# A Critical Discourse Analysis
# of Sectarianism
# in Congregational Speeches

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics

By

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*2022*

III

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ عَلَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلَ أَهْلَهَا شِيَعًا يَسْتَضْعِفُ طَائِفَةً مِّنْهُمْ يُذَبِّحُ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ وَيَسْتَحْيِي نِسَاءَهُمْ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مِنَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ

صَدَقَ اللهُ الْعَظِيمُ

( 4 , القصص)

*In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate*

*Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and broke up its people into sections, depressing a small group among them: their sons he slew, but he kept alive their females: for he was indeed a maker of mischief.*
*Almighty Allah has told the truth* (Abdullah Yusuf Ali)
*(Al-Qasas: 4)*

IV

# The Supervisor's Declaration

I certify  this dissertation entitled( **A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sectarianism in Congregational Speeches**) written by Ibtisam Abdul-Khaliq  Majeed  Al khazraji has been prepared under my supervision at the College of  Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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In view of the available recommendations, I forward this dissertation  for debate by the Examining Committee.

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# The Examining Committee's Declaration

We certify that we have read this dissertation( **A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sectarianism in Congregational  Speeches**) written by Ibtisam Abdul-Khaliq  Majeed  Al khazraji  and, as Examining Committee, we examined the student in its content, and that in our opinion it is adequate as a dissertation  for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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Date:      /    / 2022

*TO*

*My Family*

*With*

*Love and Gratitude*

# Acknowledgments

# Abstract

Sectarianism – generally speaking – is an ideology which is constituted in a society by certain groups of people who belong to an upper source ideology. Each of these groups is concerned with general teachings from where they dissent and particular principles for which they belong and show hatred, prejudice, discrimination, affiliation towards others, no matter whether their ideas are right or not (Oxford Dictionary: sectarianism).

Accordingly, sectarianism can be utilized as an umbrella strategy of discrimination in different societal establishments such as religion, politics, sports, culture, linguistics and so many other minor contexts. Sectarian discourse is best viewed through the CDA [following Fairclough, 1995, Wodak, 1997, Dijk, 1998] as an inappropriate representation which is negatively reproduced ideology in order to socially practice group's stance, a matter which is covered through the use of discourse strategies.

This study is carried out with the following aims:

1. finding out the discursive strategies used by the speakers who lead the congregational groups under study. 2. stating whether the ideology of the congregational group influences discourse of the conflict.

3.     pinpointing the maneuvering strategies used to express sectarianism in congregational group s.4.clarifying the main persuasive tools employed by the speakers in congregational groups. 5. Highlighting the effects of contextual clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups. 7. finding out the effects of Cultural clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups. 8. clarifying the elements of sectarian speech as used by congregational groups.

9.finding out the relationships between sectarian norms and the addressees.
10. Stating the linguistic features of sectarian speech as used by congregational.

In association with the aims of the study, it is hypothesized that: 1.There are certain discursive strategies used by the speakers who lead the congregational groups under study. 2. The ideology of the congregational group influences discourse of the conflict. 3.There are distinct maneuvering strategies used to express sectarianism in congregational groups. 4There are many persuasive tools employed by the speakers in congregational groups.5. There are certain effects of contextual clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups.      6. there are certain effects of Cultural clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups. 7. sectarian speech as used by congregational groups is divided into elements.8. What are the relationships between sectarian norms and the addressees 9. What are the linguistic features of sectarian speech as used by congregational groups.

To achieve the aims of this work and test its hypotheses, the following procedures are adopted: 1.Presenting a theoretical background about sectarianism and critical discourse analysis. 2. Collecting data. 3.Developing a model for the analysis. 4.Analyzing data. 5.Using statistical methods for analyzing data. 6. Presenting results.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One presents the problem, aims, hypotheses, procedures, limits, and value of the study. Chapter Two is intended to show the theoretical background of sectarianism.  Chapter Three is devoted to  develop the model  intended for conducting    the  critical  discourse  analysis  of  sectarianism  in congregational speeches. Chapter Four introduces a description of the data

of the work and a practical analysis sectarianism in the speeches under study. Chapter Five sums up some conclusions. Then, Chapter Five introduces recommendations and suggestions for further research work.

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الخلاصة

الطائفية ـ بشكل عام ـ هي أيديولوجية تتشكل في مجتمع من قبل مجموعات معينة من الناس الذين ينتمون إلى إيديولوجية منبع أعلى. تهتم كل مجموعة من هذه المجموعات بالتعاليم العامة من حيث يختلفون والمبادئ الخاصة التي ينتمون إليها وتظهر الكراهية والتحيز والتمييز والانتماء للآخرين ، بغض النظر عما إذا كانت أفكارهم صحيحة أم لا (قاموس أكسفورد: الطائفية).

وفقًا لذلك ، يمكن استخدام الطائفية كإستراتيجية شاملة للتمييز في المؤسسات المجتمعية المختلفة مثل الدين والسياسة والرياضة والثقافة واللغويات والعديد من السياقات الثانوية الأخرى. يُنظر إلى الخطاب الطائفي بشكل أفضل من خلال [ CDA بعد Fairclough 1995، Wodak 1997 ، Dijk 1998] على أنه تمثيل غير مناسب يعيد إنتاج أيديولوجيا بشكل سلبي من أجل ممارسة موقف الجماعة اجتماعيًا ، وهي مسألة يتم تغطيتها من خلال استخدام استراتيجيات الخطاب

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى ما يلي:

1. اكتشاف الاستراتيجيات الخطابية التي يستخدمها المتحدثون الذين يقودون المجموعات المصليّة قيد الدراسة. 2. بيان ما إذا كانت أيديولوجية الجماعة الدينية تؤثر على خطاب الصراع. 3. تحديد استراتيجيات المناورة المستخدمة للتعبير عن الطائفية في الجماعة. القسم 4. توضيح أدوات الإقناع الرئيسية التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في الجماعات. 5. تسليط الضوء على آثار القرائن السياقية على الاستراتيجيات التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في مجموعات المصلين. 7. اكتشاف آثار القرائن الثقافية على الاستراتيجيات التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في مجموعات المصلين. 8. توضيح مقومات الخطاب الطائفي كما تستخدمه الجماعات. 9. معرفة العلاقة بين الأعراف الطائفية والمخاطبين. 10. بيان السمات اللغوية للخطاب الطائفي الذي يستخدمه المصلين.

بالاقتران مع أهداف الدراسة ، يُفترض أن: 1. هناك بعض الاستراتيجيات الخطابية المستخدمة من قبل المتحدثين الذين يقودون مجموعات المصلين قيد الدراسة. 2. تؤثر أيديولوجية الجماعة على خطاب الصراع. 3 ـ توجد استراتيجيات مناورة متميزة تستخدم للتعبير عن الطائفية في الجماعات الدينية. 4 هناك العديد من أدوات الإقناع التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في مجموعات المصلين. هناك تأثيرات معينة للقرائن السياقية على الاستراتيجيات التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في مجموعات المصلين. 6. هناك تأثيرات معينة للقرائن الثقافية على الاستراتيجيات التي يستخدمها المتحدثون في مجموعات المصلين. 7. ينقسم الكلام الطائفي كما تستخدمه الجماعات الدينية إلى عناصر. 8. ما هي العلاقات بين الأعراف الطائفية والمخاطبين 9. ما هي السمات اللغوية للخطاب الطائفي كما تستخدمه الجماعات الدينية؟

ولتحقيق أهداف هذا العمل واختبار فرضياته ، تم اتباع الإجراءات التالية: 1. تقديم خلفية نظرية حول الطائفية وتحليل الخطاب النقدي. 2. جمع البيانات. 3. تطوير نموذج للتحليل. 4- تحليل البيانات. 5- استخدام الأساليب الإحصائية في تحليل البيانات. 6. عرض النتائج.


الدراسة مقسمة إلى خمسة فصول. يعرض الفصل الأول مشكلة الدراسة وأهدافها وفرضياتها وإجراءاتها وحدودها وقيمتها. يهدف الفصل الثاني إلى إظهار الخلفية النظرية للطائفية. ويخصص الفصل الثالث لتطوير النموذج المقصود منه إجراء تحليل الخطاب النقدي للطائفية في خطابات الجماعة. يقدم الفصل

الرابع وصفا لبيانات العمل وتحليلا عمليا للطائفية في الخطابات قيد الدراسة. يلخص الفصل الخامس بعض الاستنتاجات. ثم يقدم الفصل الخامس التوصيات والاقتراحات لمزيد من العمل البحثي.

# Chapter One

## Introduction

## 1.1  The statement of the problem

According to critical discourse approaches, ideology is 'naturalized' in public speeches. The impact of naturalizing such language on addressees might change them into active agents towards certain issues in life (Fowler, 1991). However, they might not be aware of this especially if they lack critical awareness.

According to Avishai (2008:37), sectarianism is a confusion of politics with religion which for her, means that sectarianism is the employment of religion as a political tool by politicians and stated that sectarianism can be a kind of racism in the sense that some people view themselves as ideologically better than others; simultaneously it can lead to extremism when one group of people neither accepts nor compromises with the other.

Hoad (1996: 426) uncovers that sectarianism was related to sect and religion. Sect related to Church. So, it was important to know how they were different. Turner (2006:64) identifies four characteristics of a church: (1) a professional priesthood; (2) claims to universal domination, such as the elimination of ethnic or national barriers; (3) the rationalization of doctrine and rites; and (4) compulsory membership by birth, all of whom (whether believers or not) are subject to the church's charisma and discipline. Distinctive to a church is the separation of charisma from the person and its linkage

instead to the institutional office (hierocracy), an office charisma (or grace) of which the church is the universal expression and trustee.

In the sociology of religion, this term (sectarianism) is used in a neutral fashion to denote the qualities of the sect form of religious organization. More commonly it is used to describe patterns of discrimination, dislike and conflict based on religious differences (Bruce and Yearley,2006:293).

Brewer (1992) tackles the two points (racism and sectarianism) by stating that the problem of racism is easier to comprehend because racism is ubiquitous and universal. Its status as a problem is also more easily recognizable because of the visibility of the social markers used to define group boundaries. Among analysts, greater effort has gone into describing the features of racism and explaining its origins. In contrast, sectarianism is more nebulous. Its social markers are more opaque and less deterministic, and are therefore much more context.

bound to the beliefs of the people involved (Brewer 1992:352). Otherwise, sectarianism refers to the determination of actions, attitudes and practices by beliefs about religious difference, which results in their being invoked as the boundary marker to represent social stratification and conflict (Ibid:358-9).

Discourse means language put to use for a purpose and discourse analysis refers to the study or investigation of language put to use in a given communicative context. There are various types of discourse defined by the social domain of their creation. Social, religious and

political diacourse are from the most important types of discourse. Political discourse as one of the varieties of consists of various sub-varieties characterized by subject specific linguistic features.

Van Dijk (1998b) postulates that the first observation that needs to be made about political discourse is that it is not a genre, but a class of genre defined by a social domain, namely that of politics. In the same way, scientific discourse, educational discourse and legal discourse represent the classes of discourse genres of the domains of science, education and law, respectively.

Thus, government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, speeches by politicians, and congregational speeches are among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics. Chilton & Schaffner(1997) cited in Pu (2007) also posits that what is 'political' is a matter of interpretation, and one focus of attention in Political Discourse Analysis has been a critical reflection on the strategic use of political concepts, or key words for achieving specific political aims.

In a similar vein, Al-Faki(2013) describes political discourse and social  as a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers, such as: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, congregational speeches, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, and so forth.

They are all characterized by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary important actors—members of the government or

the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties, candidates for office or social or religious leaders.

Congregational speech is a subgenre of social and political discourse. It has its own linguistic and characteristic feature which are still virgin to be investigated so this study has set itself the task of studying sectarianism on congregational speeches. The study is trying to answer the following questions:

1. What are the discursive strategies used by the speakers who lead the congregational groups under study?
2. Does the ideology of the congregational group influence discourse of the conflict?
3. What are the maneuvering strategies used to express sectarianism in congregational groups?
4. What are the main persuasive tools employed by the speakers in congregational groups?
5. What are the evaluation strategies of speakers employed in their speeches?
6. What are the effects of contextual clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups?
7. What are the effects of Cultural clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups?
8. What are the elements of sectarian speech as used by congregational groups?
9. What are the relationships between sectarian norms and the addressees?

10. What are the linguistic features of sectarian speech as used by congregational?

## 1.2 The aims of the study

This study aims at:

1.   finding out the discursive strategies used by the speakers who lead the congregational groups under study.

2. stating whether the ideology of the congregational group influences discourse of the conflict.

3.   pinpointing the maneuvering strategies used to express sectarianism in congregational groups.

4.   clarifying the main persuasive tools employed by the speakers in congregational groups.

5.   Highlighting the effects of contextual clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups.

7.   finding out the effects of Cultural clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups.

8.   clarifying the elements of sectarian speech as used by congregational groups.

9.   finding out the relationships between sectarian norms and the addressees?

10.   Stating the linguistic features of sectarian speech as used by congregational?

## 1.3 The hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

1. There are certain discursive strategies used by the speakers who lead the congregational groups under study.
2. The ideology of the congregational group influences discourse of the conflict.
3. There are distinct maneuvering strategies used to express sectarianism in congregational groups.
4. There are many persuasive tools employed by the speakers in congregational groups.
5. There are certain effects of contextual clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups.

6.   there are certain effects of Cultural clues on the strategies employed by the speakers in congregational groups.

7.   sectarian speech as used by congregational groups is divided into elements?

8. What are the relationships between sectarian norms and the addressees?

9.   What are the linguistic features of sectarian speech as used by congregational?

## 1.4 The procedures

The following procedures are adopted here:

1. Presenting a theoretical background about sectarianism and critical discourse analysis.
2. Collecting data.
3. Developing a model for the analysis.
4. Analyzing data.
5. Using statistical methods for analyzing data.
6. Presenting results.

## 1.5 The limits

The study is limited to analyzing sectarianism in congregational speeches depending on critical discourse analysis methods. The study analyses 10 speeches from each type of congregational groups.

## 1.6 The value

It is hoped that this study will be of certain value to linguists, critical discourse analysts, textual analysts, and students of linguistics.

# Chapter Two

**Theoretical Background Review of related studies**

**Introductory Lines to sectarianism and Congregational groups**

**Introduction**

This chapter is introduced with the theoretical preliminary about the concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) as a new field within discourse analysis, its origin, and its relation to certain main concepts like discourse , public discourse , sectarianism  and  various congregation speeches  .

1. Discourse analysis (DA)

Before investigating (CDA) there must be an idea about discourse analysis in general. Discourse analysis is a broad field which is related to use of language in context. According to Tistcher (2000, p. 42), "discourse is a broad term with different definitions, which 'integrate a whole palette of meanings".

 Discourse analysis takes into account different theoretical and methodological approaches such as linguistic, anthropology, philosophy, psychology and sociology. The nature of language is closely related to the demands that we make on it and the functions it

has to serve. In the most concrete terms, these functions are specific to a culture. "The particular form has taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal need that language is required to serve" (Halliday, 1978, p. 142).

One of the important features of DA is to study authentic text and conversations in the social context. The early DA has concerned with the internal structure of texts. Halliday's systematic functional linguistics is a new evolution against internal structure of texts. According to Halliday (1978), texts should encode both personal and social processes.

In other words, texts should be generated, comprehended and put into a social context. Discourse analysis is based on micro and macro levels. Therefore, both linguistic and social analyses are important. Discourses are interpreted as communicative events because discourses between people convey messages beyond that of what is said at directly. What is important in such discourse is the social information which is transferred allusively. CDA is an important branch of DA.

2. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) :An overview

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice. Scholars working in the tradition of CDA generally argue that (non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use. In this sense, it differs from discourse analysis in that it highlights issues of power asymmetries, manipulation, exploitation, and structural inequities in domains such as education, media, and politics (Wodak, 2009: 78).

Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not a neutral activity, because it sets out to bring about change. It is a realist, programmatic and scientific approach to the study of prevailing social problems created by language use (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Using language as a discursive practice within the social world, CDA is politically committed to social change (Wodak, 2011).

Its primary concern is the practical application of the results of critical discourse analysis studies to solve certain current social problems (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). That is, it seeks to find a remedy to certain social problems concentrating on the application of the results of critical discourse analysis as found in analysis of written

representations of those problems. CDA scholars want to ensure there is fair and equitable representation of each point of view.

For CDA, language as discourse is a kind of social action that is discursive in nature (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). There is a dialectical relationship between discourse and other social practices (Fairclough, 2013). Discourse as a social action composes our social world and is simultaneously affected by other social actions (Wodak, 2002). Moreover, discourse reflects those social practices (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Discursive practices refer to the actions of the production and consumption of texts. Reproduction of socio-cultural, economic, and political points of view occurs through the process of discursive practices in everyday life.

2.1 Main concepts in CDA

CDA regards language as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258) while, Coffin (2001, p.99) pointed out that language can be analyzed through power and ideology in addition to the issues of language, In the same vein , Van Dijk (2001) introduces CDA as analytical research of discourse showing how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are produced, reproduced by text and talk in the social and political context. So that critical discourse analysts digs

beneath the surface level of discourse seeking for the speaker's ideology, identity, gender, aims.

## 2.1.1. Ideology

Van Dijk (2004) defines ideology as a set of belief systems that constitutes our 'beliefs, values, goals and anticipations'. Fowler (1979) asserts that societies differ in their ideologies. Members of the same society have the same understanding of the world which is expressed via discourse (Simpson, 1993). Thus, discourse is never neutral (Fiske, 1994). No text is independent of its cultural context, that is, its ideology (McGee, 1990). The cultural contexts contribute to the formation of ideology. In addition to being influenced by social structures, discourse adds to the constitution, reproduction and change of social structures. These structures are discursive and ideological in nature (Fairclough, 2010). Thus, ideology is defined as naturalised common beliefs imposed by those in power on others in society (Fairclough, 1989: 86). This implies that ideology refers to the normalised activities that underpin dominance (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Fairclough (1992) views ideologies as translations of realities that are represented by discursive practices. He believes that discourses can constitute ideological power affecting social life and he compares this to a network of power relations. Language as a tool of shaping social

realities is a tool of power and control that leads to change in the balance of power. Ideology is present in both discourse structures and discourse events which are in a dialectic relationship (ibid). Thus, the aim of CDA is to reveal the functional underlying ideologies in discourse at both micro-and macro levels. Fairclough (2010, p.13) summarises ideology as 'the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures'.

Based on the Foucauldian concept of knowledge being power, language is employed to convey power relationships between individuals and members of a group having a certain ideology. The contests in society for the 'ownership' of discourse are an attempt to get one ideology accepted as 'common sense'. This ideology might be deliberately hidden to avoid being challenged and guarantee its influence on the perception of the consumer (Pratkanis and Aronson, 1992). Implicit ideology, that is, values that are hidden behind the words can be very dangerous as it can be taken for granted by readers. Some journalists are very skilful in exploiting linguistic techniques to influence readers' minds to increase their institutional interests, i. e., those of the institution that controls the news site. Linguistic differences in news presentations may be interpreted in terms of hidden ideologies.

## 2.1.2 Power

Power is a productive force which produces subjects and agents. Power shapes the social world and the way it is shaped and communicated (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). It is partly discursive. The broad goal of CDA is the investigation of power structures in relation to discourse structures assuming that there are dialectical relations between discourse structure and social actions and structures (Van Dijk, 2004). These social power relationships between participants stem from their unequal access to linguistic and social resources (Van Dijk, 1993a). Concerning the relationship between power and discourse, having ownership of certain social resources can be a source of power (Van Dijk 1995; 2001) producing asymmetric power relations. Van Dijk (2001 , p.355) confirms that the group that has access to, or owns, the most effective discourse also can manipulate 'the minds and actions' of other groups. This source of power can be discursively used to naturalise specific representations of social realities to be taken for granted. Social power refers to the manipulation of the less powerful group's actions by those who are in power (Van Dijk 1995). Fowler et al. (1979) ascertain that discourse structure has a close relationship with social structure. Wodak and Meyer (2001, p.34) exemplify the limited access

to media by those in power as a practice of power abuse. That is, discourse is limited to a specific group. Ultimately, discourse is not only a representation of reality; it is a means of construction and manipulation. To challenge power abuse, the analyst conducts textual, visual and contextual analyses to identify the patterns and structures used in the studied texts. These patterns can help in identifying discourses and exploring the discursive dimensions of power relations. Resistance is only one way to denaturalize the dominant discourse (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002).

## 2.2. Public discourse

As the first anniversary of Public Discourse approaches, it is worth asking what the idea of "public discourse" is all about. The need for this is particularly acute at a time when many commentators, on both the left and the right, are concerned with the issue of civility in public life. It is natural to wonder whether the two notions—public discourse and civility—are linked, and if so, how. Understanding the linkage can then help us to see what *Public Discourse* hopes to accomplish, and by what means.

Our public life is riven by significant moral and political disagreements. From issues like health care and immigration reform, to debates over war, abortion and the nature of marriage, our common life as a people suffers from the strains of conflict. These disagreements cannot simply be avoided by being relegated to the private sphere: their resolution is crucial to the common good, to the set of conditions that we, as a people, work together to provide for one another and ourselves, so that we may all flourish as human beings.

