURE
GRA 01	**Introduction**^Problem^Solution^**Conclusion**
GRA 02	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Commendation ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 03	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 04	**Introduction** ^ Problem 1^ Problem 2 ^ Problem 3 ^ Problem 4 ^ Elaboration ^ Elaboration ^ Caution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 05	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Elaboration ^ Caution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 06	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Orientation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 07	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Problem ^ Consequences ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 08	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Consequences ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 09	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Discussion ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 10	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Problem ^ Caution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 11	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Consequences ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 12	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 13	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Elaboration ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 14	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**

GRA 15	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Elaboration ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 16	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Consequences ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 17	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 18	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 19	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
GRA 20	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Elaboration 1 ^ Elaboration 2 ^ Elaboration 3 ^ Commendation ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**

^ = followed by

For the twenty editorial texts analysed from the *Daily Graphic*, it was revealed that the body section was developed through presenting a problem or a situation, (elaborating the problem or the situation in some cases) and providing a solution or a word of caution.

The development of the body begins with the presentation of a problem or a situation. This rhetorical strategy aims at acquainting the reader with the issue that is at hand. The analysis of the 20 *Daily Graphic* editorials showed that they begin the body with the presentation of a situation or a problem. In some cases the situation or problem presented is elaborated by providing more details in subsequent paragraphs. Out of the twenty editorials analysed, only six provided elaboration of the situation or the problem presented. An illustrative example is provided below:

Example 8

Wednesday, January 6, 2016 **GRA 1**

<u>BoG must be proactive not reactive</u>

The Bank of Ghana (BoG) has revoked the licences of 70 microfinance institutions operating in the country. The move, the bank said, was the result of the failure of the institutions "to meet the conditions precedent to the issuance of a final licence".
There is no doubt that the action of the bank is clearly meant to ensure that all companies operating as microfinance institutions have the wherewithal to protect the interest of depositors. Unfortunately, this action has come at a time when some operators have mismanaged the funds belonging to depositors, leaving them in a state of complete hopelessness. **(Introduction)**

The BoG's firefighting initiatives have come a bit late in the day as it has demonstrated its inability to manage and control the numerous companies that are masquerading as microfinance schemes and duping unsuspecting people in the economy. Apart from these microfinance organizations, most of which are more or less Ponzi schemes, there are many other schemes such as Susu and fund clubs which have sprung up in many areas operating without due regard for the regulations. Due to the high interest rates quoted and the various items added to attract people, traders have had to close their shops to invest their meagre capitals in those schemes. Farmers have also sold their farms while in some cases; pensioners have fallen prey by investing their bulk sums in these schemes. The central bank should be alert to its responsibilities to protect the interest of the gullible masses who easily fall to some of these schemes.
We are in times where our economy is facing some serious challenges and, therefore, many people will be tempted to engage in all manner of activities in their quest to make ends meet. However, the *Daily Graphic* believes that allowing these illegal schemes to have their way could contribute to the collapse of an already stressed economy.
A case in point is the economy in the Brong Ahafo Region where many businesses have collapsed because they closed down to invest their capital in two companies which offered to return huge interests on their investments. **(Problem)**

This practice cannot be allowed to continue and we believe that it behoves the central bank to decentralize its operations by strengthening its regional branches
and equipping them with funds and logistics to monitor and wipe out companies that do not meet the criteria to operate such schemes. The central bank should also be able to use its mechanisms to detect early warning signs to prevent the situation from creating problems for the economy. **(Solution)**

The *Daily Graphic* appeals to the general public to be careful about these schemes because under no circumstance would these schemes be able to sustain the kind of interests they pay on deposits. **(Conclusion)**

After the presentation of a situation or problem, the next rhetorical strategy adopted in developing the body of the editorials in the *Daily Graphic* was the presentation of a means by which the problem could be solved. This rhetorical strategy was realised using statements that call for action to be taken. The institution or body responsible for dealing with the situation or problem presented is called upon to act in order to help solve the situation or problem at hand.

Apart from the two main rhetorical strategies used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*, there were instances where the consequences of the situation or the problem presented are given before the solution is offered. An indication of such consequences featured as the third most common rhetorical strategy used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. It should also be mentioned that there was one instance of commendation where the situation presented was not a problem but an issue that was commendable (cf. GRA 02).

Table 4, showing the rhetorical structures found in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*, it could be observed that there are differences in the rhetorical structure of the editorials. However, there seems to be a general pattern in the way the texts are constructed by presenting a situation or a problem, elaborating the situation or problem and offering a solution by indicating the required action to be taken.

The table below shows the rhetorical structure analysis of the editorials of the *New York Times*.

Table 5: Rhetorical Structure Analysis of the editorials of the *New York Times*

EDITORIAL	RHETORICAL STRUCTURE
NYT 1	**Introduction**^Situation^Argument^Counter Argument^Argument^Condemnation^**Conclusion**
NYT 2	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Argument ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 3	**Introduction** ^ Argument ^ counter Argument ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 4	**Introduction** ^ Argument ^ Counter Argument ^ Situation ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 5	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^Criticism ^ Orientation ^ Argument ^ Criticism ^ **Conclusion**

NYT 6	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ Counter Augment ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 7	**Introduction** ^ Problem ^ Consequences ^ Argument ^ Solution ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 8	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ Conclusion
NYT 9	**Introduction** ^ Argument ^ Counter Argument ^ Criticism ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 10	**Introduction** ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ Orientation ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 11	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ Argument ^ Counter Argument ^ Criticism ^ Orientation ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 12	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Orientation ^ Endorsement ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 13	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ Argument ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 14	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Elaboration ^ Elaboration ^ Argument ^ Criticism ^ **Contribution**
NYT 15	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Argument ^ Argument ^ Consequences ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 16	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 17	**Introduction** ^ Criticism ^ Orientation ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 18	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Argument ^ Argument ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 19	**Introduction** ^ Situation ^ Argument ^ Counter Argument ^ Elaboration ^ elaboration ^ **Conclusion**
NYT 20	**Introduction** ^ Orientation ^ Criticism ^ Argument ^ Orientation ^ **Conclusion**

^ = followed by

For the editorial texts in the *New York Times*, presented in Table 5, the analysis revealed more divergent and varied rhetorical strategies used in developing the body of the editorials than in the case of the *Daily Graphic*. Nine different rhetorical strategies were discovered in the editorials. Five of these were frequently used; namely, argumentation, orientation, presentation of an issue, criticism and counter argumentation. The other strategies were condemnation, giving the consequences of a situation, offering a solution to a situation and endorsement of an action.

The dominant rhetorical strategy among these was argumentation. Out of the twenty editorials analysed, eighteen (18) (i.e 90%) of them used argumentation in developing the body of the editorials. This rhetorical strategy was used by writers to justify a particular position, usually the position taken by the writer. According to Ansary and Babaii (2012: 14), 'argumentation uses language to justify or refute a standpoint, with the aim of securing agreement in views.' In addition to justifying a standpoint, argumentation puts forth propositions as to what the case should be or ought to be. This is the major rhetorical strategy used to develop the body of the *New York Times* editorials that were analysed.

The second and third most common rhetorical strategies found in the editorials of the *New York Times* were orientation and the presentation of a situation. Orientation was used to indicate that there was an issue that had to be debated. The orientation was used to indicate the issue to be debated. Along with orientation, there was the use of presenting an issue as a rhetorical strategy. The next rhetorical strategy was the presentation of a situation, usually followed by argumentation.

Counter argumentation and criticism are among the five common rhetorical strategies found in the editorials of the *New York Times*. Counter argumentation was usually presented after an argumentation. The counter argumentation opposes the argument put forth by providing the opposing view of the argument. Criticisms were directed towards certain actions taken. Criticism is a rhetorical strategy that questions an action by judging it as bad or finding fault with it.

The other rhetorical strategies found in the editorials of the *New York Times*, were hardly used and cannot be said to be major rhetorical strategies used by the editorial writers of the *New York Times*. The editorial of the *New York Times* presented below illustrates the rhetorical strategies used.
Example 9

The Right to Sue the Gun Industry NYT 11

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD MARCH 4, 2016

The world recoiled in horror in 2012 when 20 Connecticut schoolchildren and six adults were killed at Sandy Hook Elementary School by a deranged teenager using a military-style assault rifle to fire 154 rounds in less than five minutes. The weapon was a Bushmaster AR-15 semiautomatic rifle adapted from its original role as a battlefield weapon. The AR-15, which is designed to inflict maximum casualties with rapid bursts, should never have been available for purchase by civilians. **(Introduction)**

This is the eminently reasonable point that the parents of the 6- and 7-year-old students cut down at the school are now pressing in Connecticut state court. They are attempting to sue the gun manufacturer, Remington; the wholesaler; and a local retailer for recklessness in providing the weapon to the consumer marketplace "with no conceivable use for it other than the mass killing of other human beings." **(Orientation)**

The question of whether the lawsuit will be allowed to proceed is at issue because Congress, prodded by the gun lobby, in 2005 foolishly granted the gun industry nearly complete immunity from legal claims and damages from the criminal use of guns. **(Criticism)**

The Sandy Hook parents argue that their suit should continue because that law, the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, allows claims against companies — gun shop dealers, for example — if they knew or should have known that the weapons they sold were likely to risk injury to others. The parents contend that the maker of the Bushmaster is no less culpable because it knowingly marketed a risky war weapon to civilians. **(Argument)**

The manufacturer is claiming total immunity under the federal law. Nearly every lawsuit filed against firearms makers has been dismissed in federal and state courts because of this shield law. The Connecticut state judge's decision on whether to allow the suit to proceed, expected by the end of next month, is widely awaited by the arms industry and gun control proponents because it could well provide a legal framework for holding the industry accountable for the mass shooting deaths made possible by its products. The lawsuit cites numerous instances in which the arms industry has used macho military terms in marketing assault rifles and 30-round ammunition magazines to civilians, including boasts of "military-proven performance" and "the ultimate combat weapons system." As the plaintiffs note, sportsmen's hunting rifles, by contrast, are marketed with five-round clips. **(Counter argument)**

This shameful gun industry shield law became a factor in the presidential primaries when Hillary Clinton attacked Senator Bernie Sanders, her Democratic rival, for having voted for it. Mr. Sanders has since changed his position to favor repeal of the law; the Republican

> candidates, needless to say, continue to pander to gun rights zealots and duck the issue. **(Criticism)**
>
> Beyond seeking damages, the Sandy Hook parents aim to force the AR-15 off the market. "The AR-15 is the weapon of choice for shooters looking to inflict maximum casualties, and American schools are on the forefront of such violence," they say. **(Orientation)**
>
> In seeking justice for their children and their community, these parents could help rein in a runaway industry and reduce a grievous national affliction. **(Conclusion)**

The general aim of the *New York Times* editorials is to persuade readers to side with the stance of the paper. To achieve this, the rhetorical strategies used are presented in such a way that the actions in the issues raised are criticized, arguments are raised in favour of the actions taken, and counter arguments are offered to enable readers to see and weigh the two sides so that the readers would be persuaded to side with the stance taken by the paper. The rhetorical structures commonly used by the *New York Times* editorials therefore showed that the American editorials presented the issues being written about, offered criticisms of the actions of the parties involved, and presented arguments and counter arguments of the issues, before a conclusion was drawn in favour of the argument being presented.

A comparison of the analysis of the body section of the two newspaper editorials showed that this section focuses on developing the topic introduced by providing a detailed discussion of the topic. Both editorials use the rhetorical strategy of presenting a situation or a problem. This is a rhetorical strategy common to the two editorials. However, there is a great difference in the rhetorical strategies used by the two newspaper editorials in developing the body of the editorials. The major rhetorical strategies used by the *Daily Graphic editorials* were the presentation of a situation or a problem and offering a solution. On the other hand, the *New York Times* editorials used argumentation and counter arguments in most cases as the rhetorical strategies in developing the body of the editorials.

In addition, the *Daily Graphic* editorials, after presenting a situation or a problem, went ahead to call for action to be taken by the institution or body concerned. These calls for action sought to be the means by which the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* provided solutions to the situations and problems presented. On the other hand, the editorial writers of the *New York* Times used counter arguments and criticisms as a means of developing the situations presented.

5.1.3 Analysis of the Conclusion

The conclusion is the last schematic structure of newspaper editorials. This section of the editorials is analysed taking into consideration two studies by Bonyadi (2010, 2012). Bonyadi (2010) analysed the concluding section of two newspaper editorials and found that this section of newspaper editorials is realised through two main rhetorical strategies. These are giving informative comments and presenting directives. The analysis further revealed that informative comments are usually followed by two rhetorical strategies: making predictions and stating a necessity, with a few instances of solely informative comments. The second rhetorical strategy, presenting directives, is usually presented as offering a suggestion or expressing a necessity. The second study by Bonyadi (2012) found additional rhetorical strategies that followed the presentation of directives. These strategies stated hopes, warning and or fear.

Considering the way informative comments are given and how the directives are presented in the two studies (Bonyadi 2010; 2012), five rhetorical strategies seem to emerge as the means by which the conclusions of editorials are realised. These five strategies are: making a prediction, providing a solution or suggestion, presenting a necessity, stating a warning/caution and giving only informative comments. The editorials selected for this study were analysed with reference to these five rhetorical strategies listed. The last paragraphs of the editorials were usually the conclusion of the editorial text. Table 6 below shows the analysis of the conclusion of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*.

Table 6: The conclusion of the *Daily Graphic*

Rhetorical Strategies	**Frequency**	**%**
Making a Prediction	2	10
Providing Suggestions	6	30
Stating a Necessity	4	20
Stating a Warning/caution	8	40
Informative comment	0	0

The results of the analysis of the conclusion section of the *Daily Graphic* showed that the rhetorical strategy used most often in the conclusion is stating a warning/caution. This is followed by providing suggestions as the rhetorical strategy. Four of the rhetorical strategies were used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. The only rhetorical strategy not used by any of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* is giving only informative comment.

Table 7 below shows the analysis of the conclusion of the editorials of the *New York Times*.

Table 7: The conclusion of the *New York Times*

Rhetorical Strategies	**Frequency**	**%**
Making a Prediction	5	25
Providing suggestions	4	20
Stating a Necessity	6	30
Stating a Warning/caution	3	10
Informative comment	2	10

The results of the analysis of the conclusion of the *New York Times* in Table 7 revealed that all five rhetorical strategies found by previous research to be present in the conclusion of editorials were used by the editorial writers of the *New York Times*. The results of the analysis revealed that the most commonly used rhetorical strategy in the editorials of the *New York Times* in the conclusion was to state a necessity. The statement of necessity constituted 30% of the *New York Times* editorials analysed. On the other hand, the common rhetorical strategy used by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* was to state warning/caution. Forty percent of the *Daily Graphic* editorials used the statement of warning/caution as the conclusion.

The analysis of the conclusion therefore revealed that the two newspaper editorials used the various rhetorical strategies that have been found to be used by newspaper editorials in their conclusion. The analysis revealed that the various rhetorical strategies identified by Bonyadi (2010; 2012) are used to realise the conclusion. *The New York* Times editorials exhibit the use of all five rhetorical strategies while the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* exhibited the use of four of the rhetorical strategies. The rhetorical strategy not used by the *Daily Graphic* is the provision of only informative comments. None of the twenty editorials of the *Daily Graphic* used only informative comments to end the editorial, and only two of the twenty editorials of the *New York Times* used only informative comments in their conclusion

5.2 Analysis of Micro-genre

The second research question aims at investigating the differences and similarities between the two editorials in the way they present the news and the different approaches they use to form public ideologies. In other words, the aim was to determine the micro-genres used by the two editorials. To achieve this, the selected editorials from both the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* were examined and classified into the various micro-genres, based on the social functions that they seek to perform. The classification of the editorials into various micro-genres and social functions they perform was done following the categorization of expositions and media commentaries proposed by Martin and Peters (1985), Hoey (1983) and White (2002) and used by Wang (2007) and Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013). Table 8 below shows the micro-genres and the functions they seek to perform.

Table 8: Micro-genres and Functions of Newspapers Commentaries

Micro-genres and Functions of Newspapers Commentaries (based on Hoey, 1983; Martin & Peters, 1985; White, 2002)

Micro-genres		Functions
Media Exposition	Explanatory exposition	To explain what, how/why
	Argumentative exposition	To persuade that something is the case
	Hortatory exposition	To persuade that something should be the case or should be done.
Problem/Solution		To illustrate a problem and propose solutions to it.
Media Challenge		To question, argue against or challenge an existing opinion on an issue of public interest.
Media Discussion		To survey, or present (at least) two points of view about an issue of public interest.

5.2.1 Findings of Micro-genre Analysis

Based on the framework of classification used - the categorization of expositions and media commentaries - the editorials from the two newspapers were analysed to identify the micro-genres that are dominant in each set of newspaper editorials. Table 9 below shows the micro-genre analysis of the *Daily Graphic*.

Table 9: Results of the *Daily Graphic*

Micro-genres of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* of Ghana.

Micro-genres	No. of Editorial
Explanatory exposition	1
Argumentative exposition	0
Hortatory exposition	10
Problem /Solution	4
Media Challenge	0
Media Discussion	5
Total	20

The analysis of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* revealed that half of the editorials, (10 out of 20), representing 50% belong to the hortatory media exposition micro-genre. Four editorials fell into the media discussion genre, two were identified as media problem/solution genres and one editorial exhibited media explanatory exposition.

Two micro-genres that were not found in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* were media argumentative exposition and media challenge micro-genres. Most of the editorial texts in the *Daily Graphic* classified as media hortatory exposition micro-genre seek to persuade the public that some kind of action needs to be taken. These texts attempt to address issues of public concern by persuading the addresses in the text to consider the propositions put forth in the text; often the parties involved in the issues raised. These may be individuals or state institutions addressed in the text who are persuaded to reconsider their actions or inactions. This is done in a manner that their actions or inactions are reviewed by discussing the positive and the negative aspects of such actions. After the review of their actions or inactions, the newspaper expressed its view by suggesting or proposing what the paper felt is the best step or action to be taken.

One thing that is striking about the majority of editorials in the *Daily Graphic* is that the discourse seeks to appeal to the addressees in the text by exhorting them to agree with the suggestions offered by the paper. The tone of the language is that of encouragement and not compulsion. The voice of the paper does not command or seek to dictate to the addressees to take the action proposed by the paper. Rather, the paper urges the addressees to see the need to act in a certain way. This is the hortatory exposition. The examples bellow illustrate the hortatory exposition.

Example 10

> we **urge** the police to increase the patrols' (Ref. GRA 3)
> 'the *Daily Graphic* **appeals** to all' (Ref. GRA 10)
> 'we **pray** that state prosecutors are put on the heels of officials' (Ref. GRA 18)
> 'the Daily Graphic **wishes to entreat** the government' (Ref. GRA 11)
> 'we **appeal** to government' (Ref. GRA 16)
> 'we, therefore**, plead** with the many task forces' (Ref. GRA 7)

The editorials in the *Daily Graphic* generally aim at educating the public on the issues raised and urge the parties involved to see what is good and what is wrong with their actions or in-actions and urge the parties involved to reconsider their action by proposing "a way out."

The editorials in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper generally are written about issues of public concern by stating the facts of the issue, discussing the issue and offering a suggestion or a solution to the issue discussed. As a result of this general structure that the majority of the editorials in the *Daily Graphic* follow, the other micro-genres found are those that are closely related to media hortatory exposition. The other micro-genres common in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* are media problem/solution and media discussion genres. These micro-genres also follow a similar pattern of raising an issue, discussing it and proposing a solution.

On the whole, the micro-genre that is predominant in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* is media hortatory exposition. This dominant genre follows a general pattern of raising an issue, discussing the issue by considering the things that are good and bad about it and ending the editorial by putting forth a suggestion or a solution or by proposing a way forward.

Table 10 below shows the results of the analysis of the micro-genre of the editorials of the *New York Times.*

Table 10: Results of the *New York Times*

Micro-genres of the editorials of the *New York Times* of America.

Micro-genres	No. of Editorial
Explanatory exposition	1
Argumentative exposition	12
Hortatory exposition	1
Problem/Solution	1
Media challenge	2
Media Discussion	3
Total	20

The table above shows that in the analysis of the *New York Times* editorials into micro-genres, the media argumentation exposition genre is dominant, appearing in 12 out of the 20 editorials (i.e. 60%) This is followed by media challenge and media discussion genres, with three editorials each. Media problem /Solution genres appear twice and only one editorial each follows the media explanation and media hortatory expositions.

The editorials of the *New York Times* are characterized by contesting or criticizing or judging the actions taken by the parties involved in the issues that the editorials raise. These editorials generally follow the structure of presenting an issue, criticizing the actions taken, offering arguments in favour of the stance taken, providing a counter argument and offering another argument in favour of the stance taken. The actions taken either by individuals or state institutions are questioned or even, in some instances, condemned. This is argumentative exposition. Examples are provided below.

Example 11

> ‘This is mostly nonsense’ (Ref. NYT 1)
> ‘the way to have this argument is through peaceful means’ (Ref. NYT 1)
> ‘What is needed, and has long been needed, is an immediate end to the civil war’ (Ref. NYT 2)
> ‘Congress is on the wrong side of the inversion issue’ (Ref. NYT 5)

As the majority of the editorials of the *New York Times* are media argumentative expositions, they seek to perform the function of persuading the public that the stance that the paper advances is correct. The parties involved in the issues raised by the paper are persuaded to realise that they had not acted well or they were not acting well.

The general aim of the *New York Times* editorials was to persuade readers to side with the stance of the paper. To achieve this, the structure of the editorials is presented in such a way that the actions in the issues raised were criticized in order to make the stance advanced credible.

5.3 Analysis of Thematic Progression

In every piece of writing, there is something that the writer is writing about. That thing is the topic under discussion. The writer gives some information about the topic concerned. This is what forms the basis of thematic progression; the theme-rheme structure. The theme is the topic with which the writer begins and what is expressed about the topic is the rheme. The theme-rheme structure was formulated to account for how a text is developed from its starting point to the end.

The theme is defined as ‘that which is known or at least obvious in a given situation and from which the speaker proceeds’ (Danes, 1974:106). In Systemic Functional Grammar, Halliday (1994:37) defines the theme as ‘the starting point of the message, the element which serves as the point of departure of the message, that with which the clause is concerned.’ Fries (1995: 318) defined the theme as ‘an orienter to the text.’

The theme is what comes first in the clause. The theme therefore serves as the framework for the interpretation of the message. It is a useful guide to the understanding of a particular message and to make meaning of the text. It shows how the writer has decided to arrange information in a given clause. The arrangement of information within the clause helps to structure how information flows in the text. The flow of information in the text helps the reader to interpret the text as a whole.

The rheme is the part of the clause that develops the theme (Jianghong Hairong and Xiangfeng 2005; Wang, 2007). The rheme is the information about the theme. The rheme is what the writer is saying about the theme. The rheme contains the information that the writer is saying about the theme and relaying to the reader. For this reason, the rheme usually contains new information.

In English paragraphs/texts, the theme appears first and the rheme is placed at the end. The part of the information that is made the rheme is determined by the information that the writer wishes to communicate. For example, the two sentences below illustrate how the writer can choose which part of information to make the theme or the rheme.

1. The N1 stretches from Tetteh Quashie Roundabout to Malam Junction.
2. The road that stretches from Tetteh Quashie Roundabout to Malam Junction is called the N1.

In the example above, though the sentences may be considered similar, the information given not the same. In the first sentence, the writer introduces the N1 as the theme and what is communicated to the reader is that it stretches from Tetteh Quashie Roundabout to Malam Junction.

In sentence 2, the writer introduces the road that stretches from Tetteh Quashie Roundabout to Malam Junction to the reader. What is communicated to the reader is the name of the road. There is therefore a strong relationship between the theme-rheme structure and what is considered as old or given information and what is new information.

5.3.1 Theme-Rheme vs Old-New Information

In the sentence or the clause, the theme is what is being talked about and the rheme is what is being said about the theme. The theme and the rheme therefore have direct links to information that is known (old or given) by the reader and information that is new to the reader. The theme conveys information that is known by the reader in the sense that its meaning could be traced to the context of the discourse. The rheme conveys new information in the sense that its meaning could be traced back to the context of the discourse. The rheme conveys new information to the reader. New information in the sense that the information is unpredictable for the reader and it is usually the writer's claim or proposition which the reader is not aware of (Celce, Murcia & Larsen Freeman, 1999; Adika, 2003).

Though Halliday (1994) is of the view that old-new and theme-rheme are not the same, they are largely equivalent. The theme-rheme structure enables us to trace how information is developed in a text by adding new information to what is already known. With the theme-rheme structure, one can trace how new information is added to the old in the development of ideas in a text. The structure makes it possible to tell which information is given or known. The relationship between old and new information is clearly seen with the help of the theme-rheme structure of text analysis.