Nor are these issues "merely political"—they are not simply issues of policy to be "solved" by appeals to prudence, or efficiency, or pragmatism. Rather they are issues calling for public principles, the sorts of principles whose recognition shapes a people's moral character. For this reason they are, additionally, matters not just of public importance, but matters *for* the public, for the people of a nation to come to grips with so as to shape the course of *their* politics, *their* self-understanding, and *their* social life.

Consideration of these issues is thus a matter of public importance; it is likewise a project that must be carried out by the public and in public. But how is such a project to be carried out?

"Discourse" indicates the crucial means by which this project is to be pursued. Proponents of competing positions must communicate—not just to those who already share their views, but to those who don't; they must be part of a public conversation. This conversation is not just, however, an exchange of views. It must be an exchange of reasons. It must have the character of a public argument.

Of course, that conversation can go badly. If, for example, it is carried out without mutual respect, then the fabric of our common life will be further rent. So there need to be norms—ground-rules, as it were, for that conversation, and yet, even the character of these rules is a subject of debate. Two erroneous accounts of those rules in particular should be mentioned.

One such erroneous account banks too much on a denuded notion of civility. It is clear that a lack of manners, or the presence of downright rudeness, is a failure of civility in public discourse. This failure is a form of disrespect which is not justified even if the offending party is correct on the substance, and the offended party in error. Civility thus really is a virtue of public discourse. But the presence of good manners and politeness is far from a sufficient condition for genuine civility in public discourse. To reiterate, such a discourse is all about a competing class of claims which, to be well grounded and deserving of public

consideration, must be backed by reasons and arguments. A civility which merely politely asserted, or politely listened, without engaging in argument, would be a bogus form of public discourse, a sham. It would come nowhere towards an adequate address of the real weight of our public disagreements.

Are there other restrictions on our giving of reasons and arguments in public discourse? A second error draws the boundaries on what counts as public discourse too narrowly, holding that only "neutral" reasons, or reasons that can be disengaged from conceptions of human good and well-being, or from substantive "world-views" may be raised, considered, and addressed in public discourse.

These demands for neutrality, many people have noted, are themselves far from neutral. They rest upon a particular conception of the human person and of human freedom, according to which it is an affront to human dignity to be "coerced" in accordance with reasons that are not one's own. This conception is not shared by those who believe, for example, that freedom is valuable for persons only insofar as it is oriented towards the truth, and that the freedom of unreasoned self-assertion is, in fact, damaging to human character and welfare. But if the demand for neutrality depends upon a particular substantive view,

then it cannot be carried out without falling afoul of its own requirements.

Nor, on their own merits, are such requirements reasonable. To refuse to listen to reasons—evidence put forth to defend a claim as *true*—is unreasonable, and to refuse to allow such reasons to be put forth in the public square is unjust—it unfairly restricts some citizens' participation in the public conversation on arbitrary grounds. So our public conversation on matters of public weight and importance should be unfettered, as regards the kinds of reasons that are permitted.

2.3. Critical discourse analysis in public contexts

The main focus of CDA is public speech, such as political speeches, congregational speeches, advertisement, newspaper, official documents and so on. CDA' aim is to examine the relationship between the language, ideology, and power; Furthermore, its aim is to find out the assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text.

Vandijk (1998a) is of the view that CDA is particularly concerned with the analysis of any discourse whether written or spoken from the perspective of discursive practices in a society like hegemony, domination, inequality of basic rights and racial discrimination. Its

focus is to examine the exertion of these practices with reference to socio-economic and political perspective.

Fairclough (1993) says that CDA is a kind of analysis of discourse which brings forth odd relationships among different social and ethnic groups. He focuses text and sequential events and then relates them with broader socio-cultural perspective of the discourse of people which reveals uneven and ideology shaped power relations. He explores how power is exercised in a society through hegemonic attitude and ideological text of the elite.

Fairclough (1992) explains three stages for the analysis of a discourse. In first stage CDA analyses the personal experience and knowledge of the speaker by keeping in view his beliefs. Secondly, how social relations affect the discourse and thirdly, speaker realizes about the reality and identity. He is of view that linguistic choices in a discourse like lexical selection and syntactic patterns also reveal the social background and identity of a speaker. He argues that it is the language which shapes discourse and different socio-political views which leads towards the exertion of power relations.

Fairclough (1992) is of the view that people belonging to a specific social setup have different relational and expressive norms which is

revealed through their speeches. This shows that there is strong tie between the social and linguistic variables. The prime purpose of CDA is to analyze the text in the light of social theory of language functioning of ideological and political processes.

 According to Brown and Yule (1985) language is not only used for the description of things rather it is also used for doing things as well. CDA analyses the use of the language in a real context and how language reveals their cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds. They are of the view that choice of lexical and syntactic features of a language represent the broad socio-cultural background of the speakers. Critical discourse analysis focuses on how their language reflects discursive practices in the binary relations.

Halliday's (1978) view regarding this concept is same that language is considered to be a social act because people communicate in a social setup. Language and society are dependent on each other rather directly linked in terms communication. It is the language (text) which shapes and constructs our identities. Same is the case in our context. People who are fluent in English are considered socially and culturally dominant because they speak the language of socially and politically dominant people. In this case, linguistic variable seems to become the identity of that particular class.

According to Fairclough (1995b), linguistic analysis of discourse practice in socio-cultural background is known inter textual analysis. Here the linguistic analysis is the analysis of the text at lexical, syntactic, grammatical and vocabulary level. Cohesion, coherence and organization of the text are also included in this analysis. This analysis focuses on the text by keeping in view all discourse practices.

Fairclough (1992) defines intertextuality as the characteristic of any text in which the text carries the chunks of other texts which become a part of that text. The chunk taken from other text become a complete part of the original one whether it refutes the idea given in the original text or accepts. He divides intertextuality into two types which are 'manifest intertextuality' and 'constitutive intertextuality'. The first type refers to the use of quotations in the texts in order to validate and authenticate the argument. Certain quotes are included in the inverted comas while writing any essay or speech. This type of inclusion of other text is considered as manifest intertextuality. The other is related to discourse structures which lead to novel text production. Fairclough says that this kind of text can be analyzed by doing its linguistic analysis. Fairclough (1989) described his approach in the perspective of analysis of text as 'critical language study'. His main focus was to unfold the discrimination of social relations and discursive practices

which exploits the rights of masses with the help of language used in society. He is the view that language is used as a tool for exercising power and hegemony.

Text is the dress of thoughts through which people exert dominance. Wodak and Fairclough (1995a, 1996) are of the view that language as a practice of creating hegemony, power and dominance is being used in a society. It seems to be a complete reflection of social practices like a mirror. The types of language used among the members of society reveal the social relations like communication of a director of a company with a clerk or peon would clearly draw line and the linguistic choice of director would reveal his/her hegemonic attitude. Historical perspective of discourse plays vital role in getting the meanings of the text. Every text carries certain historical perspectives and contexts which clarify the meanings in that particular context.

## 2.4 Sectarianism

Broadly speaking, sectarianism is a political or cultural conflict between two groups often related to the form of government they live under. Prejudice, discrimination, or hatred can arise in these conflicts, depending on the political status quo and if one group holds more power

within the government. Often, not all members of these groups are engaged in the conflict. But as tensions rise, political solutions require the participation of more people from either side within the country or polity where the conflict is happening. Common examples of these divisions are denominations of a religion, ethnic identity, class, or region for citizens of a state and factions of a political movement (Kane, 2004: 67).

To be more precise one can say that sectarianism as a word is used to describe a 'set' or section within an established group ,but most commonly its used with regard to groups with a particular religious or political basis.(https://hilbymouth.org/historychallenging sectarianism)

Fanar (2020)identifies six broad understanding of sectarianism in the literature :'sectarianism 'is a catch –all-for all that is related to sectarian identity ;is a catch all for all that is related to inter –sect antagonism ;it is a term for various forms of sect – centricity ,benign or otherwise ;it is understood as a sect- based equivalent of racism ;it is intersection of sectarian identity and politics ;finally it can be interpreted as multi-layered concept requiring typologies of various forms of sectarianism .

'Sectarianism' goes beyond mere incoherence and becomes analytically distortive, politically dangerous and socially divisive.

R.Mcveigh (1995)defined sectarianism as structural forms of discrimination relating to the state national identity and religious identity. So that it creates boundaries between different communities.

The evolutionary basis for sectarianism, the anti-thesis to cooperation, sectarianism might seem to protect a group against external influences, but it reduces opportunities for exchanging and increases the risk of contests and wars, rendering sectarianism seems to be harmful both at the group and individual levels. Sectarianism is not limited to religious and hatred of other religious sects, but includes discrimination and avoiding beneficial interactions for reasons of different political or territorial affiliations, identity, and class. Sectarianism turns the argument for pro-social behavior on its head. Instead of individuals cooperating for no apparent self-interest, sectarianism implies avoidance of cooperation in beneficial cases.

Sectarianism remains a critically relevant subject of study, as the phenomenon influence the human history of intra-group conflict, and still plays a vital role in individual and group decision-making ( Veblen: 2009).

Sectarianism: an action carried out on the grounds of membership of a sect, denomination, or other group or rigidly following the doctrines of a sect or other group (Oxford English Dictionary)

Sectarianism occurs when members of different denominations within a faith display bigotry and prejudice toward each other. Examples include the Sunni and Shia within Islam, Orthodox and Reform within Judaism or Protestants and Catholics within Christianity.

This kind of sectarianism can manifest itself at different levels within society.

- At individual and group level through behavior , attitudes and language used eg making belittling remarks about those perceived to be in 'the other group'.

- At institutional level there may be conscious or unconscious discrimination against particular groups eg through recruitment or promotion.

- At cultural level, there may be practices which are understood by some to be part of our cultural heritage but which exacerbate the sectarian divide eg traditional music, football, marches etc.

Sectarianism can take different forms like Jokes and comments, Name-calling ,Chants and songs, Graffiti ,Verbal abuse ,Intimidation ,Discrimination ,Physical violence ,Domestic violence ,Murder, and wars

## 2.4.1 History of sectarianism

Societies do not inherent sectarianism; it is recognized by intending of sect or subgroup to competing identities such as national, tribal, class, ideological. and the prominence of these identities over time. It does not mean that there is ignorance of original phenomenon of sectarianism.

It is necessary to follow the history and the development of sectarianism in certain states in the western world in order to cover types of sectarianism which appear in that states and to discover the most frequent ones.

(Mcveigh,1995: 90) defines sectarianism as structural forms of discrimination relating to the state national identity and religious identity. Moreover, it can be understood as the changing set of ideas and practices, acts of violence which serves to construct and reproduce the difference between unequal status of Irish protestants and Catholics.

In America, Scholars have studied polarization as an ideological matter, Democrats and Republicans diverge political ideals and policy goals, such competition among groups. In the past decade, political scientists have introduced various constructs to capture non-ideological type of polarization including effective polarization and social polarization (Finkel, 1990: 78)

Political sectarianism is superordinate construct where the tendency to adopt a moralized identification with one political group and against another. In America political identity is secondary to religion in traditional form of sectarianism, but today Democrats and Republicans differ on average in terms of religious affiliation. their schism is fundamentally political rather than religious. It is distinct from Sunni verses Shia sectarian that characterize political in some Muslim majority nations (ibid)

Three ingredients shape political sectarianism:

1-Othering, it means the tendency to view opposing partisans.

2- Aversion means the tendency to dislike and opposing partisans

3-Moralization is the tendency to show the opposing party as in iniquitous(ibid).

In recent years, social media like face book and twitter have played an influential role in political discourse and intensifying political sectarianism. Sectarianism increases within homogeneous network because of contagious power of content that elicits sectarian fear or indignation. In contrast to the ideological polarization, the public and politicians have polarized on ideological grounds. There is ideological divergence is derived by economic in equality in America today which contributes to political sectarianism (ibid).

In addition to the political sectarianism there is religious sectarianism since the united states is a country of immigrants and a country of unmatched religious diversity. Religious played a big role in the America revolution (Ed.James,1998: 54)

Many religious were established in America. For example Anglicans who conformed to the church of England, populated Virginia, Massachusetts was home to the puritans, Pennsylvania was full of Quakers, Baptists ruled in Rhode Island and Roman Catholics found haven in Maryland, where they could establish themselves amid the other Colonists 'protestant majority. Each of these colonies is characterized by religious features. (Ericwong,2002: 89)

Whereas 'Sectarianism' in modern Scotland is a conflict between Catholics and Protestants, Sectarianism is seen as a peculiarity exclusive to Scotland and Ireland. It can be applied for those living in, but not born in, Scotland given that the dominant theme of sectarianism can be understood as hostility by the 'native', Protestant Scots against Catholic, especially Irish Catholic migrants. sectarianism shows that Scotland is a divisive, bigoted society'. British Catholicism is seen as something strange, foreign and culturally distinct'. while the old English Protestant antagonism to all things Catholic has. Thus Catholicism became 'minority', relating to power and powerlessness that implies. (Rosie, 2004: 7)

Sectarianism manifests itself in everywhere like institution, schools and on our streets. We still notice Irish Politics in some places in Scotland, sectarianism appears everyday life in Scotland such as everyday conversation/language, behaviors.

Community/family/entrenched hostility, 'white collar' discretion in the job market, institutionalized sectarianism, abuse by social media/networking sites. Offensive sectarian language is still used in Scotland on a daily basis, with abusive terms such as "Hun" and "Orange bastard" being used negatively against Protestants and others

such as "Fenian" and "Tim" used negatively against Catholics. This encourage the divisions and conflict between the denominations and people of no religious denomination. Children commonly use words without knowing their meaning, but they could understand that words carry offensive and insulting meaning( https://nilbymouth.org/pitch-perfect/).

Sectarianism relates to football. The historical links of some clubs links to the religious make-up of their supporters held symbols of religious, cultural and political beliefs. They use songs, chants and banners to express abuse or support towards the Protestant or Catholic faiths. In a similar way, some football make a political commitment, and they biased towards Northern Irish supporters so that the result is environment of hatred, religious tension and intimidation which continues to lead to violence in communities across Scotland. This has been widely reported by media. Sectarianism denotes a social setting in which systematic discrimination affects the life chances of religious groups ( Flint, 2008: 107).

2.4.2 Religious Sectarianism

A religious group can be described as a state of tension with its socio-cultural environment, and it is distinguished three elements of this

tension: "difference" ,"antagonism and "separation" (Heinemann, 1967: 76).

religious discrimination in Scotland is considered as devolution Sectarianism in Scotland, focusing on the extent of overlapping between the concept of sectarianism  and religious discrimination, journalistic and popular debate in Scotland, help to appear  or continuing salience of sectarianism. This occurs in different events like the sporting events DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES 39 such as the „ football matches between Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers the, especially violent attack in the 3 March 2011 as well as to a later series of parcel bombs and serious threats (BBC, 2011c) made against the manager of the Glasgow Celtic football club. furthermore, academic dispute has taken place in the journal Ethnic and Racial Studies, between those who want to wake up the sectarianism in Scottish society and those who critique this (Paul Weller,2011:39).

(Nicholson, 2002; McAspurren, 2005) also explored that there is religious hatred/discrimination in Scotland there is a more substantial body of evidence about the particular phenomenon of „sectarianism‟, including in its relationship to religious discrimination more broadly understood, although the interpretation of such evidence relative to both

popular understandings of and political programmes to address „sectarianism" remains subject to at least some academic contestation.

Islamophobia is an issue appears during the 1990s, including individuals and organizations, tells us that discrimination exists on religion and it differentiates on bases of ethnicity, gender, disability

and sexual orientation. Muslim organisations and activists deal with religious discrimination, since there were some protection for the religious identities like Jews and of Sikhs which is not exist with Muslims ,so they were experiencing religious discrimination Muslims appear to experience religious discrimination with a frequency and seriousness which is greater than that acted by those of other religions. This was recognized as Religious Discrimination in England and Wales In relation to social areas, Muslim organisations reveal higher unfair treatment than other religious groups, (Weller, Feldman and Purdam, 2004). There were various aspects of discrimination and unfair treatmentlike ignorance, ndifference, hostility, verbal abuse, physical abuse, damage to property, policies of organisations, practices of organisations, and media coverage(Paul Weller,2011:42).

2.4.3. Political sectarianism

Finkel( 2020: 80) states that Political sectarianism has the stumps of religious passion, such as sin, public shaming and disloyalty. But it is not viewed as secondary to religion, political identity is primary. political sectarianism includes prejudice, discrimination and cognitive distortion, three key ingredients of political sectarianism were identified, first: seeing the other side as different (othering), second dislikeable (aversion), third immoral (moralization). It is portrayed as Americans' warm feelings toward their parties their cold feelings toward opposing parties. As soon as these feelings towards opposing party turning out-party hate into the dominant feeling in American politics. The parties differ from one another in believing, for example, one party is ideologically extreme, and hostile.

Multiple causes of political sectarianism are identified like Identity alignment, meaning political party identities have sorted into a "mega-identity" separated along racial, religious, educational and geographic lines. The Middle East has witnessed continouse process of political leaders constructing or accentuating sectarian differences within or beyond state borders in order to maintain or gain power which is called sectarianization( ibid).

This involves the construction of sectarian identities under threat. such as Sunni or Shi'a, are thus securitized, becoming sources of conflict in

recent years has produced important insights on the politics of sectarianism in the Middle East, this politicians—that the violence in the region after the Arab uprisings can be explained by the age-old Sunni–Shi'a divide. Hashemi (2017: 89) defined sectarianization as a process by which politics are framed on the basis of membership of fixed and allegedly primordial ethnic or religious groups., thereby also cementing the internal membership of each of the groups, often identified in opposition to one another. Agency has an important role in political sectarianism. political elites may construct sectarian antagonisms leading to violent conflict in order to maintain power. Populations may follow their leaders out of fear, incomplete information, or because in-group/out-group bias. group may be divided into more than two groups that can be subjected to hate each other, these subgroups playing a key role in the rising radicalization.but not every political Sectarian securitization encourages of violence ,we can see political group seeking to strengthen their legitimacy and generate support among their respective constituencies.(ibid)

The securitization of sectarian identities has been a strategy widely used to combat regime insecurity and fend off popular demands for political and socio-economic reforms. From Syria to Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, incumbent or aspiring political leaders have been engaging in the

securitization of sectarian identities securitized sectarian identities have themselves turned into a source of instability and conflict (ibid).

2.4.4. Social sectarianism

Sectarianism means what people do to other people. It is difficult to recognize that certain attitudes or groups are sectarian because they are sectarian insiders and nonsectarian outsiders. For instance, Orange and Republican marches create anxiety within communities but participants deny that their intentions are sectarian (Hamilton-Smith, et al, 2015: 78)

Sectarian s may be underlying issues state authoritiesm, in Scotland nominated sectarianism as a fundamental social antagonism forming the national community (Law, 2016: 76).

A civilizing offensive is moved by the legitimate sources of symbolic nomination to regulate de-civilized outsiders. This is interpreted as resentment and ressentiment,(acceptance and unacceptance) depending on groups 'position in society. and the sources of legitimate symbolic power experience ressentiment (Elias, 2008: 7).

Ethno sectarian interactions in Kirkuk to better highlight the social sectarianism.Kirkuk consists of four main ethnicities : Arabs, Assyrians, Kurds and Turkmen so that Kirkuk was categorized as

multiethnic community, for this reason conflict has emerged over the political control of Kirkuk. Furthermore, Kurdish tries to join Kirkuk with its lands has caused conflict against Arabs and Turkmen( France. , 2009: 54).

## 2.4.5 The Language of sectarianism

The difference in status of any one language can, but does not necessarily support positive outcomes in terms of language use. Crucially however, granting a language the status of a regional/minority and even of a state language does not help its dispersion and crucially only marginally affects the pool of non-linguistic resources accessible to its speakers without acquisition of second language skills. And yet, the most minority language activists agitate for greater political recognition and support of their speech variety on grounds that language represents a centrepiece of their group identity, an identity that is closely linked to a contingent territory where the language community has always been traditionally residing. We can therefore conclude that what Myhill terms the 'language-and-territory' ideology is commonly believed to be the most effective way of increasing the value of speech variety vis-à-vis (Dread, 2009: 67).

other speech varieties. As this section discusses, the access to non-linguistic resources made available on territories of polities established as monolingual governments is the major issue of concern in all of these; that is, despite the fact that most minority language activists build their advocacy around the European institutions' commitment for effective equality of citizens regardless of linguistic identities these bear, in practice they propose little beside re-territorialisation of language regimes in their respective states and regions of residence (ibid).

Many linguistic features are known to characterize the language of sectarianism:

a. Word embeddings

The main purpose of the method proposed here was to investigate to what extent the semantic information encoded by word embeddings can be used to identify texts that contain aggression (Carri, 2008: 90).

b. Harsh words (profanity)

Profanity is a socially offensive use of language, which may also be called cursing, cussing or swearing, cuss words (American English vernacular), curse words, swear words, bad words, dirty words, or

expletives. Accordingly, profanity is language use that is sometimes deemed impolite, rude, or culturally offensive. It can show a debasement of someone or something, or be considered an expression of strong feeling towards something. Some words may also be used as intensifiers (ibid).

In its older, more literal sense, "profanity" refers to a lack of respect for things that are held to be sacred, which implies anything inspiring or deserving of reverence, as well as behaviour showing similar disrespect or causing religious offence (ibid).

c. Rudeness

Rudeness (also called effrontery) is a display of disrespect by not complying with the social norms or etiquette of a group or culture. These norms have been established as the essential boundaries of normally accepted behavior. To be unable or unwilling to align one's behavior with these norms known to the general population of what is socially acceptable is to be rude and are enforced as though they were a sort of social law, with social repercussions or rewards for violators or advocates, respectively (Greg, 2019: 78).

Rudeness, "constituted by deviation from whatever counts as politic in a given social context, is inherently confrontational and disruptive to

social equilibrium". Rudeness, particularly with respect to speech, is necessarily confrontational at its core (ibid).

Forms of rudeness include acting inconsiderate, insensitive, deliberately offensive, impolite, a faux pas, obscenity, profanity and violating taboos such as deviancy. In some cases, an act of rudeness can go so far as to be a crime, for example, the crime of hate speech (ibid).

## 2.5. congregational groups: history

Congregationalism, as defined by the Pew Research Center, is estimated to represent 0.5 percent of the worldwide Protestant population; though their organizational customs and other ideas influenced significant parts of Protestantism, as well as other Christian congregations. The report defines it very narrowly, encompassing mainly denominations in the United States and the United Kingdom, which can trace their history back to nonconforming Protestants, Puritans, Separatists, Independents, English religious groups coming out of the English Civil War, and other English dissenters not satisfied with the degree to which the Church of England had been reformed (Freedi, 2018: 34).

Congregationalist tradition has a presence in the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and various island nations in the Pacific region. It has been introduced either by immigrant dissenter Protestants or by missionary organization such as the London Missionary Society. A number of evangelical Congregational churches are members of the World Evangelical Congregational Fellowship (ibid).

In the United Kingdom, many Congregational churches claim their descent from Protestant denominations formed on a theory of union published by the theologian and English separatist Robert Browne in 1582. Other accounts trace these origins further back to the London Underground Church of the 1560s. Ideas of nonconforming Protestants during the Puritan Reformation of the Church of England laid foundation for these churches. In England, the early Congregationalists were called Separatists or Independents to distinguish them from the similarly Calvinistic Presbyterians, whose churches embrace a polity based on the governance of elders. Congregationalists also differed with the Reformed churches using episcopalian church governance, which is usually led by a bishop (ibid).

Congregationalism in the United States traces its origins to the Puritans of New England, who wrote the Cambridge Platform of 1648 to describe the autonomy of the church and its association with others. Within the United States, the model of Congregational churches was carried by migrating settlers from New England into New York, then into the Old North West, and further. With their insistence on independent local bodies, they became important in many social reform movements, including abolitionism, temperance, and women's suffrage. Modern Congregationalism in the United States is largely split into three bodies: the United Church of Christ, the National Association of Congregational Christian Churches and the Conservative Congregational Christian Conference, which is the most theologically conservative (George, 2017: 70).

The origins of Congregationalism are found in 16th-century Puritanism, a movement that sought to complete the English Reformation begun with the separation of the Church of England from the Catholic Church during the reign of Henry VIII (1509–47). During the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603), the Church of England was considered a Reformed or Calvinist church, but it also preserved certain characteristics of medieval Catholicism, such as cathedrals, church choirs, a formal liturgy contained in the Book of Common Prayer,

traditional clerical vestments and episcopal polity (government by bishops) (ibid).

2.5.1Types of congregational groups

2.5.1.1 Religious

Congregation, an assembly of persons, especially a body assembled for religious worship or habitually attending a particular church. The word occurs more than 350 times in the King James Version of the English Bible, but only one of these references is in the New Testament. As it is used in the Old Testament, congregation sometimes refers to the entire Israelite community, and at other times it means a gathering or assembly of people (Jenny, 2019: 78).

In the Roman Catholic church the word is used in several senses: (1) the congregations or committees of the Sacred College of Cardinals that form administrative departments, (2) the committees of bishops for the regulation of procedure at general councils, (3) branches of a religious order, following its general rule but forming separate groups, each with its special constitution and observances, (4) religious communities composed of persons who have taken simple, rather than solemn, vows, and (5) in France, religious associations of

lay persons, male or female, for some pious, charitable, or educational purpose (ibid).

In Protestant churches, a congregation usually means the assembly of worshipers gathered in a church at a particular service. But among English Nonconformists and American Protestants, it has been increasingly used to designate the members of a local church, often only the lay people of a local church, and it has become virtually synonymous with parish (ibid).

Religious Congregations are groups of men or women who have chosen to express their Christian commitment by living in community and taking lifelong vows - usually vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. These women and men commit their lives to serving God and the Church through prayer and sacrifice, living and working alongside the Church, seeking to love and serve everyone they encounter (ibid).

These congregations are governed according to their constitutions, which are usually approved by the Pope, or in some cases the local bishop. They cannot work in a diocese without the consent of a bishop and they can often own property and institutions (Faddi, 2002: 65).

In the Catholic Diocese of Maitland-Newcastle, there are currently twelve religious congregations working (three male and nine female). These religious congregations offer a range of pastoral, social welfare, educational, aged care and health services for people in our community(ibid).

## 2.5.1.2 Congregations with political service

the 1980s rise of the Religious Right called attention to congregations' political activities. The organized Religious Right. Political parties have become a major part of the politics of almost every country, as modern party organizations developed and spread around the world over the last few centuries. Some countries have only one political party while others have several. It is extremely rare for a country to have no political parties. Parties are important in the politics of autocracies as well as democracies, though usually democracies have more political parties than autocracies. Autocracies often have a single party that governs the country, and some political scientists consider competition between two or more parties to be an essential part of democracy (Damer, 2008: 64).

Parties can develop from existing divisions in society, like the divisions between lower and upper classes, and they streamline the process of

making political decisions by encouraging their members to cooperate. Political parties usually include a party leader, who has primary responsibility for the activities of the party; party executives, who may select the leader and who perform administrative and organizational tasks; and party members, who may volunteer to help the party, donate money to it, and vote for its candidates. There are many different ways in which political parties can be structured and interact with the electorate. The contributions that citizens give to political parties are often regulated by law, and parties will sometimes govern in a way that favours the people who donate time and money to them (ibid).

Many political parties are motivated by ideological goals. It is common for democratic elections to feature competitions between liberal, conservative, and socialist parties; other common ideologies of very large political parties include communism, populism, nationalism, and Islamism (ibid).

Political parties in different countries will often adopt similar colours and symbols to identify themselves with a particular ideology. However, many political parties have no ideological affiliation, and may instead be primarily engaged in patronage, clientelism, or the advancement of a specific political entrepreneur (George, 2007: 67).

Political parties are collective entities that organize competitions for political offices. The members of a political party contest elections under a shared label. In a narrow definition, a political party can be thought of as just the group of candidates who run for office under a party label. In a broader definition, political parties are the entire apparatus that supports the election of a group of candidates, including voters and volunteers who identify with a particular political party, the official party organizations that support the election of that party's candidates, and legislators in the government who are affiliated with the party (ibid).

Political parties are distinguished from other political groups and clubs, such as political factions or interest groups, mostly by the fact that parties are focused on electing candidates whereas interest groups are focused on advancing a policy agenda. This is related to other features that sometimes distinguish parties from other political organizations, including a larger membership, greater stability over time, and deeper connection to the electorate (ibid).

In many countries the notion of a political party is defined in law, and governments may specify requirements for an organization to legally qualify as a political party(Candy, 2005: 60).

In some definitions of political parties, a party is an organization that advances a specific set of ideological or policy goals, or that organizes people whose ideas about politics are similar. However, many political parties are not primarily motivated by ideology or policy; for example, political parties can be mainly clientelistic or patronage-based organizations, or tools for advancing the career of a specific political entrepreneur (ibid).

Political parties are a nearly ubiquitous feature of modern countries. Nearly all democratic countries have strong political parties, and many political scientists consider countries with fewer than two parties to necessarily be autocratic. However, these sources allow that a country with multiple competitive parties is not necessarily democratic, and the politics of many autocratic countries are organized around one dominant political party. The ubiquity and strength of political parties in nearly every modern country has led researchers to remark that the existence of political parties is almost a law of politics, and to ask why parties appear to be such an essential part of modern states. Political scientists have therefore come up with several explanations for why political parties are a nearly universal political phenomenon (ibid).

One of the core explanations for why political parties exist is that they arise from pre-existing divisions among people: society is divided in a certain way, and a party is formed to organize that division into electoral competition. By the 1950s, economists and political scientists had shown that party organizations can take advantage of the distribution of voters' preferences over political issues, adjusting themselves in response to what voters believe in order to become more competitive. Beginning in the 1960s, academics began identifying the social cleavages in different countries that might have given rise to specific parties, such as religious cleavages in specific countries that may have produced religious parties there (freaky, 2006: 64).

The theory that parties are produced by social cleavages has drawn several criticisms. Some authors have challenged it on empirical grounds, either finding no evidence for the claim that parties emerge from existing cleavages, or arguing that the claim is not empirically testable. Others note that while social cleavages might cause political parties to exist, this obscures the opposite effect: that political parties also cause changes in the underlying social cleavages. A further objection is that, if the explanation for where parties come from is that they emerge from existing social cleavages, then the theory is an incomplete story of where political parties come from unless it also

explains where social cleavages come from. But origins of social cleavages have also been proposed: one argument is that social cleavages are formed by historical conflicts (ibid).

### 2.5.1.3 Congregation with social service

A social group can be defined as two or more people who interact with one another, share similar characteristics, and collectively have a sense of unity. Other theorists disagree however, and are wary of definitions which stress the importance of interdependence or objective similarity. Instead, researchers within the social identity tradition generally define it as "a group is defined in terms of those who identify themselves as members of the group." Regardless, social groups come in a myriad of sizes and varieties. For example, a society can be viewed as a large social group (Davidson, 2001: 70).

A social group exhibits some degree of social cohesion and is more than a simple collection or aggregate of individuals, such as people waiting at a bus stop, or people waiting in a line. Characteristics shared by members of a group may include interests, values, representations, ethnic or social background, and kinship ties. Kinship ties being a social bond based on common ancestry, marriage, or adoption. In a similar

vein, some researchers consider the defining characteristic of a group as social interaction. According to Dunbar's number, on average, people cannot maintain stable social relationships with more than 150 individuals (ibid).

2.5.2 The language of congregational groups

2.5.2.1. The language of political congregational groups

There are many linguistic characteristics to characterize the language of political groups:

  a.  The art of spin

With ever increasing media coverage of politics, and competition among the media to give the most sensationalist portrayals of political events, political parties have increasingly used public relations experts to channel facts to the media, and to put the best possible construction on events. In the 1980s in America, these PR experts were labelled 'spin-doctors' by media commentators (Bener, 2005: 11).

The word 'spin' relates to baseball, putting spin on the ball being a pitcher's technique in an attempt to fool or deceive an opponent. The word 'doctor' suggests a healer, someone who resolves a crisis

(although as a verb it can also mean to cheat as in to doctor someone's drink) (ibid).

Thus a 'spin-doctor' is someone who deceives, who presents a false picture to suit the politician - once again the activities of politicians are seen to be devious. It should also be noted that politicians do not admit to employing 'spin-doctors' themselves; they would refer to their press agent, or some such similar term. Nonetheless, they regularly complain about spin-doctoring when it is their political opponents who are putting out messages (ibid).

How the spin is placed on a story will depend upon a number of things. These include: the overall political effect that is desired, either celebrating success or ridiculing failure; the way information is presented; and what metaphorical uses are brought in to influence the audience's view of events. When OFSTED (the Office of Standards in Education in England) conducted research in 1997 into how well literacy was taught in London schools, they found that 66 per cent of lessons were satisfactory, and 33 per cent unsatisfactory (Darri, 2002: 23).

b. Extension

Opinion polls are used by the media to assess public perception on political issues. They are used frequently in the run-up to elections to see how people are likely to vote, and they are used during the lifetime of a government to see how the public views the government's performance. Using a carefully selected sample, the pollsters interview people about their views on various issues. The findings in part depend upon what questions are actually asked, and how they are phrased. The analysis of the figures often depends upon the political views of the journalist who interprets them, while the political parties interpret them in the way which makes them look most favourable. In other words, from the data provided, both journalists and politicians apply their own particular spin (ibid).

c. Rhetorical devices

Rhetoric is defined by Cockcroft and Cockcroft in their book Persuading People (1992) as 'the art of persuasive discourse' using the word 'discourse', here to refer to both spoken and written communication. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) wrote extensively on the 'art' of rhetoric, seeing it as an important part of human activity, and so worth categorising and defining in great detail (Howard, 2007: 12).

Plato, on the other hand, believed rhetoric to be about the manipulation of an audience by people who were essentially insincere in their motives. Neither saw rhetoric as concerned only with government, but as a factor in all human communication; the skills of rhetoric were taught in early school systems in Britain, long before subjects like English Language or Literature were invented. Although rhetoric, in the sense that the Cockcrofts use the word, relates to all forms of human communication, the word has tended to be used much more frequently to refer to speech and even more specifically to a certain type of formal public speaking. Rhetorical skills, in the sense of persuasive public speaking, have always had emphasis in the American education system, and they are present in the British system too (ibid).

## 2.5.2.2. The language of social congregational groups

Before diving into the topic of language use in social groups, it is important to understand how totalistic groups are defined and characterized. Lifton (1969: 90) defines groups as collections of individuals who share similar goals and values and who live together under intensive and restrictive social, and often physical, boundaries enforced by the group's members and/or leadership.

Languages differ in their complexity. One possible explanation for this observation is that differences in social factors influence linguistic complexity: languages that are used for communication in small-scale 'societies of intimates' exhibit greater complexity as a result of the communicative contexts in which they are typically employed. We used the techniques from referential communication studies across three experiments to assess the effects of two social group factors—group size and amount of communally shared knowledge—on the brevity and transparency of linguistic conventions (ibid: 54).

A number of theories connect sociocultural factors to structural properties of language (e.g., Wray and Grace 2007; Trudgill 2011), resulting in cross-linguistic variation in language transparency and complexity. By complexity, we refer to the descriptive complexity of a language here, considering complexity as an inherent and objective property of a linguistic system. Although all languages may be viewed as equally complex in that they have the potential to combine a finite number of elements to convey infinitely many possible meanings, this does not mean that the encoding of meaning in signals is necessarily equally complex (Nettle 2012), and the complexity of that encoding may, at least partly, be influenced by the environment—sociocultural

or otherwise—in which an individual language is learned and used (Lupyan and Dale 2016: 78).

# CHAPTER THREE

# APPROACHES TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS &Model Developing

## 3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not a neutral activity, because it sets out to bring about change. It is a realist, programmatic and scientific approach to the study of prevailing social problems created by language use (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Using language as a discursive practice within the social world, CDA is politically committed to social change (Wodak, 2011).

 Its primary concern is the practical application of the results of critical discourse analysis studies to solve certain current social problems (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). That is, it seeks to find a remedy to certain social problems concentrating on the application of the results of critical discourse analysis as found in analysis of written representations of those problems. CDA scholars want to ensure there is fair and equitable representation of each point of view. For CDA, language as discourse is a kind of social action that is discursive in nature (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

There is a dialectical relationship between discourse and other social practices (Fairclough, 2013). Discourse as a social action composes our social world and is simultaneously affected by other social actions (Wodak, 2002). Moreover, discourse reflects those social practices (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002).

Discursive practices refer to the actions of the production and consumption of texts. Reproduction of socio-cultural, economic, and political points of view occurs through the process of discursive practices in everyday life. Discursive practices as social actions affect the constitution of social identities and social relations within the social world (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse can reshape the world. In CDA, it is asserted that discourse practices lead to the construction and reproduction of unbalanced social relations between social groups resulting in the manipulation of one social group over others (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Consequently, discourse is functional in achieving the interests of certain social groups. In retrospect, CDA aims to point to the deficiencies in the representations of reality resulting in issues of inequality and hence to change or at least draw attention to them. Hence, they point to the need for more equal power relations in society, which are reproduced through discourse (Fairclough, 1995). By critically analysing discourse in social interaction, the impact of discourse on the production of relations of inequality can be revealed to the readers. This demystification of discursive practice can lead to social change by regulating social relations among social groups. The endpoint of CDA is critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1992).

## 3.2. CDA and Public Contexts

In general, the answers to such questions presuppose a study of the relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships. Since this is a complex, multidisciplinary and as vet underdeveloped domain of study, which one may call sociopolitical discourse analysis , only the

most relevant dimensions of this domain can be addressed here. Although there are many directions in the study and critique of social inequality, the way we approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance. Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power byelites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality. This repro- duction process may involve such different modes of discourse power relations as the more or less direct or overt support. enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance, among others. More specifically, critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction. This paper is biased in another way: we pay more attention to top down relations of dominance than to bottom-up relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance. This does not mean that we see power and dominance merely as unilaterally imposed on others.

On the contrary, in many situations, and sometimes paradoxically. power and even power abuse may seem jointly produced , e.g. when dominated groups are per- suaded, by whatever means, that dominance is natural or otherwise legitimate. Thus, although an analysis of strategies of resistance and challenge is crucial for our understanding of actual power and dominance relations in society, and although such an analysis needs to be included in a broader theory of power, counter-power and discourse, our critical approach prefers to focus on the elites

and their discursive strategies for the mainten- ance of inequality. From a discourse analytical and sociopolitical point of view it is tempting to study the relations between discourse structures and power structures more or less directly.

This will often be effective and adequate. For instance, we may assume that directive speech acts such as commands or orders may be used to enact power, and hence also to exercise and to reproduce dominance. Similarly, we may examine the style, rhetoric or meaning of texts for strategies that aim at the concealment of social power relations, for instance by playing down, leaving implicit or understating responsible agency of powerful social actors in the events represented in the text. However, the relationships involved and the conditions on reproduction are more complicated than that. For instance, social inequality, at the societal level, is not simply or always reproduced by individual (speech) acts such as commands.

This may be obvious from commands appropri- ately and legitimately executed in relationships of more or less accepted everyday power relations, such as those between parents and children, between superiors and subordinates, or between police officers and citi- zens. Hence, special social conditions must be satisfied for such discourse properties to contribute to the reproduction of dominance. The same is true for all other properties of text and talk, and hence for all text-context relations. Apparently, It is Involved in dominance are questionable conditions of legitimacy or acceptability, including what is usually called abuse of power, and especially also possibly negative effects of the exer- cise of power, namely social inequality. Another major complication we must

address is the fact that typical macro-notions such as group or institutional power and dominance, as well. as social inequality, do not directly relate to typical micro-notions such as text, talk or communicative interaction.

This not only involves the well- known problem of macro-micro relations in sociology, but also, and perhaps even more interestingly, the relation between society, discourse and social cognition. Indeed, we argue that in order to relate discourse and society, and hence discourse and the reproduction of dominance and in- equality, we need to examine in detail the role of social representations in the minds of social actors. More specifically. we hope to show that social cognition is the necessary theoretical (and empirical) interface , if not the missing link , between discourse and dominance. In our opinion, neglect of such social cognitions has been one of the major theoretical shortcomings of most work in critical linguistics and discourse analysisAlthough often dealing with language , text or discourse in many (usually rather philosophical) ways, most of this work does not explicitly and systematically deal with discourse structures. We had to wait for the various contributions in critical linguistics and social semiotics, first and primarily in the UK and Australia, to get a more detailed view of the other side of the relationship, namely an analysis of the structures of text and image, even if such linguistics and semiotic approaches usually did not aim to provide sophisticated sociopolitical analyses (Chilton, 1985; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge and Kress, 1988; Kress and Hodge, 1979). From a different perspective, the same critical approach characterizes much of the work in some directions of

German and Austrian sociolinguistics, e.g. on language use of/with immigrant workers, language barriers, fascism and anti-semitism (Dittmar and Schlobinski, 1985; Ehlich, 1989; Wodak, 1985, 1989; Wodak et al., 1987, 1989, 1990; Wodak and Menz, 1990), some of which goes back to the critical sociolinguistic paradigm of Bernstein (1971-5).

## 3.3 Approaches to CDA

### 3.3.1 Norman Fairclough's Dialectical–Relational Approach (DRA)

Fairclough is a pioneer in the field of CDA. Fairclough's approach to CDA was launched in his (1989) study of language, *Ideology and Power* (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). He developed a socially critical linguistic study of power relations in language which constitutes a breakthrough in this discipline. Over the course of his career, Fairclough invested new ideas from social theory into CDA to include a critical perspective, and noticeably developing the theory and methods of CDA (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000).

He succeeded in filling the gap between linguistics and other areas of social sciences (Fairclough, 2003). This approach is called dialectical–relational as it seeks to find the dialectical relationships among discourse structures and their connectedness to components of social life. The relationship of discourse to social structure is dialectical; i.e. discourse is constituted and conditioned by societal structure and in turn discourse represents and constitutes the world including social identities, social relationships, and knowledge (Fairclough, 1992b).

According to Fairclough, his research approach to CDA is powerful as it focuses on both social structure and action achieving invaluable interpretation from differentperspectives (2009). Moreover, it is a process that will enable people to figure out the complicated dialectical relationships between semiotic and non-semiotic elements constituting the socio-cultural, political and economic conditions of their lives (2009). He characterizes his work as 'transdisciplinary'.