Given or old information refers to what the writer assumes the reader already knows. The writer makes this assumption because the given information has been mentioned by him or her in previous sentences or it is the kind of information which is shared between the writer and the reader. New information on the other hand is considered newsworthy because the reader does not know it. It is the information the writer cannot take for granted that the reader knows (Celce, Murcia & Larsen Freeman, 1999).

The relationship between the theme-rheme and the old-new information is significant for a number of reasons. One significance of the old-new information in the theme-rheme structure is about the placement of sentences within a text so that they can perform their communicative functions effectively. For communicative purposes, it is preferred that the segment of the clause that bears old information should precede the segment that is conveying new information. This means that the segment of the clause that bears old information should appear in the theme position (Vande Kopple, 1991).

It is also significant to consider how the theme-rheme structure interacts with the old-new information structure to determine how the theme of a text is developed. Tracing the development of the theme of a text is the focus of the theme-rheme analytical framework. In written English, new information has to be properly introduced by the writer. The structure of the text should clearly signal new information to enable the reader follow the sequence of thought of the writer. This is because English has a relatively rigid word order which determines the meaning of the clause and how it relates to other clauses within the text. This places a kind of 'burden' on the writer to decide which elements should be placed at the beginning of the clause and which should be placed at the end (Adika, 2003). Also, the writer has to decide which information can be regarded as old and which as new.

The rigid word order in English which requires that the writer determines what element should be placed as the old information and what should be placed as the new information makes the theme-rheme structure relevant to the analysis of how information is structured in a text. The interaction between the theme-rheme structure and the old-new information structure makes the theme-rheme analytical framework a useful tool in the evaluation of writing to determine how the writer develops the theme of the text. The theme-rheme framework of analysis helps to evaluate a piece of writing to determine how well the writer is able to place old information and new information as far as the negotiation of meaning is concerned and how information is related to the context of writing. (Bloor & Bloor, 1987)

5.3.2 Types of Themes

The theme may be simple, multiple or clausal. When the theme is made up of one structural element, it is a simple theme. When the theme is made up of more than one structural element, it is a multiple theme. When a clause functions as a theme in a complex sentence, it is a clausal theme (Halliday, 1994).

There are three elements in a multiple theme: the topic the writer is talking about, the writer's impression about the topic and how the topic is related to the context of the discourse. These three elements constitute three types of themes; the topical or experiential or ideational theme, the interpersonal theme and the textual theme. The three themes may occur in one clause and constitute the theme of the clause. Halliday (1994) sets out the criteria for the determination of these themes in a clause.

In the determination of what constitutes the theme (multiple theme), the topical theme is considered the last element of the theme. For an interpersonal and or textual theme to form part of the theme, the word(s) that bear the interpersonal or textual meaning would have to precede the topical theme. If the word(s) bearing the interpersonal or textual meaning occur after the topical theme, then such word(s) do not form part of the theme. Textual and interpersonal themes are therefore determined with reference to the position of the topical theme (Halliday, 1994)

5.3.2.1 The Topical Theme

The topical theme is the focus of the clause. It refers to processes that are defined; such as actions, events, mental processes, relations and actors in a process. The topical theme serves as the orientation for the experiential meaning of the clause and appears at the beginning of the clause. The topical theme could be realised as a nominal, an adverbial, a prepositional phrase or the nominalisation of a clause (Halliday, 1994; Adika, 2003).

5.3.2.2 Interpersonal Theme

This refers to the writer or speaker qualifying something to let the reader get a particular impression or picture. It is the writer's personal judgment on meaning. It is manifested in the modal adjuncts, vocatives and mood marking. It involves the use of words such as "probably", "evidently", "possibly", "certainly", etc. If any of these words occur before the topical theme, the interpersonal theme together with the topical theme are said to be functioning thematically. (Halliday, 1994; Adika, 2003; Eggins, 2004). However, if the word that bears the interpersonal meaning occurs after the topical theme, then it is considered part of the rheme.

5.3.2.3 Textual Theme

Textual theme performs the function of showing the relationship among clauses in the text. Textual themes show that the writer is connecting the sentences in the text. It involves the use of discourse markers and conjunctions that relate one part of a particular clause to another part of the text. It refers to the use of cohesive words or transitional words and phrases by the writer to hold the sentences together. It is seen in the use of words such as "however", "but", "moreover", "also" etc (Halliday, 1994; Adika, 2003; Eggins, 2004). If any of these words that bear textual meaning occurs before a topical theme in the clause, then the topical theme together with the textual theme form the starting point of the clause.

5.3.3 Thematic Progression (TP)

The task of every writer is to weave sentences together to create a text that has unity and texture. Every writer is faced with the challenge of how to start and how to develop his thought into a unified whole that communicates his intended message. Thematic progression refers to the initiation and development of a theme (topic) from one sentence or clause to another to create a unit of information which preferably forms a paragraph (Halliday, 1994; Adika, 2003; Eggins, 2004; Khany & Nejad, 2010).

Thematic progression is defined as the choice and ordering of themes showing the relationship among them in the text as a whole (Danes, 1974). Thematic progression is an analysis of how the theme and the rheme are distributed at sentence level and a subsequent display of the theme-rheme network discovered across sentence boundaries. Eggins (2004) states that the exchange of information between theme and rheme combinations in a text is known as thematic progression. The theme-rheme network that is discovered is referred to as the thematic progression of the text.

Thematic progression analysis is carried out to examine how information is effectively communicated in a text. The relevance of thematic progression in text construction is that it helps the analyst to trace the flow of information within portions of the text and in the entire text. Information flow could be traced within a paragraph or beyond (Adika, 2003).

For the analysis of thematic progression, first, there is the identification of the theme and the rheme at the sentence level. Then, after the theme-rheme structure is identified at the sentence level, the network of the information is extended to observe the nature of the network within a section of the text. The theme-rheme framework of analysis according to Adika (2003) provides a theoretically consistent way of describing communicative roles of clauses in the progression of meaning in a piece of writing. The analysis of thematic progression accounts for what happens in the development of meaning in a piece of writing.

5.3.3.1 Types of Thematic Progression

As writers construct texts, there are various ways that they string sentences together resulting in different types of thematic progression. The types of thematic progression are used to structure texts into intelligible units. A thematic analysis is conducted to find out the kind of progressions that various sections of texts exhibit. It is also conducted to find out how well a text hangs together to intelligibly develop its message. It could therefore be conducted to find out if the thematic development of a text is weak or strong. An analysis of thematic progression enables us to identify the types of progressions that are common in a particular text as the types of progression that are common in a particular author's work. It is also used to identify the types of progression common in certain types of text or genre. This can help to explain that type of text organisation

Danes (1974) identifies three types of thematic progression. Some other types of thematic progression have been added to the three identified by Danes. McCabe (1999) proposed four thematic progression types. These four used by Khany and Nejad (2010) are parallel or constant progression, continuous or linear or zigzag progression, split rheme and split theme progression. For the purposes of this study, the four thematic progressions used are constant thematic progression, linear or zigzag progression, derived thematic progression and split thematic progression. These four thematic progressions are explained below.

1. ***Constant Thematic Progression***

   For this type of thematic progression, the same theme or part of it appears in a series of sentences as the theme. The themes of the subsequent clauses are derived from the theme of the first clause. The theme of the first clause is the same as the theme of the subsequent clauses or sentences within a unit of information which may be a paragraph. The theme in the first clause is maintained as the theme of the subsequent clauses. One theme serves as the reference point for all the clauses or sentences. In this type of progression, the topical theme forms the focus of the clauses. Information given about the theme is presented as the rheme (Khany & Nejad, 2010). This is illustrated below:

   T – R1

   T – R2

   T – R3

2. ***Linear Progression Or Zig-Zag Progression***

   In this type of thematic progression, the rheme or part of the rheme of a sentence becomes the theme of the next sentence. The theme of a subsequent clause is derived from the rheme of the previous clause. Danes (1974) defines this type of thematic progression pattern as 'something introduced as new information in the rheme of the first clause is taken up to be the theme of the second. The wording need not to be identical' (Gutierrez 2015: 258). For this progression, the rheme is used as the theme of the next clause. The information that is first given as the rheme becomes the theme in subsequent clauses. This is illustrated below:

T – R1

T2 (R1) – R2

T3 (R2) – R3

3. ***Derived Thematic Progression***

   In this type of thematic progression, there are different themes for a number of theme-rheme structures and all the different themes relate to a 'hypertheme' or 'global' topic. The themes in subsequent clauses are derived from a particular theme which overrides the derived themes.

4. ***Split Progression***

   The rheme of the first clause is split into two or more elements. In the subsequent clauses, each rheme is picked as a theme and developed into a rheme (Khany & Nejad, 2010).

5.3.4 The analysis of TP

The analysis of thematic progression in this study was carried out by taking into consideration that thematic progression patterns map into moves or sub-moves or paragraphs. The analysis is therefore carried out within the moves and sub-moves (rhetorical structures) realised within the texts. To begin with, there is the identification of the moves and the sub-moves in the editorial texts. This is followed with the analysis of thematic progression patterns of the moves and the sub-moves identified.

Three moves or schematic structures are identified in newspaper editorials. These three schematic structures are identified as the introduction, the body and the conclusion. The introductory section is considered as the first schematic structure and used as the first unit or section of the editorial for the analysis of the thematic progression pattern. The introduction of editorials has two sub-moves: the initiation of the topic and the statement of the thesis. The introduction is used as the unit for the analysis of the thematic progression pattern because the initiation of the topic ends with the statement of the thesis and the statement of thesis ends the introduction section of the editorial.

Table 11: The Results of TP Analysis

Schematic Structure	The Daily Graphic								The New York Times							
	Derived Progression		Linear Progression		Constant Progression		Split Progression		Derived Progression		Linear Progression		Constant Progression		Split Progression	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Introduction	11	55	8	40	1	5	0	0	11	55	6	30	3	15	0	0
Body	13	32.5	17	42.5	6	15	4	10	30	51.7	11	18.9	15	25.8	2	3.4
Conclusion	4	20	11	55	5	25	0	0	15	75	1	5	4	20	0	0

The second schematic structure is the body of the editorials. The body of the editorial is divided into rhetorical structures and the analysis of thematic progression patterns is based on the rhetorical structures identified within the body of the editorial. It has been established that the body of newspaper editorials has a number of rhetorical structures. The conclusion is also taken as a unit for the analysis of thematic progression pattern.

5.3.5 TP Results for the Editorials

Table 11 shows the results of the thematic patterns used by the two newspaper editorials. Looking at the introduction of the two newspaper editorial, both editorials prefer the derived thematic progression, recording 55% in each editorial. The thematic progression pattern used in the body of the two editorials shows that the *Daily Graphic* editorials prefer the use of linear progression, 42.5% while the *New York Times* prefer the use of derived progression, 51.7%. The same preference occurs in the conclusion, with the *Daily Graphic* recording 55% for linear progression and the *New York Times* recording 75%.

The presentation of the findings of the analysis of thematic progression patterns shows the frequency of thematic progression patterns used in the three schematic structures of the editorials analysed. The analysis revealed that the thematic progression most pattern commonly used in the introduction section of the editorials is the derived progression pattern. In both the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times*, derived progression is mostly used as a starter to give background information and introduce the issue to be discussed. For both newspapers, eleven (11) out of the twenty (20) editorials used the derived thematic progression pattern in their introduction section - this constitutes 55%.

The second most preferred thematic progression for the introduction section of the editorials for both newspapers is the linear progression. In the *Daily Graphic* editorials, the use of the linear progression in the introduction section recorded 40% while that of the *New York Times* recorded 30%. This is followed by the constant progression recording only 5% (i.e. a single editorial) in the introduction section of the *Daily Graphic* and 15% in the *New York Times*. None of the editorials analysed used the split progression in the introduction section.

Within the body of the editorials, i.e. the second schematic structure, there are several rhetorical structures each with its own thematic progression. The analysis therefore takes into consideration the sum of the rhetorical structures within the body to arrive at the distribution of the thematic progression patterns within the body. The results of the analysis of the body section of the editorials showed differences in the use of thematic progression patterns between the two editorials. The thematic progression pattern commonly used by the *Daily Graphic* editorials is the linear progression pattern (42.5%) followed by the derived progression pattern (32.5%) with the constant progression pattern recording 15% and the split progression pattern recording 10%. The *New York Times* editorials used the derived progression pattern (51.7%) more often than the linear progression pattern (18.9%). The constant progression pattern is thus used more frequently in the *New York Times* than in the *Daily Graphic*.

The overall observation from the analysis of the distribution of the thematic progression analysis is that the derived progression and the linear progression are the two thematic progressions that are frequently used by editorial writers, with the split thematic progression as the least used by the editorial writers. The split progression is the least used progression type in both newspaper editorials: 10% in the *Daily Graphic* and 3.4% in the *New York Times*. On the whole, there is a high frequency of use of the derived progression pattern in both editorials: 32.5% in the *Daily Graphic* and 51.7% in the *New York Times*.

The analysis also revealed that there is a "new kind" of constant thematic progression pattern used in the *New York Times*. This kind of thematic progression pattern is the opposite of the constant progression pattern. In the constant thematic progression pattern, the first theme is maintained as the theme for subsequent clauses and sentences. In the new thematic progression pattern found in the *New York Times* editorials, the first rheme is maintained as the rheme for subsequent clauses and sentences. Examples of this new kind of thematic progression pattern are given below:

Example 12

> The United Nations refugee agency says it received "credible reports" **of people dying from malnutrition,** though the total number is unclear. Medics for Doctors Without Borders say **at least 28 people, including six babies, died** at their clinic in Madaya.

Other reports suggest **dozens have died from starvation or lack of medical care**. (Ref. NYT 2)

Example 13

Not so, proclaim proponents of a rival theory that **war has deep biological roots,** and we've been waging it forever. **That's what we are**, argued the philosopher Thomas Hobbes; **not so**, declared Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Even President Obama jumped into the debate when, in his Nobel acceptance speech in 2009, he asserted that "**War, in one form or another, appeared with the first man."** (Ref. NYT 4)

The two examples provided above illustrate the new type of thematic progression (the opposite of constant progression) in which the first rheme is maintained for subsequent clauses or sentences. The constant thematic progression maintains the first theme and varies the rheme. In this opposite of the constant progression, the first rheme is maintained and the themes vary instead. In the first example, the first rheme is 'people are dying' and this rheme is maintained for the subsequent sentences. In the second example, the first rheme is 'war has deep biological roots' and this rheme is maintained for the rest of the sentences in the paragraph.

In conclusion, it could be noted that studies that have been conducted along this line of how thematic progression patterns are distributed in text (Gutierrez 2015; Khany & Nejad 2010) have based their analysis on four thematic progression patterns: linear, constant, derived and split. In this study, all four thematic progression patterns have been identified to be present in the editorials analysed. In addition to the four thematic progression patterns, there is the discovery of a new thematic progression pattern of a constant rheme which could be described as the opposite of the constant theme progression pattern.

5.4 Analysis of Rhetorical Appeals

Aristotle defines rhetoric as 'an ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion' (Larson, 1992). Rhetoric is therefore a deliberate attempt to persuade an audience, and this forms part of our daily interaction and communication. In every interaction or communication, the speaker or writer seeks to persuade the receiver or the audience.

For the effective persuasion of an audience, Aristotle identifies three important persuasive appeals: ethos (credibility appeal), pathos (affective/emotional appeal) and logos (reason/rational appeal). A piece of writing that seeks to persuade employs these tools of effective persuasion, and one of the pieces of writing that have been noted as persuasive pieces of writing are newspaper editorials.

Newspaper editorials present the writer's opinion on current social, political, economic or legal issues with the intension of persuading readers to agree with the opinion or the standpoint of the newspaper. Editorials are regarded as powerful persuasive writings that reflect the views of the newspaper. Connor (1996:144) observes that 'good editorials are considered some of the best examples of persuasive writing in all countries; they set the standard for written persuasion.' The Newspaper Association of America Foundation Teachers Guide (2006) points out that editorials are more than opinions. The editorial writer ought to provide information in the form of figures, statistics, examples and details to develop the opinion being presented. The editorial writer must advance arguments and challenge opposing views and appeal to the reader to accept the position advanced by the writer.

Aristotle's rhetorical appeals as persuasive tools have been used to analyse different kinds of texts. An operational system of persuasive appeals used in fundraising discourse has been developed by Connor and Gladkor (2004) and used by Goering and Connor (2009). Their framework for the analysis of rhetorical appeals in fundraising letters draws on the three Aristotelian persuasions of ethos, pathos and logos. Goering and Connor (2009) demonstrate the effectiveness of techniques of persuasion used in direct mail solicitation. Higgins and Walker (2012) examined the use of rhetorical appeals in social / environmental reports of three companies in New Zealand. Eryilmaz (2014) used the rhetorical appeals to analyse the vision statements of organizations. Clifton and Van De Mieroop (2010) applied the use of rhetorical appeals to meetings and Wang (2016) investigated rhetorical appeals used in the transcript of press conferences handling post-crisis communication.

Since genres vary in their communicative purpose, the operationalisation of the rhetorical appeals for the analysis of text varies according to the type of text being analysed. For the analysis of the data collected for this study, the framework developed covers the three Aristotelian appeals with subgroups under each of the appeals. The first rhetorical appeal, ethos, has three subgroups of expertise, goodwill and trustworthiness. Pathos has two subgroups of emotive words and figurative language, and logos has two subgroups of establishing a standpoint and providing reason. The framework used for this study is similar to the one used by Taquini (2016) to analyse the use of rhetorical appeals by consumer to consumer persuasion. The salient indices considered are drawn from the literature about what constitutes each of the rhetorical appeals. The specific indices considered for each appeal are presented below. It is important to point out that these rhetorical appeals have been explained in chapter three but a more detailed explanation and how they are specifically used in the analysis of the data is offered below:

Ethos: In the use of rhetorical appeals as means of persuasion, ethos is the first important persuasive appeal. It refers to the character the writer or speaker intends to project. The character that a writer projects includes credibility and trustworthiness (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). Ethos also depicts the authority of the writer as recognised by the audience (Green, 2004). The attractiveness and friendliness of the writer is highlighted as the projection of ethos to appeal to the audience to associate with the writer easily. The authority of the writer is also exhibited as part of the ethos by presenting the experience and knowledge of the writer. On the basis of the various indices that constitute ethos, the following three subgroups have been identified for the analysis.

Ethos-Expertise: Statements that show the experience of the writer are considered as ethos expertise. This experience may manifest in the writer describing past experiences on issues and events that the he or she is writing about. Therefore, statements that show the amount of information the writer has about the issue being written about are considered as ethos expertise because they show the writer's knowledge and experience (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). Statements that show how informed the writer is constitute ethos expertise in the analysis of the data. The experience of the writer may also show in the writer's professional or academic qualification but in newspaper editorials, writers do not mention their qualifications. How informed the writer is about the issue may be due to the writer's professional and academic training

Ethos-Goodwill: This refers to how the writer tries to show that he/she has shared values with the reader as a way of persuading the reader to accept the position of the writer. This persuasive appeal of showing goodwill manifests in statements that show that the writer cares about the reader and has the reader's interest at heart. This subgroup of ethos is seen in the writer's use of inclusive terms such as 'we', 'us' and 'you and I'. The use of these inclusive labels or pronouns appeal to the reader's sense of being one with the writer with reference to the opinions or views of the writer (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). For the analysis of the editorials selected for study, all instances of the writer's use of inclusive labels such as plural pronouns that refer to both the writer and the reader are considered as the writer's appeal to ethos-goodwill. For example, the sentence below is considered as the writer's appeal to ethos-goodwill.

Example 14

> "**We** believe that **our** progress as a nation does not lie only in the putting up of new infrastructure but also ensuring that the old ones that **we** have are properly maintained to serve the purposes that they were meant for". (Ref. GRA 14)

Ethos-Trustworthiness: This refers to how the writers portray themselves as sincere and honest. This shows in statements that seek to give the impression that the information provided is true. Such statements portray the writer as being genuine and real.

Pathos: An appeal to pathos refers to the writer selecting words that arouse the reader's emotion. According to Aho (1985), pathos appeals to the passion of the audience. It activates audience emotions of happiness, joy, contentment and satisfaction or their pity, fear and sadness. Writers appeal to pathos involves the use of what is popularly referred to as 'charged language'. This involves the use of emotive words and figurative language. Usually, emotive words and abstract concepts that do not deal with specific quantities or figures are the labels that are used by writers to appeal to the readers' emotions. Two subgroups have been identified under pathos for the analysis of the data.

Pathos-Emotive Words: This is the use of words that appeal to the emotions of the reader. It also involves the use of exaggerated emotions to arouse strong feelings. The writers' purpose is usually to appeal to the emotions of the reader. The writer therefore chooses words that tend to evoke either negative or positive feelings. This kind of appeal to the emotions of the reader is reflected mainly in the writer's choice of words that evoke the feeling of fear/sadness or happiness/joy (Aho, 1985; Gutierrez, 2016). The excerpt below is an example of the use of emotive words.

Example 15

> Certainly it is not all a case of **gloom** and **doom**, as there are a few elements in society who, in spite of the temptation to be corrupt and submit to the **decay** of our times, still show **honesty** and **integrity** in their endeavours. (Ref. GRA 2)

Pathos-Figurative language: This involves the use of figures of speech such as metaphors, euphemism and abstract concepts to create pictures in the reader's mind. The use of figurative language arouses imagination as a result of the comparison embedded in figurative language. It arouses the sense of comparison and this creates a mental picture (Gutierrez, 2015). For this study, the use of figurative language is extended to cover the use of idiomatic expressions and the use of proverbs. Therefore, in the analysis of the editorials, the use of idiomatic expressions as well as the use of proverbs and figures of speech is considered as instances of the use of pathos-figurative language. For example, the words highlighted in the excerpt below are considered as the use of pathos-figurative language.

Example 16

> Even in the so-called capitalist states, the governments now recognise that there are vulnerable people in the system, for which reason they run a welfare state in order to reduce the **suffocating** effects of the free market forces on the poor. Interventions, to **cushion** the effects of the market on the people include unemployment benefits, social housing, child maintenance allowance and health insurance. The hikes have compelled workers, under the aegis of Organised Labour, to **bare their teeth** at the government for what they describe as insensitivity on the part of the leaders of the land. (Ref. GRA 5).

Logos: Logos is the appeal to logic. It is referred to as rational or logical argument. Logical argument involves the presentation of facts and figures showing the effects or consequences of actions and or inactions. Appeal to logos portrays the writer as reliable by presenting information in a manner that shows the sequence of thought of the writer. It highlights the writer's voice of reason for a particular point of view. It involves the writer's use of statistics to project a particular point of view. Appeal to logic manifests in the advancement and defense of the writer's point of view. It also reflects in the provision of a counter-argument to present an alternative or better approach to an issue. To appeal to the logical reasoning of readers, writers present factual and specific information to support their standpoint. Logical appeals rely on proving why something is good or better (Hartelius & Browning, 2008; Gutierrez, 2015). For this reason, logical appeals focus on the benefits, quality or value of something. For the purpose of the analysis of editorials, two subgroups were identified under logos: establishing a standpoint and providing reasons.

Logos - Establishing a standpoint: This refers to instances where the writer puts forth his/her position or stance. This manifests in the writer presenting an argument or a counter-argument. It also reflects in the defence of a point of view proposed by the writer or another person. It usually involves the presentation of factual information by the writer to project his/her stance. It also involves the analysis of an issue to point out the flaws in the issue. In addition, it may be as a criticism of actions taken or things that have happened and providing an alternative or better way out.   For example, the excerpt below is an example of logos: establishing a standpoint.

Example 17

> There may be a good argument that the two ranchers in this case, Dwight Hammond and his son, Steven, were punished unreasonably harshly for their crimes. But the way to have this argument is through peaceful means, such as the original protesters were doing, or as the Hammonds themselves chose to do — by reporting to prison and asking President Obama for clemency. Every day, citizens around the country sue or otherwise challenge the government over alleged violations of the law or the Constitution, and they do it without a rifle in their hand. (Ref. NYT 1).

Logos – **Providing reasons**: This refers to the writer indicating why something should be done or should not be done. It also involves indicating the results or the consequences of an action or event. The writer may indicate why he/she has taken a particular stance. This logical appeal is seen when the writer wants to explain the need for a particular action to be taken. This appeal to the logic of the reader is usually initiated with words that are used to give reason; such as "because", "the reason is". It is also initiated with words that shows result or consequence such as "as a result", "lead to" etc. There are however several ways that writers give reasons or show consequences without the use of these words. An example of the use of appeal to logos by providing reason is given in the excerpt below.

Example 18

> When summer jobs were plentiful, young people gained skills and experiences that made them attractive to future employers. Research has shown that people who fail to find work early in their lives run a risk of being unemployed and underemployed into early adulthood and beyond. The effect is far worse for people in poor, minority communities, where jobs are fewer and unemployment rates are many times the national average. (Ref. NYT 10).