Fairclough semiotically portrays social struggle in discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) and (2007) considers critical language awareness to be an essential part of language education. Visual awareness is considered to be an integral part of the educational process (Gross, 1983).

Fairclough (1992) outlines an interconnected three-dimensional framework for analysing discourse: the linguistic features of the text; the discursive processes of discourse; and the analyses of context.

These dimensions are mutually explanatory. The first domain is the linguistic features of the text and the way in which lexical, grammatical and textual structures are constructed to accomplish certain representations, identities and forms of interaction (Taylor, 2004). Text as a linguistic unit consists of words joined by grammatical rules which give the text cohesion and structure (Fairclough, 1995, p.57-58).

Fairclough (1992) believes that vocabulary (lexicalization) gives meaning to the world and indicates social identities. Grammar, for Fairclough, is the arrangement of clauses and the relations between them in a way that points to a specific meaning whereas cohesion is the overall structural organization of texts that serves as an indication of the wider discourse structure in the discursive situation. These choices can

reflect the author's knowledge and beliefs that affect the construction of social identities and social relations. The second dimension - the discursive processes of discourse - refers to the articulation and interpretative processes of texts by the social actors/ participants.

For Fairclough (1992), discourse as discursive practice constitutes two levels of analysis: linguistic and discursive practice. This discursive dimension is situated within the text and the context in which discourse is practiced. To put it differently, a discursive event is a text, a discursive practice and a social practice at the same time (Fairclough, 2010, 1993).

Analysing the discursive practice provides an opportunity for identifying the orders of discourse that are at play in the production of texts and to gain insights into hegemonies and cultural power as well as the way in which social orders of discourse are affected by social actions. Some discursive or social practices within social life support relations of dominance (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

Identifying the social impact of certain discourse on the recipients and the way in which they interpret the texts can lead to knowledge of how ideology is created and embedded in ways that ultimately can mitigate its influence (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). For Fairclough (1995), any discursive event has three features: intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and hegemony.

Intertextuality means that 'basically texts have the property of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth' (Fairclough 1992, p.119). Fairclough argues that intertextuality is realised in the linguistic properties of the text because

texts are 'linguistically heterogeneous' (Fairclough 1995, p.189). Intertextuality has been related to the discursive dimension of social change (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough (1995) views 'intertextual analysis' as a mediation from text to discourse action and vice versa in analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Intertextuality is the way in which discourses are mixed. Through intertextuality, the researcher is able to gain insights into social change and social continuity. With respect to the analysis of intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) distinguishes between 'manifest intertextuality' and 'interdiscursivity' (p.104). Manifest intertextuality in texts does not just bring together different voices, it does so in particular ways, which often set up hierarchical relationships between them (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

Interdiscursivity means the employment of different genres and discourses in a text or the inclusion of more than one topic simultaneously within a particular sociocultural field or context (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Genre is defined as the choice of language institutionalised within a certain social action or institution that is defined by its use, such as news genre (Fairclough, 1993).

Thus, the implementation of different genres changes the kind of textual production, and the resources of textualising (Fairclough, 2000). Through new interdiscursive mixes, new discourses are created, thereby changing the boundaries and driving sociocultural change. Inserting a de-contextualised element into a different context is known as recontextualization (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). These techniques are functional in discourse (Richardson and Wodak, 2009).

Fairclough's third dimension is the analyses of context, meaning the broad social and socio-political contexts in which the text as a discursive practice is positioned. This level investigates how discourse forms and is formed by social structure and practice which create ideological power. Thus, this lev incorporates the interrelation between ideology and power with discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Language or discourse and society are intimately related, and their understanding is a complementary process (Fairclough, 1992, p.64). In other words, discourse is one of the most essential factors in the study of social life (Richardson 2007, p.26). Equally important and 'central in deciding which meaning the writer meant us to read' is social context (Richardson, 2007, p.25). Moreover, the interpretation of discourse is highly influenced by historical and social context. Hence, the CDA method has been developed to reveal power relations and ideology through the analysis of non-linguistic context and linguistic description (Fairclough, 1992). This framework provides a complete analysis, understanding and explanation of the whole context including all the contextual and extra-contextual factors. For this reason, CDA is known as a hermeneutic (Meyer, 2001).

## 3.3.2 Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

Wodak is one of the major contributors to CDA. Wodak and other scholars in the Vienna School developed a discourse-historical analysis approach (hereafter DHA) with the intention of historically following social conflicts in language use (Wodak, 1995). The term DHA first appeared in her analysis of original documents of post-war Austria, which had led to the constitution of an anti-Semitic, stereotyped image

in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (Wodak, 2001). Her work has subsequently invested in different studies of national identity. Wodak has tried to identify the connectedness between the discursive constitution of national identities as 'sameness' and the discursive shaping of 'difference' (Wodak, 2001 , p.71).

Wodak believes that discourse creates subjects (Jäger and Meier, 2009) and concentrates on both the formation and embrace through discourse of an in-group and the constitution and refusal of an out-group. That is, the social sense of the self is historically created and communicated by the institutionalised behaviours and discourses within which the individual lives. In her approach, Wodak investigates the historical domain of discourse through the study of the historical change of genres. Similar to Fairclough, Wodak incorporates social theories into discourse analysis in order to unveil hidden ideologies. Wodak integrated the social and political background in which discourse is practiced with historical knowledge about that discourse to access hidden ideologies. Historical knowledge passes through stages which are functional to understand discourse. These stages are: the linguistic co-text, the intertextual and interdiscursive stage, and the non-linguistic stage including the socio-political and historical stage (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). To put it differently, the DHA approach consists of levels of analysis: texts, fields of action, genres, and discourses, in addition to the historical analysis of the context. The incorporation of historical contexts of discourse into any discourse analysis is the prominent feature of this model.

### 3.3.3 Carvalho Model of CDA

CDA is the single most authoritative line of research regarding the study of media discourse. Teun van Dijk (e.g. 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2005), Norman Fairclough (e.g. 1995, 1998, 2003) and Ruth Wodak (e.g. Wodak, 1996; Wodak et al., 1999; Wodak and Chilton, 2005) are the most prominent representatives of this branch of discourse analysis, with media discourse having been thoroughly examined by the first two. Western Marxism, as represented by Gramsci (1971), Althusser (1971) and the Frankfurt school, is an important backdrop of CDA. It adjoins a certain epistemology of critique brought by ''critical social theory''with a thorough consideration of the means of linguistic construction of sense, and critical linguistics is certainly a crucial influence in the field. Fowler (1991) was one of the pioneers of the ''critical'' approach to language in the news. Attempting to go beyond a traditionally ''descriptive'' discipline of linguistics he brought in issues of power and ideology to the analysis of news reports. CDA scholars share a distinctive concern with the relations between texts and social processes, as well as with the relations between analysis and the practices analyzed.

Discourse is viewed as a type of social practice. Each discursive event is dialectically tied to society insofar as it both constitutes and is constituted by social phenomena. CDA often involves a search for aspects or dimensions of reality that are obscured by an apparently natural and transparent use of language. The researcher then tends to be alert to power relations being exercised through discourse and aims to overcome the normal opacity of social practices (Fairclough, 1995, p. 54).

She wants to expose the causes and consequences of specific discourses and to denounce the social, cultural or political wrongs which they sustain. CDA is then a reflexive and engaged form of social theory, which is wary of its potential implications for social and political formations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). While being a fertile and stimulating field, CDA is not universally or entirely applauded. Amongst its critics, some have claimed that it is flawed or ideologically committed (Tyrwhitt-Drake, 1999),5 while others have suggested that its methodological diversity should be overcome (Toolan, 1997). Widdowson (e.g. 1995) and Stubbs (1997) have accused CDA of doing interpretation, not analysis, to which Fairclough (1996; also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) has contended that the kind of interpretive work that CDA offers is closer to explanation than subjective understanding. Most of these criticisms do not diminish the theoretical and analytical value of CDA. Methodological pluralism, for instance, can be seen as a strength rather than a weakness, and ideological commitment, as discussed above, is an explicit agenda of CDA and does not equal analytical distortion.

Philo (2007) has recently argued in favour of an integrated analysis of content and processes of production, reception and circulation, and claimed that CDA has not been able to account for the full cycle of news discourse. As suggested above, this is a valid, if nearly unsolvable, point. In this article, I will focus on three aspects that, despite the achievements of CDA, are still lacking satisfactory answers: the time plane in discourse analysis, the discursive strategies of social actors and the effects of mediated discourse.

The Time Plane in Discourse Analysis of Journalistic Texts Until recently, time had largely been unaccounted for in the existing literature on discourse analysis of journalistic texts. Most forms of analysis do not express awareness of the time sequence of texts nor do they clearly explain the implications of previous discursive positions on subsequent ones. Hyatt has recently argued for an analysis of temporal context in critical discourse analysis and suggested considering the following aspects: immediate and medium-term sociopolitical contexts, the contemporary sociopolitical individuals, organizations and structures and the more long-term temporal context which includes the various assumptions of order, structures of inclusion and exclusion and generally how a society legitimates itself and achieves its social identity. (2005, p. 515)

Hyatt's suggestion is similar to the analysis of the social context of discourse which has been a central aspect of CDA's programme at least since the publication of Norman Fairclough's Language and Power (1989). Fairclough's (1995) proposal to examine ''sociocultural practice'' surrounding media discourse involves analysing the ''situational context'', the ''institutional context'' and the ''socio-cultural context''. Most analyses have not fully accomplished this. Recently, van Dijk has argued that an ''explicit theory of context'' is still missing and acknowledged the difficulties of contextual analysis. The fundamental problem . . . is how to put constraints on such a ''contextual'' or ''situational'' study. Indeed, how do we know or decide where to begin and where to stop such an analysis, since obviously it may begin with details of the interaction, the properties of speakers or of settings, but may stretch to such vast societal ''contexts''

as contemporary capitalism, neoliberalism, globalization, patriarchy, postmodernism, and so on. That is, if contextual analysis should be relevant, it is crucial not only to define possible contexts, but especially to limit them. (van Dijk, 2004).

The historical nature of discourse is one of its most fundamental characteristics. Texts always build on previous ones, taking up or challenging former discourses. Fairclough (1995) and others have conceptualized these relations as intertextuality. Intertextuality is an important contribution to the study of discourse but does not, per se, give a full account of the time plane, or of the historicity of discourse (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). By looking at the moments of production and consumption of the text, van Dijk (1988b) offers a biography of the text. But the relation between that text and others throughout a period of time is not addressed in his conceptualization.

A biography of social and political issues in the media is missing. When it is taken up, research on change in media discourse has been mainly oriented to issues of style andgenre (e.g. Fairclough, 1995; Weymouth, 1998), rather than to change in the meaning of issues in the media. The most significant contribution to the study of time in discourse processes has been advanced by Ruth Wodak and colleagues. Applied to the study of processes of discrimination (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999) and national identity (Wodak et al., 1999), their ''discourse-historical'' approach attempts to account for the historical background of discursive events and explore changes in discourse throughout time (Wodak, 1999).

However, media discourse has not yet been examined in detail in this way. Most studies of media discourse are like snapshots examining some news items in detail but covering a short time span (often only a day or a few days). While this may be relevant for some events, most public issues have a significantly long ''life'', which is tied to representations in the media. Understanding the evolution of matters such as war, terrorism or climate change, and the ways they are interdependent in relation to the media, is one of the most important contributions to be made by social researchers. There are hurdles to doing this. Examining the various stages of the public life of such issues, from the conditions of emergence in the public arena to their constitution into political problems, formulation of answers, adoption of measures, implementation and evaluation, requires analysing media(ted) discourses for a relatively long period of time. Obviously, this means a large amount of work and man-hours, and researchers need to devise ways of making this feasible. Besides tracing the history of public issues (the sequence of texts appearing in the media and the evolution of their meaning), a time-sensitive discourse analysis also means considering the particular context of a given period, from specific events and developments related to the issue under examination to wider aspects of the social environment. Finally, time also matters along the synchronic axis and researchers should take simultaneous discourses into account as comparison contributes to critical analysis. Both the historical-diachronic and the comparative-synchronic perspectives advocated here will be explained below in more detail.

### 3.3.4Discursive Strategies of Social Actors

Journalism is typically a discursive re-construction of reality. Rarely do journalists witness events or get to know reality in a way that does not involve the mediation of others. A variety of social actors serve as sources of information for media professionals, in a direct or indirect way (e.g. Ericson et al., 1989), and the media representation of social issues seems to be very much a function of the initiative of social actors to organize their claims and to project attention to ''happenings'' and problems (e.g. Anderson, 1997; Spector and Kitsuse, 1977).

The media's depictions of social problems will obviously depend largely on the preferences and options of media professionals, including the news values in operation (e.g. Gans, 1979), but necessarily build on the ways other social actors construct issues in their multifarious discourses. A good method of discourse analysis should account for those two levels of discursive intervention over a certain ''object'' *the sources' or social actors' intervention, and the journalists' intervention. In war situations, for example, a systematic analysis of the discourse of conflicting parties, as well as of social actors opposing the war, would help understanding and making explicit the alignment of news media with a given side andincrease awareness of the plurality of views, as well as of the biases both in the media and in social actors' discourses.6 van Dijk (e.g. 1988a, 1988b) focuses on the journalist's cognitive processes and on the journalistic text but does not examine the previous discourses of other social actors.

Although Fairclough (e.g. 1995) accounts for intertextuality and the progressive transformations of texts along discursive chains, the analysis of the strategies that social actors adopt to construct issues for

the media is also missing in his work. This study argues for a renewed attention to be paid to the role of actors' discursive strategies in media discourse. It is important to study the ways they and their standings are represented in the media and in order to do that we must analyze their own discursive strategies in the construction of reality. Extra- and Supra-textual Effects (or Modes of Operation) of Discourse What consequences do texts have for the whole of a discursive field? How does discourse impact on and shape the evolution of social and political issues? For example, how have George W. Bush's speeches on the ''war on terror'' influenced media discourses on terrorism and expectations of ensuing action? How did this impact on institutional mechanisms and material practices in the United States and other countries?

Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 66) have argued that there is a ''dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames and social structures), in which they are embedded''. A constitutive view of discourse has to encompass the analysis of discourse's concrete means of effect.

While discourse analysts have concentrated attention on the text, many of discourse's modes of operation are extra- or supra-textual, i.e. they are realized beyond or independently of a given text. Media discourse is an especially important arena for social and political action; yet, studies of media discourse have not spelt out the ways the media shape social realities extra- or supra-textually as explicitly as they could have done. To address the issue of extra- and supra-textual modes of operation of discourse, I propose the category of discursive effects.

Discursive effects are processes that are linked to texts, but occur outside the text or ''above'' it; they cannot be ''found'' in one single text. Moreover, discursive effects are not the direct consequence of one actor's discursive interventions but are often dependent on a variety of (discursive) causes and circumstances and show the constraining force of discourse. Examples of discursive effects are discourse structuration, discourse institutionalization and closure. Discourse structuration refers to the process of domination of the terms of the debate (cf. Hall et al.'s, 1978, notion of ''primary definition''). This may be intended but does not only depend on an actor's construction of an issue and its realization involves more than one text. The discourse of the American administration clearly had an effect of structuration of the discourse of many media outlets, from Fox to the New York Times, in the period that followed the events of September 11, 2001.

Discourse institutionalization is the transformation of institutional structures and/or practices in a way that embodies a certain discourse. Although the process of discourse institutionalization may result from, and originate in certain texts, it usually also has an extra-textual dimension. One example is the adoption of legal instruments such as the US Patriot Act as a result of certain securitarian discourses on terrorism. Closure is the resolution or termination of some formof controversy, for instance in a scientific or policy debate. It is a supra-textual process. The analysis of discursive effects will be integrated in the diachronic analysis proposed below.

The discursive strategies that concern our study are:

### 3.3.4.1 hyperbole

It is a figure of speech that is an intentional exaggeration for emphasis or comic effect. Hyperbole is common in love poetry, in which it is used to convey the lover's intense admiration for his beloved. But it is also common in public contexts where the speaker needs such figures of speech. When hyperbole fails to create the desired dramatic effect, exaggeration may seem ridiculous. Examples of hyperbole occur in sagas recounting the heroic deeds of legendary kings and warriors, tall tales, Greek and Roman mythology, and, in a broader sense, in political rhetoric and advertising slogans.

### 3.3.4.2 Alliteration

It is the repetition of usually initial consonant sounds in two or more neighboring words or syllables (such as wild and woolly, threatening throngs)— called also head rhyme, initial rhyme. In alliteration, consonant sounds in two or more neighboring words or syllables are repeated. The repeated sounds are usually the first, or initial, sounds— as in "seven sisters"—but repetition of sounds in non-initial stressed, or accented, syllables is also common: "appear and report." Alliteration is a common feature in poetry, but it is also found in songs and raps and speeches and other kinds of writing, as well as in frequently used phrases, such as "pretty as a picture" and "dead as a doornail."

### 3.3.5 Teun van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis Approach

Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Analysis approach is a combination of cognition, discourse and society. The integration of cognitive linguistics into CDA is one of the prominent trends in CDA history. The main concern of this trend is with the interpretation of meaning of the world and the specification of everyday realities (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Van Dijk is the first in the CDA field to emphasise the importance of social cognition in discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2009, p.64); i.e., he cognitively relates the discursive interaction to society (van Dijk, 2009).

He believes that language is a system of conceptual processes represented by linguistic structures. In other words, Van Dijk cognitively investigates language in his approach (Hart, 2010). This fundamental aspect of Van Dijk's theory can be explained as the socially common translations of the system of social relations and individual mental processes or systems of knowledge (Van Dijk, 1993). He joined discourse to the standard psychological model of memory. Van Dijk (2009) draws on Moscovici's social representation theory (2000) in his Sociocognitive approach to CDA. Social representations refer to the social concepts, values, and beliefs shared by a social group. They are functional in discourse practice. He put these representations in a frame, a concept employed in cognitive science. By social cognition, Wodak (2011) means how the societal structures and discourse structures are situated in discourse as well as how they are related to each other can be construed. Context models (mental

representations) enable participants to accommodate their discourse to the event in which they are positioned (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Through these representations of personal and social beliefs, inequality issues can be explained and interpreted. Thus, Van Dijk (2008) states that SFL is not adequate for CDA purposes. He (1993) adds that patterns of access to discourse are fundamental for the analysis of power and its representation in discourse. According to Van Dijk, discourse is a multi-dimensional social phenomenon (Van Dijk, 2009).

For Van Dijk, the relation between power and discourse has a socio-cognitive dimension that relates the macro-level to the micro-level. He further explains that the relation between power and discourse is not conditional or causal as they differ in nature (Van Dijk, 2004). So, he infers that the contextual factors causing impact must be indirect. Subsequently, he succeeded in filling this gap by adapting the social structure to discourse through his cognitive model (van Dijk, 2006, p.162).

Thus, contexts are represented as mental models because they are abstract representations which directly interact with discourse as a process. Van Dijk asserts that representing contexts cognitively is the only possible solution to understand those relations between power and discourse (ibid. p.163). Context models are the user's mental models of the communicative event (ibid). In terms of these mental models, most discourse is produced and consumed.

Van Dijk (2011) asserts that knowledge is the main resource for the production and understanding of discourse through which we acquire our knowledge. That is, there is an indirect relation between knowledge and discourse (Van Dijk, 2006) and the influence of knowledge can be

interpreted and identified by the analysis of discourse. Finally, Van Dijk succeeds in portraying knowledge in relation to context and its importance in the discourse process and power relations.

### 3.3.6 The stance theory

In linguistics, **stance** is the way in which speakers position themselves in relation to the ongoing interaction, in terms of evaluation, intentionality, epistemology or social relations. When a speaker describes an object in a way that expresses his/her attitude or relation to the object, the speaker is taking a stance. **Stancetaking** is viewed as a social action that shares the speaker's view of an object with their audience, sometimes inviting listeners to take their own stance as well.

Different authors have used the concept of stance to refer to the interpretive framework that is at play in an interaction such as irony, or role-playing. Others have used the concept of *authorial stance* to describe the way in which authors position themselves relative to their own texts, and another group have used the concept of *interpersonal stance* to describe the way the communicative goals of individual participants shape a communicative interaction. Others have drawn on Daniel Dennett's concept of the *intentional stance* to describe the way humans tend to impute intentions and mental states to those with whom they engage in communication.

### 3.3.7 Taking stance strategies

### 3.3.7.1-Othering strategy

It represents one of the most common stancetaking strategies their stances are brought together and expressed in language-in-use, othering becomes a pervasive rhetorical move that allows to (1) uphold/defend their positions and (2) distinguish ingroup members (those who hold similar views on the topic) from out-group members (those who hold divergent views). As both groups they use linguistic othering to construct, delineate, and sustain their community against the opposing community.. The idea of the Other in human thought can be dated back as far as Plato (Riggins 1997). Traces of what is now referred to as the process of othering can also be found in Georg Simmel's concept of the stranger. According to the sociologist, the stranger represents an individual who "does not conform completely to the norms of the system" (Rogers 1999, 61)., Coupland (2010) understands othering as a "process of representing an individual or a social group to render them distant, alien or deviant" (244). While such representations produce social exclusion, The theme of deviation represents a recurring topic in the literature on othering processes., Baumgarten (2017) shows how discussants other third parties (immigrants, Jews, LGBTQ people, Muslims, and others) through (1) assumptions about how they violate the unspoken norms about the desired status quo and (2) ascriptions of behaviors believed to be immoral and/or dishonest. The process of othering also figures prominently in writings about Orientalism. For Said (1978), Orientalism represents "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (For van Dijk (1997), focusing on othering discourses can yield important insights about power and

group relations as well as ideologies pervading public consciousness regarding the Othered and the Otherer, effectively becoming a mode of social analysis. This feature of othering is especially instrumental in the context of minoritarian groupginal). Since the East/West division makes part and parcel of these definitions, Orientalism as a style of thought is imminently involved in othering processes as well as identity work.

Weis (1995) defines othering as "that process which serves to mark and name those thoughts to be different from oneself, the construction of exclusion/inclusion aids the process of establishing rules of belonging (ibid.), a process that further crystallizes and juxtaposes in-group members against out-group members. Molek-Kozakowska and Chovanec (2017) hold that the discursively constructed idea of "the other" serves national communities to enforce their own identities. othering may be performed "in less subtle ways by expressing politically incorrect sentiments, trolling and flaming" The othering as the discursive practice of constructing, delineating, and maintaining in-groups and out-groups,

four major topics/questions that Molek-Kozakowska and Chovanec (2017) have proposed in their framework for studying othering. These topics include: (1) What are the groups subjected to othering? (2) What sociocultural, historical, political contexts are brought into othering discourses? (3) What specific othering strategies are used in these practices? (4) How othering is linguistically performed at the micro-, textual level, and what functions do these instances possess at the macro-, societal level? Using this framework, I look at the established dichotomies in play, describe and explain the broader (both local and

national) context of othering practices, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) argue that aggression and (im)politeness represent key factors in othering. where othering becomes a recurrent discursive strategy (Wodak 2015). othering itself can come in various forms. For instance, Schwalbe et al. (2000) distinguish between "(1) oppressive othering; (2) implicit othering by the creation of powerful virtual selves; and (3) defensive othering among subordinates" (422–423). Analyzing the 1927 Great Speech by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Morin and Lee (2010) have identified the following types of othering: homogenization (rendering groups unified), separation (drawing distinctions between "us" and "them"), conflict (using the discourse of war and war-related metaphors), and typification (creating a typical representation of the Turkish nation, one in which Turks are singled out as a community through references to their historical enemies). According to Coupland (2010), there are four recurrent (and somewhat overlapping) types of discursive strategies employed in representations to produce the othering effect: homogenization (reducing individual characteristics in order to  create a unified depiction of a group), pejoration (projecting evaluative qualities onto groups), suppression and silencing (limiting or erasing group representations), and subverting tolerance (rejecting liberalism as the guiding principle in discussions about multiculturalism). Baumgarten's (2017) account of extremist talk indicated that othering is discursively achieved mainly through "negative judgement" and "negative appreciation," strategies akin to pejoration and subverting tolerance respectively, to use Coupland's terms.

how othering is implicated in linguistic expressions of hateful speech how expressions of and metaphors for centrifugal movement make part and parcel of instances of verbal violence and hateful speech. Deproximizing discourse facilitates the production of othering, prejudicial, discriminatory representations of two groups incites aggression between  their members.

## 3.3.7.2-De-approximization  strategy

It represents "a discursive strategy of presenting physically and temporarily distant events and states of affairs (including 'distant' adversarial ideologies) as increasingly and negatively consequential to the speakers and her addressee" (Cap 2017a, 21)., this can easily lead to discriminatory and even dehumanizing representations of groups or individuals. As language users engage in the work of representation, they can choose to describe entities (groups, individuals, institutions, ideologies, etc.) as narrowing their distance toward the deictic center proximization in discourse space can be represented by one large circle (denoting the discourse  space), which includes one small circle in the middle (HERE) and one small circle on the perimeter (THERE). Of the two, the former represents the deictic center (extended in discourse to the ideas of SELF and GOOD) while the latter stands for the deictic periphery (conveying in discourse the ideas of THERE and BAD) (cf. Cap 2018a). Thus, the work of proximization involves a reduction of distance between the inner and the outer circles, among other, metaphors of spatiotemporal proximization that involve some centripetal movement. For instance, a common trope in such instances is using water metaphors, and particularly that of a flood. As Cap (2017b, xi) writes, proximization theory "has been developed to

account for the ways in which the discursive construction of closeness and remoteness can be manipulated in the public sphere and bund up with fear, security and conflict." de-proximization, that is, of discursively increasing distance between the speaker and the hearer, model of proximization (what I call de-proximization) represents a useful theoretical approach to the study of verbal violence and hateful speech. the de-proximization approach is well-suited for the study of hostility between two groups located in direct proximity to each other and competing for similar resources (power, prestige, social capital), both in the forum and in everyday life. hate speech "covers all forms of expressions that spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia(fear of strangers), anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance" (Council of Europe 2019).

linguistic expressions of increasing distance between the speaker and the hearer are the class of words used, their morphological structure, and their significant for discursive attempts at increasing the distance between the speaker and the hearer. verbal violence conveyed by each speech and divided them into instances of (a) INDIRECT, (b) DIRECT- For instance hateful speech that included imperative forms is Indirect examples of hateful speech ,it may consist of indirect physical movement. The deproximizing effect in this category is achieved through an adverb, a question for example 'wouldn't it be better to leave'), and a modal expression.

de-proximization approach is well-suited for the study of hostility between two groups located in direct proximity to each other and competing for similar resources (power, prestige, social capital), both in the forum and in everyday life.

### 3.3.8 Manipulation Theory

 Manipulation means playing is used and applied  in several aspects of life, like political issues, religion, and advertising. Manipulation can be defined as an attempt to affect the target in such a way that manipulator's behavior/action is an instrument of gaining his/her goals, without using force but in such a way that the target does not know the goal of the manipulator's actions" Blass (2006: 170). It is intended by manipulator (ibid). According to van Dijk  (2006), manipulation is one of the fundamental concept of CDA that contributes to analysis. He states that "manipulation refers to  'Our' good things, and refers 'Their' bad things", (ibid.: 359).

Manipulative strategies: A set of manipulative strategies used within speech and written discourses to investigate the manifestations of manipulation and its mechanisms in the Speeches and Writings Blass (2006). Blass states two main types of strategies.

1- omission and commission manipulation. omission is the process of concealing/hiding the fact this process can be passive, when the speaker intensely omits information in order to prevent the addressee from getting certain information.

manipulation can be applied by commission which indicate that there is active deceiver Blass (2006: 173)   . The commission process is either implicitly or explicitly. Lying characterizes explicit commission can be achieved by different ways or tools like lies, exaggeration, minimization, or half-truth while  the implicit commission appears through implied information.

Secondly, propaganda strategies such as repetition or emotional appeal Blass (2006: 174). repetition process means exposure to the same information again and again invites the addressee, to think about this information and have it therefore easily accessible. In fact, this strategy reminding me with the Iraqi's idiom that" lying and lying again until they believe you " lying her refers to saying the same speech many times until the addressees will believe and agree, so that repeated information will equip the addressee's mind to accept the speaker's believe. the emotional appeal strategy, the writer appeals to the feelings of his reader, and the addressees are ready to accept, believe and act upon the propagated information (ibid: 174-175)

### 3.3.9 Maneuvering strategies

Undoubtedly, argumentative practices appear to be closely related to the specifics of human language and communication ( Bermejo-Luque, 2011: p. 2 ). Pragmatics is distinguished as the discipline of strategies, intentions and speakers' conveyed meaning. Pragmatics is interested in the way meanings can be inferred from conversational acts. Justification, constitutive and regulative constraints used to decide good argumentation turn out to be linked to pragmatic conditions that make a given piece of behavior an attempt at showing illocutionary aspect of a claim to be correct ( Bermejo-Luque, 2011: p. 53 ).

Hence, the researcher will shed light on related pragmatic issues: speech act, hedges of the cooperative maxims, conversational implicatures, and politeness for their indispensable contribution in explaining and

understanding the process of strategic maneuvering in the analysis of the data in this study.

According to Wodak (2007: p. 203) various pragmatic devices such as presuppositions, implicatures, speech acts, etc. can be analyzed in their multiple functions in political discourse where they frequently serve interviewers and interviewees certain goals.

Put differently, the role of pragmatics can emerge in revealing the real intentions of the speaker that are sometimes obscure, and thus, may lead to a sense of misunderstanding on the part of the listener. As a result, as the case in politics, the political outcomes can be unaccepted. However, it should be stressed that some specific pragmatic aspects occupy mostly the core of political discourse as in the case with the use of speech acts, implicatures, etc.

Malmkjar (1991: p. 476) defines pragmatics as "the study of rules and principles which govern language in use".The concept of strategic maneuvering has been defined by van Eemeren and Houtlosser as:The balancing of people's resolution-minded objective with the rhetorical objective of having their own position accepted regularly gives rise to strategic manoeuvring as they seek to fulfill their dialectal objectives without sacrificing their rhetorical potentialities ( Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000: p. 1 ).In trying to balance both interests, in a genre (political interview) which is completely argumentative ( Lauerbach, 2007: p. 1394 ), the participants to a discussion engage in strategic maneuvering ( van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2000, 2002, 2003 ; van Eemeren, 2010 ).Strategic maneuvering can be appropriately explicated with reference to Leech's (1983) interpersonal rhetoric model which brings pragmatics and rhetorics together.

According to Leech (1983: p. 16) conversational cooperation maxims and politeness are required beside rhetorical pragmatic strategies such as irony, overstatement, understatement, etc. to preserve a successful conversation. He adds Leech (1983: p. 56) that the interpersonal function influences the attitudes of the hearer. Plus, he moves to say Leech (1983: p. 149) that rhetorical devices as irony, overstatement, understatement, etc. can be integrated into the Gricean conversational principles and implicatures, thereby helping in ways to complement the maxims of the CP and the PP. Put differently, Leech's interpersonal rhetoric includes interpersonal role of cooperative principle, the interpersonal role of politeness principle, that of the irony principle, and etc. Leech (1983: p. 15).

This means that exploiting the Gricean maxims generates conversational implicatures which may be utilized by the interviewee to maintain the exchange, resorting to politeness strategies to sustain interaction and rhetorical tropes to strengthen the strategic maneuvering.This is because the pragmatic components of this speech genre, viz. political interviews and the pragmatic strategies employed for realizing them have not been fully investigated by other researches. Consequently, the present study makes its appeal to tackle strategic maneuvering from this angle. This study concerns itself with a purely pragmatic approach to strategic maneuvering. Precisely, this study attempts to shed light on the most problematic areas in political maneuvering. These fuzzy areas must be delineated and made clear because they impinge upon understanding how political speeches appeal themselves to the readers and how in turn these readers could find out the impetus behind these maneuvering.

The Amsterdam School has made attempts to extend the pragma-dialectical theory by reconciling the dialectical perspective with rhetorical insights. For this purpose, they developed the concept of strategic maneuvering, which helps understand the relationship between the arguers' complying with dialectical obligations and their aiming to achieve rhetorical effectiveness by means of persuasive argumentative moves (van Eemeren, 2010 ; van Eemeren et al., 2012 ).

Maneuvering comes from the verb "maneuver", which has performing maneuvers as its first meaning. The noun "maneuver" can refer to a planned movement or a movement to win or do something.The term strategic is added to maneuvering because the goal aimed for in the maneuvering has to be reached by a skilful planning, doing optimal balance between reasonableness and effectiveness.

To Drucker (1974) , strategy is purposeful action; to Moore (1959) design for action, in essence, conception preceding action.According to Eemeren et al., the tools used in maintaining the balance between effectiveness and reasonableness may be referred to as (argumentative) "techniques". This means that there is a communicative gap between a dialectical approach and a rhetorical approach to the study of argumentation (cf. Leeman, 1992 ; Toulmin, 2001 ).

Bridging the gap is by using these pragmatic techniques, and showing that rhetorical and dialectical approaches are, in fact, complementary from the perspective that both aim at persuasion (cf. Krabbe, 2002 ; Leff, 2002 ).The concept of strategic maneuvering can be used to understand how the arguers' various choices contribute to achieve

reasonableness while trying to obtain at the same time an advantageous outcome of the discussion.

 Reasonableness is truth seeking according to Aristotle. To obtain advantageous outcome of the discussion, arguers tries to be effective. By making use of this concept, the analysis of an arguers' argumentation does explain both the dialectical interest in maintaining reasonableness and the rhetorical interest in being effective ( van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000, 2002, 2003 ; van Eemeren, 2010 ).

As far as pragmatics is concerned, Jacobs (2002) states that normative pragmatics conceptualizes argumentative effectiveness in a way that integrates notions of rhetorical strategy with dialectical norms. He also adds that all arguments involve rhetorical strategies and all rhetorical strategies involve language use. And all language use is organized by inferential and strategic principles—the domain of pragmatics.As to Riker (1986) , strategic maneuvering is important in politics to win a point by means of an argument.

To Renkema (2009) , Strategic maneuvering means that in all stages of a critical discussion, from confrontation to conclusion, the participants resort to the best rhetorical result. The arguers make use of strategic maneuvering aimed at reducing the potential tension between the two endeavors: effectiveness and reasonableness.

To Kennedy's (2007: p. 27) , even those who just try to establish what is just and true need the help of rhetoric when they are faced with a public audience. To express a communicative intention, effectiveness is one of the communicative strategies ( Fetzer & Lauerbach, 2007 ).Participants share a common goal and cooperate to achieve it by means of conversation. Cooperation is characterised either by means of

a set of imperatives or by imposing constraints on what parties are expected to do in the interaction ( Walton & Krabbe, 1995 ; Matheson et al., 2000 ).From a rhetorical point of view, it can be said that arguments are effective and thus good ( Johnson, 2000: 189 ).

It is the use of signs for communicating effectively in political practical discourse ( Booth, 2004 ). They are not only interested in maintaining and getting on with others in mutually cooperative way and aiming at the truth ( Misak, 2000 ).As far as it is pertinent to pragma-dialectics, rhetoric is the potential effectiveness of argumentative discourse in convincing or persuading an audience in actual argumentative practice.

According to the latest exposition (Eemeren, 2010), the analysis of strategic maneuvering divides the rhetorical dimension into three inseparable aspects: topic potential, audience demand and presentational device. Strategic maneuvering manifests itself in argumentative discourse in the choices that are made from the topical potential available at a certain stage in the discourse, in audience-directed framing of the argumentative moves, and in the purposive use of presentational devices.

In actual argumentative practice these aspects usually work together (cf. Kauffeld, 2002 ; Tindale, 2004 ).In the actual argumentative practice of a political interview, the politician will make an attempt at reaching the dialectical aims and the rhetorical aims by coordinating in his move the three inseparable (though analytically distinguishable) aspects of strategic maneuvering: topical choice, audience adaptation and presentational means ( van Eemeren, 2010: pp. 93-127 ).Together the aspects are instrumental for the rhetorical functionality of

argumentative discourse, which means that all three aspects contribute to the acceptance of a standpoint.

## 3.3.10 Aggressive strategies

Verbal aggression, due to its common use in speech communication, became an object of attention with linguists at the end of the 20 century. The essence of aggression from the psychological standpoint, its causes and manifestations have been studied by Russian and foreign psychologists from as early as the second half of the 20 century. From the communicative standpoint, verbal aggression is deemed to be synonymous with destructive, disharmonic communication, i.e. those interpersonal communicative contacts which have a hurtful, destructive effect on one's counterpart's personality and can complicate the relations. The communicative-pragmatic approach allows us to determine the language indicators of verbal aggression in the speech behavior of a communicator, interpret it and work out new strategies and tactics for counteracting it.

Aggressive communication is described as expressing your feelings and opinions strongly and as they occur. Clients were taught the verbal characteristics of aggressive communication (eg, shouting, yelling, demanding, commanding, blaming, being critical, or being verbally abusive). In addition, the nonverbal characteristics were also emphasized (eg, pushing, hitting, slapping, throwing things, or being physically abusive). The example from early in the chapter regarding the dishes included a person yelling "why don't you ever do the dishes?"—but could also be extended to physical behavior such as breaking the dishes or hitting oneself or other people. Aggressive communication was characterized as being poor in effectiveness, loud

in volume, and aggressive in tone. Clients were taught about people's reactions when faced with a person who communicates aggressively. Specifically, people may act defensively and not listen to what you are saying, and even if they do initially listen or concede to what you want them to do, they may resent you later and explode. In addition, people may be afraid of you and may not tell you how they truly feel. They could also respond aggressively, and intense verbal and physical fighting could occur.

aggressive language manufactures hostility that can be qualified as hateful speech. the process of othering, pervasive is instrumental for the emergence and production of hateful speech verbal violence does not occur in a vacuum but cooccurs when other sects or groups are othered Schematically, this chain of discursive moves can be presented in the following manner: disagreement → othering → distancing → violence. this schema allows for a close, micro-linguistic analysis of the emergence of hateful speech different types of reasons behind instances of othering, two or more groups can become distant to each other due to their physical location (space) in the past or present temporal plane, because of their dissimilar worldviews (ideology), because of some variance in their cultural practices (cultural), or due to other considerations. Thus, de-proximization can be of spatial, ideological, cultural, or another character. Regardless of its type, such distancing always necessitates the construction of in-groups and out-groups

Aggression and gender

Much research has tested the negative reciprocity hypothesis in the context of aggressive and abusive marital relationships. Some studies provide mixed findings comparing negative reciprocity within abusive

relationships and nonabusive relationships. One study examined the communication patterns of partners in abusive marriages to investigate the presence of negative reciprocity over time (Cordova et al., 1993). Cordova et al. found that violent partners used more negative communicative responses than did nonviolent partners. The study also found that wives in violent relationships reported that they confronted their aggressive partners and communicated in a hostile manner in response to their husbands' aversive communication (Cordova et al., 1993). Wives in both violent and nonviolent relationships tended to reciprocate negative responses to their partners, with no significant difference among the wives' use of negative reciprocity (Cordova et al., 1993). Negative reciprocity also lasted longer with the violent couples, up to Lag 7 on the lag sequential analyses (Cordova et al., 1993), in comparison to nonviolent couples.

In addition, some researchers extended the previous study by finding that the escalation of negative symmetrical patterns is more common in abusive relationships. In one study, abusive partners reciprocated aggressive communication patterns (e.g., criticism, yelling), while nonabusive partners reciprocated more positive communication patterns (Sabourin, Infante, & Rudd, 1993). Moreover, abusive partners were more likely to initiate negativity by using one-up power moves, which spiral into negative reciprocity (Sabourin, 1995). Abusive partners also did not display any positive reciprocity (Sabourin, 1995), which suggests an absence of positive communication in abusive marital relationships. Sabourin (1995) also found that the more-educated couples were less violent and more skillful in argumentation,

suggesting that people with poorer communication skills used negative reciprocity more often than those who were more highly skilled.

Other researchers have assessed negative reciprocity and abusive relationships using observational studies and naturalistic studies. One study videotaped several couples' re-enactments of conflicts in the privacy of their own homes (Burman et al., 1993). Burman and colleagues found that physically aggressive couples engaged in more reciprocity of hostile communication and that their patterns were longer lasting than those of nonviolent couples (Burman et al., 1993). The authors found that nonviolent couples still engaged in negative reciprocity, but that these patterns dissipated faster than with violent couples (Burman et al., 1993). The study found that nonviolent couples can exit negative reciprocity more effectively than violent couples, who rely on it until somebody gets physically attacked (Burman et al., 1993). A physical attack (e.g., hit, slap) stops the negative reciprocity cycle. Violent couples use physical attacks as a strategy to stop the escalating negative reciprocity pattern when they do not know how to stop it otherwise. This study confirms the skill deficiency model in that skillful couples are more likely to resolve their conflicts in more effective ways than through physical aggression.

Other research has tested the influence of alcohol consumption on the negative reciprocity pattern. Leonard and Roberts (1998) four-year longitudinal study also confirmed negative reciprocity in violent marital relationships. The study videotaped and coded the interactions of couples who were given alcohol, a placebo drink, or no alcohol. The

aggressive couple who received alcohol showed strong evidence of negative reciprocity for both men and women during problem-solving scenarios (Leonard & Roberts, 1998). The men who were given alcohol communicated more aggressively than the men who were not given alcohol. Overall, the aggressive couples showed increased negativity with alcohol consumption, including criticisms, disagreements, mind reading, and putdowns (Leonard & Roberts, 1998). On the other hand, couples in the placebo group and the nonalcoholic group did not engage in a negative reciprocity pattern. This study found evidence that alcohol might be a factor that predicts the escalation of negative communication patterns in marital relationships.

## 3.4 Hate Speech

Hate speech can be defined as "public speech that expresses hate or encourages violence towards a person or group based on something such as race, religion, sex, or sexual orientation". Hate speech is "usually thought to include communications of animosity or disparagement of an individual or a group on account of a group characteristic such as race, colour, national origin, sex, disability, religion, or sexual orientation". A legal definition of hate speech varies from country to country.