Table 12 shows the results of the analysis of rhetorical appeals used in the *Daily Graphic* and Table 13 shows the results of the analysis of rhetorical appeals used in the *New York Times*.

Table 12: The *Daily Graphic* Results: Analysis of Rhetorical Appeals

	Rhetorical Appeals	**Number Of Occurrences**	**Percentage (Out of 192 Occurrrences)**
	Ethos (Credibility Appeal)		
1	Ethos – Expertise	16	8.33
2	Ethos – Goodwill	41	21.35
3	Ethos – Trustworthy	02	1.04
	Pathos (Emotional Appeal)		
1	Pathos - Emotive Words	61	31.77
2	Pathos - Figurative Words	33	17.18
	Logos (Rational Appeal)		
1	Logos – Establish Standpoint	18	9.37
2	Logos – Provide Reason	21	10.93
	Total	192	

Table 13: The *New York Times* Results: Analysis of Rhetorical Appeals

	Rhetorical Appeals	Number Of Occurrences	Percentage (Out of 138 Occurrences)
	Ethos (Credibility Appeal)		
1	Ethos – Expertise	13	9.42
2	Ethos – Goodwill	01	0.72
3	Ethos – Trustworthy	02	1.45
	Pathos (Emotional Appeal)		
1	Pathos - Emotive Words	35	25.36
2	Pathos - Figurative Words	09	6.52
	Logos (Rational Appeal)		
1	Logos – Establish Standpoint	58	42.02
2	Logos – Provide Reason	20	14.0
	Total	138	

Table 12 and 13 above show the results of the rhetorical appeals used by the two newspaper editorials. The results of the analysis of rhetorical appeals showed that newspaper editorial writers use all three rhetorical appeals to persuade their readers.

The results of the *Daily Graphic* editorials revealed that the persuasive tool that is most frequently used by the editorial writers is the appeal to the emotions of the readers through the use of emotive words. The appeal to pathos through the use of emotive words occurred sixty-one (61) times in the twenty (20) editorials analysed, representing (31.77%) of the total instances of persuasive appeals (=192) made in the data analysed. There is also a high level of use of figurative language alongside the use of emotive language. The use of emotive language and figurative language therefore constitutes the main means by which the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* persuade their readers. The emotional appeal or appeal to pathos is the major persuasive appeal used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* to persuade readers.

The next persuasive appeal that is also used frequently by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* is the appeal to ethos-goodwill. The editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* depend heavily on an appeal to ethos by establishing goodwill. The use of goodwill is established through the use of inclusive pronouns such as “we” and “our” which occur frequently. Under ethos, the appeal to the expertise of the writer is also used but not as frequently as the appeal to goodwill. On the whole, ethos is the second most frequently used rhetorical appeal used by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic*.

The least used rhetorical appeal in the *Daily Graphic* is the appeal to logos or rational appeal. The appeal to logos constitutes only 20% of the total use of rhetorical appeals in the *Daily Graphic*. This shows that the *Daily Graphic* editorials appeal less than to the logical reasoning of the readers.

The results of the *New York Times* revealed that the rhetorical appeal that is frequently used by the editorial writers to persuade the readers is the appeal to rationality or the appeal to logos. The appeal to logos, through establishing a stand point, occurred fifty-eight (58) times, representing 42.02% of the total use of persuasive appeals in the twenty (20) editorials analysed. The appeal to logos through establishing a standpoint is often used by the editorial writers of the *New York Times* to advance arguments or defend a standpoint. In addition to the appeal to logos through establishing a standpoint, the appeal to logos by giving reasons is also often used by the editorial writers; 42.02% in the editorials of *New York Times*. This makes the appeal to logos the major rhetorical appeal used by the editorial writers of the *New York Times* to persuade readers.

The second major rhetorical appeal used by the editorial writers of the *New York Times* is the appeal to pathos. Emotive language is used by these writers to persuade readers. The appeal to pathos through the use emotive language constitutes 25.36% out of 138 of the total use of rhetorical appeals in the twenty (20) editorials examined. In addition to the use of emotive language to appeal to the emotion of readers, there is also the use of figurative language occasionally (6.52) to appeal to the emotions of the reader.

The least used rhetorical appeal in the *New York Times* is the appeal to ethos. Total appeal to ethos in the data analysed constitutes less than 12% of the total use of rhetorical appeals in the twenty (20) editorials studied.

5.5 Analysis of Attribution

Newspapers disseminate news to the public. The information given to the public by the newspapers has to be accurate and therefore has to come from credible sources. For this reason, newspaper reports and stories provide their sources to make it clear where they got their information from. It is important that with the exception of facts that are obvious and commonly known, the source of other pieces of information should be provided. This practice of providing the source of information by newspaper reportage is known as attribution.

Attribution, according to Rogers (2017: 1) ‘means telling your readers where the information in your story comes from, as well as who is being quoted.’ The News Manual (2008) explains attribution as stating who said something. Attribution simply means telling readers the source of one’s information. Journalists and news reporters and writers do this so that their readers can know where the information in the story comes from. Journalists and news writers get their information from various sources. In all such cases, journalists and reporters have to use attribution. Attribution is used for both spoken and written sources. Journalists and news writers can therefore attribute information gathered from sources such as interviews, speeches, radio and television stations, reports, books and newspapers.

Attribution helps readers to judge whether the information is reliable or not. Depending on the source to which the information is attributed, readers can judge the credibility of the information. Generally, when sources of information are attributed to people in authority, readers are likely to accept the facts as true. For example, if a piece of information about a new Act of Parliament is attributed to the leaders in parliament, such as the majority leader or the minority leader, the piece of information about the Act would be taken as credible. As The News Manual (2008) puts it ‘statements made by people in authority carry more weight than statements made by other people.’ For this reason, to make an audience or a reader have a positive judgment of the news information, it is important to attribute the information to the people in authority from whom the reporter or writer got the information.

5.5.1 Reasons for Attribution

There are things that are universally accepted as true. In addition, things happen and people give reporters and writers pieces of information that the information givers may believe are true. The journalist or newspaper reporter cannot pass these pieces of information on like things that are universally accepted as true. Because of this, amongst other reasons, there is a need for journalists and reporters to attribute information to the sources that they got them. Some of the reasons for attribution are given below:

1. People are not careful with the truth. People may not intentionally tell lies but because they may be careless with the truth, when the information is published, it is important to attribute the information to the source.
2. It is necessary to attribute the information to the source that provides it because the situation may change. What is the truth today may be false tomorrow. If the information is attributed to the person who provided it, then the newspaper does not have to prove or disprove the truth of the information. The newspaper simply reported it. (The News Manual, 2008)
3. Audiences judge the credibility of a newspaper's information by the person to whom the information is attributed.

5.5.2 When to Attribute and when not to Attribute

Any piece of information that is not the firsthand observation or knowledge of the writer must be attributed (Rogers, 2017). Every piece of information that does not originate from the writer needs to be attributed. These pieces of information include:

1. All statements that are opinions should be properly attributed. If a statement is an opinion and it is not attributed, then it means that it is the opinion of the writer. In newspaper opinion writings, it is important to make this clear distinction for the readers to differentiate between the opinions of the writer and opinions of the people being referred to in the write up. The News Manual (2008) observes that when a writer fails to attribute an opinion to an individual, the audience assumes the opinion is the writer's opinion and there is no excuse for this kind of confusion in the minds of the readers.

2. Sometimes information obtained from sources is such that it becomes difficult to separate the person's opinion from the fact. In such a case the writer has to play it safe by attributing the information to the source from which it was derived.
3. Direct quotations and indirect quotations used in the write up are attributed. Direct quotations are put in quotation marks and the person's name and designation are provided.
4. Controversial issues are attributed.

   There are instances that do not require attribution. Facts that are undisputed do not require attribution. For example, a report about things that are observable about the weather, such as heavy rain, high winds and floods, do not require attribution. When a source does not want to be known, a news reporter should not disclose the person as the source of information. In such cases the source is attributed by using phrases such as" reliable source" or a "source close to".

5.5.3 Types of Attribution

Mencher (2010) outlines four types of attribution.

1. **On the record attribution:**

   The statements used are directly quotable and attributed to the person who is the source by the person's name and title or designation. This type of attribution is the most reliable and valuable. Saxena (2013) indicates that the best way to build the reader's trust is to make the identification of the source complete by providing the name and designation of individual.
2. **On background attribution**

   The statements used by the writer are directly quotable but not attributed by name or specific title. In this case the attribution is limited to the title or designation of the person who is authorised or mandated by a group or institution or organization to speak to the media on behalf of the organization. In this case the name of the person is not stated. Sexana (2013) observes that it is sufficient to attribute a report to the spokesman of an organization.
3. **On deep background**

   The information that is provided is usable but it is not used as a direct quotation and it is not attributed. The information is written in the words of the reporter.
4. **Off the record**

Off the record information is not meant for publication. The information is only meant for the reporter.

5.5.4 The Framework for the Analysis of Attribution

Editorials are opinion pieces of writing that present the voice of the newspaper. In presenting the voice of the paper, one device that is used is the attribution of statements and ideas to the sources that they came from. Newspaper editorial writers attribute ideas to sources in order to help them provide evidence to enforce the credibility of the stance they present (The News Manual, 2008; Saxena, 2013).

The kind of attribution made in editorials shows the sources that the newspapers consider as credible sources of information. The sources of information available include individuals, public figures, organizations, groups and institutions and written sources (The News Manual, 2008; Saxena, 2013). An analysis of attribution in the newspaper editorials helps reveal the sources that the editorial writers consider valuable sources which are important in shaping public opinion

For the analysis of the data, the newspaper editorials were read and all the sources attributed were identified and classified into the types of attributions made in each editorial. The use of attribution in the two newspaper editorials is analysed following a frequency count and the sources that are referred to by the two newspaper editorials. Pak (2010) used similar criteria for the analysis of attribution in newspaper editorials. The criteria used in the analysis of attribution in the two newspaper editorials follows the counting of attributions made in the editorials and a cumulative frequency count of the attributions made in the twenty editorials analysed from each newspaper. Tables 14 and 15 show the number of attributions and the types of attribution made in each of the editorials examined.

For the purpose of the analysis of attribution in the editorials, five types of sources are identified. These are on the record attribution, attribution to a named individual, attribution to organisations or institutions, attribution to a written source and attribution to a popular source (Mencher, 2010). These types of attribution used as the framework for the analysis of the editorial texts are explained below.

On The Record Attribution: For the analysis of the editorials in this study, on the record attributions refer to attributions made to a person who is the source of information by providing the person's name and title or designation. These include statements that are direct quotes as well as paraphrased statements. Once the name of the person is mentioned and the title or designation of the person is provided or known, this is taken as on the record attribution. Sometimes, only the name of the person who is the source of the information is provided but the title or the designation of the person is not provided because the person's designation is known either because it had been provided in a previous statement or because it is shared knowledge among the writer and the reading public. In some cases only the designation of the person is mentioned and that makes the name of the person obvious to the reader. For example, the mention of the president of the America makes the name obvious because the readers know the name of the president of America.

Attribution to an Individual: This refers to instances that information is attributed to a named individual who does not hold any known title or designation. In this case the name of the person is given as the source of the information. It also refers to instances where the source of information is attributed to only a known title or position or office.
Organisations/Institutions/Groups: This refers to attributions made to state institutions, government departments, government agencies and international organisations and bodies such as the UN, WHO, UNICEF etc. In this type of attribution, names of individuals are not mentioned. The information is attributed to the organisation or the institution.

Written Records: this type of attribution refers to the attribution of information to published sources such as other newspapers, research articles and studies conducted and published by either individuals or groups.

Popular Source: What is classified as attribution to a popular source in this study refers to attributions made to sources by using phrases such as "reliable source" or a "source close to". In these cases the source is actually not disclosed or the information cannot be traced to a specific person.

Table 14 and 15 below show the results of the analysis of attribution in the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* respectively.

Table 14: Analysis of Attribution: The *Daily Graphic*

Editorial	On The Record	Name/Identified Individual	Organisation Institution Group	Written Records	Popular Source	Total
GRA 1	-	-	1	-	-	1
GRA 2	1	-	2	-	3	6
GRA 3	-	-	-	-	-	0
GRA 4	-	-	-	-	1	1
GRA 5	2	-	1	-	-	3
GRA 6	-	-	-	-	-	0
GRA 7	-	-	-	-	-	0
GRA 8	-	-	-	1	-	1
GRA 9	4	-	-	-	-	4
GRA 10	-	-	1	-	-	2
GRA 11	-	-	-	-	-	0
GRA 12	-	-	2	-	1	3
GRA 13	-	1	-	-		1
GRA 14	-	-	-	-	1	1
GRA 15	1	-	-	-	-	1
GRA 16	1	-	-	-	-	1
GRA 17	1	-	1	-	-	2
GRA 18	1	-	-	1	-	2
GRA 19	-	-	1	-	-	1
GRA 20	-	-	1	-	2	3
TOTAL	12	1	10	2	8	33

Table 15: Analysis of Attribution: The *New York Times*

Editorial	On The Record	Name/Identified Individual	Organisation Institution Group	Written Records	Popular Source	Total
NYT 1	-	2	-	-	-	2
NYT 2	-	-	4	-	-	4
NYT 3	-	-	1	4	-	5
NYT 4	2	1	3	2	-	8
NYT 5	-	-	1	1	-	2
NYT 6	-	1	5	-	1	7
NYT 7	1	-	3	-	-	4
NYT 8	1	-	2	1	1	5
NYT 9	4	1-	2	-	1	8
NYT 10	1	-	-	1	1	3
NYT 11	-	-	5	1	-	6
NYT 12	1	1	1	2	-	5
NYT 13	5	-	3	-	-	8
NYT 14	-	1	-	-	-	0
NYT 15	-	1	1	1	-	3
NYT 16	1	2	2	1	-	6
NYT 17	1	1	1	-	-	3
NYT 18	-	-	-	-	-	0
NYT 19	1	1	1	-	-	3
NYT 20	4	1	-	-	-	5
TOTAL	22	12	35	14	4	87

Table 16: Comparison of The *Daily Graphic* and The *New York Times*

Editorial	On The Record	Named/Identified Individual	Organisation Institution Group	Written Records	Popular Source	Total
GRA	12	01	10	02	08	33
NYT	22	12	35	14	04	87
TOTAL	34	13	45	16	12	120

5.5.5 Results of Attribution

The analysis of the attributions made in the editorials analysed revealed the sources to which statements are attributed. The sources identified in the analysis are on the record attribution, attribution to named or identified individuals, attribution to organizations, institutions or groups, attribution to written records and attribution to widely accepted sources classified as popular sources in this analysis.

The *New York Times* made attributions more frequently than the *Daily Graphic* in the editorials analysed. On the whole there were 87 attributions in the 20 editorials of the *New York Times*, compared to 33 attributions in the 20 editorials of The *Daily Graphic*. The total number of attributions in the *Daily Graphic* editorials is just a little over one third of the number of attributions made in the *New York Times*. On average, there were 1.65 attributions per editorial in the *Daily Graphic*. On the other hand, there were 4.35 attributions per editorial in the *New York Times.*

The source that received the highest number of attributions in the *New York Times* is attribution to organisation/institution/organised groups, 35 cases. There were 10 such attributions in the data of the *Daily Graphic*, the second highest in the *Daily Graphic*. Putting the number of attributions in the two editorials together, attribution to organisations emerged as the highest number of attributions made in the data analysed, (45 cases).

On the record attribution is considered the most appropriate form of attribution as it includes the name and designation of the source. Both newspaper editorials made use of this type of attribution.

However, it is not the source that received the highest attribution in the editorials, (22 for the *New York Times* and 12 cases for the *Daily Graphic*. Related to on the record attribution is sources attributed to name or identified individuals. This type of attribution is similar to on the record attribution. If this type of attribution is added to on the record attributions, then on the whole, one can conclude that attribution made to named individuals is the highest form of attribution in the data analysed, amounting to 47 cases of such attribution in the two newspaper editorials.

For all types of attribution, The *New York Times* recorded a higher number of attribution than the *Daily Graphic* except attribution to a popular source. The *Daily Graphic* editorials recorded a higher number of attributions to popular sources than the *New York Times*. There were eight cases of such attribution to popular sources in the *Daily Graphic* editorials. This is attribution made to no particular individual or specific source. This form of attribution comes in the forms presented below.

> **Reports say** the taxi driver’s sheer bravado stopped the two armed robbers on a motorbike from robbing a young woman of her handbag.
> **It is said** that the robbers believed the woman, who collects the sales of Koala supermarkets daily, had done so again last Saturday and so they trailed her to snatch her handbag. (Ref. GRA 2)
> **As they say**, any news that is passed on by the media is considered as the truth. (Ref. GRA 4).

5.5.6 Summary of the use of Attribution

The findings show the use of attribution in editorials is a practice common to the two newspaper editorials. However, the use of attribution in the *New York Times* is far more frequent than the use of attribution in the *Daily Graphic*. The information given to the reading public in the editorials of the *New York Times* is often attributed to a source. The *Daily Graphic* editorial writers on the other hand often tend themselves into the primary source that is giving the information to the public.

5.6 Summary

The data collected for the study have been thoroughly analysed and presented in this chapter. The editorials selected from each of the two newspapers have been analysed independently with reference to five discourse strategies and the results compared to find out the similarities and difference exhibited by the two newspaper editorials. The first discourse strategy investigated was the rhetorical structure of the two newspaper editorials. In investigating this feature of discourse, the editorials were divided into three schematic structures: namely, the introduction, the body and the conclusion. On the whole, it was found out that the rhetorical structure of the *Daily Graphic* follows the presentation of a problem and the offering of a solution to the problem while the rhetorical structure of the *New York Times*, follows a pattern of argument and counter argumentation. The second discourse feature analysed is the micro-genre of the two editorials. This analysis revealed that the *Daily Graphic* editorials is largely hortatory exposition while the *New York Times* is mainly argumentative exposition by its function. The analysis of the thematic progression showed that the constant progression is used more frequently in the *New York Times* than the *Daily Graphic*. The analysis of rhetorical appeals revealed that the *Daily Graphic* editorials used more emotional appeals whilst the *New York Times* editorials used a lot of rational appeals. The last discourse feature analysed was the use of attribution in the two editorials. The editorials of the *New York Times* were found to give the sources of their information more frequently than the *Daily Graphic*. In all the five discourse features analysed revealed some similarities and differences in how they are used in the two newspaper editorials.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

The findings of the five analyses carried out are discussed with reference to the socio-cultural settings of the newspaper editorials analysed. As IR researchers do, the differences that are found in the analysis and comparison of text from two socio-cultural backgrounds are explained by making inferences to the cultural background of the writers. In this study, the *Daily Graphic* editorials are text taken from an ESL setting and the *New York Times* editorials represent texts constructed in an Anglo-American setting. This chapter discusses the differences found between the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* with reference to previous studies and the socio-cultural practices that might have caused the differences observed.

6.1 Discussion of Rhetorical Structure

The findings of the analysis of the introductory section of the editorials analysed revealed that the introductory section of both editorials consists of two sub-moves; the initiation of the topic to be discussed and the thesis which is the stance or the declaration of the writer's position. The first sub-move, the initiation of the topic is carried out by most of the editorials by evaluation. This confirms Van Dijk's (1996) observation that the introductory part of the editorial is the presentation of facts, but the description of the information presented is partly evaluative. In terms of the first part of the introductory section being evaluating, the *Daily Graphic* editorials were more evaluative than the editorials of the *New York Times*. All twenty (20) editorials of the *Daily Graphic* were found to initiate the topic (event) by describing the topic in evaluative terms, while thirteen (13) of the *New York Times* editorials were evaluative. This shows that the *New York Times* editorial writers sometimes avoid projecting their opinions of the event or the topic being introduced. In such cases, the initiation of the event is brief and straightforward

Usually, when the topic is introduced without evaluation, no background information is given. This introduces the reader straight to what the topic is and what the writer intends to say about the topic. On the other hand, when the topic is preceded by a long piece of background information, the reader is not sure what the topic is and has to continue reading with care to determine the topic or the issue under discussion. This creates suspense as the main topic the writer is going to talk about, is delayed. The suspense is created at the beginning of the editorial with the long piece of background information that is given usually in the form of long evaluative narratives.

The introduction sections of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* were found to be long. What makes the introduction of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* long is that the statement of the thesis is preceded by a rather lengthy piece of background information. This style of introduction is different from the way the editorial writers of the *New York Times* present their introduction. Several IR studies (Hinds 1987, 1983; Kaplan 1966) have established that Anglo-American English users tend to write in a linear pattern, making the thesis of their topic more direct than writers from other cultural backgrounds such as those from Oriental and Asian backgrounds. The rhetorical analysis of the introduction of the *Daily Graphic* editorials revealed that the statement of the thesis is delayed. This finding adds to the findings that have been established that the thesis is delayed in the writing of users of English from other socio-cultural settings.

The second sub-move of the introductory section - stating the thesis - was classified into the statement of the thesis by expression of worry or concern, by opposing or questioning the issue under discussion and by endorsement of the issue introduced. The editorials of the *Daily Graphic* mainly state the thesis by expressing worry or concern, while the editorials of the *New York Times* state the thesis mainly by opposition or questioning the event introduced. The editorials of the *New York Times* were found to be mainly critical of the social and political issues that the editorials discussed. The writers of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*, on the other hand, expressed worry about the social and political issues discussed by the editorials. The expression of worry as the main means of stating the thesis by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* could be explained with reference to the socio-cultural setting of Ghana, where people in authority are not supposed to be questioned or criticized in a harsh manner but rather in a manner that shows a lot of politeness. This is what Adika (1998; 2012) has expressed as the lack of a critical voice in the writing of Ghanaians.

The analysis of the body of the two editorials revealed that the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* generally follow the pattern of problem and solution while the editorials of the *New York Times* follow the pattern of argument and counter argument. The rhetorical structures of the *Daily Graphic* were mainly the presentation of a problem, followed by suggesting what should be done to solve the problem. The structure of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* therefore follows the problem solution structure proposed by Hoey (1983). The *New York Times* editorials, on the other hand project an argument followed by counter arguments and criticism of actions taken by political leaders involved in the issue that forms the focus of the editorial. The structure of the *New York Times* editorial therefore follows McCarthy's (1991) proposition of a claim and counterclaim structure. The *New York Times* editorials were found to have more rhetorical structures within the body of the editorials as a result of the argument and counter arguments and criticism structure than the *Daily Graphic* editorials, which mainly present a problem, followed by the problem with the suggestion of a solution.

The results of the analysis of the conclusion section of the editorials indicate that the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* use mainly warning or caution to end the editorials. The use of warning/caution by the *Daily Graphic* editorials in the conclusion may be a reflection of the socio-cultural norms of politeness in the socio-cultural setting of Ghana. The *New York Times* uses the expression of necessity in the conclusion of the editorials. The expression of a necessity connotes giving directives or a command. On the other hand, the statement of warning/caution does not impose a command on the individual or political actors involved in the issues that are written about by the editorial writers. This may explain why the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* choose to use the statement of warning/caution in order to show politeness to the political actors or figures involved, rather than suggesting what they should do.

6.2 Discussion of Micro-genre

The analysis of the micro-genres of the *Daily Graphic* revealed four micro-genres in the Ghanaian newspaper editorials analysed: explanatory exposition, hortatory exposition, problem /solution and media discussion. None of the editorials analysed was found to be argumentative exposition and media challenge. Among the four micro-genres, hortatory exposition is the micro-genre that is dominant. On the other hand, six micro-genres were found in the *New York Times*. The six micro-genres found in the American editorials are explanatory exposition, argumentative exposition, hortatory exposition, problem/solution, media challenge and media discussion. The dominant micro-genre of the *New York Times* is media argumentative exposition.

The editorials of the *Daily Graphic* seem to follow a general pattern of raising an issue of public concern, reviewing the actions taken on the issue and offering a solution or a suggestion about how to resolve the issue. The editorials of the *New York Times*, on the other hand, raise issues of public concern, criticize the actions taken and put forth arguments trying to prove what the case should be as far as the issue raised is concerned.

The difference in the approach to how the two newspapers construct their editorials is that while the *Daily Graphic* avoids criticizing the actions taken about the issues raised, the *New York Times* is characterized by criticizing actions taken about the issues raised and going further to argue what the paper feels should be the case. The difference that exists between the editorials of the two newspapers is that the *Daily Graphic* offers solutions or suggestions about how to resolve the issues raised without arguing a particular stance. The *New York Times*, on the other hand, offers arguments and sharp rebukes before establishing what the paper feels should be the case.