There has been much debate over freedom of speech, hate speech and hate speech legislation. The laws of some countries describe hate speech as speech, gestures, conduct, writing, or displays that incite violence or prejudicial actions against a group or individuals on the

basis of their membership in the group, or that disparage or intimidate a group or individuals on the basis of their membership in the group. The law may identify a group based on certain characteristics. In some countries, hate speech is not a legal term. Additionally, in some countries, including the United States, much of what falls under the category of "hate speech" is constitutionally protected. In other countries, a victim of hate speech may seek redress under civil law, criminal law, or both.

# Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA

Social practice

Discursive practice

Linguistic practice

Misjudgme

hyperbole

warning

Aggressive strategies

Manipulation strategies

hostility

omission

otherin

Metaphor

profanity

Violating CP

de

repetition

insulting

Euphemism

fallacies

impoliteness

Positive (in-group)

Negative out-group
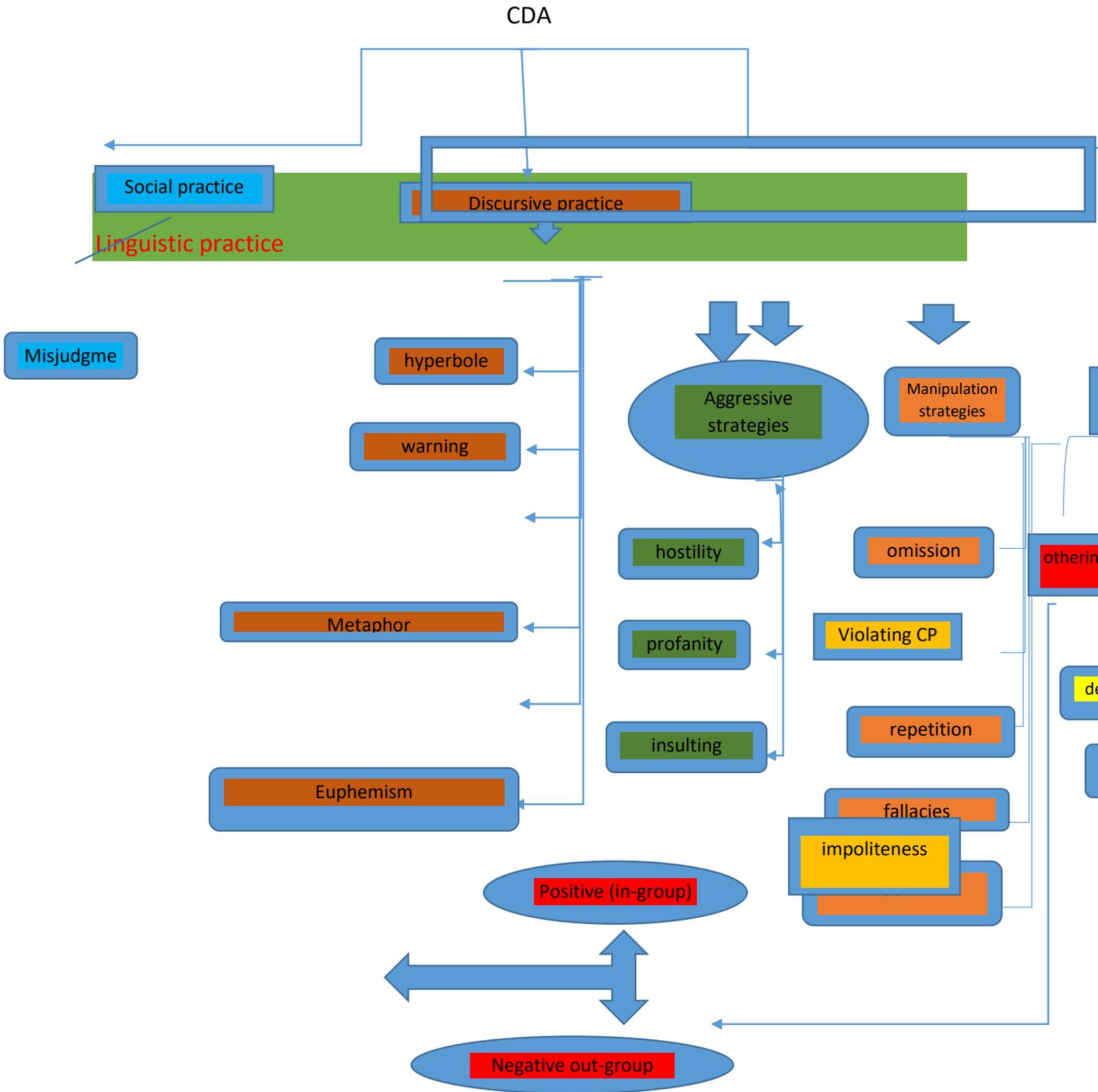
## *Chapter Four*

## *Data collection, description, context and analysis*

This chapter represents the practical side of this study, i.e. data, their description, collection and analysis. On the basis of the analysis, the findings are introduced and discussed.

### *4.1. data collection*

The data under study are collected from different websites. They are in the form of video and transcripts. They are all twenty speeches containing sectarianism for five years starting between 2016 to 2020. They are divided into three groups: political congregational speeches, religious congregational speeches and social congregational speeches. These speeches are chosen haphazardly. The websites where the speeches are found are well-known ones and can be trusted.

### *4.2. data description*

The data under study have the following features:

These data are characterized by the following features:

### *1.Genre*

The data to be analyzed in this work are congregational speeches. In these speeches there may be only one speaker and sometimes we may have more than speaker. This doesn't mean that there is no interaction between the speaker and his addresses as  there is a simple kind of interaction especially in American contexts represented by a word of praise or

complaint but mainly the audience response is of the non-verbal kind like cheer applause, facial sympathy, laughter…etc.

## 2.Length

The speeches under study vary in length. Their length ranges from four to twenty pages. This characteristic enables the speaker to exert all what he has of persuasive strategies to hit the target point.

## 3.Theme

The main themes of the data of this work are religious issues, political, and social. This doesn't exclude tackling other themes.

## 4.Form

All political speeches are scripted and video-recorded. In this study, both forms(scripts and videos) are considered. This is so because scripts often ignore the audience non-linguistic responses to the speaker which is important in showing their reaction to words of sectarianism.

Before describing congregational speeches, one must have an idea about public speeches.

## 4.2.1. Public speech

Public speaking, also called oratory or oration, has traditionally meant the act of speaking face to face to a live audience. Today it includes any form of speaking (formally and informally) to an audience, including pre-recorded speech delivered over great distance by means of technology.

Confucius, one of many scholars associated with public speaking, once taught that if a speech was considered to be a good speech, it would impact the individuals' lives whether they listened to it directly or not. His idea

was that the words and actions of someone of power can influence the world.

Public speaking is used for many different purposes, but usually as some mixture of teaching, persuasion, or entertaining. Each of these calls upon slightly different approaches and techniques.

Public speaking was developed as a sphere of knowledge in Greece and Rome, where prominent thinkers codified it as a central part of rhetoric. Today, the art of public speaking has been transformed by newly available technology such as videoconferencing, multimedia presentations, and other nontraditional forms, but the essentials remain the same.

The function of public speaking depends entirely on what effect a speaker intends when addressing a particular audience. The same speaker, with the same strategic intention, might deliver a substantially different speech to two different audiences. The point is to change something, in the hearts, minds or actions of the audience.

Despite its name, public speaking is frequently delivered to a closed, limited audience with a broadly common outlook. Audiences may be ardent fans of the speaker; they may be hostile (attending an event unwillingly); or they may be random strangers (indifferent to a speaker on a soap box in the street). All the same, effective speakers remember that even a small audience is not one single mass with a single point of view but a variety of individuals.

As a broad generalisation, public speaking seeks either to reassure a troubled audience or to awaken a complacent audience to something important. Having decided which of these approaches is needed, a speaker

will then combine information and storytelling in the way most likely to achieve it.

The main goal behind a persuasive speech is to change the beliefs of a speaker's audience. Examples of persuasive speaking can be found in any political debate where leaders are trying to persuade their audience (general public or members of the government).

Public speech must be persuasive. Persuasive speaking can be defined as a style of speaking in which there are four parts to the process: the one who is persuading, the audience, the method in which the speaker uses to speak, and the message that the speaker is trying to enforce. When trying to persuade an audience, a speaker targets the audience's feelings and beliefs, to help change the opinions of the audience.

There are different techniques a speaker can use to gain the support of an audience. Some of the major techniques would include demanding the audience to take action, using inclusive language (we & us) to make the audience and speaker seem as if they are one group, and choosing specific words that have a strong connotative meaning increasing the impact of the message. Asking rhetorical questions, generalizing information, including anecdotes, exaggerating meaning, using metaphors, and applying irony to situations are other methods in which a speaker can enhance the chances of persuading an audience.

### 4.2.2. The language of congregational speech

It is a sociolinguistic premise that speech is adapted to culturally relevant functions. In a description of the linguistic means at the disposal of religion we are concerned with the parts of language that are exploited and the products of the exploitation. Substitutes for native language have

already been mentioned: a switch from English to Hebrew or an argot or a pseudolanguage. But even without these more or less drastic departures from normal speech, special varieties of native language can be built with available resources or with an admixture from other languages. The result is a register or style. There is, for example, a testimony-giving style among traditional Pentecostals (such as the Assemblies of God) that consists of rapid delivery at a flat and higher-than-usual level of pitch. Cutting across different genres of discourse such as sermons, prayers, and testimonies is the practice of breaking speech up into rhythmic units sometimes punctuated by verbal ejaculations or grunts. (On sermons see Rosenberg 1970 and Samarin 1972 b). Many other examples of styles that are peculiar to certain kinds of religious acts are found. The general picture for religion, then, is similar to that for other domains of experience. Religion may not be unique in its inventory of linguistic resources, but it may be withrespect to their predominance. That which in other domains is infrequent may in religion be frequent. This would seem to be the case with the use of anomalous utterances of the mumbo-jumbo and abracadabra type. (Here too the form-function relationship cannot be ignored. What is linguistically 'normal' in the cognitive-denotative sense may in its magical use be meaningless. Examples are to be found in the repetitive verbalization of names, words, or sentences. The adherent of a 'high' religion may thus be the religious brother of an adherent of a 'low' religion in a specific use of language, if not in the form used.) Perhaps, however, there is a higher-level typology of which the use of anomalous speech is just one instance. It appears that in religion greater liberty is taken to satisfy the esthetic appreciation for the substance of language. The average man does not have an opportunity to speak in metered units,

but he can do this when he prays or repeats a spell. This happens in extemporaneous Pentecostal prayers (since Pentecostals are hardly given to liturgical ones), but satisfying sounds are also provided in the corpus of religious texts. Repetitious patterns are found in Igbo, Christian, and Chamula prayers (Shelton 1976, Ferguson 1976, Gossen 1976) that are part of the tradition of these religions. Yet even these texts must be seen as the products of deep-seated motivations. Even where text were originally produced with little or no intent to be esthetically pleasing, they are interpreted (in the elocutionary sense) so that they are prosodically pleasing. When people defend the King James Version of the Bible, for example, they frequently cite its "majestic rhythm." Since there is no inherent rhythm to this seventeenth-century translation, these traditionalists are really defending the style of reading with which they have become failiar. Obviously, any version, even the one in Basic English, could have its own majestic style. What is true of Christian Scriptures is also true for Judaism and Hinduism. - Linguistic adaptation to religious needs is not limited to the selection of linguistic resources for the creation of special varieties of language. It also leads to special kinds of discourse. The 'language' of religion - the means whereby religion expresses itself - therefore consists of genres like song, recitations, prayer, and magical or divinational formulae. Here the domain specificity of religious language may be seen, perhaps more clearly than anywhere else. One does not address or petition the gods in the same way that one addresses chiefs and kings (unless the chiefs and kings are theocratic figures). As linguists, we are concerned with the structures of these genres insofar as they are the product of 'grammatical' discourse rules and as sociolinguists we are concerned with their function in speech events. The

linguistic means of religion, whether extemporaneous or traditional, are expressed in either oral or written form. It makes a difference for religious behavior if the society is literate or preliterate and, in the latter case, if it is in contact with literacy. Of particular interest to sociolinguistics is the way in which the language of the sacred writings affects later forms of language. (For the influence Sanskrit and Hebrew have had see Christian 1976 and Rabin 1976).

## *4.3. the linguistic features of sectarianism*

It has been stated above that hate speech can be interpreted as words, behaviors, and writings carried out by individuals or groups in the form of provocation, incitement or insult to other individuals or groups. Hate speech usually touches many aspects ranging from race, color, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation, citizenship, to religion and others (Teja, 2017). Moving on from this kind of understanding, it can be said that all expressions of hate speech are realized through both verbal and nonverbal language that aims to discriminate, intimidate, dominate and create hostility and violence. In harmony with the above, language is a reflection of its users. In other words, language reflects a person's personality, even a mirror of the personality and of a national culture. Experts argue that language has various functions including transactional and interactional functions (see Siregar, 2011: 137). According to him, transaction function is a function of language to express the statement which includes the disclosure of ideas, thoughts, feelings, desires and attitudes and factual information. Interactional function of language is the use of language to create and maintain certain social relations that are aimed at building the success of interpersonal relationships, both in the context of the group and the context between groups in a particular

society. In everyday life people use language to do something or i nfluence others to do something which is commonly known as the speech act (compare with others, Tarigan, 1990: 145; Griffiths, 2006: 148; Brasdefer, 2014: 323;). In the context of community life that upholds the meaning of diversity, of course the use of language is always intended to keep social relations more harmonious, peaceful and tolerant. Language can also reflect violence. Not physical violence but verbal violence that tends to represent power (read, Baryadi, 2012). Furthermore, Baryadi (2012) suggests that verbal violence or language violence is violence that uses language, namely violence that uses words, sentences and other language elements. As a social action, the speech act is also the act of the speaker positioning himself in social relations with the speech partner, whether equal, higher or lower. Therefore a speech can contain different intentions when used in different contexts. Based on its suitability with social objectives, Leech (1993) distinguishes speech acts into four types, namely (1) conflictive speech acts, (2) competitive speech acts, (3) collaborative speech acts, (4) convivial speech acts. In this case, the social purpose of speaking is to create a harmonious relationship between speakers and partners. Based on the distinction of the four types of speech acts, the conflictive speech acts tend to lead to acts of hate speech (check Baryadi, 2012). So that it can be said that hate speech can be acts of language violence or vice versa that acts of language violence can be acts of hate speech. The reason is that conflictive speech acts as proposed by Leech (1993) are speeches that can cause hostility, social conflict and physical violence, for example threatening, accusing, railing, mocking, yelling, rebuking, challenging, swearing, inciting, vilifying, insulting, cursing, belittling, criticizing, and urging (read Baryadi, 2012: 32).

## 4.4 Data Context

Since the  context is important in understanding how the meaning of speech is construed, it seems necessary  to introduce some details about the context of congregational speeches. Context of speech refers to the rhetorical situation which includes: speaker, audience, message, channel and goals(Brydon and Scott, 2008: 133). It has been mentioned above, that to analyze hate speech, we can use critical discourse analysis and speech act theory, because both consider the context in analyzing linguistic data. Therefore in this section we will describe the context in understanding acts of hate speech based on a critical discourse analysis approach and speech act theory. Citing Eriyanto (2001) who states that critical discourse analysis considers the context of discourse, such as background, situation, events, and conditions. The discourse is seen as being produced, understood, and analyzed in a particular context. Following Guy and Cook, discourse analysis also examines the context of communication: who communicates with whom and why; in what kind of audience and situation; through what medium; how the different types of communication develop, and relationships for each party. The starting point of discourse analysis is, language cannot be understood as an internal mechanism of linguistics alone, not an object isolated in a closed space. Language is understood in the overall context. Guy and Cook say there are three pivotal things in the notion of discourse: text, context, and discourse. Text is all forms of language, not only the words printed on the sheet, but also all kinds of expressions of communication, speech, music, pictures, sound effects, images and so on. Context includes all situations and things that are outside the text and affect the use of language, such as participants in language, situations in which the text is produced,

functions intended, and so on. The discourse here is then interpreted as text and context together. The focus of discourse analysis is to describe text and context together in a communication process. Here, it is needed not only the process of cognition in the general sense, but also the specific description of the culture carried. The study of language, includes context, because language is always in context, and there is no action for communication without participants, inter text, situations, and so on. Discourse is not considered as a constant area, occurs anywhere and anytime, in any situation. Discourse is formed and must be interpreted in special conditions and situations. Critical discourse defines text and conversation in certain situations, discourse is in certain social situations. However, not all contexts are included in the analysis, only those that are relevant and in many ways influence the production and interpretation of the text included in the analysis. There are several important contexts because they influence the production of discourse. First, discourse participants who produce discourse. Gender, age, education, social class, ethnicity, religion, are in many respects relevant in describing discourse. For example, someone speaks in a certain domains because he is male, or because he is educated. Second, social settings, such as place, time, position of speaker and listener or physical environment are contexts that are useful for understanding a discourse. For example, the conversation at the college is different from on the road, the conversation in the office is different from the conversation in the canteen. Settings, such as those that are private or public, in a formal or informal setting, or in certain spaces provide certain discourses. Speaking in a courtroom is different from talking in the marketplace, or talking at home is different from talking in a classroom, because social situations and rules that surround it are

different, causing communication participants to adjust to the context. Therefore, discourse must be understood and interpreted from the conditions and the underlying social environment.

### 4.4.1. The Speaker

The speaker in a congregational speech is the leader of the congregation. This may be a politician, a minister or any other member of the government(Web source), or a religious man, or any other leader.

### 4.4.2. The Addressee

This refers to the addressees or respondents to whom the speech is directed. The audience in congregationa; situations are often characterized as being heterogeneous and diverse. Audience diversity plays an important role in shaping the form of the speech(ibid). Diversity refers to the demographic, cultural and individual features that vary among the audience members. Demographic diversity refers to the differences such as age, sex, gender and ethnicity. Cultural diversity refers to differences of cultures to which audience members belong. Individual diversity refers to the differences of beliefs, values, motives, attitudes, knowledge, expectations and needs(Brydon and Scott, 2008: 145). The speeches under study are mainly directed to the American and British people.

### 4.4.3. The Topic

This refers to the content of the speech. What the speech is talking about and what type it is. Congregational speeches, as previously mentioned, may deal with wide range of topics like politics, black and white, religions, graduation, etc.(Scott, 2010: 34).

### 4.4.4. Settings

They refer to the time and place of the speech(ibid).

### 4.4.5. Purposes

congregational speeches are meant to achieve many purposes, but they are mainly delivered with the purpose of changing the mind of the addressee so as to adapt to the speaker's interests.

The contextual factors of the data under analysis can be illustrated in the table below:

| Contextual factors | Description |
|---|---|
| Speaker | Politician, religious man, social leader, any other leader |
| Addressee | American and British people |
| Topic | Content and type |
| Purpose | The main intention behind the intended speech |
| Setting | Time and place of the speech |
|  |  |

## 4.5 *Data analysis*

<u>*British context*</u>

### 4.5.1 *Text NO.1*

*……..retrospect what we should have been talking about what we should have been paying attention to and I include myself very much in that which is Englishness and English identity perhaps it's inbuilt in unions with a dominant partner that the identity of the minority partners will always be problematized and that the identity of the dominant partner will never be nobody thought about the English and nobody thought about what English think of themselves nobody that is except English themselves silently quietly but in an extraordinary way over a very short period of time there's been a radical seismic shift in the nature of English identity and we have to place this at the center of how we think about Briggs's and what's happening with brexit English identity after all should not be in itself fundamentally surprising to us if you look at history at all a couple of things they're obvious one is that England itself is probably the first functioning nation-state anywhere certainly in Europe it emerges as a political community in certainly by the 14th century it has a centralized governments it has a single vernacular language and it has a defined and stable territory people know what England is this is not true of France for example for you know for a very very long time after that Germany Spain Italy you know most of the major countries of Europe simply do not have this England*

*does and it's accompanied by a very aggressive and South confident and triumphal idea of nationalism and of national identity so one of the questions is then what happens to it why should we be surprised at its reimagines and we should be surprised because I don't know if anybody remember in the 1970s there was………..*

## *Analysis*

This is a text taken from a long speech said by one of the Irish journalists. It is Fintan O'Toole - Borders and Belonging: British and Irish Identities in a Post-Brexit Era. Coorymeela and Queen's University Policy Engagement are proud to co-host a public lecture with renowned journalist Fintan O'Toole as he explores borders, Irish and British identities and belonging in the post-Brexit era.

to start with the social practice:

## *4.5.1.1 social strategies*

### <u>misjudgment</u>

the speaker is making clear misjudgment against the minorities specially the Irish and the Scottish minorities. Consider the following: *"retrospect what we should have been talking about what we should have been paying attention to and I include myself very much in that which is Englishness and English identity perhaps it's inbuilt in unions with a dominant partner that the identity of the minority partners will always be problematized and that the identity of the dominant partner will never be nobody thought about the English and nobody thought about what English think of themselves nobody that is except English themselves silently quietly but in an extraordinary way over a very short*

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*period of time there's been a radical seismic shift in the nature of*
*English identity"*

the speaker tries to say that minorities are always obstacles in front of anything useful.