The two newspapers from two different social and cultural backgrounds display differences in the social functions that they seek to perform in terms of how they construct their editorials. It could be seen that the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* generally perform the social function of appealing to the parties involved in the issues raised to take a particular action or re-consider an action they had taken. The *New York Times*, on the other hand, uses its editorials to question certain actions taken by the parties involved in the issues raised and argues against certain actions taken.

The differences in the social and cultural environment in which the two newspapers operate could help explain the differences in how they construct their editorials. The *Daily Graphic* editorials are constructed in Ghana, a social cultural environment where it is generally not accepted for an elderly person or authority to be criticized. This may account for why the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* avoid criticizing the actions taken by the parties involved in the actions that the editorials discuss.

The lack of a critical voice in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* could be explained with reference to what Adika (1998; 2012) refers to as a kind of principle that prohibits questioning authority imposed on the exercise of critical voice by traditional norms of communication in the Ghanaian society. The exercise of critical voice against an authority is regarded as an act of disrespect. This cultural preference in the Ghanaian culture does not encourage criticisms especially in the face of power. This could explain why the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* avoids criticisms and only appeals to the parties involved.

In the Ghanaian culture, when it comes to instances where one has to exercise critical voice, one has to do this in a manner that is polite to mitigate the face threat that it poses. Several politeness strategies are therefore employed to avoid sounding too harsh. This is done to the extent that in some cases, where one has to criticize an action taken by an elderly representative, one first says 'please' before proceeding with one's criticism. This could account for the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* using phrases such as 'we urge the police to increase the patrols', 'the *Daily Graphic* appeals to all', 'we pray that state prosecutors are put on the heels of officials', 'the *Daily Graphic* wishes to entreat the government', 'we appeal to government', 'we, therefore, plead with the many task forces' etc. The majority of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* therefore fall under media hortatory exposition; trying to persuade someone that something should be done.

The existence of critical voice and argumentation in the *New York Times* confirms previous intercultural rhetoric studies that established that American text in general is direct and argumentative. In an intercultural rhetoric study that compared American editorials with Persian editorials, Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013) found out that majority of American editorials fall under media argumentative exposition.

6.3 Discussion of Thematic Progression

For both newspapers' editorials, the thematic progression pattern mostly used in the introduction was the derived thematic progression pattern. This confirms the annotation of thematic progressions used in editorials from two languages by Gutierrez (2015). Gutierrez (2015) found that the preferred pattern in the introduction of newspaper editorials was the derived thematic progression pattern in both English and Spanish editorials and the second most preferred pattern was the linear pattern. This is the same for the *Daily Graphic* and *New York Times* editorials as well.

Within the body of the editorials, the *Daily Graphic* editorials used linear progression more often than the *New York Times* followed by the derived progression pattern. The *New York Times* editorials used derived progression more often than the *Daily Graphic* followed by the constant progression pattern. The second most frequent pattern used in the *New York Times* editorials, the constant progression pattern, has been found to lead to the situation of underdeveloped rheme where the writer engages in the mere listing of points by (Adika, 2003). On the contrary, the use of the constant progression in the *New York Times* editorials did not result in undeveloped rhemes. In the *New York Times,* in the use of the constant progression pattern, the rhemes were immediately followed up or "padded" with explanations of the rheme. This prevented the situation where the rhemes are not developed. The explanations that immediately follow the rheme served as the development of the rhemes.

The split thematic progression pattern was not used in the introduction section of either of the newspapers' editorials. It was not used in the conclusion either for any of the editorials analysed. Within the body of the editorials analysed, the split thematic progression was used only four times in the *Daily Graphic* constituting 10% and only two times in the *New York Times* corpus, constituting 3.4%. Previous studies conducted on the distribution of thematic progression patterns (Gutierrez, 2015; Khany & Nejad, 2010) have pointed out that the split progression pattern was the least used pattern in the texts analysed. The very low use of the split thematic progression pattern in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the *New York Times* confirms the findings of previous studies that have found that the split progression is hardly used in developing the theme.

The rare use of the split thematic progression, especially in the introduction and the conclusion section, could be explained with reference to the function that these sections of the editorial perform. The introduction section of the editorial is used to initiate the topic that the editorial is going to discuss and states the thesis. The writer therefore tends to focus on developing the topic being introduced. This explains the rare use or nonuse of the split thematic progression pattern in the introduction of the editorials. Then, in the conclusion, the writer's focus is on the topic that has been discussed, so the split progression is not used in these sections of the editorials since this type of progression projects two or more rhemes that are picked as themes in subsequent sentences. The focus of split progression is divergent and cannot therefore be used to get focused on initiating a topic or concluding a topic.

6.4 Discussion of Rhetorical Appeals

The findings of the rhetorical appeal analysis showed striking differences between the rhetorical appeals used by the two newspaper editorials to persuade their readers. One difference was that the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* used emotional appeal more often than the editorials of the *New York Times*. The use of emotional appeal in the *Daily Graphic* editorials involved sixty-one instances of the use of emotive words (31.77% of all appeals) and thirty-three instances of the use of figurative language (17.18%). On the whole, the use of emotional appeal in the *Daily Graphic* editorials was 48.95% (of all appeals) compared with the use of emotional appeal in the *New York Times* (31.88%) with the use of emotive words (25.36 %) and the use of figurative language (6.52%).

Another striking difference between the editorials of the two newspapers was the preponderant use of figurative language in the *Daily Graphic* editorials (17.18%) compared with the *New York Times* (6.25%). This could be explained with reference to the differences in the socio-cultural background of the two newspaper editorials. The frequent use of figurative language in the *Daily Graphic* could stem from the frequent use of figurative language in the socio-cultural background of the editorial writers. There is an indication that there is frequent use of figurative language in the media in Ghana. Agyekum (2008) reports that the reportage of news items in some sections of the media employs metaphorical translation of items from the local language in which proverbs, idioms and euphemism are used. Also, in a rhetorical analysis of political discourse broadcast by the media, Adjei-Fobi (2011) discovered the frequent use of metaphor in the speech of some Ghanaian political leaders. The use of figurative language seems to be a common means of persuasion in the Ghanaian socio-cultural setting. This could explain why it is frequently used by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* as a major means of persuasive appeal.

Another difference in the use of rhetorical appeals between the two newspapers' editorials is the frequent use of the "Goodwill" aspect of ethos (credibility appeal) by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. Ethos-Goodwill constitutes 21.35% of rhetorical appeals in the *Daily Graphic* editorials compared to 0.72% in the *New York Times* editorials. The editorials of the *Daily Graphic* consistently and frequently use the first person plural voice to establish credibility. By the use of this appeal, the *Daily Graphic* editorial writers express the feeling that they have shared values with the readers. They achieved this mainly by the use of inclusive pronouns such as "we", "us" and "our".

The use of these words by journalists has been questioned by Van Ginneken (1998) who explains that they tend to divide humanity in half in various ways. He points out that sometimes the use of such words could mean "those in the Third World", it could also mean "those in the First World" as opposed to "those in the Third World", it could also mean "people in a particular profession" as against "those who are not in that profession", it could sometimes mean "the writer and the reader" as opposed to "outsiders who are not sharing the text". In the case of the *Daily Graphic* editorials, the writers use these words to mean the writer and the reader sharing the text; specifically, fellow countrymen and women or fellow Ghanaians.

The editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* use the words (we, us and our) to establish the opinion of the paper or the stance of the paper and to create solidarity with the readers to create a persuasive impact. Bonyadi (2010) observes that the use of such words not only establishes solidarity between the paper and the readers but also raises the authoritative position of the paper. The use of such words by the *Daily Graphic* editorial writers is meant to appeal to the sense of credibility in order to sound authoritative and be perceived as a unifying force as the *Daily Graphic* editorial plays the role of a national newspaper in Ghana.

In addition, such words are used by the *Daily Graphic* editorial writers to foster national unity. The frequent and consistent use of the first person plural voice which manifests in the use of "we" and "our" in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* could be explained with reference to the role of the *Daily Graphic* as a national newspaper which seeks to foster national unity. Social and political issues that form the focus of newspaper editorials are issues that can easily spark emotions and lead to division and conflict especially in an African country like Ghana which like most other African countries – peace is not taken for granted and care must be taken not to instigate anger or offence. The use of these inclusive pronouns to indicate shared values may be adopted by the editorial writers to avoid instances where media comments and messages that involve the use of words that divide humanity can lead to conflict, war, violence and the loss of lives. Stremlau and Monroe (2009) indicate that the media can have a negative impact on nation building, in a study on Somaliland's close Presidential contest in 2003. This is evident in the use of such words when the issue under discussion is a volatile political or social issue. Meadow (2009) points out that the media is used to manipulate the electorate. The consistent use of ethos-goodwill by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* could be said to be purposeful towards orienting the public towards maintaining a peaceful nation.

Peace and national unity in most African countries is seen as fragile and attempts are consciously made not to inflame passion and cause division. Media reportage and newspaper opinions are sources of conflict and division in Africa, if not well managed because the political situation in Africa is volatile. Mwendia (2013) indicates that as a result of political and tribal conflict in Kenya, the media in Kenya have taken up the role of airing and projecting information aimed at creating conflict awareness and educating the populace on the importance of maintaining a peaceful state. In dealing with fragile and conflict-affected states, Rao (2014) suggests some form of policy control of the media. The volatile nature of the political situation of most African countries, including Ghana, could be the reason for the use of ethos-goodwill in the form of the first person plural voice by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic*. Some examples of the use of ethos-goodwill to foster national unity and promote peace are given below.

> Let **us** be cautious in the way **we** handle issues concerning violence and destruction of property, especially this election year, else **we** may be sowing seeds whose fruits **we** would not be pleased to harvest. (Ref. GRA 8).

> While **we** wait for any form of regulations to streamline the use of social media so that they do not become an albatross around **our** neck, **we** urge circumspection in their use among all those who subscribe to their usage. Especially as **we** are in an election year, **we** ask the

public to exercise some restraint when using any social media platform so as not to inflame passions. Words have power and images or pictures even more. (Ref. GRA 4)

In 2016**, we** have to do everything in **our** power to preach peace, not war, while no partisan interest must be allowed to undermine the attainment of this noble objective. (Ref. GRA 9).

The use of inclusive pronouns by the editorial writers of the *Daily Graphic* also seems to achieve the aim of sensitizing the readers to rise up to be concerned about nation building and take active part in taking care of national, social and environmental issues for a better society. The excerpts provided below illustrate this point.

Our activities are gradually pushing **us** go towards the fringes of climate change, if **we** have not already hastened **our** steps by destroying our ecological balance. **We** may destroy **our** water bodies through mining and pollution with chemicals and filth and think that they will regenerate when it rains. (Ref. GRA 7)

We cannot afford to let things continue as they are currently; otherwise the very essence of **our** subscription to the SDGs will be defeated. (Ref. GRA 11)

Contrary to the use of ethos-goodwill by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* to show solidarity, the editorial writers of the *New York Times* occasionally tend to use strong language that lashes out at the political and social figures involved in the issues that they write about. In contrast to what the *Daily Graphic* editorial writers do, the *New York Times* editorial writers take a stance against political leaders involved in the issues being discussed. There is less exercise of caution. The excerpts below illustrate the use of strong language by the editorial writers of the *New York Times*.

Know-nothings in the Legislature argued that the proposal was “a slap in the face” to law-abiding taxpayers, when in fact it represented a clear cost savings for those same taxpayers. (Ref. NYT 8)

The question of whether the lawsuit will be allowed to proceed is at issue because Congress, prodded by the gun lobby, in 2005 **foolishly** granted the gun industry nearly

> complete immunity from legal claims and damages from the criminal use of guns. (Ref. NYT 11)
>
> And now, its leaders, in a stupendous show of **political malfeasance**, are putting the Supreme Court's constitutional duties on hold while they make **dishonest claims** about "letting the people's voice be heard." (Ref. NYT 13)

The *New York Times* editorials used appeal to logos (rational appeal) more frequently than to ethos and pathos. The use of rational appeal recorded 56.02% compared with 20.03% in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. Often, the stance taken by the editorial writers of the *New York Times* is argumentative and the writers therefore engage in projecting arguments by establishing the standpoint of the paper and providing reasons to substantiate the standpoints being expressed; hence the frequent appeal to logic. This finding confirms that of Homayounzadeh and Mehrpour (2013) that American newspaper editorials are mainly argumentative by nature. The *Daily Graphic* editorials presented fewer arguments and counterviewsd, and therefore use less appeal to logic.

6.5 Discussion of Attribution

The use of attribution in newspaper editorials gives credibility to the texts presented as the opinion of the paper. The analysis of attribution in newspaper editorials enables one to assess the sources that the newspaper editorial writers consider as important in expressing the opinions of the newspaper (Pak, 2010). The analysis of attribution across cultures may reveal the sources that are considered important in projecting editorial opinions to the public in the different socio-cultural settings.

Generally, newspaper editorials present their opinions on current social and political issues from various sources in society and makes the use of attribution in editorials almost inevitable. Attribution in editorials plays a vital role. The political and/or social issues being discussed by a particular editorial usually emanates from a source and that source needs to be referred to in the editorial. This makes attribution very important in newspaper editorials.

A comparison of the use of attribution in the two newspaper editorials revealed that the *New York Times* editorials used attribution more frequently than the *Daily Graphic* editorials (87 instances of attribution in 20 editorials in the *New York Times* against 33 in the *Daily Graphic*). Some studies have found that Anglo-American newspapers make attributions more frequently than newspapers from other socio-cultural settings. One such study is that of Pak (2010), who discovered that in a comparison of the *New York Times* editorials with editorials from Peninsular Spain and Mexico, the *New York Times* and Mexican editorials frequently attribute information and statements to the sources of the information than the editorials from Peninsular Spain. Also, in an earlier study that was conducted on the use of attribution in news, Scollon and Scollon (1997) found that news reports in Chinese made less attribution compared to English news reports.

The *Daily Graphic* editorials used attribution less frequently. There are several instances of lack of attribution in the editorials analysed. In several instances the writers act as the primary source, providing vital information loaded with opinion about issues, events and individuals by narrating what happened and giving background information without attribution. This could lead to instances where readers may be confused as to whether the information is originating from the writer or from a source not provided. According to Rogers (2017), information that is not firsthand knowledge of the writer or does not originate from the writer, needs to be attributed in newspaper opinion writing. Opinions that are not attributed to any source in newspaper opinion writing are considered to be the opinion of the editorial writer. For newspaper editorials, it is important to make the voice of the paper clear. To achieve this, opinions that do not originate from the writer should be clearly attributed to the source. In addition, there are certain pieces of information that readers will consider as credible if they are attributed to the appropriate source or authority. As indicated, there were several cases of statements that require attribution that were not attributed to the appropriate sources that readers may consider credible.

Some of the instances that required attribution in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* but were not attributed, are pointed out. In the *Daily Graphic* editorial of Friday, March 4, 2016, (GRA 11) paragraph two the writer states: 'The eight goals in the MDGs were not achieved by many countries that signed onto those objectives.' This is a statement that should have been attributed to the appropriate organisation or institution or spokesperson or official of the organisation or institution.

The writer did not provide examples to support the statement either. The writer went on to state: ‘But we are happy that Ghana attained the objective by halving poverty by 2015 and made significant progress on attaining the other seven.’ Again, the above statement is not an undisputable fact nor an observable event or firsthand observation and therefore requires attribution. This was passed on as the voice of the paper without attribution.

Another example of information that requires attribution but for which this was not provided, is in The *Daily Graphic*, of Monday, February 22, 2016, (GRA 09) paragraph two. The writer writes: ‘The stakes are already high as the nation inches towards the crucial elections in November, with accusations and counter-accusations from all sides of the political divide’. The source of the information is not provided. This is presented as the observation of the writer. It is necessary to provide examples of the accusations and counter-accusations for the reader to have a picture of what the writer was referring to as ‘accusations and counter-accusations from all sides of the political divide.’ Another example of lack of attribution is found in the third paragraph where the writer states: ‘there is increasing evidence that the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) is working hard to retain political power, while the New Patriotic Party (NPP) is doing everything to recapture the power it lost in 2008.’ Though the writer states that there is ‘evidence’, the statement is not supported with any ‘evidence’. Evidence could be provided by making reference to things said or done by the political parties and sources of these statements.

6.6 Conclusion

The objective of this study was to compare the two sets of editorials to identify the differences and similarities between the discourse strategies used newspaper editorials from two different socio-cultural backgrounds. Five discourse strategies were investigated in the editorials selected from the two newspapers. The analysis of these strategies involved (i) rhetorical strategies, (ii) micro-genre, (iii) thematic progression, (iv) rhetorical appeals and (v) attribution. The results showed differences and similarities between the use of the discourse strategies investigated.

The analysis of the rhetorical structure of the two editorials revealed that in the introductory section, both editorials used the rhetorical strategy of initiating the topic to be discussed by evaluating the topic. Also, both editorials preceded the initiation of the topic with the provision of background information. However, the *Daily Graphic* editorials provided more background information while the background information provided by the editorials of the *New York Times* were brief. In addition, the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* stated the thesis in the form of expressing worry or concern about the issue or the topic initiated, while the *New York Times* editorials stated the thesis by questioning or opposing the topic initiated.

The results of the rhetorical strategies used in composing the body of the two editorials showed that the *Daily Graphic* editorials were composed following a problem and solution pattern while the editorials of the *New York Times* were realised through argument and counter arguments and criticisms. This shows lack of a critical voice in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*.

The micro-genre analysis showed that the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* mostly involve hortatory exposition. The dominant micro-genre in the Ghanaian newspaper is media hortatory exposition. On the other hand, the majority of the editorials of the *New York Times* fell under the media argumentative exposition micro-genre. Most of the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* therefore perform the social function of exhortation by encouraging and urging individuals, institutions and government to take certain actions, while most of the editorials of the *New York Times* performed the social function of questioning the actions of individuals, institutions and government and pointing out what they should have done.

It was noted that there is lack of critical voice in the *Daily Graphic*. This is explained with reference to the social and cultural environment in which the editorial texts of the *Daily Graphic* are constructed. The traditional norms of communication within this culture frown upon the exercise of critical voice against authority. This explains why most editorials of the *Daily Graphic* adopt hortatory position by appealing to government and other state agencies and institutions to take certain actions. The argumentative stance of the majority of the editorials of the *New York Times* is also explained with reference to previous findings that have established that American texts are known to be direct and argumentative.

Newspaper editorials are regarded as persuasive pieces of writing. In persuasive writing, the writers use appeals to persuade their readers. The results of the use of persuasive appeals by the two newspaper editorials revealed that while the *Daily Graphic* editorials used more appeals to pathos and ethos, the *New York Times* editorials made more appeals to logos. The frequent use of ethos by the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* is explained with reference to the papers' role in building solidarity with the reading public and at the same time maintaining its authority as unifying force for nation building.

The use of attribution in newspaper editorials is important in differentiating the voice of the paper from the sources from which the writers get their information. The investigation of the use of attribution in the two editorials indicates that there were instances of the lack of attribution in the *Daily Graphic*. The *Daily Graphic* editorials presented instances where statements made were not attributed. The editorial writers therefore turned themselves into the primary sources of information to the readers in such instances.

6.7 Pedagogical Implications and Recommendations

The findings of this study are useful to instructors and students in ESL settings in Africa. The findings can help equip ESL instructors and students with knowledge about the discourse strategies involved in writing newspaper editorials. The findings expose the discourse strategies involved in writing editorials. This can in effect help ESL students studying journalism to become editorial writers who would be able to write effective editorials that can make the desired impact as a persuasive piece of writing.

The findings of the study are useful for pedagogical purposes as well as for professional practice. One of the discourse strategies that the findings of the study revealed is that in writing the introductory section of the editorials, the *Daily Graphic* editorials delay the statement of the thesis by providing a lot of background information while the editorials of the *New York Times* often go straight to the topic and state the thesis. The differences in the way the introduction of the two editorials are written have implications for teaching students of journalism. Instructors and students of communication as well as language practitioners involved in the writing of editorials could explore these differences in writing their editorials. For instruction in communication and media studies in Ghana, it is recommended that instructors consider the strategies for writing the introduction of editorials.

One discourse strategy that has pedagogical implications is the strategy used in developing the theme in various sections of text during text construction. The analysis of thematic progression in the editorials showed that the editorials of the *New York Times* used the constant progression often. The use of the constant thematic progression by Ghanaian university students has been found to result in undeveloped rhemes and a mere listing of points (Adika, 2003). In contrast, the use of the constant progression in the *New York Times* editorials did not result in undeveloped rhemes. In the *New York Times*, in the use of the constant progression pattern, the rhemes were immediately followed up or "padded" with explanations of the rheme. This observation has implications for the teaching of writing in an ESL setting like Ghana. If the use of the constant thematic progression pattern by university students in Ghana is found to result in undeveloped rhemes, then the use of the constant progression pattern with the rheme followed immediately by explanations of the rheme could serve as a guide for the teaching of writing in Ghana.

One more discourse strategy that have pedagogical implications for the training of students of journalism is the use of attribution in editorials. This study revealed that there were instances of lack of attribution in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. It is recommended that instructors, students of communication and journalism as well as language practitioners, take the issue of attribution seriously in news reportage as a whole and in editorials.

6.8 Recommendations for Further Studies

Intercultural rhetoric research started with the analysis of paragraph structure across cultures. For this reason a number of IR studies have explored variations in paragraph structure across cultures. But IR has expanded beyond paragraph structure to several other ways in which texts vary across cultures; hence the study of other discourse features in IR. This study examined how five discourse features are used in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* as a newspaper published in an ESL setting in Africa and the *New York Times* as an Anglo-American newspaper. The five discourse features examined in this study revealed some similarities and differences between the use of discourse features in the editorials of the *Daily Graphic* and the editorials of the *New York Times*. There are several other ways in which texts vary and for that matter several other discourse features that can be explored. It is therefore recommended that other discourse features such as coherence, cohesion and paragraph structure are also examined using texts from the ESL context of Africa in future IR studies.

Much of IR research has focused on the comparison of ESL texts with Anglo-American English texts. It is recommended that IR research need to expand beyond comparing ESL texts with Anglo-American texts to the comparison of two or more ESL texts from different socio-cultural settings. This is because much of the structure of Anglo-American text is established to be linear, argumentative and specific in the attribution of sources. What needed to be explored therefore should be how two ESL texts vary and the extent to which they are similar or different from the established Anglo-American norms.

With particular reference to texts constructed in African ESL settings, it is recommended that more IR studies are conducted in the various ESL settings in Africa to unearth how texts constructed in these settings vary from that of Anglo-American English settings. And in addition, ESL texts from different socio-cultural settings in Africa should be studied in IR research.

6.9 Theoretical and Practical Contribution to IR Research

As indicated in the introductory section of this study, Connor (2002) in a review of IR studies indicated that ESL researchers and practitioners in America, Europe and the Middle East have conducted IR studies to examine how ESL writers in these settings write differently from Anglo-American writing conventions but such studies do not seem to be in ESL African settings. This study has contributed to IR research as a starting point in filling this gap. It provides additional insight into IR across cultures. It is hoped that this study would serve as a "prompter" to bring practitioners involved in ESL in Africa especially practitioners in the area of English for Specific Purposes to become interested in carrying out IR studies in ESL Africa. The findings of this study indicate that carrying out IR studies is relevant to the teaching of academic as well as professional writing.

It is also hoped that when aspects of this study are published in the appropriate journals, it would stimulate interest in IR studies as it seems that the rate at which IR studies used to be published in peer review journals has declined.

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Appendix A: Daily Graphic Editorials

Wednesday, January 6, 2016 **GRA 1**

BoG must be proactive not reactive

The Bank of Ghana (BoG) has revoked the licences of 70 microfinance institutions operating in the country. The move, the bank said, was the result of the failure of the institutions "to meet the conditions precedent to the issuance of a final licence".
There is no doubt that the action of the bank is clearly meant to ensure that all companies operating as microfinance institutions have the wherewithal to protect the interest of depositors. Unfortunately, this action has come at a time when some operators have mismanaged the funds belonging to depositors, leaving them in a state of complete hopelessness.

The BoG's firefighting initiatives have come a bit late in the day as it has demonstrated its inability to manage and control the numerous companies that are masquerading as microfinance schemes and duping unsuspecting people in the economy. Apart from these microfinance organizations, most of which are more or less Ponzi schemes, there are many other schemes such as Susu and fund clubs which have sprung up in many areas operating without due regard for the regulations.

Due to the high interest rates quoted and the various items added to attract people, traders have had to close their shops to invest their meagre capitals in those schemes. Farmers have also sold their farms while in some cases; pensioners have fallen prey by investing their bulk sums in these schemes.

The central bank should be alert to its responsibilities to protect the interest of the gullible masses who easily fall to some of these schemes.
We are in times where our economy is facing some serious challenges and, therefore, many people will be tempted to engage in all manner of activities in their quest to make ends meet.

However, the Daily Graphic believes that allowing these illegal schemes to have their way could contribute to the collapse of an already stressed economy.
A case in point is the economy in the Brong Ahafo Region where many businesses have collapsed because they closed down to invest their capital in two companies which offered to return huge interests on their investments.

This practice cannot be allowed to continue and we believe that it behoves the central bank to decentralize its operations by strengthening its regional branches
and equipping them with funds and logistics to monitor and wipe out companies that do not meet the criteria to operate such schemes.

The central bank should also be able to use its mechanisms to detect early warning signs to prevent the situation from creating problems for the economy.
The daily Graphic appeals to the general public to be careful about these schemes because under no circumstance would these schemes be able to sustain the kind of interests they pay on deposits.

Tuesday, January 12, 2016 GRA 2

We salute taxi driver

Widespread indiscipline, impunity and corruption in our society seem to suggest the dearth of integrity in the country.
Sometimes our inability to rise up against wrongdoing, even at the official level, creates the impression that the entire society has acquiesced to the whims of the very few deviants who want to hold the law-abiding community to ransom.
No matter how scary the situation appears on the streets, in the schools, : churches and mosques and the entire society, it does look like all is not lost yet.

Certainly it is not all a case of gloom and doom, as there are a few elements in society who, in spite of the temptation to be corrupt and submit to the decay of our times, still show honesty and integrity in their endeavours.
There have been occasions in the past when people had returned valuables belonging to others found on the street and in commercial vehicles to their owners.
Unfortunately, even in our rural communities where people used to. Demonstrate fellow feeling and the desire to be one another's keeper, the mad rush for material gains has killed the communal spirit.

The unwillingness of residents of our communities to demonstrate love these days shows in the lack of public response to distress calls, especially when people are attacked by armed robbers. Everybody prefers to remain in his or her closet or behave like "Each one for himself, God for us all".

It is in this vein that the Daily Graphic wants to associate itself with the tonnes of commendation that has poured in to recognise the act of valour demonstrated by the taxi driver who knocked down two suspected armed robbers in Accra last Saturday.

Reports say the taxi driver's sheer bravado stopped the two. Armed robbers on a motorbike from robbing a young woman of her handbag.
It is said that the robbers believed the woman, who collects the sales of Koala supermarkets daily, had done so again last Saturday and so they trailed her to snatch her handbag. They failed in their bid to snatch the bag but succeeded in wounding her. Luck, however, eluded them as the taxi driver knocked them down from their motorbike.

The Daily Graphic can only say 'bravo' to the taxi driver for mustering courage to stand up to the suspected robbers.
The driver really put his life at risk for an unknown person, but that singular act of courage will not go unnoticed. It is good to hear that the management of the Koala Supermarket has promised to replace the taxicab because it was damaged in the encounter with the armed robbers. The government has also promised to reward him by providing him with a house.

Also the Police Administration has hinted of handsomely rewarding all those who contributed to the arrest of the two suspects.
The attitude of the taxi driver reinforces the widely held position of the Police Administration that crime combat is a shared responsibility between the police and members of the public. The taxi driver should be feeling very honoured now because former President Jerry John Rawlings has recognised him, saying the "boldness exhibited by the taxi driver is truly heroic and patriotic". Indications from the public must send a clear signal to all that patriotic acts such as the one exhibited by the driver will be rewarded.

It is clear that there are still patriotic men and women in our society who would want to sacrifice their all, including their lives, to protect the well-being of society.
The public show of solidarity with the taxi driver is also an indication that society is ready to honour its heroes.
The Daily Graphic believes that it is about time we returned to the time-tested values of honesty and integrity, as those principles are imperatives in nation-building and the security of all.

Monday, January 18, 2016 **GRA 3**

We need more Safety on Our Highways

The Christmas season was fairly peaceful owing to the 'Operation Father-Christmas' programme launched by the Ghana Police Service to ensure that we enjoyed the season in absolute peace.
We congratulate the police on watching over us during the period and reducing the incidence of armed robbery and other nefarious activities by armed, gangs in our communities.

However, highway robberies that seemed to have abated have risen again in '   disturbing number. Our traders who travel the length and breadth of the country, sometimes during the night, just to make ends meet, are under attack. Once again
Last Saturday at Bonsu Nkwanta in the Western Region, 60 passengers travelling to Kumasi were robbed at gunpoint by four armed robbers and dispossessed of their valuables, including huge sums of money and mobile phones.
During the act, the driver of the bus, as well as some passengers, was shot .and injured.

The troubling aspect of the robbery last Saturday is that it did not occur very late in the night as others gone before it. This means the armed robbers have changed their modus operandi and the police must do same in order to arrest the situation, which has made travelling at any time of the day a very dangerous venture.
Whenever police patrol teams make their presence felt on stretches of the highway where passengers have been under consistent attacks, the robbers relocate, thereby leaving the police in fruitless searches for them. When the police arrive at the robbery scene on time, there have always been a ding-dong battle, with the armed robbers usually suffering casualties.

That is why we believe the police are well equipped to deal with such incidents of attacks on commuters, most of whom are traders crises-crossing the highways to make goods available to their customers and also put food on the table for their families. While we urge the police to increase the patrols to make not only our communities but our highways safe for all at all times, we also ask both passengers commuting to other places and traders who often ply the highways to travel with little or no cash and valuables, especially if it is at night.

We believe that in this era of mobile money transfer, online banking transactions and the use of ATM cards, traders would do themselves a lot of good if they do their business with little cash. Most banks are also interconnected, so that if one saves in a particular bank, business can be transacted with any of the bank branches not only across the country but even in other countries. The Daily Graphic believes that attacks on traders lends credence to the need to promote a cashless society. If robbers know that they will not take any spoils when they attack passengers on lonely stretches of our highways, we believe that venture will cease to be attractive to them.

We also encourage big bus companies such as the State Transport Company, O. A. Transport and VVIP to consider employing the services of the Ghana Police Service and other security services on their buses to provide security for their passengers at all times and stem the spate of robberies on the highways.

Saturday, January 23, 2016 **GRA 4**

We need caution in the use of Social Media

The use of social media platforms such Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, Hi5, LinkedIn, Bing, Flickr, Instagram and Imo, among other platforms has not only become fashionable, but has also come to stay with us.
Anyone therefore who does not subscribe to any or particular social media platforms is referred to as 'BBC (born before computer)', meaning such a person is not moving with the times.

But that is the least of our worries. Social media, undoubtedly, has come to spice up social relations among people and bring people who live far apart and on different continents closer. Members of families that are living far apart from one another are also able to interact easily through social media.
The danger in the proliferation of social media platforms, however, is when it comes to the dissemination of information. Due to their wide reach, social media are able to spontaneously reach a lot more people at a go, even better than the traditionally known media.

That in itself would have been a plus if it had not been for the fact that social media platform is operated by everyday people without the basics in journalism training and without the basic knowledge of ethics that guide the profession.

Our consternation lies in the fact that in recent times, even trained journalists have fallen prey to information circulated on social media and passed. On such information as the truth. As they say, any news that is passed on by the media is considered as the truth. But passing off information making the rounds on social media as the news without first cross-checking it is very disturbing indeed.

It does not only mean that the media would gradually resign itself to peddling untruths and making such untruths seems as the truth, but it also has the propensity to open up the media space to all manner of people who do not know anything about journalism and the ethics that guide its practice.

Making social media our unfettered source of news also impinges on the security of the state, as everything put there by just anybody would be passed off as the 'Gospel' truth. Apart from last Wednesday's phoney reshuffle peddled on social media that caused quite a scare, especially because it was carried by well-established media organisations that either failed to cross-, check the veracity of the information or thought it was the truth that the Flagstaff House was denying, there have been several instances when the social media have been abused.

People have used the social media to insult, peddle rumours or ridicule leaders, members of the government and elders in society and gone scot-free, because social media are not regulated. Therein lies the danger, because although they have positive sides, social media are also used for scams and to defraud unsuspecting people.

While we wait for any form of regulations to streamline the use of social media so that they do not become an albatross around our neck, we urge circumspection in their use among all those who subscribe to their usage.

Especially as we are in an election year, we ask the public to exercise some restraint when using any social media platform so as not to inflame passions. Words have power and images or pictures even more.

The Daily Graphic, therefore, urges everyone to err on the side of caution as we exchange information on the free social media platforms. We especially ask colleague journalists to exercise caution when using any information on social media and thoroughly cross-check this before its use.

Friday, January 29, 2016 **GRA 5**

Gov't Organised Labour must sing from same hymn book

Some development theorists posit that the well-being of the people cannot be judged by mere statistics, figures and physical structures. They postulate that the best way to assess the standard of living of the people is to measure their access to basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing.

In some jurisdictions, the government introduces safety nets, perhaps the equivalent of the lifeline for utility tariffs introduced by our government, to cushion low income earners against' the effects of the upward adjustment in power and water tariffs. It is to avoid the situation where ordinary people do not have access to basic needs that in most jurisdictions, especially in socialist states, the governments provide for a subsidised regime to ameliorate the suffering of the vulnerable.

Even in the so-called capitalist states, the governments now recognise that there are vulnerable people in the system, for which reason they run a welfare state in. order to reduce the suffocating effects of the free market forces on the poor. Interventions, to cushion the effects of the market on the people include unemployment benefits, social housing, child maintenance allowance and health insurance. Since the Public Utilities Regulatory Commission (PURC) announced the upward adjustment in utility tariffs last year, followed by the passage of the Energy Sector Levies Act, resulting in a 27 per cent hike in fuel prices, the public has been up in arms with the authorities.

The hikes have compelled workers, under the aegis of Organised Labour, to bare their teeth at the government for what they describe as insensitivity on the part of the leaders of the land. Organised Labour came out with a road map that has culminated in demonstrations throughout the country. The government, mindful of the effects of the road map on the economy, met representatives of Organised Labour to iron out the issues.

At last Wednesday's meeting; they made progress by the government agreeing to some reduction in power tariffs. We have said on many occasions that the best way to achieve consensus in negotiations is for parties not to go into such mediations

with entrenched positions. As to whether the levels of reduction meet the expectations of working people and consumers, we are not in a position to determine that now.

However, the Daily Graphic is worried that although the government and Organised Labour reached a deal over electricity tariffs, the two groups do not appear to be singing from the same hymn book as far as the levies are concerned. Although Mr. Haruna Iddrissu, the Minister of Employment and Labour Relations, who led the government team, insists that any tampering with the Energy Sector Levies Act will affect the economy, Mr. Kofi Asamoah, the Secretary General of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), says, “We will continue engagement on the other outstanding issues like water and the levies.” In reiterating the importance of dialogue in situations like the one that confronts the country presently, we urge the parties to remain at table and jaw-jaw until all the issues have been resolved amicably. The Daily Graphic thinks that anything to the contrary is objectionable, as it will' lead to turmoil on the industrial front.

Thursday, February 4, 2016 **GRA 6**

<u>Let’s Empower Our Local Printers Now!</u>

The government has taken a bold step to offer the printing of all textbooks for first and second-cycle schools to our local printers. Local printers have been knocking at the door of the government for some time now to revamp the printing industry, which used to provide jobs and livelihoods for thousands of Ghanaians. The lack of capacity on the part of local printers, as a result of unbridled competition from more developed countries and the challenges of our economy, has always been cited as an excuse to deny them jobs.

With the denial of government jobs to them, the local printing industry took a nosedive. But this week, the government took the bull by the horns to give the printers to the chance to demonstrate their book-printing skills once again. We hope that this giant step will help build the capacities of local printers to deliver good jobs and on time and be able to match-international standards and compete favourably with printers abroad.

Although we believe that the eight selected out of the 32 local printers may have some competencies for which they were chosen, we are of the view that they need more support in order to give meaning to the decision. It does not take a soothsayer to point out that the entire printing industry in the country is straggling to stay in business. The high cost of inputs such as machinery parts, ink, and paper .j requires much capital, without which the business of printing will be done at a great loss. We, therefore, urge the government to assist the eight printers by guaranteeing loans for them to acquire the necessary inputs before they commence the contract, else they may get stuck after they have started.

It is our view that although the selected eight may have the technical competencies to execute the job at hand, they may be limited in the delivery of the work.
The printing of all textbooks for both basic and senior high schools not only for this year but in subsequent years, all things being equal, is quite a lot and will thus require a lot of support to help indigenous businesses to take the commanding height of the economy. For the printers to survive, they must have access to credit, which they may not get on their own efforts and that is why we call on the government to play the lead role in getting them the needed credit.

We are very confident that the government will be able to support the printers to deliver, as it would not be the first time it would do so. Pharmaceutical companies were assisted with a US$5 million loan each to revamp their businesses and the result is obvious, as the companies that received the support are now doing very well. The Daily Graphic believes that the support received by the printing firms will create the enabling environment for them to take jobs from outside the country, especially from the sub-region as well.

We need to empower the printing firms to expand, create more employment opportunities and raise their competencies because j when they succeed, the entire society, especially the educational sector, gains.
The Daily Graphic asks the government to consider scrapping taxes on imported raw materials and other imports for the book industry, so that local printers can compete with imported printed materials for schools and reading leisure that do not attract taxes.

Wednesday, February 10, 2016 GRA 7

Where are the powers of the State to Protect Our Environment?

Most of us have seen horrible images of emaciated infants and adults who are experiencing droughts in their countries. But apart from batting our eyelids and the expression of some compassion and shock, many think that, the situation those people find themselves in is far removed from us.
Coming events, it is said, cast their shadows and if the wanton destruction of our fast dwindling water resources through the abuse of the environment is anything to go by, then it will not be long before we are hit with the scarcity of water, as has been predicted over time.

We are not trying to be prophets of doom.
What we seek to send across is that we are digging our own graves through irresponsible overexploitation of our water and natural resources. If we continue to look on without acting to stop the trend, it is only gloom and doom that would visit us as a country. For those of us who experienced a little of the 1983 drought that hit the country, the discomfort of that year should be a constant reminder of what lies in store for us if we allow a few greedy people to continue to destroy what is left of our rivers, lakes, streams and forests.

It is because there would always be people I who would mismanage our water bodies as they seek selfish ends that many government bodies and agencies have been created. Yet agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Forestry Commission, Lands Commission, Water Resources Commission and the Minerals Commission, among other governmental agencies with the mandate to prevent the destruction of our water bodies seem not to be doing much to avert a calamity. The metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies (MMDAs) also have the duty to ensure that our natural resources and water bodies in their jurisdictions are protected from destruction by self-seeking individuals.

Our activities are gradually pushing us go towards the fringes of climate change, if we have not already hastened our steps by destroying our ecological balance. We may destroy our water bodies through mining and pollution with chemicals and filth and think that they will regenerate when it rains.

We, therefore, plead with the many task forces that have been formed to check illegal activities that destroy the environment to be consistent in restraining the perpetrators from : engaging in further destruction. We also urge the government to adequately resource the task forces, so that they do not use the lack of logistics as an excuse not to be proactive in the duty assigned them. The destruction of our water bodies is a matter of life and death since water has no substitute and the government must treat it with all the urgency it deserves. The Ghana Army must be deployed to areas where illegal chainsaw operators and miners have armed themselves to the teeth to ward off the task force.

Already, the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) is finding it difficult to provide treated water to the citizens due to the excessive pollution of some water sources. We cannot allow a few greedy people to hold us all to ransom and endanger our very existence on this earth.

Tuesday, February 16th, 2016 GRA 8

Should We Beg For Forgiveness When We Break The Law?

In every society, laws are made to ensure the sanctity and sanity of social life. Wherever there are no laws, there is complete chaos, as people do what they like and go scot-free.

The Ghanaian society is no exception and there are several criminal and civil laws in the statute books which are meant to bring recalcitrant citizen in line. Those who flout the laws are made to face its full rigours and the law is no respecter- of persons.

In fact the laws are the reason we have established the Ghana Judicial Services, the Ghana Prisons Service and the Ghana Police Service, to not only keep the peace, but also uphold the laws and reform, people who fall foul of the law.

While it is not our prayer that people should be arrested, hauled before the law courts and incarcerated, it is our view that the institutions involved in those actions have been set up by our. Constitution for our own good, so that we do not end up living in a jungle or lawless society.

Even with those institutions, we still witness some acts that disturb the peace and the sanctity of our society.

It therefore, behoves all of us to let the institutions work, in order to continually ensure an orderly society. Last week one person died after some Muslim youth clashed with traditional authorities at Tafo in the Ashanti Region over a parcel of land. The clashes resulted in the vandalisation of properties.

However, the about 48 of the perpetrators of the violence, who were arrested by the security agencies have been released unconditionally following a peace deal brokered with the Ashanti Regional Security Council, which involved a plea to have all the arrested suspects released. Further, last Friday, the National Chief Imam, Sheikh Usman Nuhu Sharubutu, and the National Peace Council (NPC) met separately with the Tafohene, Nana Agyin Frimpong, at his palace, where the Muslim cleric apologised to the traditional authorities for the action of the youth and pleaded that the issue be settled amicably.

We laud all the parties that contributed to the peace process at Tafo and we are not asking those affected by the clash and violence to bear a grudge against the youth, but the laws of the land must be made to take their course. Much as the Quran states that if anyone forgives someone of a wrong it inures to the forgiver's benefit, we are of the view that forgiveness of such wanton destruction, which claimed a life, is not what the Holy Book is referring to.

How would forgiving the youth involved in the destruction of the properties and violence bring back the dead to life or restore the destroyed properties? The Daily Graphic fears that by letting the flouters of the country's laws off the hook, we would be systematically making the laws ineffective and setting a serious precedent.

We would be encouraging rowdy youth to visit mayhem on people and destroy properties whenever they are peeved or have a disagreement because they know they will not be punished if they just ask for forgiveness.

We have a lot of respect and reverence for our leaders, be they temporal or spiritual, but we ask that they rein in their rampaging youth and convey to them in no uncertain terms that anyone who flouts the laws of the land would have to face the music:

Let us be cautious in the way we handle' issues concerning violence and destruction of property, especially this election year, else" we may be sowing seeds whose fruits we would not be pleased to harvest

Monday, February 22, 2016 **GRA 9**

Let's work towards 2016 polls with open minds, hearts

This year's presidential and parliamentary elections promise to be one of the most keenly contested and challenging for the Electoral Commission (EC).The stakes are already high as the nation inches towards the crucial elections, in November, with accusations and counter-accusations from all sides of the political divide. There is increasing evidence that the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) is working hard to retain political power, while the New Patriotic Party (NPP) is doing everything to recapture the power it lost in 2008.The People's National Convention (PNC) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) are equally working hard to offer a third alternative to the two major political parties.

Just this weekend, drama and controversy surrounded the setting up of an Election Steering Committee by the EC. Whereas after an Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meeting with the EC last Friday some political parties emerged with the understanding that the committee set up by the EC had been suspended the EC, in a statement signed by its acting Director of Public Affairs, Mr. Christian Owusu Parry, described that report as erroneous and urged the public to disregard it. Judging from the suspicious relations that exist between the EC and some of the political parties, particularly the dominant opposition NPP, all efforts must be made to ensure open, free, fair and transparent polls.

It is in line with this that the appeal by our two former Presidents for all measures to be taken to guarantee peaceful elections is timely and must be respected and abided by. Speaking at separate events, former President Jerry John Rawlings called on all stakeholders in the forthcoming elections to ensure the highest level of transparency to guarantee a peaceful process. Former President John Agyekum Kufuor, on the other hand, tasked the EC to put Ghana first in the conduct of this year's elections.
As important as the elections are, all stakeholders, including the EC and the political parties, must heed the call by our two former Presidents and look ahead with open minds to prosecute the 2016 electoral agenda.

Thankfully, President John Dramani Mahama has not spared any opportunity to assure the nation of peaceful elections. It is the view of the *Daily Graphic* that if we want to have peaceful elections, comes November 7, then all stakeholders must start working towards them now. This is because Ghana cannot afford to wait any longer and it is about time all stakeholders got involved now and worked together for free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections that all Ghanaians are craving for.

With the violence that often takes place in other African countries after elections in mind, the common agenda for Election 2016 must be peace and nothing short of that.

Ghana, undoubtedly, has succeeded in creating a global reputation for itself as a country in which governments can be changed through the ballot box, not bullets, and in which the transfer of administration can take place between a ruling party and an opposition party.
Ahead of the conduct of the 2016 elections, the global community will once again have their eyes firmly focused on Ghana as it works to preserve its democratic credentials as a bastion of good governance.
In 2016, we have to do everything in our power to preach peace, not war, while no partisan interest must be allowed to undermine the attainment of this noble objective.

Saturday, February 27, 2016 GRA 10

<u>Let's join hands to Rebuild our Country</u>

The President last Thursday painted a rosy picture of the country's development process when he presented the State of the Nation' Address to Parliament.
"The seed we sowed three years ago has taken roots. Some have even become trees," he told the Members of Parliament (MPs). In spite of the good picture painted by President John Manama, the Minority in Parliament thinks that the President did not paint the true picture of the state of Ghana's economy.

Whatever positions people hold, it will; not be absolutely true to say that the country has not made progress over the years despite the challenges.
It will also be totally incorrect to say that the economy has a clean bill of health.
Sometime last year, the country was experiencing quiet a very debilitating ' energy crisis popularly called dumsor but presently, the power situation has improved considerably, just short of saying that the; power situation has been fixed but for the intermittent shortages.

Despite our seeming challenges, progress can be seen in various sectors of the economy, especially in the services sector.
We know that agriculture and the manufacturing (sectors that must grow to offer the necessary fillip to the economy and create jobs, wealth and prosperity in the land) are not growing. Today, Ghana has a very big middle class whose appetite for goods and services was non-existent few years ago. What we notice as bottlenecks in the economy are our reliance on imported items of all kinds of merchandise and lack for support to Ghanaians to take control of the "commanding heights of the economy".

The structural deficiencies of the economy still remain, compelling the government to place premium on service taxes that do not require much effort to collect.

Perhaps, the dualisation of the economy is partly to blame for the heavy burden on salary earners leaving out the large informal sector with a teeming number of players who pay absolutely nothing to the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA).
It is an open secret that the wealth and resources in the hands of the informal sector are huge but our governments have not been able to devise the strategies to collect taxes from players of this sector.

The very productive sectors of agriculture and manufacturing have come to their knees and it seems that we do not have the clues to revive them.
In those days that the country had a very vibrant industrial enclave in Accra and other major cities, including Tema, there were jobs available for graduates and even the unskilled to be recruited as factory hands.
Also, agriculture has become so unattractive that the aged farmers are the only people left to till the land to feed us.

Therefore, the country has to rely on neighbouring countries for food items that we used to grow in abundance here and whose surplus we even exported.
These are not matters to be dismissed with the wave of the hand. They are also not issues that we should situate within the realms of partisan politics.
The Daily Graphic appeals to all to engage in the discourse over the way forward with open mind and give praise where it is due and criticise constructively offering suggestions. No matter the circumstances in which we find ourselves, we owe it to ourselves and generation to-come the need to bond and put the nation first in all our endeavours.

Friday, March 4, 2016 **GRA 11**

<u>Ensuring Success of SDGs</u>

Everybody who appreciates the essence of development should be excited by the decision of the United Nations (UN) to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The eight goals in the MDGs were not achieved by many countries that, signed onto those objectives but we are happy that Ghana attained the objective of halving poverty by 2015 and made significant progress on attaining the other seven.

Although we could not attain all the goals in the MDGs, the UN has replaced them with the SDGs. It is good to have sustainable development as the objective of all nations, especially considering the rate at which the resources of our land are being exploited. If we must live to witness the attainment of the SDGs, then our governments must take steps to protect our resources such that their exploitation will be done in a sustainable way. Sustainable development is one that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Thus the goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries — developed or developing, market oriented or centrally planned. Ghana has signed onto the SDGs and is, therefore, obligated to ensure that its natural resources are managed in a way that will benefit the present generation and extended to posterity. But the situation regarding our natural resources is nothing to write home about. Gold resources are being depleted. Our water bodies have become so polluted that they cannot sustain aquatic life. Villages and towns that depended on water bodies are currently unable to do so because of the pollution of these water bodies by the activities of galamsey operators.

In some cases, water bodies have dried up, leading to water shortage in some parts of the country as is the case at Nsawam presently.
There is wanton destruction of our forest reserves through the activities of loggers, who cut down trees indiscriminately, while the wildlife stock is funning out as a result of hunting and poaching activities.

All the land in Accra has been sold to developers, while the little available has been encroached upon.

The situation of land availability in the national capital has become so worrisome that concerns are being raised as to whether succeeding generations could have any space for other considerations such as housing, parks and schools.
The overall effect of our handling of our natural resources portends a gloomy picture for future generations if left unchecked.
The Daily Graphic wishes to entreat the government to be more proactive in safeguarding our natural resources.