Table No 1 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### 4.5.1.2 *Discursive strategies*

#### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates in his words against minorities and at the same time, he exaggerates when talking about Britain. Consider the following: "the maintenance of the integrity of the Union is a blood red line and I think the phrase was in poor taste but I think it was also in its own way aleck once it's told us something that kind of overheated language emerges only when people know they are protesting too much" and exaggeration is clear in the following lines: "we reach for those rhetorical Heights when we know that the ground beneath us is shifting and the reality is that the Lord redline of the Union is actually a very thin red line and that underlying the earthquake that we're all still living through at the moment is the problem of the Union".

#### *Warning*

This strategy is used a lot by the speaker and in different places when he is issuing sectarianism. Consider the following: "three-quarters of people

in England are saying that the England should not be governed as it is now by law as made in the UK Parliament it's an extraordinary developments particularly since nobody's telling them to think this much right it's not like there's a major campaign going on it's not like there's a major political party that's adopting this position it's not like there's a huge amount of media discussion around this it's it's it's happening organically".

Warning is the most frequent strategy used in sectarian speeches.

Table No 2 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 5 | 45.5% |
| Warning | 6 | 54.5% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |



discursive strategies
Figure NO.1
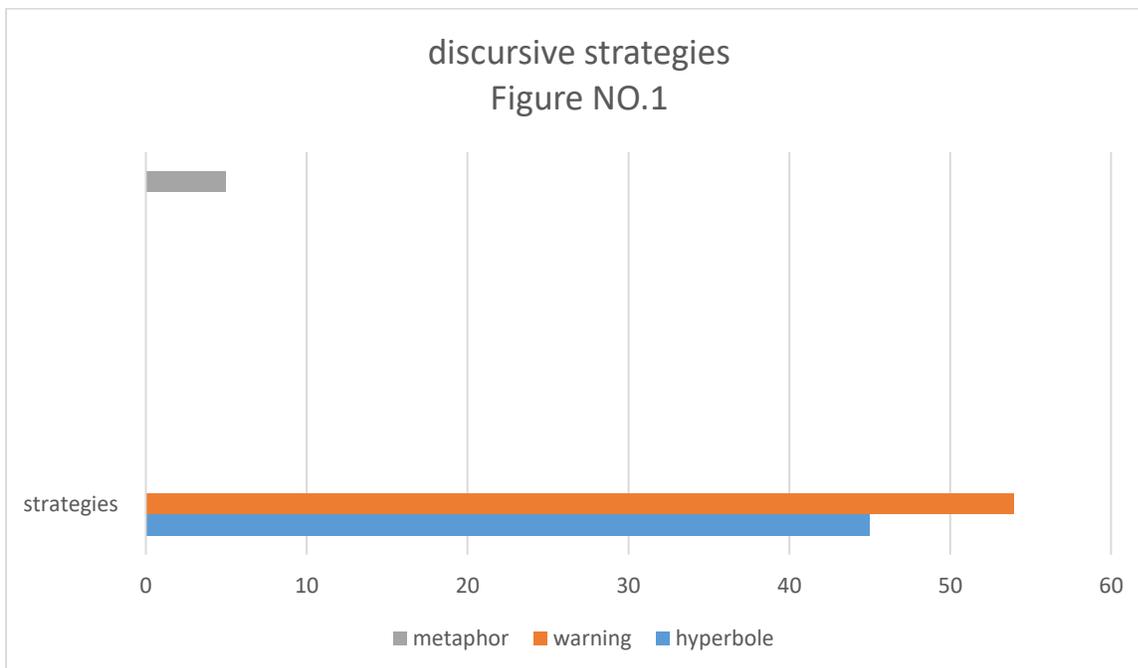
### 4.5.1.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses many of the aggressive strategies mentioned in the model developed in the previous chapter. This can be attributed to the nature of the theme of the speech and the sectarian nature of the speaker.

### *Hostility*

The speaker can be described as being hostile in different places in his speech. Regard the following: *"I'm without without a 1916 rising or without any of that it's it's just happening quietly in the way English people are thinking about themselves and it is the emergence of England in the minds of the majority of English people as a distinct political community why do we not talk about this why do we not see it why is it not articulated one of the reasons and this is where brexit comes in is that if you look at this English identity as its emerging there's a very very strong correlation between us and anti-european sentiment so Marya –ks plis --it in the future of England"*. The hostility of the speaker is clear in his lines and words.

### *Insulting*

The speaker employs this strategy to a certain extent in his words. He is insulting the majority sometimes and the minorities other times. The speaker tries to make his stance not clear and this is the feature of those who work in media.

Table No 3 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 5 | 71% |
| Insulting | 2 | 29% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |

| Total | 7 | 100% |
|-------|---|------|

Figure NO.2 Aggressive strategies
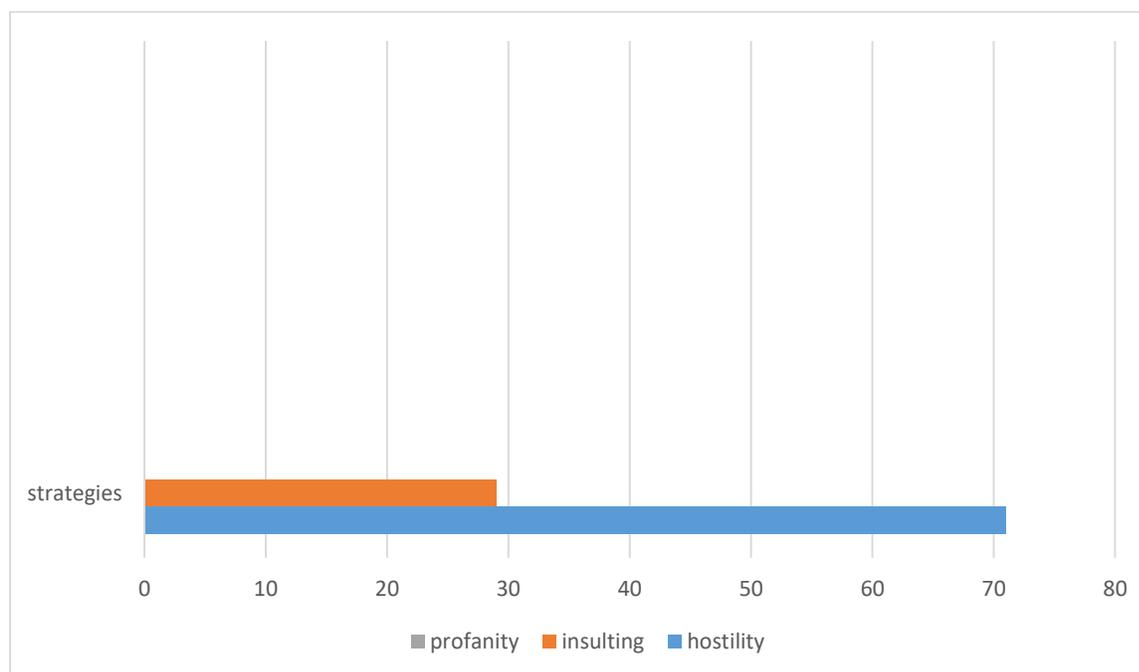


### 4.5.1.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker employs different manipulation strategies like: repetition and fallacies.

### *Repetition*

The speaker is repeating the fact that the majority is demonstrating the land and the minorities have no any rights there. This fact is implied in the sense of the lines of the speaker.

*Fallacies* The speaker employs fallacies strategies in his speech inorder to mislead the fact by making his audience fell pity sometime and frightened another time.

## *Appeal*

The speaker makes use of the different types of appeal like appeal to pity, appeal to fear, appeal to self-interest and appeal to logic. So we find him sometimes horrifying the listeners by bringing pictures of blood and killers and other times, he tries to gain their sentiments by arising pictures of children and old people who suffer. In certain places, he appeals to logic by giving them numbers and statistics.

Now time to move to stance-taking strategies.

Table No 4 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 4 | 23% |
| Fallacies | 2 | 11.5% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 3 | 18% |
| Appeal of self interest | 3 | 18% |
| Appeal of pity | 3 | 18% |
| Appeal of logic | 2 | 11.5% |
| Omission | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 17 | 100% |

Figure No.3 manipulative strategies
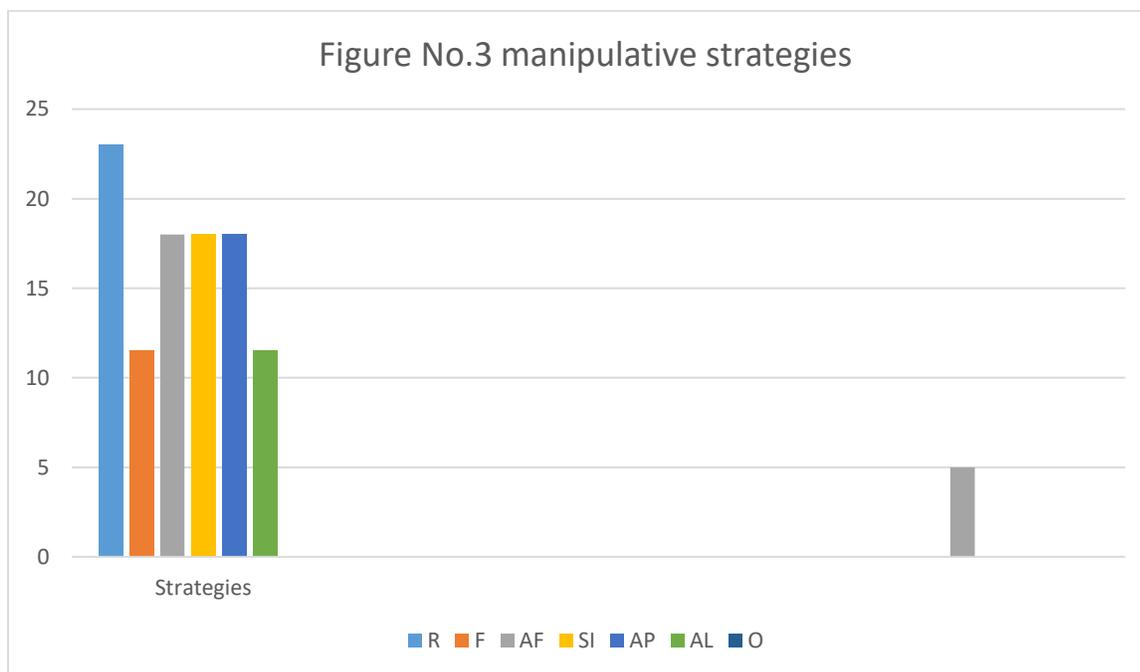
**4.5.1.5 _Stance-taking strategies_**

**_Othering_**

The speaker is trying to criticize the majority and give his sentiments to the minority. So we find him giving the bad merits to the majority and the good ones to the minority.

**_De-approximation_**

The speaker is de-approximating the majority in all the lines of his speech. Consider this example:

"things about it is it's geographically based it's not just England it's non-metropolitan England so it's the England oddly enough where there are fewest immigrants where there is least multiculturalism and perhaps where there's contact with the idea of a new new kind of way of which is much more open and cosmopolitan it's often regarded as that Bray's often explained in class terms and they're undoubtedly of course there are huge issues around working class

resentments deindustrialization all of those kinds of things but it doesn't explain it it doesn't explain why the heartland of brexit is what Anthony Brown calls England with that London".

Table No 5 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 40% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 30% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 3 | 30% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |



Figure No.4 stans-taking
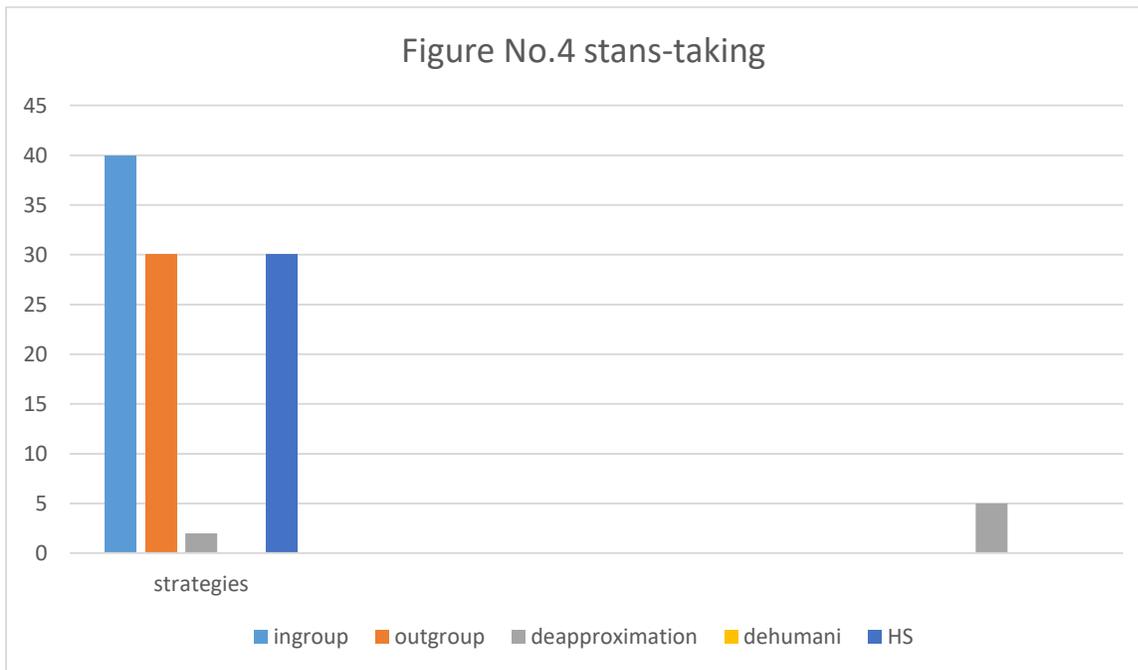
### 4.5.1.6  *Maneuvering strategies*

Again the speaker is careful in using the maneuvering strategies. He violates CP a lot and at the same time he becomes impolite a lot. The speaker violates quality and quantity maxims in different lines by accusing the majorities without evidence.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker employs negative and positive impoliteness a lot in his speech. Consider the following example:

*"absence of any real responses by political parties by journalists by the media in general by civil society that nobody rushing to say look there's a problem here which needs to be addressed and needs to be addressed in a civilized civic way why because for all sorts of historic reasons English identity is associated with the armory it's associated with football hooliganism is associated with xenophobia and racism in the far-right but none of this is necessarily so there is nothing innately shameful or reactionary or destructive about the idea of an English national political community any more than there is in relation to Scotland or Ireland or Northern Ireland or anywhere else the content that matters not the sense that there is a political community but if you don't give that content some kind of positive force if you don't address it".*

Table No 6 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 21% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Quantity violation | 4 | 29% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 3 | 21% |
| Negative impolite | 4 | 29% |
| Total | 14 | 100% |

**Figure No.6 Maneuvering strategies**



Linguistic strategies
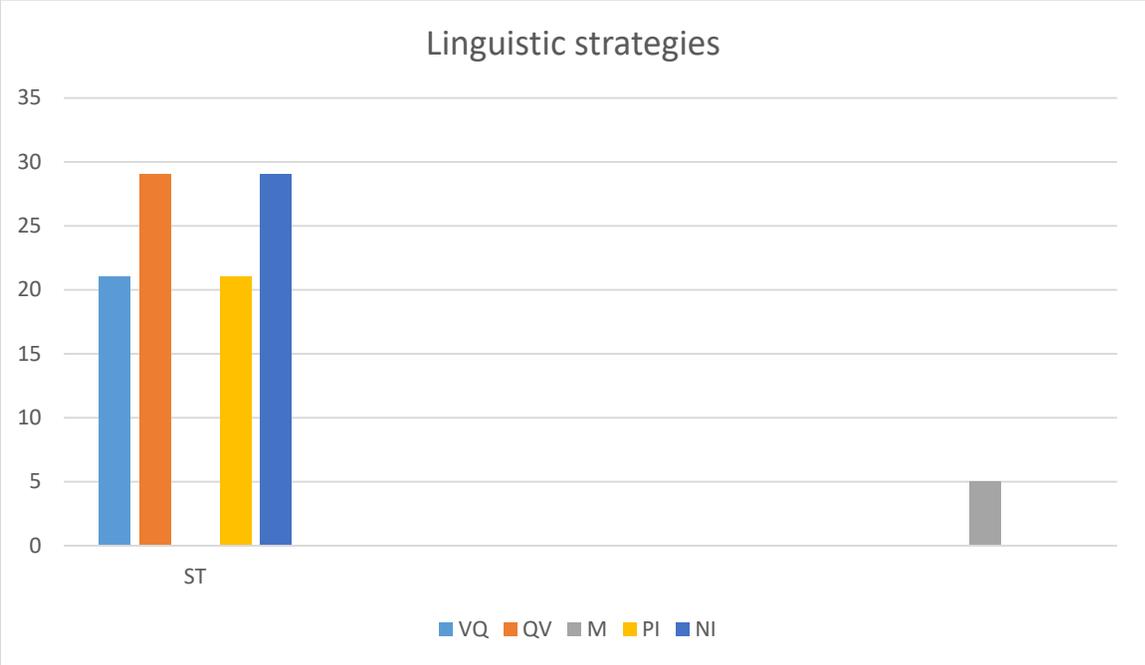
### 4.5.2 *Text NO. 2*

*UK: UKIP leadership hopeful leads anti-Islam rally in London*

*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence as to the cause of these murders they were coming up with any excuse they possibly could in order to avoid the real reason now you know what*

*that we have written that reason is and I know what it is there is a religious war being waged against the Western world that's true as a reason the reason we know this is because they keep telling us so listen to them when they tell you they hate you because you are a kuffar they hate you because you are free and they hate you because you won't bow down to them if I become the leader of you keep on Friday this really will be the last day of silence [Applause] I don't want to live in a society where example has sway and that's already happening here and across Western countries it's terribly terrible news for women it's terrible news for people who want to be free and I will oppose it as well politically what I want us to do is talk about immigration we need to deal with the issue of Muslim immigration separate from immigration itself Islamic far-right I'm not I am NOT here I'm here to protect democracy to protect women to protect children how is that far right you know I'm standing up for for Jews I'm hunting up for X Muslims none of this is far-right it's quite the opposite in fact and this is just a smear and it's a smear used by cowards who don't have the courage to face the issues and are trying to silence us as I said my speech.*

## analysis

### 4.5.2.1 social Practice

the speaker is misjudging the Muslims. He is accusing them of the murders happening in the world, he is accusing them of everything bad without presenting any evidence for his arguments. The speaker is issuing sectarianism in an extreme way against Muslims. Consider the following examples:

"*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence as to the cause of these murders they were coming up with any excuse they possibly could*"

and another example:

"*there is a religious war being waged against the Western world that's true as a reason the reason we know this is because they keep telling us so listen      to them when they tell you they hate you because you are a kuffar they hate you because you are free and they hate you because you won't bow down to them*"
Table No .7 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 8 | 100% |

### 4.5.2.2  *Discursive strategies:*

#### *Hyperbole*

The speaker is using hyperbole a lot when he speaks about Muslims. He attributed all bloody works to them. And he uses this strategy again when he talks about the reasons why Muslims hate non-Muslims.  Consider the following :

"*I don't want to live in a society where example has sway and that's already happening here and across Western countries it's terribly terrible news for women it's terrible news for people who want to be free and I will oppose it as well politically what I want us to do is talk about*

*immigration we need to deal with the issue of Muslim immigration separate from immigration itself".* The speaker is exaggerating in using hyperbole in these lines.

## *Warning*

The speaker's words and lines include warning of Muslim and what of would happen if the Muslims control. The murders, the terror, dictatorship, etc.The speaker worned the western's people from religious war in the following line "*I know what it is there is a religious war being waged against the Western world*"

## *Metaphor*

Consider the following example:

"*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence as to the cause of these murders*" the speaker uses this description as a metaphor for Muslims' increase. So we can put it simply: *now we've had another year or more of people murdered the is a metaphor for we have had another year of Muslims increase in number and the silence is used a metaphor for the cause of murders.*

Table No 8 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 5 | 45.5% |
| Warning | 4 | 36.4% |
| Metaphor | 2 | 18.1% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |

Figure No.6 discursive strategies

### 4.5.2.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker was so aggressive in his speech against Muslims so he uses the following strategies:

### *Hostility*

Hostility is clear in every line of the speech under analysis. All the speech is against the muslims. So every word carries hostility in its folds. Regard the following example:

*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence as to the cause of these murders they were coming up with any excuse they possibly could in order to avoid the real reason now you know what that we have written that reason is and I know what it is there is a*

*religious war being waged against the Western world that's true as a reason the reason we know this is because they keep telling us so listen to them when they tell you they hate you because you are a kuffar they hate you because you are free and they hate you because you won't bow down to them….*

## *Insulting*

The speaker is insulting the Muslims through accusing them of terror works , anti-democratic ,anti-women and anti-children, he offend Muslims by making them responsible of  murder many people in western world.  There is a clear insult for them.