This call has become more crucial, since President John Mahama has been appointed by the UN Secretary-General as co-chair of a high-level advocacy group with, the Norwegian Prime Minister, Ms Erna Solberg, to promote the (SDGs).
We cannot afford to let things continue as they are currently; otherwise the very essence of our subscription to the SDGs will be defeated.

Thursday, March 10, 2016 **GRA 12**

Affirmative Action must yield Results

Ghana joined the global community to celebrate International Women's Day last Tuesday to highlight the achievements of "women and the challenges militating against their growth and development. In Ghana, women rights groups, gender organisations and individuals described the theme for this year's celebration as a call to action in the women empowerment agenda. This is because working together to realise gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls especially will play a crucial role towards achieving targets set out in the new global development paradigm— the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDGs that relates to ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere, eliminating all forms, of violence against all women and girls and promoting the attainment of gender equality.

Although Ghana continues to make strides towards women's; empowerment, certain intractable traditional and socio-cultural norms; and perceptions about women's place in society continue to reinforce gender stereotypes of feminity and masculinity, thereby thwarting gender equality efforts.

Indeed, as the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) truly asserted in a statement to the media to mark the event, the world in general and Ghana for that 'matter cannot develop to an appreciable level if opportunities are not created for both women and men to participate in the development process

The optimism expressed by the commission that the development of a National Gender Policy and the formulation of the Affirmative Action Law currently awaiting Cabinet's approval would address some of the shortfalls and mainstream gender equality into the national development agenda-to ensure equal participation of both women and men in every facet of life is quite valid.

The Daily Graphic also agrees with appeals to implement gender-based policies that are geared towards attaining food security and sustainable development in the country. We reiterate that it is extremely important to make the effort to allow women and girl's equal access to quality education, economic resources and political participation, and that women's full and equal participation in the political and economic arena is fundamental to democracy and justice.

The Daily Graphic also adds its voice to calls on all stakeholders, as well as government and non-governmental organisations, to make significant investments to close the gender gap, as well as take concrete steps to quicken global efforts in achieving gender equality.

It also urges stakeholders to work together to eliminate discrimination against women and girls, as well as other barriers which impede gender equality.
Although we have not achieved much by way of concerted efforts by the government to narrow the gender gap, we think all the political parties must step up their efforts to get more women into Parliament.

When it comes to appointments in the public service, more should be extended to women who are qualified to hold those positions, as the development process will lag behind without the participation of females.
To mark this memorable event, we say Ayekoo to all women and wish them all the best to continue to work hard to make strides in all fields of national endeavour.

Wednesday, March 16, 2016 **GRA 13**

Punish those fleecing the country

Ghana has taken long strides in the quest to reach lower middle – income status following very exacting economic policies that were undertaken in the bid to place the economy on a sound footing. At a certain point in time, the country had to submit to the heavily indebted poor country (HIPC) initiative under which some debts that it owed were written off. When we went HIPC, hopes were that a new era of less indebtedness had been born and that we had been given the opportunity to start afresh.

The lesson we, as a nation, should have learnt was ensure that the national purse was managed prudently at every level of national endeavour in order that we would never return to HIPC. But experiences over the years continue to show that that has not been the case, with our national debt stock appreciating year after year. This has given cause for some austere economic measures being deployed to cut down on spending and wastage in the system.

But what the Daily Graphic finds befuddling is that year after year, reports by the Auditor - General continue to indict a number of state institutions for financial irregularities. The most worrying trend is that often those acts are repeated in the ensuring year in a manner that smacks of impudence. We recently carried a number of stories on financial irregularities involving state institution based on a report of the Auditor - General for the 2013 - 2014 period. The irregularities over outstanding debts, loan and recoverable charges, cash, payroll, procurement, tax, store and contract.

In the words of the Auditor - General, “These are the result of systemic weaknesses that have persisted over time and other breakdowns in internal controls”

Clearly, the people of Ghana, particularly formal sector workers, who religiously honour their tax obligations at the end of every month, will not be happy that after they sweat and toil to pay their taxes, the money they contribute to the national purse goes to waste as a result of systemic weaknesses and breakdowns in internal controls. While the Daily Graphic remains appreciative of the efforts the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Parliament is making to look into some of these

revelations of financial imprudence, the time has come for the whip to be applied where necessary.

Those who fall foul of the various financial laws and the procurement regime, apart from being asked to repay or return whatever might have been misappropriated, should be punished to serve as a deterrent to future errants.
But beyond this, we need to strengthen our financial control mechanisms to ensure that such irregularities are anticipated and addressed proactively, so that we do not wait for forensic audits to unveil them.

Tuesday, March 22, 2016 **GRA 14**

Korle Bu Hospital deserves fitting facelift

When the ministration of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the then Governor of the Gold Coast, established the Korle Bu Hospital on October 9,1923, it was to serve as a general hospital to address the health needs of the indigenous people. The hospital then had a bed capacity of 200. However, population growth and the proven efficacy of hospital-based treatment caused a rise in hospital attendance at Korle Bu.

By 1953, demand for the hospital's services had gone so high that the government was compelled to set up a task force to study the situation and make recommendations for the expansion of the hospital.
The government accepted and implemented the recommendations of the taskforce, which resulted in the construction of new structures, such as the Maternity, the Medical, the Surgical and Child Health blocks. This increased the hospital's bed capacity to 1,200.

Korle Bu gained teaching hospital status in 1962 when the University Of Ghana Medical School (UGMS) was established for the training of medical doctors not only from Ghana but other parts of Africa. The hospital currently has a bed capacity of 2,000 and serves as the biggest national referral centre and the third largest hospital in Africa. However, over the years, instead of the hospital improving its infrastructure along with its growing significance in the provision of health care and medical tuition and training, it has kept deteriorating, to the extent that Korle Bu is now a pale shadow of itself.

The absence of a culture of maintenance, which has been the bane of our dear country, has adversely affected the fortunes of an international landmark institution such as the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital. But, thankfully, news of the launch of an endowment fund to expand infrastructure at the facility and procure vital equipment to enhance healthcare delivery is very welcoming. If the hospital is to maintain its status as the third largest in Africa or even get to the top of the list, then such a proactive venture in the launch of an endowment fund must be embraced and supported by all.

Currently, the hospital records an average daily attendance of 1,500 patients at its Out-Patients Department (OPD), out of which 250 are admitted daily for further management.

Without doubt, the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital stands as a crucial player in the healthcare delivery system of the country and that demands that the highest attention in terms of maintenance, the provision of requisite and adequate equipment and the appropriate motivation for staff of the hospital are ensured. The Daily Graphic, therefore, considers it heartwarming that three clinics of the hospital, namely, the urology surgical, general surgery and the neurosurgical, which were closed down for re-tooling have been reopened to offer enhanced services.

We believe that our progress as a nation does not lie only in the putting up of new infrastructure but also ensuring that the old ones that we have are properly maintained to serve the purposes that they were meant for. The lack of maintenance must give way to a new and improved attitude by which maintenance becomes a norm rather than an aberration.

Tuesday, March 29, 2016 **GRA 15**

<u>Reminiscing the Easter celebrations</u>

Already Easter has come and gone with a host of activities that were lined up all across the world to mark it. Easter, which began as a commemoration by Christians of the death of Christ, has now been embraced by all as a period to make merry and plan development activities. Of course, Christ's death is good news to the Christian because through His death on the cross, Christians believe that they have a remission of their sins.

Christians also believe that the blood Jesus Christ shed heals them of all .manner of diseases, hence the taking of the Holy Communion to symbolise that gesture.
Easter is, therefore, first a period for remembering Jesus' finished work on the cross at Calvary. It is also a period for sober reflection on the life of the Christian.

It is a time the Christian is expected to be thankful to God for His gift to mankind and probe whether Jesus' sacrifice made on the cross has been made to count or reflect in the life of the individual.

These reasons for Easter notwithstanding, the commemoration of the day has now been turned into a period of excessive revelling, thereby losing the real essence of Easter. Easter is certainly a period to be happy, and happiness calls for some amount of rejoicing and merriment. However, in recent times, the merrymaking has taken centre stage and the real meaning of Easter has been lost on a lot of people.
At major activities held to mark this year's Easter, such as the Kwahu Easter festivities, it was very clear that Easter has been given a totally new meaning.

Apart from the inauguration and initiation of development projects by families, as well as development group gatherings that usually mark the Easter period, which are both very positive programmes, revelling by especially the youth during the three-day period left much to be desired. Some of the activities bordered on immorality among the youth. The overflow of alcoholic beverages and the wearing of revealing and skimpy dresses by most of the youth, as well as a few middle-aged ladies, did not help matters either.

Clearly, church activities which usually mark the Easter season, such as conventions and crusades, were swallowed up by all the activities on the Kwahu Ridge. As we have indicated, Easter is a time to rejoice, but we believe that we have gradually shifted from the real essence of Easter. While we do not say people should not make merry during Easter, as it is a period most families and friends come together, we ask that an effort is made to let people understand why we celebrate Easter.

The churches have a great task to reach the unsaved, but community and opinion leaders have an equal responsibility to bring wayward youth in line.
It is against this background that the Daily Graphic welcomes the v suggestion by Mr. Kwame Ofosu-Bamfo, the Chief Executive of Sikkens and Chairman of the Bamson Group of Companies, that Kwahu Easter should be turned into a festival to rekindle the can-do spirit of the Kwahus that was mobilised to undertake many development projects on the Kwahu Ridge.

Saturday, April 2, 2016 **GRA 16**

Let's avoid firefighting approach to labour issues

The Judicial Service Staff Association of Ghana (JUSSAG) yesterday walked away from the law courts, citing the government's delay in consolidating the salaries and allowances of the Judicial Service staff, as recommended by the Judicial Council. Addressing a press conference in Accra last Thursday, the President of JUSSAG, Mr. Alex Nartey, said all attempts by the association to get the government to pay the approved salaries had been unfruitful.

For some time now, members of organised labour have been up in arms with the government over unpaid allowances, salaries or inconclusive negotiations of conditions of service.

During such turbulent periods, productivity has suffered, thereby disrupting efforts in consolidating the gains of economic development.

We recall with pain occasions when health professionals have embarked on Strike and .left their patients at the mercy of a virtually collapsed health delivery system.

When lives are at stake, it is difficult to justify any action by health professionals to walk away from the consultation rooms in demand for better conditions of service. Strikes by other sectors of the economy may not be about life and death as is the case with the strike by JUSSAG members.

Nonetheless, the country needs an effective and accessible judiciary to sustain our democratic dispensation as well as promote peace and stability in the country. Without a functional judiciary there can be no rule of law, which is the building block on which a modern democratic society is built. It is said that laws are made for the welfare of the people to maintain harmony between the conflicting forces in society.

The rule of law is actually the foundation stone on which the platform of democracy lies, with regard to respecting the rights of others and the way they want to express themselves by speech, writing etc. Democracy can thrive and be sustained if civil liberties are respected.

The Daily Graphic thinks that in an election year, nothing must be done to derail our forward march towards another successful election. For this reason, we appeal to JUSSAG and the government to remain at the negotiation table until an amicable settlement is reached.

Without a functional judiciary, there will be chaos in the society as people may resort to self-help initiatives to resolve their grievances. The Daily Graphic is happy that the government has decided to resolve the y grievances of the JUSSAG by agreeing to pay them their allowances by Monday. All the same, we appeal to the government to be proactive in its dealing with organised labour and not wait until workers threaten to embark on a strike or actually embark on it before it moves in quickly to resolve their concerns.

This fire fighting approach to labour management and industrial relations is not the best way of sustaining harmony at the industrial scene. We, however, commend the government and JUSSAG for moving quickly to end the strike and restore action to the courtrooms.

Heads must roll for exam scandal **GRA 17**

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Concerns have been raised in the recent past over the leaking of examination questions from the stables of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC).

If the incident had occurred once and the measures instituted to check future recurrence, it would have been treated as an isolated incident to be relegated to the dust bin of history.

Unfortunately, that has not been the case.Year after year, the leak keeps occurring, thereby making examination leak form WAEC a perennial thing.

Time and again, WAEC had given an assurance that steps would be taken to address the situation but things seems to be getting out of hand.

Last year, the council dismissed two of its members of staff following the leak of Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) questions, but not much has been done by way of the institution of the required measures to stem the tide of leaks.

When the Daily Graphic got the information about the leak, the editorial team was hesitant about going to press with the story, in view of the impact it could have on a good number of students who are innocent and have studied hard to write the examination.

The decision to finally publish the story was informed by the national concern that has been expressed by various stakeholders o the recurrence of the leak.

Major stakeholders in education, such as the Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education Service (GES), The Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT), IMANI Ghana and others, have added their voices n condemnation of the perennial canker.

President John Mahama has also instructed the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) to team up with the examination body to track the sources of the leak and bring the perpetrators to book.

The Daily Graphic find this call expedient, in view of the fact that in the past those found to have played roles in leaks were not dealt with in a manner that would serve as a deterrent to would-be perpetrators.

It is our hope that this time around those will be found culpable will be made to face the full rigours of the law because their activities constitute a clear and present danger to the future of our students.

It is our hope that apart from WAEC Officials, any parent, teacher or student who played a role in the leak would be dealt with in accordance with the law.

The credibility of certificates issued by WAEC is currently suffering because of these regular instances of examination leaks and the Daily Graphic believes that the right action must be employed in stamping out this dangerous and disgraceful behavior once and for all.

Thursday, April 14, 2016 **GRA 18**

It is time to prosecute embezzlers of state funds

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Parliament has, time without number, made public incidents of embezzlement or misappropriation by public officials, as reported in the Auditor General's reports on the public accounts of the country.
There has always been public furore over the expose at the sittings of the PAC, some of which have involved huge sums and the non-observance of very rudimentary accounting principles.

Although the actions of civil servants have resulted in huge losses to the state, the best action by the PAC has been a request to the officials who have been found to have shown complicity, to refund the misappropriated funds.
Most of the time many years elapse before the accounting anomalies are detected, yet the percentage of inflation is never factored into the amounts the officials are asked to refund. Sadly however, these misappropriated funds are never refunded by the public officials.

There is a school of thought that if the misappropriated funds had been used by the accused officials for business ventures, the officials would have made so much on it that just being asked to refund the misappropriated amount would not be deterrent enough. The government's response to the public outcry over the spate of cases of embezzlement has most often been a statement from the President to the effect that "I have instructed the Attorney General to prosecute".

Yet there is no single incident of a public official being hauled before court has ever been recorded. This, to many people, has encouraged more public officers to engage in shady deals involving state funds, with the foreknowledge that the worst that could happen to them would be being asked to refund the said amount, by which time they would have profited immensely from its usage.
The Daily Graphic believes that the days of issuing verbal warnings and asking for refunds are over, especially if we are to nip the high incidence of corruption in the public service in the bud.

Spending the taxpayers' money on a series of reports that unearth massive irregularities in public service, without applying the appropriate sanctions on those found culpable, will only result in

the wastage of the same resources from the nation's kitty that we are trying to protect. Officials who embezzle state funds are all paid for the jobs that they do and on no account must they be provided with another salary source through misappropriation. The principles governing the keeping of books must be made to work to cut down on losses to the state.
The Daily Graphic believes that it is to keep errant officials in check that rules are provided to govern their work and laws put in our statute books to sanction them.

We, therefore, urge the government not to renege on its promise to properly account to the people by not letting nation wreckers get away with their activities.
The Attorney General must rise to the occasion and bring corrupt officials exposed by the Auditor General's reports to book. It is the Attorney General's mandate to prosecute and the courts have been established to bring sanity to all sectors of the nation, including the public sector.

We pray that state prosecutors are put on the heels of officials who have developed long hands that drain the state coffers or whose non-adherence to simple accounting principles results in financial loss to the state. This will serve as a deterrent to like-minded officials.
We reiterate that officials who misappropriate our money must be made to face the music without fear or favour, else the compilation of the Auditor General's Report will be another waste pipe.

Wednesday, April 20, 2016 **GRA 19**

Let's take customer service seriously

The Public Utilities Regulatory Commission (PURC) says it is working out modalities to penalise the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG) for its failure to replace faulty metres for a number of consumers nationwide. This decision by the PURC may have taken long in coming, but it certainly is a step in the right direction. We believe that it is a commendable step because although consumers who found themselves paying above the "59.2 per cent increment in electricity tariffs which took effect in December 2015 complained about the unjustifiable burden placed on them, the ECG failed to correct the anomaly.

The situation saw some furious customers besieging selected offices of the ECG in parts of the country for the company to carry out the necessary correction of mistakes the consumers had identified themselves and had been acknowledged. Yet, not even the intervention of the PURC in the matter brought about the required change, resulting in a host of customers going through some stress in the payment of unwarranted bills through no. fault of theirs.
As the PURC found during a monitoring exercise to ascertain the veracity of claims by customers, there was rampant failure of some prepaid-payment meters, but the ECG did not attach any urgency to the matter of replacement to ease pressure on customers.

Also found by the monitoring team was some level of laxity towards the issue of replacement, which suggested that the ECG was not in any way bothered by its consumers' complaints. Elsewhere, customers' rights are so protected that providers of goods and services are not able to take customers for granted or take them for a ride. Although we have a Consumer Protection Agency in Ghana it is not as vibrant as similar bodies in other countries, perhaps in view of the attitude of the average Ghanaian to let things go, even when those things are to his or her disadvantage.

The Daily Graphic hopes that the decision of the PURC to apply appropriate sanctions against the ECG for not taking seriously the concerns of some of its customers will be carried through for it to not turn out as an empty threat. We believe that if the PURC carries through its decision, it will change not only the attitude of the ECG and other utility service providers towards their customers but also make all providers of services and goods cherish the customers who keep them in business.

After all, it is to meet the needs of customers that people establish companies and businesses. We, therefore, find1 it ironical that these same customers for whom the services are provided are mistreated by the providers who ride roughshod over them. All of us are customers of one service or another and we owe it to ourselves to make our voice heard, so that we no longer stay at the receiving end.
We must call the shots because if we do not patronise services or goods, it is the company that will suffer, not the other way round.

The fact that a company such as the ECG, or the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL), maybe enjoying some amount of monopoly does not give it the moral right to treat its customers or consumers with scorn.
Every customer deserves the best of service and we must not settle for less. It is time to make consumer protection top priority in the country; after all the customer or consumer is king.

Tuesday, April 26, 2016 **GRA 20**

<u>All-hands approach will help solve unemployment challenge</u>

Ghana is currently reeling under a high unemployment rate that has been consistent over the past few years. According to the Ghana Statistical; Service, the unemployment rate in Ghana averaged 8.82 per cent from 2001 until 2013, reaching an all-time high of 12.90 per cent in 2005 and a record low of 5.20 per cent in 2013. What makes the situation peculiar is the fact that it is not the unlettered who are grappling with the lack of jobs but rather the highly educated.
From three public universities in Accra, Cape Coast and Kumasi, with no private tertiary institutions in yesteryears, it can now boast about 15 public universities across it, as well as .dozens of private institutions of higher learning.

Ordinarily, the hordes of skilled persons that the universities and institutions of higher learning produce each year should be a blessing if there were enough opportunities for all of them to put into practice what they have studied. It would also have meant socio-economic growth, as the university graduates would be able to land middle and high-level jobs and thus become economically sound. But all that seems a pipe dream due to the absence of job openings for the graduates. Conservative estimates put the current number of unemployed graduates in the country at over 200,000.

While many have commented that the situation has arisen as a result of a global economic downturn, others have argued that bad economic policies by successive governments are responsible for the dearth of jobs and the increasing spate of unemployment. Indeed, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has warned that unemployment will continue to rise in the coming years, as the global economy enters a new period combining slower growth, widening inequalities and turbulence. It has also been argued that bad government policies have been responsible for the slow growth of the Ghanaian economy, which averages about 4.5 per cent annually.

Last weekend, the leader and 2016 flag bearer of the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), Dr Henry Lartey, while addressing students of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in Kumasi, warned that the increasing rate of youth unemployment was a time bomb waiting to explode soon if urgent steps were not taken to reverse the trend. Earlier in July 2015, the Head of the Economic Division at the Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research (ISSER), Dr Charles Ackah, told an Accra-based radio station, Citi FM that Ghana was sitting on a time bomb due to the worsening graduate unemployment situation in the country.

The Ghana Employers Association (GEA) has also indicated that close to 13,000 workers were rendered jobless after they were sacked in the first quarter of 2015 alone. It is in view; of these that the Daily Graphic lauds the government's attempt to create more jobs in both the formal and the informal sectors as various ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) complete different pipeline'; projects and implement new interventions this year.

It has been established beyond doubt that unemployment is a real problem and that it is not perceived. Effectively dealing with the joblessness that has plagued the nation, however, calls for a multi- dimensional and multi-stakeholder approach. This is something that must not be politicised, as no political party holds the magic wand to make it go away.

The Daily Graphic, therefore, calls for all hands to be on deck to properly equip university students with the requisite tools to make them : employable when they leave school and also assist unemployed graduates, to set up their own businesses.

Appendix B: New York Times Editorials

Guns, Anger and Nonsense in Oregon NYT 1

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDJAN. 6, 2016

It is a familiar claim by many Second Amendment defenders — and, during the Obama administration, an increasingly popular one — that unfettered gun rights are necessary to protect American citizens against the threat of a tyrannical government.

In addition to being a misreading of history, the claim is amusing hyperbole to those who have suffered under real-life tyrants. But this week's armed standoff at a federal wildlife sanctuary in eastern Oregon is showing how far a small, determined band of antigovernment zealots with lots of big guns will go to make their potentially deadly point.

Styling themselves as a militia, the group hijacked a peaceful protest over five-year prison sentences a federal court had imposed on two local ranchers for setting fires on federal land. Led by a man named Ammon Bundy — whose father, Cliven, instigated his own armed confrontation with federal authorities over cattle ranching in Nevada in 2014 — this hyperweaponized posse rolled into town and seized administrative buildings at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge on Saturday. Mr. Bundy said they are willing to stay for "as long as necessary," and that "if force is used against us, we would defend ourselves."

Ammon Bundy is leading an armed standoff at a federal wildlife sanctuary in eastern Oregon. Credit Rick Bowmer/Associated Press

The occupation is the latest outgrowth of a long-running movement by some ranchers and farmers who believe the federal government controls far too much land in Oregon, Nevada and other Western states. Mr. Bundy and his gun-toting comrades argue that a century of federal policies has driven many ranchers into poverty and destroyed the rural economy.

This is mostly nonsense. As part of its congressional mandate to balance commercial and environmental concerns, including conservation, the federal government imposes reasonable rules on how public land can be used for mining, logging and ranching. On the whole Washington has been a benevolent, even generous landlord.

There may be a good argument that the two ranchers in this case, Dwight Hammond and his son, Steven, were punished unreasonably harshly for their crimes. But the way to have this argument is through peaceful means, such as the original protesters were doing, or as the Hammonds themselves chose to do — by reporting to prison and asking President Obama for clemency. Every day, citizens around the country sue or otherwise challenge the government over alleged violations of the law or the Constitution, and they do it without a rifle in their hand.

A democracy cannot function any other way. It thrives on principled disagreement, but it withers in the face of a loaded gun.

Such dangerous behavior also puts law enforcement in an impossible position: respond with force and people may well die; walk away — as Bureau of Land Management officials did with Cliven Bundy — and the extremists are only emboldened. (On Monday, according to The Guardian, federal authorities said they planned to shut off power to the buildings.)

Mr. Bundy and his band of militants have made few friends. Local law enforcement has told them to leave immediately. Many residents, even those who agree that the federal government owns and mismanages too much land, have strongly rejected Mr. Bundy's gun-happy tactics. The Hammonds' own lawyer disassociated his clients from the group. And while years of overheated antigovernment statements from right-wing politicians and media figures have helped to fuel exactly this sort of outburst, it is encouraging that many on the right have called for the militants to stand down. When Ted Cruz says you've gone too far, it's worth listening.

The simple message Mr. Bundy and his band must hear is this: If everyone with a gripe against the government responded by threatening federal officials with weapons, America would no longer be a nation governed by the rule of law. Their grievances, like everyone else's, can be addressed. But not before they put down the guns.

Agony and Starvation in the Syrian War NYT 2

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JAN. 12, 2016

After haunting pictures and stories of starving civilians showed up on international news sites and social media, food and other desperately needed aid were finally allowed into the Syrian town of Madaya on Monday. Yet this should not be a cause for celebration or complacency. The aid convoys and their supplies offer only a respite in the slow-motion agony that is destroying Syria and its people.

What is needed, and has long been needed, is an immediate end to the civil war. The obstacles are daunting. But the news coverage, especially the photos of emaciated Madaya residents, is putting a renewed focus on the failure of the major powers to at least move the conflict toward a cease-fire. It also gives fresh urgency to United Nations-sponsored peace talks later this month.

The disaster has been unfolding since 2011 when Syrians rose up in peaceful protest against President Bashar al-Assad. He responded with barrel bombs and chemical weapons, and now some 250,000 people are dead, and 11 million displaced, including four million who have fled Syria to neighboring countries or Europe. The chaos enabled the Islamic State to move in and seize territory, making the conflict even worse.

Although Madaya is only an hour's drive from downtown Damascus, residents and international aid workers say much of the town is starving. That is because the town is controlled by anti-Assad rebels and has been encircled by pro-government forces, including Iranian-backed Hezbollah units, with barbed wire, land mines and snipers. Trapped without aid for nearly three months, some 42,000 residents have been forced to make soups of grass and leaves, according to news reports.

The United Nations refugee agency says it received "credible reports" of people dying from malnutrition, though the total number is unclear. Medics for Doctors Without Borders say at least 28 people, including six babies, died at their clinic in Madaya. Other reports suggest dozens have died from starvation or lack of medical care.

The United Nations has said that in all, 4.5 million Syrians live in hard-to-reach areas, including 400,000 in 15 besieged towns like Madaya that are denied access to food and medicine. That means the number of people at risk has nearly doubled since the United Nations Security Council ordered the warring parties to allow aid deliveries in 2014. The Islamic State has trapped 200,000 Syrians in Deir al-Zour, and other insurgents have corralled more than 12,000 people in the pro-Assad towns of Foua and Kfarya in Idlib province.

The aid got through on Monday as part of an agreement between the warring sides and included supplying Foua and Kfarya as well as Madaya, where the starving awaited the first deliveries of rice, lentils and oil. That cannot be the end of it. Using food as a weapon violates international law, and the United States, Europe, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Iran, which all have influence with different proxy groups in Syria, have a responsibility to ensure that civilians have unconditional access to basic supplies.

Much of what these powers are doing in Syria, including American and Russian airstrikes, has complicated the relief effort. If negotiations on Jan. 25 to achieve a broad political settlement continue to falter, the outside powers should declare a cease-fire and find a way to impose it on their Syrian proxies.

Weighing the Risks of Home Births NYT 3

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDJAN. 18, 2016

The debate over whether it’s safer for a healthy woman to have a baby at home or in the hospital just tilted a bit in favor of hospital deliveries. The risks in both cases are very low, but a new study suggests that the risk to babies could be higher for out-of-hospital births.

A study, based on data from Oregon and published in the New England Journal of Medicine in December, found that the risk of a baby dying was 3.9 per 1,000 births for deliveries at home or in birth centers, versus 1.8 deaths per 1,000 births in hospitals.

Although the vast majority of births occur in hospitals, the percentage of deliveries at home or in birth centers outside hospitals rose to 1.28 percent in 2012, up from 0.79 percent in 2004, in part because a growing number of women want to avoid the high-tech interventionist environment of hospitals. In fact, the study found that planned out-of-hospital births had decreased odds of induced labor, cesarean delivery and other obstetric procedures.

Earlier studies in this country and abroad found that deliveries outside hospitals were as safe as hospital deliveries. In late 2014, Britain’s National Health Service concluded that for healthy women expecting uncomplicated deliveries, it was actually safer for both mother and child if the birth was at home rather than in a hospital maternity ward, where doctors were more likely to use surgical interventions or spinal anesthetics that could cause harm.

But one problem with previous studies was that if a crisis developed during a home or birth center delivery that required a transfer to a hospital and the baby subsequently died, it was counted as a hospital death, not as a problem that developed outside the hospital. The latest study is superior because, using data newly available in Oregon, it more accurately shows where the problem occurred, not just where the women ended up giving birth.

It is seldom wise to rely too heavily on a single study; nevertheless, the study in the New England Journal of Medicine offers data that doctors and patients should consider.

Is Warfare in Our Bones? NYT 4

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDJAN. 23, 2016

The discovery of what looks like the aftermath of a brutal clash between two groups of prehistoric hunter-gatherers on the shore of an African lake is certain to stir up a debate about human nature that goes all the way back to Adam and Eve.

The biblical creation story posits that our forebears were inherently pure and peaceful and only fell into nasty struggles for dominance with the knowledge of the forbidden fruit. A corollary advanced by one school of archaeologists and anthropologists holds that our Stone Age ancestors were not inherently violent, and, apart from the odd murder, did not wage organized war until they started to coalesce into societies.

Not so, proclaim proponents of a rival theory that war has deep biological roots, and we've been waging it forever. That's what we are, argued the philosopher Thomas Hobbes; not so, declared Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Even President Obama jumped into the debate when, in his Nobel acceptance speech in 2009, he asserted that "War, in one form or another, appeared with the first man."

What scientists found at a place called Nataruk on what was once the shore of a lagoon on Lake Turkana in Kenya were skeletons showing unmistakable evidence of violent deaths — crushed skulls, imbedded arrow or spear points and the like. According to a report of the find in the journal Nature, one man had been hit in the front of the head and stabbed in the neck; the skeleton of a pregnant woman looked like she had been tied up before she was killed. It was obviously a terribly violent encounter. But was it war?

The skeletons, alas, do not provide a conclusive answer, the scientists acknowledged. War, broadly defined as large-scale violent clashes, was fairly common between settled societies, and it is not clear whether the dwellers on the fertile land around Lake Turkana at the time of the Nataruk clash were already forming such societies, which would make a violent encounter less surprising, or whether the foraging groups banded together to fight. "In either case," write the scientists, "the deaths at Nataruk are testimony to the antiquity of inter-group violence and war."

But are they testimony to the inevitability of war? If warfare is indeed common from the dawn of human history, does that suggest that we will never cease fighting? Not necessarily. A propensity for violence, even if it is innate, has been more than matched throughout our existence by a preference for peace — a fact the bones of the victims of the battle of Nataruk cannot show.

The Corporate Tax Dodge Continues NYT 5

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JAN. 29, 2016

Johnson Controls, an industrial and auto parts supplier headquartered in Milwaukee, announced this week that is was selling itself to Tyco International, a maker of fire safety products based in Ireland. The deal will let Johnson Controls pass itself off as Irish and, in the process, cut its taxes in the United States by at least $150 million a year.

Johnson Controls is not the first American company to avoid taxes by merging with a smaller company in a low-tax nation, and it won't be the last. Nor is it the biggest. That distinction goes to Pfizer, which is in the process of becoming Irish, having merged last year with a smaller company based in Dublin.

Johnson Controls is, however, the latest and quite possibly the most brazen tax dodger. The company would not exist as it is today but for American taxpayers, who paid $80 billion in 2008 to bail out the auto industry. Johnson Controls's president personally begged Congress for the bailout, which came on top of huge tax breaks that the company has received over the years, including at least $149 million from Michigan alone from 1992 to 2009, according to The Times.

What's galling about this and similar maneuvers is that Congress has done nothing to stop them. Since 2008, some three dozen American companies have used gaps and loopholes in the law to change their tax nationalities, a process known as "inverting."

Inverted companies keep the benefits of being American, but have a much lower tax bill. They remain majority-owned by shareholders of the American company. They normally keep their headquarters and top executives in the United States. They also keep the protections on securities and patents provided by American laws, as well as their contracts and connections with the federal government and its research agencies.

Legislative remedies are available. One would be to deny investors the use of low capital gains tax rates when they sell stock in an inverted company, on the sensible ground that the company's reduced tax bill is enough of a break. Corporate boards would surely think twice about approving an inversion if it meant higher taxes for investors.

But Congress won't lift a finger. Many lawmakers, chiefly Republicans, seize upon the wave of inversions as proof that corporate taxes in the United States are too high. Reform the corporate code by slashing rates, they argue, and inversions will end. Granted, corporate tax reform is needed. But allowing inversions to proceed in order to make a partisan point is not the way to approach it.

As Congress dithers, consumers and taxpayer-advocacy groups can show disapproval by identifying and publicizing the products made by inverted companies and similarly identifying and publicizing replacement products from less offensive competitors. In addition, advocates of ethical investing, which applies social as well as financial criteria in selecting investments, could screen out inverted companies. The White House should reform federal contracting rules to make it harder for inverted companies to win contracts. It also needs to be more vocal in criticizing Ireland, the Netherlands and other inversion destinations for their beggar-thy-neighbor tax policies.

Congress is on the wrong side of the inversion issue. Censure has to come from elsewhere.

When State Control Damages a City NYT 6

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD FEB. 4, 2016

On Wednesday, Officials from Michigan and the federal Environmental Protection Agency were called before a House committee to explain how they let the drinking water in Flint become poisoned by lead. Also testifying before the committee was a mother of four whose tap water has been so contaminated since early 2015 that her family has had to use bottled water for drinking and cooking and has often showered at friends' homes outside the city.

The crisis in Flint is the result of many failures, starting with governor-appointed emergency managers, who made catastrophic mistakes. It poses an important question for Congress and state legislatures: When and how should state officials intervene at the local level?

Intervention is necessary when mayors, city councils and other authorities like school boards face significant problems that they cannot or will not fix. But state officials need to have judgment and competence to turn troubled systems around. To some people, the very idea of suspending or curbing the power of local elected officials is wrong, but there is a long history of state governments taking control of systems on the verge of collapse.

For example, New York State imposed a financial control board on New York City in 1975 and Congress and President Bill Clinton did the same in Washington in 1995. Those appointed boards exercised veto power over many decisions made by local elected leaders, and helped those cities restructure their debts.

But Michigan's intervention in Flint, an impoverished city, provides a striking counterexample.

There an emergency manager appointed by Gov. Rich Snyder struck to a disastrous money saving decision to change the city's water source, even after local residents and the city council complained about contamination. State environment officials, also under the governor's control, said the water was safe to drink even as outside experts found elevated levels of lead. After more than a year of denying the problem, state officials recently admitted that they had been wrong. The F.B.I. said Tuesday that it had joined the federal investigation of the Flint crisis, possibly for criminal misconduct.

This is not the only crisis mishandled in Michigan. The Detroit school system has had a succession of emergency managers appointed by Mr. Snyder, Republican, and his Democratic predecessor, Jennifer Granholm. The district's debt has increased since its first emergency manager was appointed in 2009, enrollment is shrinking and the schools have grown more dilapidated. Why replace the school board with emergency managers who don't have the expertise to fix the underlying problems?

On Tuesday, the most recent emergency manager for the schools, Darnell Earley, resigned. Mr. Earley was also the emergency manager in Flint who oversaw the decision to switch its water source to the Flint River while the city waited for a new pipeline to be built to Lake Huron. Under his watch, the city failed to treat the river water to prevent corrosion in the pipes, which led to the leaching of lead into the city's water.

The emergency managers in Flint and Detroit schools went in as dictators, and it is not surprising they made glaring mistakes, while ignoring complaints and suggestions from the communities they were supposedly helping. Unlike the financial control boards in New York and Washington, which included some people who had a stake in those cities, Michigan's emergency managers answer only to the governor and the Legislature, which is controlled by Republicans, who tend to be elected from suburban and largely white parts of the state.

To be fair, the emergency manager for the city of Detroit, a bankruptcy lawyer named Kevyn Orr, who was appointed in 2013 and stepped down in December 2014, was able to guide Detroit through bankruptcy in part because he worked with the mayor, City Council and community leaders, rather than shunting aside their concerns.

Across the country, more than a dozen states, including Florida, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, have laws that allow the appointment of a manager or board to help distressed local governments. In some places state control has remained for decades. In New Jersey, for example, the state's Department of Education has been in control of Newark schools for more than 20 years. At the federal level, the Obama administration is asking Congress to give Puerto Rico the ability to restructure its $72 billion debt and to create a financial control board.

The lesson from Michigan is that emergency managers succeed only if they work with the communities they serve. The aim should be shore up local governments, not simply to cut costs in ways that lead to new disasters.

10,000 Child Refugees Are Missing NYT 7

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDFEB. 10, 2016

Syrian refugees near the Turkish border. Credit Bulent Kilic/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

According to the European police agency Europol, more than 10,000 children who entered Europe during the last two years have disappeared, vanishing through the gaping cracks in Europe's chaotic system for dealing with refugees and migrants.

The fear is that many of the missing children have been trafficked into the sex trade by the same organized criminal groups that are profiting handsomely by ferrying refugees into and across Europe.

In addition, many children are believed to have fled detention centers, where they do not feel safe and are too often kept in the dark about their rights. Some are teenage boys, many from Syria and Afghanistan, who have been sent ahead by families hoping to join them later. Once on the streets, they are easy prey for drug dealers, pimps or petty theft rings. Younger children and adolescent girls are also at great risk of sexual and other abuse.

Some children may have become separated from their families along the routes refugees take through Europe after landing in Greece or Italy. Others arrive in Europe as unaccompanied minors — 26,000 last year — according to the humanitarian group Save the Children.

And more are arriving every day. The United Nations says that more than a third of refugees crossing the Mediterranean by boat to reach Europe are now children. Last year, more than 70 percent of refugees who arrived in Europe were men.

"The implications of this surge in the proportion of children and women on the move are enormous — it means more are at risk at sea, especially now in the winter, and more need protection on land," warned Marie-Pierre Poirier, Unicef's special coordinator for the refugee and migrant crisis in Europe.

Britain's Department of International Development is setting up a 10 million pound ($14 million) fund to support refugee and migrant children on the Continent. That is helpful, but Britain, which has so far balked at taking any refugees already in Europe, should also take in a fair share of unaccompanied children — as should all other European countries.

The European Union also needs to increase funding to improve services for these children. The trafficking networks must be broken, and any perpetrators of crimes against children must be apprehended and punished.

All European countries have signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and have a duty to provide for the safety and well-being of children on European soil. That Europe has failed to protect these most vulnerable among the desperate people arriving on the Continent is unconscionable.

A College Education for Prisoners NYT 8

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD FEB. 16, 2016

States are finally backing away from the draconian sentencing policies that swept the country at the end of the last century, driving up prison costs and sending too many people to jail for too long, often for nonviolent offenses. Many are now trying to turn around the prison juggernaut by steering drug addicts into treatment instead of jail and retooling parole systems that once sent people back to prison for technical violations.

But the most effective way to keep people out of prison once they leave is to give them jobs skills that make them marketable employees. That, in turn, means restarting prison education programs that were shuttered beginning in the 1990s, when federal and state legislators cut funding to show how tough they were on crime.

President Obama pointed the country in the right direction last year by creating a pilot program that will allow a limited number of inmates to receive federal Pell Grants to take college courses behind bars. The program will include colleges that either run prison education programs or want to start them. So far, more than 200 schools in 47 states have expressed interest.

Not all states are interested in breaking with the failed policies of the past. In New York, for example, raucous opposition in the Legislature led Gov. Andrew Cuomo to withdraw a sensible 2014 proposal that would have set aside a mere $1 million in a state corrections budget of $2.8 billion to finance college education programs behind bars. Know-nothings in the Legislature argued that the proposal was "a slap in the face" to law-abiding taxpayers, when in fact it represented a clear cost savings for those same taxpayers.

New Yorkers pay about $60,000 per inmate per year — a considerable burden given that 40 percent of those who are released return within three years, most for economically driven crimes. But inmates who attend privately financed college classes before release fare much better. A prison education program created by Bard College in 2001 boasts a remarkable recidivism rate of 4 percent for inmates who merely participated in the program and 2.5 percent for those who earned degrees in prison. In addition, research has shown that the public saves $4 to $5 in reimprisonment costs for every $1 it spends on prison education.

New York lawmakers who should have jumped at the governor's proposal ridiculed it instead. Mr. Cuomo has devised a new plan — paid for partly with private funds — that does not require legislative approval. But such funding is unreliable and probably unsustainable over the long run. Moreover, the case for full public financing of prison education is stronger than it has ever been.

That case is laid out in a sweeping new report by the prison re-entry committee of the New York State Bar Association. The report notes that the number of college programs in the state's prisons fell from 70 in the early 1990s, before state and federal financing streams were cut, to just four in 2004. The number of college degrees awarded to inmates fell from 1,078 in 1991 to 141 in 2011. At a time when a college degree is the basic price of admission to the information economy, more than 40 percent of inmates lack a high school diploma. The report calls on the state to expand vocational and academic programs in prison to better prepare people for life and work after release.

The bar association report calls on all colleges in New York to refrain from using criminal history information in admissions, which has been shown to have virtually no value in predicting lawbreaking on campus. Applicants who check "yes" are now pushed into a supplementary application process that costs them more money and often asks them to produce court and legal documents that do not exist.

Nineteen states and 100 cities and counties prohibit public agencies — and in some cases, private employers — from asking applicants about criminal convictions until later in the process, when they have had a fair chance to prove their qualifications. The New York State Bar Association wisely calls for colleges to take that same prudent approach in the interest of giving qualified former inmates a better chance at a college education.

Housing Solutions for New York City, Deep in the Weeds NYT 9

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDFEB. 22, 2016

New York City controls more than 1,000 vacant lots like this one in Brooklyn. Credit Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times

One of the mysteries of life in New York is the persistence of vacant lots. How a city of skyscraping land prices and a million matchbox apartments could also be home to properties that sit behind chain-link fences for years, even decades, as habitat for weeds and broken bottles, seems the definition of inexplicability.

That disconnect is the subject of a provocative audit issued last week by Comptroller Scott Stringer. He found that the city has been sitting on more than 1,000 empty lots that it controls, most for more than 30 years, some for as long as a half-century. "Golden assets," he called them in The Times, while faulting the city for not swiftly enlisting them to help ease the affordable-housing crisis.

In a pointed response to Mr. Stringer, Vicki Been, the commissioner of housing preservation and development, said that the city is well aware of these lots, and that the supply of supposedly wasted land is not nearly as big as the comptroller says. Of the 1,131 vacant properties listed in the audit, she wrote, 310 sit in flood zones or have other "severe infrastructure deficiencies" that make them useless for new housing. More than 150 of them are "better suited" for other things, like community gardens.

And of the 670 properties that are indeed appropriate for housing, she added, about 400 of them already are, or will be, designated for development within two years. The rest will follow: Ms. Been said that her department was moving on a "realistic and aggressive" schedule, but that these things take time. They require consulting with neighborhood residents, making sure that potential developments are close enough to schools, police and hospitals, and being aware of conditions in the real estate market, so that deals are struck at the right time.

Mayor Bill de Blasio could hardly have welcomed the Stringer scrutiny. De Blasio is facing intense criticism from some community groups who say that his housing plan, based on creating thousands of affordable units through inclusionary zoning, would create too few truly affordable apartments, while hastening gentrification and displacement. Other critics say the presence of the homeless on the streets is evidence of a chronic management failure. A housing department official told The Times, referring to Mr. Stringer, "We believe we're doing everything that was requested in his report." A certain exasperation was evident.

Mr. Stringer has a point about the perplexing abundance and age of the vacant lots, a situation that predates the de Blasio administration, and the urgency of creating affordable housing wherever possible. While the administration bristles at the audit's analysis — "simply wrong," Ms. Been wrote — it would do well to clearly communicate to uneasy New Yorkers that it is searching for the broadest range of solutions to match the dire need.

The Sad Demise of the Summer Job NYT 10

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDFEB. 27, 2016

President Obama touched on a national crisis last week when he called on business leaders to help connect young people with summer jobs that give them not just money, but also valuable work experience. Private companies can help. But they are hesitant to hire inexperienced applicants at a time when seasoned, middle-aged workers who lost good jobs during the recession are desperate for any work. The only solution to youth unemployment is for Congress to reinstate some version of the summer jobs program it abandoned in the late 1990s.

When summer jobs were plentiful, young people gained skills and experiences that made them attractive to future employers. Research has shown that people who fail to find work early in their lives run a risk of being unemployed and underemployed into early adulthood and beyond. The effect is far worse for people in poor, minority communities, where jobs are fewer and unemployment rates are many times the national average.

In the 1990s, the federal summer jobs program provided work experience for more than half a million low-income young people around the country. The opportunities began to evaporate after 1998, when Congress de-emphasized the summer program to adopt what it viewed as a broader approach to helping young people. In most areas, enrollment in the summer programs dropped by 50 to 90 percent.

Congress found a partial solution to chronic unemployment in the Recovery Act of 2009, which included a subsidy program that created more than 260,000 temporary jobs for young people and adults, many of whom were hired permanently once the subsidy ended. Unfortunately, Republicans blocked the extension of this valuable program.

President Obama has nonetheless proposed a similar program in his new budget, which includes $3.5 billion to help get nearly one million young people into first jobs over the summer and to provide a year's paid work for 150,000 others who are out of school and out of work. The funds would cover up to half the cost of the wages.

Republicans in Congress who are inclined to fight this spending on ideological grounds should consider the desperation that young unemployed people are facing in this country and the civic costs of standing idly by and doing nothing to help them.

The Right to Sue the Gun Industry NYT 11

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDMARCH 4, 2016

The world recoiled in horror in 2012 when 20 Connecticut schoolchildren and six adults were killed at Sandy Hook Elementary School by a deranged teenager using a military-style assault rifle to fire 154 rounds in less than five minutes. The weapon was a Bushmaster AR-15 semiautomatic rifle adapted from its original role as a battlefield weapon. The AR-15, which is designed to inflict maximum casualties with rapid bursts, should never have been available for purchase by civilians.

This is the eminently reasonable point that the parents of the 6- and 7-year-old students cut down at the school are now pressing in Connecticut state court. They are attempting to sue the gun manufacturer, Remington; the wholesaler; and a local retailer for recklessness in providing the weapon to the consumer marketplace "with no conceivable use for it other than the mass killing of other human beings."

The question of whether the lawsuit will be allowed to proceed is at issue because Congress, prodded by the gun lobby, in 2005 foolishly granted the gun industry nearly complete immunity from legal claims and damages from the criminal use of guns.

The Sandy Hook parents argue that their suit should continue because that law, the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, allows claims against companies — gun shop dealers, for example — if they knew or should have known that the weapons they sold were likely to risk injury to others. The parents contend that the maker of the Bushmaster is no less culpable because it knowingly marketed a risky war weapon to civilians.

The manufacturer is claiming total immunity under the federal law. Nearly every lawsuit filed against firearms makers has been dismissed in federal and state courts because of this shield law. The Connecticut state judge's decision on whether to allow the suit to proceed, expected by the end of next month, is widely awaited by the arms industry and gun control proponents because it could well provide a legal framework for holding the industry accountable for the mass shooting deaths made possible by its products.

The lawsuit cites numerous instances in which the arms industry has used macho military terms in marketing assault rifles and 30-round ammunition magazines to civilians, including boasts of "military-proven performance" and "the ultimate combat weapons system." As the plaintiffs note, sportsmen's hunting rifles, by contrast, are marketed with five-round clips.

This shameful gun industry shield law became a factor in the presidential primaries when Hillary Clinton attacked Senator Bernie Sanders, her Democratic rival, for having voted for it. Mr. Sanders has since changed his position to favor repeal of the law; the Republican candidates, needless to say, continue to pander to gun rights zealots and duck the issue.

Beyond seeking damages, the Sandy Hook parents aim to force the AR-15 off the market. "The AR-15 is the weapon of choice for shooters looking to inflict maximum casualties, and American schools are on the forefront of such violence," they say.

In seeking justice for their children and their community, these parents could help rein in a runaway industry and reduce a grievous national affliction.

How to Reduce Medicare Drug Costs NYT 12

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDMARCH 10, 2016

Prescription drug spending in Medicare has been rising fast, but it is not completely clear what policies are driving the increases. The Obama administration hopes to find ways to control costs by testing different approaches to paying for the drugs.

The experiments would apply to a class of drugs covered under Medicare Part B that are administered in doctors' offices and hospitals to treat cancer, rheumatoid arthritis and other conditions. The government and the program's beneficiaries spent nearly $21 billion on these medicines in 2013, 29 percent more than in 2007, according to a Government Accountability Office report published in November. A big part of the reason spending has shot up is that drug prices have been going up faster than inflation or overall medical costs.

Doctors and hospitals often have a financial incentive to pick more expensive medicines even when cheaper alternatives might be as effective. That is because Medicare pays doctors and hospitals the average selling price of Part B medicines plus 6 percent. As a result, a medical provider will get $60 for administering a $1,000 drug and $6 for injecting a $100 medicine. The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services wants to test what would happen if it instead paid providers 2.5 percent of average selling prices plus $16.80 per drug per day. That should in theory reduce the financial incentive to pick the higher-cost drug.

The government would also try to determine what happens when it reduces or eliminates the 20 percent co-payment that Medicare beneficiaries are required to pay for Part B drugs. Since some patients cannot afford co-pays, some doctors prescribe cheaper drugs that may be less effective and that can actually increase Medicare spending if patients take longer to recover. Another test would provide higher payments for drugs based on how effectively they treat illnesses like heart disease or cancer.

Not surprisingly, some medical groups and pharmaceutical companies say these tests could hurt Medicare beneficiaries by limiting their access to certain drugs. But every test the administration is proposing leaves prescription decisions to doctors. And the tests would not start until medical groups, drug makers and the public have a chance to comment on the proposal.

Republican lawmakers like Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, Representative Kevin Brady of Texas and Representative Fred Upton of Michigan are already slamming the proposal as an example of "unelected bureaucrats making decisions behind closed doors." Under the law that governs Medicare, public officials are directed to conduct experiments that will help "improve care, increase efficiency and reduce costs." Besides, bureaucrats came up with the current payment structure because, after all, Medicare is a government program.

The administration's proposal is a reasonable attempt to get a handle on rising medical costs. The tests, which would take place in different parts of the country over five years, should provide valuable evidence about how changing incentives affects spending on health care.

Merrick Garland for the Supreme Court NYT 13

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDMARCH 16, 2016

If you tried to create the ideal moderate Supreme Court nominee in a laboratory, it would be hard to do better than Judge Merrick Garland.

In nominating Judge Garland to fill the vacancy created by the death of Justice Antonin Scalia last month, President Obama has taken his constitutional duty seriously, choosing a deeply respected federal appellate judge with an outstanding intellect, an impeccable legal record and the personal admiration of Republicans and Democrats.

And yet, within minutes of Mr. Obama's announcement in the Rose Garden on Wednesday morning, Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican majority leader, was again outrageously claiming that Mr. Obama made his pick "not with the intent of seeing the nominee confirmed, but in order to politicize it for purposes of the election."

He again vowed not to hold hearings until after Mr. Obama leaves office. But there is no reason to believe that Mr. McConnell and his party will hold hearings at all. What they have claimed is blanket authority to veto any nominee before hearings or a vote takes place. This is a dangerous new role for the Senate, one that could turn the court into nothing more than a group of black-robed politicians.

Under normal, even routinely partisan, circumstances, Judge Garland would sail through confirmation hearings and be confirmed by the Senate in a matter of months, if not weeks. That was obvious to Senator Orrin Hatch, the senior Republican from Utah who sits on the Judiciary Committee, who in 2010 said Mr. Garland would be a "consensus nominee" and said there would be "no question" that he would be confirmed to the Supreme Court with bipartisan support.

Just last week, Mr. Hatch repeated his praise, saying that if Mr. Obama wanted a real moderate, he "could easily" name Mr. Garland, but predicted that "he probably won't do that because this appointment is about the election."

But we are no longer operating in the realm of sense or normality. The Republican Party is staring down the very strong possibility that Donald Trump will be the party's presidential candidate. And now, its leaders, in a stupendous show of political malfeasance, are putting the Supreme Court's constitutional duties on hold while they make dishonest claims about "letting the people's voice be heard."

There is some irony to the Republican rejection of Judge Garland, a 63-year-old white man, who might be considered too moderate for Democrats hoping that the next justice would have a more liberal legal record. It is a choice that does not bring more diversity to the court.

In his 19 years on the bench, Judge Garland has established a solidly centrist voting record that reflects no strong political ideology. He has sided with the government in cases involving habeas corpus petitions from detainees at Guantánamo Bay, and has voted against criminal defendants more often than his liberal colleagues have. He has generally voted in favor of deferring to the considered decisions of federal agencies. In civil rights cases, he has voted in favor of plaintiffs who have claimed rights violations.

None of this matters to Senate Republicans, who have pledged that there will be no hearings, no vote — and with a few exceptions, not even the courtesy of a meeting with Judge Garland. They have said that a nominee appearing before the Senate would be treated like a "piñata."

This intransigence is unlikely to win votes for the party in November. Americans strongly oppose the Republican blockade, which is unprecedented in the nation's history. As Mr. Obama said Wednesday, "I simply ask Republicans in the Senate to give him a fair hearing, and then an up-or-down vote." If they do not, he said, the process of nominating Supreme Court justices — one of the most important jobs of any president — will be "beyond repair."

Mr. Obama has picked a strong nominee, who won bipartisan support in his confirmation to the appeals court. If the Republicans refuse to accept him, they will face one of two scenarios: a nominee selected by Hillary Clinton, who may well be more liberal, or one chosen by President Donald Trump — a racist, vulgar demagogue who many Republicans have said is unfit to run the country.

A Partisan Prescription for Paralysis NYT 14

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD MARCH 22, 2016

The refusal by Senate Republicans to consider the nomination of Judge Merrick Garland for the Supreme Court vacancy has rightly prompted indignation. But it is only the most glaring example of unreasonable intransigence by lawmakers who have turned the process of appointing senior federal officials into a political game.

The nominations of many of the 143 people awaiting confirmation for nonjudicial federal jobs are stalled in the Senate as committee heads and the majority leader, Senator Mitch McConnell, dither and delay. The result is a federal bureaucracy with an ever-growing number of corners subject to paralysis and indecision. It's clear that for Republican lawmakers, carrying out political vendettas and thwarting the president's prerogatives are more important than having a functioning government.

Take, for instance, the case of Adam Szubin, the Treasury Department lawyer nominated to serve as under secretary for terrorism and financial intelligence. The under secretary is tasked with enforcing American sanctions against North Korea and Iran and cutting off funding for terrorist groups.

Mr. Szubin, who has served under Republican and Democratic administrations, waited 325 days for a Senate banking committee vote, which was held on March 10. The full Senate has yet to consider his nomination. The blockage has deprived a critical division at Treasury of a leader who is fully empowered to make decisions and coordinate a unified response to international challenges. Mr. Szubin's experience is not an isolated case. The banking committee has moved forward only one of 19 nominations put before it since the beginning of 2015.

Meanwhile, the post of secretary of the Army has been vacant since Nov. 1. Eric Fanning, who has had a swift rise at the Department of Defense, was nominated for the job in September. The Armed Services Committee didn't schedule a hearing for him until January and waited until early March to vote in favor of the nomination. The full Senate has yet to schedule a confirmation vote. That has left the Army, which has a $140 billion yearly budget and more than one million soldiers, without a civilian leader with the authority to set priorities and address the needs of a force that has been at war since 2001.

At the State Department, Roberta Jacobson, one of the government's foremost Latin America experts, has been waiting since last summer to be confirmed as ambassador to Mexico. The embassy, one of the largest in the world, has been without an ambassador since June. Ms. Jacobson, the assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, had a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July. The panel waited until November to approve her nomination, which the full Senate has not yet voted on. There are few diplomatic jobs more crucial than that of the ambassador to Mexico, who has to deal with border security initiatives, the influx of Central American immigrants and counternarcotics efforts. Ms. Jacobson is exceptionally qualified to tackle that long list of challenges and opportunities in Washington's fraught relationship with Mexico, America's third-largest trading partner.

Mr. McConnell could put an end to these inexcusable failures to conduct routine Senate business. But, of course, he and the rest of the Republican leaders long ago stopped doing anything in the interest of the country. Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush got 528 and 545 officials confirmed during their last two years in office. Mr. Obama has managed to get only 193 nominees confirmed since early 2015.

Mr. McConnell and his colleagues are driven by a desire to retaliate against the administration when they have lost policy debates. So we have Senator Pat Roberts of Kansas holding Mr. Fanning's nomination hostage over the administration's efforts to shut down the prison at Guantánamo Bay. There's Senator Marco Rubio petulantly blocking Ms. Jacobson's appointment because she had a role in negotiating the change in relations with Cuba. And Mr. Szubin is being punished for the Iran nuclear deal.

Beyond having crucial positions unfilled, the bruising nomination battles are making senior government jobs unappealing to the most qualified and sought-after individuals. Understandably, fewer people are willing to become collateral damage in Washington's political feuds.

The State Assault on Planned Parenthood NYT 15

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDMARCH 28, 2016

Last summer, after deceptively edited videos were used to accuse Planned Parenthood of selling fetal tissue, congressional Republicans voted to block all federal financing for the organization, and threatened to shut down the entire federal government if they didn't get their way.

The charges against Planned Parenthood were completely bogus — investigations in 12 states found no wrongdoing, and one, in Texas, resulted in the indictment in January of the video makers.

By then, however, the damage was done. Even before the push in Congress failed, state governments had begun to cut funds for Planned Parenthood, without much national attention.

Since last July, 23 states have tried various ways of cutting money for the organization. So far 11 have succeeded, most recently Florida, where Gov. Rick Scott on Friday signed HB 1411, a sweeping anti-abortion bill that, among many destructive provisions, prohibits Medicaid and other public funds from being used to reimburse organizations that work with abortion providers.

The federal government has warned states that such efforts may be illegal, because federal law entitles Medicaid beneficiaries to receive care from any qualified provider they choose. But that hasn't stopped Republican efforts; similar laws are poised to be enacted in Arizona and Missouri in the coming days.

The harm inflicted on the poorest and most vulnerable women is substantial and immediate. Planned Parenthood provides contraceptives and other health care services, like cancer screenings and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases, to millions of women around the country; for many low-income women it is the only option. Abortions are a tiny fraction of the services Planned Parenthood clinics offer, and public money cannot be used for abortions in almost all cases anyway.

State lawmakers and governors claim that these health care needs can be easily met by other providers, like community health centers. In reality, many of these "centers" are housed in elementary schools or other facilities that are ill-equipped to handle the large number of patients who previously relied on Planned Parenthood.

Last August, after Gov. Bobby Jindal of Louisiana tried to eliminate $730,000 in Medicaid reimbursements to the state's two Planned Parenthood clinics, neither of which perform abortions, a federal judge in Louisiana questioned the list of alternate providers the state proposed. "It strikes me as extremely odd that you have a dermatologist, an audiologist, a dentist who are billing for family planning services," he told state officials.

Meanwhile, in Indiana, funding cuts forced the closing in 2013 of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Scott County, which was the area's only H.I.V. testing center. An outbreak of H.I.V. quickly followed.

And in Texas, which drastically cut funds to Planned Parenthood in 2011, birthrates among poor women jumped 27 percent in three years, according to a new study in the New England Journal of Medicine. That increase coincided with a 36 percent drop in benefit claims for long-acting contraceptives like IUDs, which are among the most effective forms of birth control.

All these fights, of course, circle back to the decades-long crusade by conservative lawmakers to end women's access to safe and legal abortion — and increasingly, to reduce their access to contraception. On Thursday, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana signed a bill that further limits reproductive services in that state, including a flatly unconstitutional ban on abortions for fetal abnormalities and a provision making doctors legally liable in such cases.

Congress may not have succeeded in hobbling Planned Parenthood, but as these state attacks gain momentum, the result is reduced access to essential health care for millions of American women.

Race and the Death Penalty in Texas NYT 16

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDAPRIL 2, 2016

This month, the Supreme Court will consider whether to hear the appeal of Duane Buck, a black man from Texas who was sentenced to die for the 1995 murder of his ex-girlfriend and a man who was with her. There is no dispute about his guilt; the issue is how he ended up on death row.

Under Texas law, a person can be sentenced to death only if prosecutors can show that he or she poses a future danger to society. During the trial's penalty phase, Mr. Buck's defense lawyer called a psychologist who testified that race is one of the factors associated with future dangerousness. The prosecutor got the psychologist to affirm this on cross-examination, and the jury sentenced Mr. Buck to death.

In other words, Mr. Buck is scheduled to be executed at least in part because he is black. Nearly everyone who has had any involvement with Mr. Buck's case agreed that making this link was wrong — including one of his prosecutors, Texas' state courts, the federal district and appeals courts, and the Supreme Court itself.

In fact, the psychologist who testified in Mr. Buck's case also said there was a link between race and dangerousness in five other cases with black or Latino defendants who were sentenced to death. All of those men received new sentencing hearings after Texas' attorney general at the time, John Cornyn, who is now a United States senator, agreed in 2000 that they were entitled to proceedings free of racial discrimination.

Mr. Buck, however, got no such relief. That's because it was his lawyer, not the prosecutor, who first elicited the psychologist's view on the correlation between race and future dangerousness.

That's an astonishingly flimsy rationale for allowing a state to kill someone. If, as Mr. Cornyn said in 2000, "it is inappropriate to allow race to be considered as a factor in our criminal justice system," does it matter who brought it up first? It did to the Supreme Court, which declined to review Mr. Buck's previous appeal in 2011, even though it called the testimony "bizarre and objectionable."

Mr. Buck is now back before the justices, this time with a claim that his trial lawyer was ineffective. A federal district judge said Mr. Buck's lawyer "recklessly exposed his client to the risks of racial prejudice," but still found that his case was not "extraordinary" enough to reopen.

It's hard to see how this case isn't extraordinary. The risk of prejudice is particularly high in Harris County, Tex., where Mr. Buck was sentenced. In a seven-year period that included Mr. Buck's trial, Harris County prosecutors were more than three times as likely to seek the death penalty against a black defendant as against a white one. Over the past dozen years, every new death sentence in the county has been imposed on a man of color.

Racism, of course, has been central to the American death penalty from the start. Forty years ago, the Supreme Court reversed its own brief moratorium and permitted executions to resume, provided that death sentences were not imposed in an “arbitrary or capricious manner.”

Four decades later, the evidence is clear: The death penalty in 2016 is as arbitrary as ever — whether because of racial discrimination, bad lawyering, geographical variations or other factors. There is no way for the justices to rationalize capital punishment — not in Mr. Buck’s case, or any other.

Mr. Trump Reopens the Wounds of a Hate Crime NYT 17

By THE EDITORIAL BOARDAPRIL 8, 2016

Donald Trump is scheduled to speak at a Republican Party fund-raiser on Thursday in Patchogue, a village on the south shore of Long Island, about 60 miles from Manhattan.

This is a wretched development, a disgraceful provocation by the Suffolk County Republicans and their chairman, John Jay LaValle, who invited him.

There is no place that should welcome Mr. Trump’s politics, but the choice of Patchogue is particularly repellent. Patchogue is where Marcelo Lucero, an Ecuadorean immigrant, was fatally stabbed in 2008 by a white teenager, one of a marauding gang of high school boys who had made a nighttime sport of assaulting Latino men. The Republicans will be toasting Mr. Trump in a dance hall called the Emporium, on the same street as the crime scene, steps away from where Mr. Lucero fell.

That attack helped to identify Long Island with vicious anti-immigrant attitudes and violence. After the killing, scores of Latino residents came forward to say that they, too, had been hunted and harassed by white youths for years. The Suffolk County Police Department had routinely ignored their complaints; widespread reports of racial profiling and other police abuses prompted a Justice Department investigation and oversight.

Long Island’s toxic reputation goes far beyond one village beset by racist gangs and corrupt policing. Anti-immigrant tension has been a chronic condition there since at least the late 1990s and early 2000s, when day laborers in a community not far from Patchogue were abducted and beaten and other residents were firebombed in their homes. At that time, Suffolk County was led by Steve Levy, a county executive who avidly played the role of nativist hatemonger, rallying Long Islanders to his intolerance.

Mr. Levy left politics under an ethical cloud in 2011. Now it’s Mr. LaValle, the Republican boss, who is poised to reopen old wounds.

"How much more hurtful can you be?" asked the Rev. Allan Ramirez, a former local pastor who once helped lead the resistance to Mr. Levy. Mr. Ramirez and local officials, particularly Patchogue's mayor, Paul Pontieri, struggled for years to repair the damage of the Lucero killing and of the blighted Levy era. Defying stereotypes, neighbors and volunteers continue to welcome and protect vulnerable newcomers, most recently the Central American children from the influx at the Texas border, hundreds of whom have been placed with relatives or sponsors on Long Island.

It's a community that sorely needs such compassion. The presidential primary in New York has brought with it the Republican counterargument to openness and civility: border walls, mass arrests, surveillance, suspicion and intolerance. Ted Cruz has been going around New York City showing his contempt for "New York values," while Mr. Trump has been stirring his audiences to lusty cheers by reciting a song, "The Snake," that he uses to liken immigrants to poisonous reptiles.

"The hunting season is over," said Joselo Lucero, Marcelo's brother, in 2010, after the killer was convicted of manslaughter. Joselo Lucero and Mr. Ramirez are among those planning to go to Patchogue next week, to counter Mr. Trump with peaceful dissent, to press for reconciliation and healing. Long Islanders and all New Yorkers should recognize the danger Mr. Trump poses, and join them.

Banks Still Too Big to Regulate NYT 18

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD APRIL 14, 2016

Regulating the big banks has become a race against time, with bank regulators still too slow at enforcing legal requirements under the Dodd-Frank financial reform law.

This week's example involves "living wills" — detailed plans from the banks, required by Dodd-Frank, on how they would dismantle their operations and financial contracts in an orderly way in the event of impending failure. On Wednesday, nearly six years after the passage of Dodd-Frank and four years after the biggest banks submitted the first drafts of their living wills, the Federal Reserve and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation rejected the plans of Bank of America, Bank of New York Mellon, JPMorgan Chase, State Street and Wells Fargo.

Under the rules, banks whose plans have been rejected have 90 days to revise their plans, unless regulators decide to shorten or lengthen that time frame. If the revised plan is rejected, regulators can seek to shrink the size, risk and complexity of the bank by imposing stricter capital requirements and restrictions on its operations. After that, the bank has another two years to submit a credible plan. If it fails to do so, regulators can require the bank to break itself up by selling off assets and businesses.

In an act of pure indulgence, regulators have given the five banks nearly six months, until Oct. 1, to fix their plans. That is on top of a reprieve that the banks won in 2014, when the F.D.I.C., but not the Fed, rejected the wills of 11 banks, including four of the five banks that were rejected on Wednesday. Back then, the regulators' disagreement led to a decision to give all of the banks more time to revise their plans.

The longer it takes to develop living wills and enforce them, the bigger the risk of uncontrolled crises. But living wills are not sufficient by themselves to ensure financial system stability. They do not fully account for the ways that the failure of one bank could cause the failure of another and, in that way, become a systemwide problem.

Ditto for today's higher capital requirements, which are an important regulatory tool for controlling risk. But the way capital is calculated does not fully account for the risks inherent in big banks' holdings of derivatives. One of the reasons that Bank of America's living will was found deficient is that the bank did not have a sound plan for winding down its portfolio of derivatives in a crisis. Neither Bank of America nor the other big banks are required to hold as much capital against their derivatives' bets as is required of big international banks.

Living wills are an important piece of the regulatory puzzle, but only one piece. Constant vigilance for systemic risks and bigger capital cushions for derivative holdings are just as crucial.

The Dark Side of Immigration Discretion NYT 19

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD APRIL 20, 2016

The Supreme Court heard arguments this week over the Obama administration's use of prosecutorial discretion to protect some unauthorized immigrants from deportation. It is a momentous debate about presidential power, and the lives of millions hang in the balance. Lost in the hubbub is a parallel struggle, taking place far from Washington, in places like Georgia and North Carolina. It involves the administration's efforts to crack down on recent migrants from El

Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. Though their numbers are relatively small, the way they are being treated poses a critical moral test for the administration — a test it is failing.

Those three countries are among the most violent corners of our hemisphere. El Salvador is the world's murder capital. Honduras and Guatemala are not far behind. All are plagued by an epidemic of killings of women and children — by gang and drug warfare and by political oppression. The United States remains a rich and stable neighbor, more than capable of helping to stabilize the region and of welcoming and protecting the desperate people who have fled by the thousands to the Texas border.

Instead, it offered Operation Border Guardian, a grossly misnamed immigration-enforcement surge that went after people this country did not need to guard against. It began in January and lasted a month, but its damage is still being felt. Among its tens of thousands of targets were more than 300 recent migrants from Central America, youths who crossed the border without their parents and turned 18 in the United States, thus losing some of the protections granted to unaccompanied minors. After they lost their cases to win asylum or other protection and were ordered deported by immigration courts, Immigration and Customs Enforcement hunted them down.

In a country that has been losing its bearings on immigration, this effort taints all who touch it, from the ICE director, Sarah Saldaña, to Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson, to President Obama himself.

Mr. Johnson defended the operation last month. "We must and we will enforce the law in accordance with our enforcement priorities," he said. But human rights advocates have been pushing back, saying the administration is treating a humanitarian emergency like a border-security problem, and should be doing far more to protect those who have sought to escape horrific violence back home. Congress recently approved a $750 million Central American aid package to save lives in the region. But more arrivals are expected, even as those already here struggle to remain. The largely volunteer effort to help them navigate immigration court is a fragile patchwork, with too many cases, too few lawyers and too little justice.

While legal advocates have been scrambling, ICE has been running amok, raiding homes and public spaces in search of deportable youths. In North Carolina and Georgia, where organized advocacy is sparse, the dragnet has been unusually aggressive. Agents seized students at home and on their way to school. Appalled teachers, students and community leaders have been signing petitions and marching, pleading for justice and putting a human face on the victims of coldblooded policies: Wildin Acosta, still in detention, as his appeal proceeds. Kimberly Pineda-Chavez, arrested on her way to school. Yefri Sorto-Hernandez, arrested at his school bus stop. Jose Alfaro-Lainez, deported to El Salvador on April 13. Jaime Arceno-Hernandez, scheduled to be deported on April 27.

Students are being locked up while they appeal deportation orders, though they pose no threat of violence or flight. Ms. Saldaña has rebuffed pleas for mercy, saying the administration — which has flown more than 28,000 people back to Central America since October — needs "to send a message" that the borders are closed to illegal immigration. But pleading for refuge is not illegal. More than 100 members of Congress have denounced the raids. Both Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton have pledged not to deport children if they win the presidency.

The administration, while fighting to protect a humane immigration policy in the Supreme Court, should work just as hard to protect the lives of traumatized migrants. Instead, it has been placing them in misery and peril.

The Donald Trump Pygmalion Project NYT 20

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD APRIL 26, 2016

Tuesday's primaries in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware and Rhode Island could bring Donald Trump close to securing the delegates he needs to win the Republican presidential nomination, though probably not all the way there. After a series of missteps, he seems to realize that he needs to improve the style and substance of his campaign among both Republicans who resist him and the electorate at large.

That's why Mr. Trump has hired a Henry Higgins to work on his comportment. Paul Manafort, Mr. Trump's new campaign chief and an old-guard Republican strategist, has eclipsed the abrasive Corey Lewandowski and his nonnegotiable "Let Trump Be Trump" approach. Mr. Manafort's ambition is to turn this Eliza Doolittle into a candidate more acceptable to decent society, in time for the general election.

Mr. Manafort rolled out his Pygmalion project with a PowerPoint presentation behind closed doors at the Republican National Committee retreat in Florida last week. "The part he's been playing is evolving," Mr. Manafort assured the Republicans. Mr. Trump doesn't really mean it when he says things like he'll deport 11 million immigrants, or block Muslims from entering the country, or kill terrorists' children, or when he maligns women. He's doing all that, Mr. Manafort suggested, to win the primaries; come the general election, Mr. Trump will bloom into his truer (and presumably kinder and gentler) self.

Mr. Trump himself has been saying the same thing in private for months, including in regular calls to members of Congress and Republican leaders.

"He's always said privately that he's learned from negotiations that you start from the far end. If you start in the middle you lose," says a longtime Republican operative who was in the room in Florida. "When he said those things, he was stimulating the group of voters that he capitalized on. Can he pivot to bring in more voters so he has a larger base in the general election? Most people think he can. But is there enough time?"

Starting small, the Trump-improvement strategists have already persuaded Mr. Trump to deliver a New York victory speech devoid of epithets and to stop calling the Sunday morning TV shows to bloviate on this or that. Mr. Trump followed up his New York speech with a couple of soft-focus interviews, telling one reporter that he would be "more disciplined," and use a teleprompter like a proper politician.

But Mr. Trump has reverted to bad habits. He's still telling lies, and earned four Pinocchios last week for saying that ISIS is "making a fortune" on Libyan oil the terrorist group doesn't control. On the trail last week, he showed crowds that he hasn't forgotten or doesn't regret what he said about Mexicans and Muslims. "I sort of don't like toning it down," he said in Connecticut. "Isn't it nice that I'm not one of these teleprompter guys?"

Mr. Trump knows that to do well in Tuesday's primaries he still needs those "motivated voters" who want him to say what other politicians won't. Yet the Trump on the stump is the true man. However copiously applied, cosmetics cannot obscure his brutish agenda, nor the narcissism, capriciousness and most of all, the inexperience paired with intellectual laziness that would make him a disastrous president.

Come Wednesday, with Tuesday's primaries safely out of the way, Mr. Manafort's makeover efforts will enter a new dimension — Mr. Trump's first foreign policy address. The campaign promises no less than "a clear, consistent long-term foreign policy for making America safe and prosperous." That's sure to be an interesting test, given that until now Mr. Trump has demonstrated limited knowledge of foreign trade policy, Middle East issues or geography. A sometime adviser, Roger Stone, said in an interview released Monday that the presidency "is show business" to Mr. Trump, who Mr. Stone said lacks the bandwidth to read a 40-page briefing book.

Whatever persona or good manners Mr. Trump chooses to display from now on, he can’t hide his unfitness for the presidency.