## Profanity

This strategy is very clear in the following lines "***I'm hunting up for X Muslims none of this is far-right it's quite the opposite in fact"**.*The speaker tries to belittle and offend Muslims by saying ***I'm hunting***  because hunting associated with animals .There is another clue of profanity represented  by the word" ***cowards"*** in the following  line "***and this is just a smear and it's a smear used by cowards who don't have the courage to face the issues and are trying to silence us as I said my speech"***

Table No 9 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 9 | 69% |
| Profanity | 2 | 15.5% |
| Insulting | 2 | 15.5% |
| Total | 13 | 100% |

FigureNo.7 Aggressive strategies
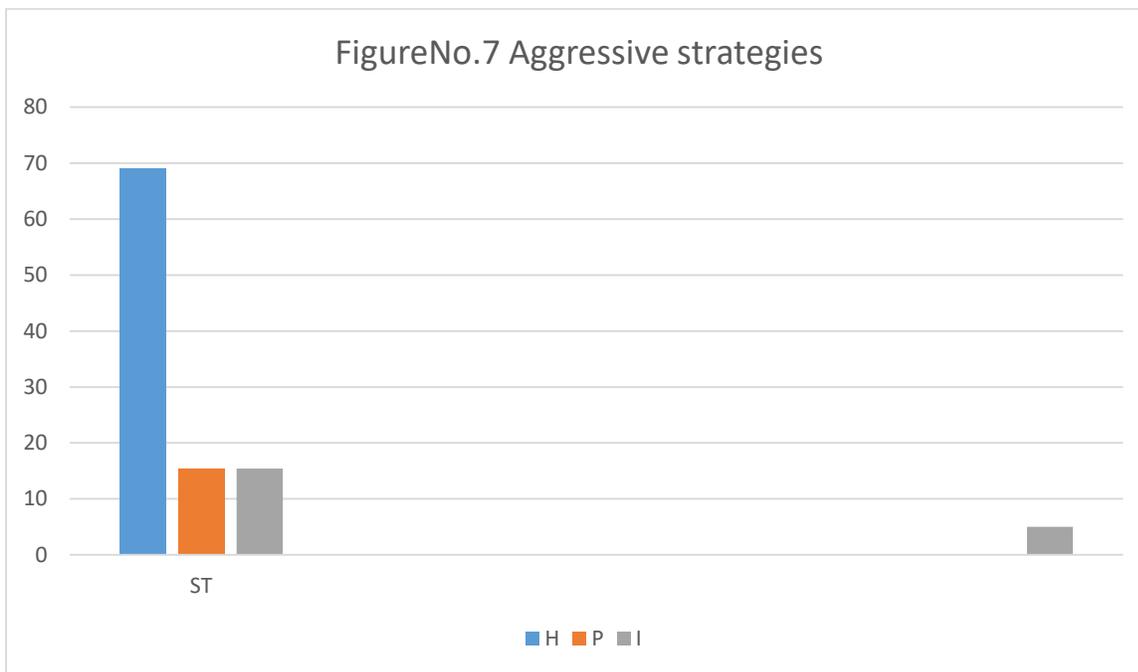
### 4.5.2.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker seems manipulative in this words. He uses two manipulative strategies when issuing sectarianism against Muslims: repetition and fallacy.

### *Repetition*

The speaker repeats the lines of murders to show that Muslims are murderers to a great extent. Consider the following example:

 "*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board".*

 It is clear that the expression "people murdered in" is repeated four times in only three lines and this is said with the purpose of showing the murderous nature of Muslims.

words like ***"terribly "*** is repeated three times while ***"immigration"*** appeared three times indicating that Muslim made problems in western countries and they are unwelcomed there***, the*** same as word ***"far right"*** that can be noticed three times. the speaker repeated expression "hate you" three times in order to encourage the aggression against Muslim

*<u>Fallacies</u>*

The speaker uses two types of fallacies in this speech: fallacy of appeal to fear and fallacy of appeal to self-interest. The speaker tries to arouse fear in the listeners through mentioning works of murder made by Muslims according to his claim consider the following example:

 "***now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board".***

 And the speaker is appealing to the listener's self-interest when he says:

"***I will oppose it as well politically what I want us to do is talk about immigration we need to deal with the issue of Muslim immigration separate from immigration itself Islamic far-right I'm not I am NOT here I'm here to protect democracy to protect women to protect children how is that far right you know I'm standing up for for Jews I'm hunting up for X Muslims none of this is far-right it's quite the opposite in fact and this is just a smear"***

Table No 10 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies:

| Linguistic practice |
| --- |

| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Repetition | 14 | 47% |
| Fallacies | 6 | 20% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 4 | 13% |
| Appeal of self interest | 6 | 20% |
| Omission | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 30 | 100% |



Figure No.9 Manipulative strategies
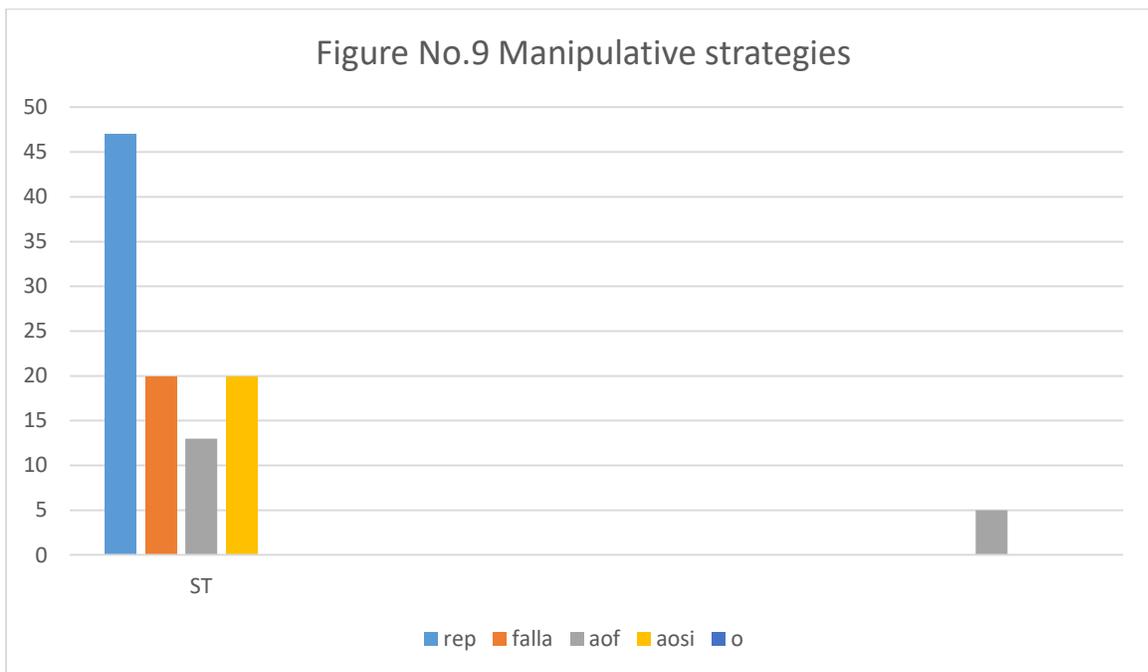
## 4.5.2.5 *Stance taking strategies:*

The speaker uses different stance taking strategies like:

## *Othering*

The speaker tries to judge himself and his listeners as being good and at the same time, he is judging the other (Muslims) as being bad.

### *De-approximation*

The speaker exerts all what he has to de-approximate Muslims and that's why he accuses them of all the bad things mentioned in the speech.

### *De-humanization*

The speaker is belittling the Muslims through accusing them of many murder works. He addressed Muslim as" anti-democratic ,anti -women ,and anti- children.

### Hate-speech

The whole speech can be regarded as hate-speech. Consider the following:

*"so listen to them when they tell you they hate you because you are a kuffar they hate you because you are free and they hate you because you won't bow down to them if I become the leader of you keep on Friday this really will be the last day of silence"*

and

*"I will oppose it as well politically what I want us to do is talk about immigration we need to deal with the issue of Muslim immigration separate from immigration itself Islamic far-right I'm not I am NOT here I'm here to protect democracy to protect women to protect children how is that far right you know I'm standing up for for Jews I'm hunting up for X Muslims none of this is far-right it's quite the opposite in fact and this is just a smear"*
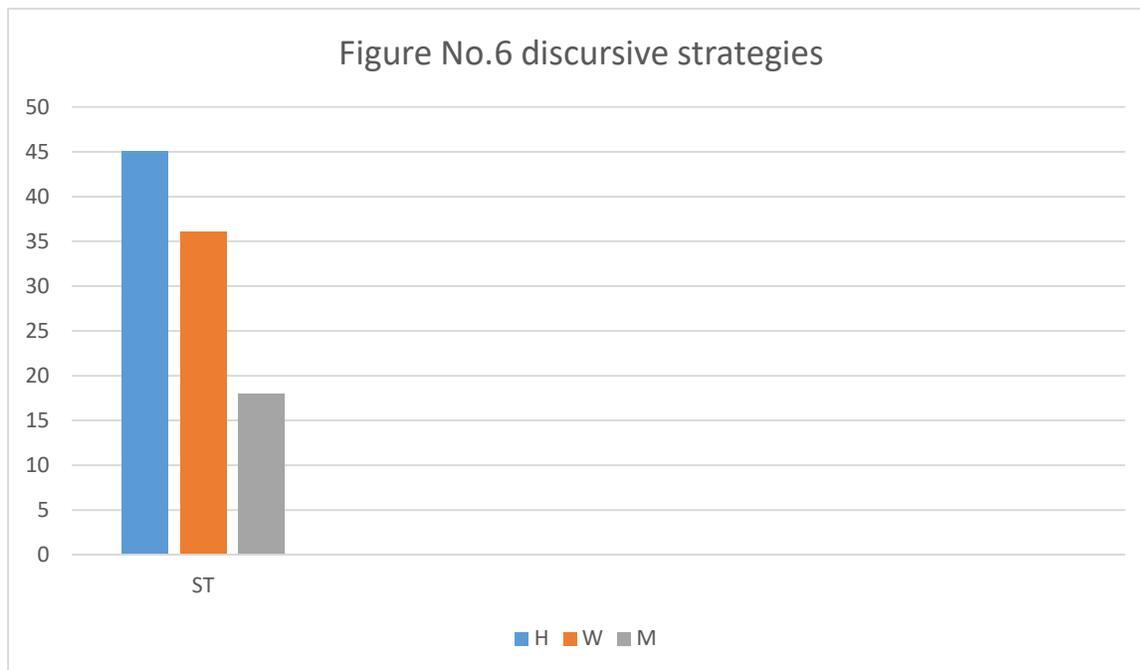
*And*

*"now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence".*

Table No 11 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 5 | 19% |
| (-ve)out-group | 6 | 22% |
| Approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 7 | 26% |
| Hate speech | 9 | 33% |
| Total | 25 | 100% |
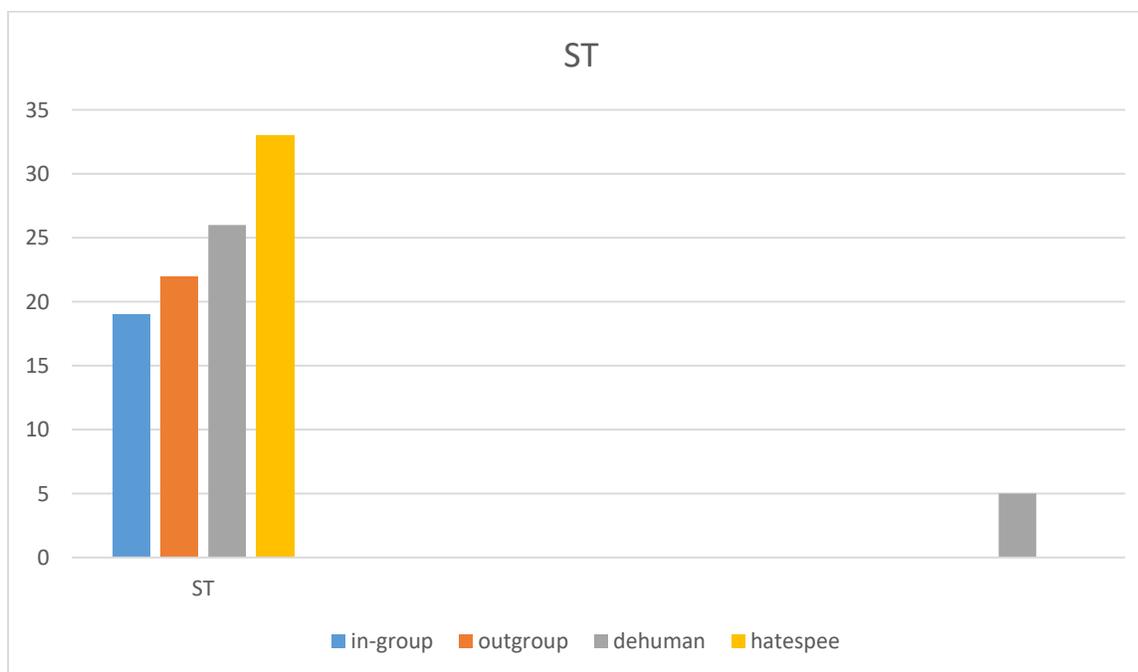


### 4.5.2.6  *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker violates both CP and Politeness.

## *Violating CP*

The speaker is accusing Muslims of all bad things mentioned in his speech without giving any clear evidence for this accusation and this is regarded as clear violation of the quantity maxim. The speaker also violates the manners maxim when he lets many things vague without any clarification.

## *Impoliteness*

The speaker is so impolite in issuing sectarianism against Muslims. He uses different strategies like positive impoliteness and negative impoliteness.

Table No 12 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 4 | 33% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 3 | 25% |
| Negative impolite | 5 | 42% |
| Total | 12 | 100% |

MS
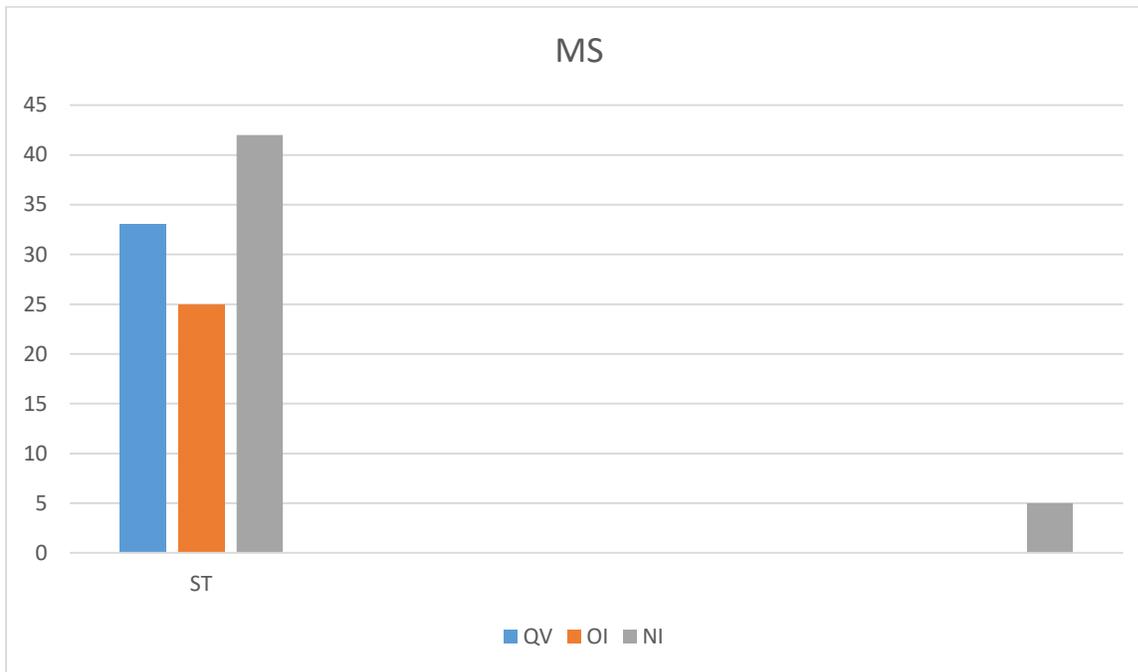
**4.5.3 TextNO.3**

**Dr. Robert E. Johnson: Black Lives Matter Rally Speech**

good evening everyone come on good evening everyone I want to welcome all of you here on this day at this moment for this event during this time in the history of the world you know I'm reminded of that poet langston hughes who said what happens to a dream defer does it dry up like a raisin in the sun or fester like a sore and then run does it sink like rotten meat or crust and sugar and sugar over like a syrupy sweet maybe it just sags like a heavy load or maybe it explodes. we are here today at this point in time in our history because dreams have been deferred dreams have been deferred generation over generation over generations over generations and that frustration has brought us to this point in this time in the history of our country and the

world where people in this generation has said enough <u>I'm so excited and happy to be here with you today because we know that at Western New England we're going to go</u> out and educate each and every one of you as a generation to transform the world to make a difference my first point is this is your time each generation must meet the needs of the present age you must rise up and do what is right what is humane what is civil what is just this is your time generation after generation has become frustrated and their dreams have been deferred what we do in this era during this time span in the history of the world will determine what this country will look like for generations to come my challenge to you as golden bears is to no longer allow dreams to be deferred <u>this is your time embodying the values and everything that is necessary to build a better and stronger</u> world on a planet with more than seven 7.7 billion people as educated citizens we represent seven percent of the world's population therefore to whom much is given much is required we must be a voice for the voiceless we must help those who are helpless we must provide hope to those who are hopeless this is your time so do not allow the dreams to be deferred and remember that if you do that everything will be all right all you have to do is just believe just believe everything that exists today started from someone's dream someone thought of it and said it's possible and people laughed at them and said it's not possible you know I'm reminded of my uncle bob who was the associate publisher of jet magazine who grew up in the Jim Crow throw south in birmingham alabama who wrote the stories and history of black America during the civil rights movement he was classmates with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and he used to say to me nephew I know it's hard but if you just keep putting one foot in front of the other is going to be okay I know it's hard and sometimes you want to give up but if you just believe in who you are and whose you are

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anything is possible he said those of us who have come before you nephew made it possible for you to do the things that you're doing today I would not be standing here if my uncle Bob and Dr. Martin Luther King and Emmett Till and countless others had not died for a cause that they believed in and not tried to pursue their dreams in all of its facets and forms this is your time as golden bears and golden bear country let us be a shining example for this community **in the world the world that the white make harsh for us. The white are harsh and they are as harsh as the life of every one of us as to** what is possible it's possible to realize the dream that one day black lives will matter that we will have a world that is humane that one person will treat the other no matter who they are and no matter where they're from no matter what they look like no matter how they live with civility trust and just plain old respect this is your time believe that the dream that has been deferred generations after generation after generation will stop right here right now with your generation so my charge to you as golden bears is to go out into the world and be a shining example and hope ...

## <u>*Analysis*</u>

## *4.5.3 .1<u>Social practice</u>*

The speaker is misjudging the white. He described them as being harsh and as being the reasons behind making the world harsh. Consider the following lines:

*"**I would not be standing here if my uncle Bob and Dr. Martin Luther King and Emmett Till and countless others had not died for a cause that they believed in and not tried to pursue their dreams in all of its facets and forms this is your time as golden bears and golden bear country let us be a shining example for this community in the world the world that the white***

*make harsh for us. The white are harsh and they are as harsh as the life of every one of us"*

Table No 13 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 3 | 100% |
| Total | 3 | 100% |

### *4.5.3 .2 Discursive practice*

The speaker tends to use the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole:*

The speaker is exaggerating in encouraging the black. He gives them different features and calls them using different names in an attempt to encourage them to move on. We can see this strategy in the following lines:

*"this generation has said enough i'm so excited and happy to be here with you today because we know that at Western New England we're going to go out and educate each and every one of you as a generation to transform the world to make a difference my first point is this is your time each generation must meet the needs of the present age you must rise up and do what is right what is humane what is civil what is just"*

And also the following lines:

*"possible it's possible to realize the dream that one day black lives will matter that we will have a world that is humane that one person will treat the other no matter who they are and no matter where they're from no matter what they look like no matter how they live with civility trust and just plain old respect this is your time believe believe that the dream that*

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*has been deferred generations after generation after generation will stop right here right now with your generation so my charge to you as golden bears is to go out into the world and be a shining example and hope*"

<u>*Warning*</u>

In his attempt of encouraging the black, the speaker tries to warn them by describing the white as being harsh and so as the world. In the following lines the speaker tries to warn his black community that everything will not be right if you give up your dream ,and people will laugh at you if you give up your dream "*if you do that everything will be all right all you have to do is just believe just believe everything that exists today started from someone's dream someone thought of it and said it's possible and people laughed at them and said it's not possible*"

<u>*Metaphor*</u>

The speaker keeps saying "golden bears" referring to the black and this is a metaphor for being able to move on and do what could not be done by the previous generations. Consider the following:

**"you as golden bears is to no longer allow dreams to be deferred"**

**And**

**"this is your time as golden bears and golden bear country"**

Another metaphor appears in the following lines *"I'm reminded of that poet Langston Hughes who said what happens to a dream defer does it dry up like a raisin in the sun or fester like a sore and then run does it sink like rotten meat or crust and sugar and sugar over like a syrupy sweet maybe it just sags like a heavy load or maybe it explodes".* The speaker tries to tell black people that the postponed and put off dream is like dry raisin when is

put in the sun, like a sore and like rotten meat or crust in order to encourage them to go on and do not defer their dream

Table No 14 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 11 | 50% |
| Warning | 4 | 18.2% |
| Metaphor | 7 | 31.8% |
| Total | 22 | 100% |
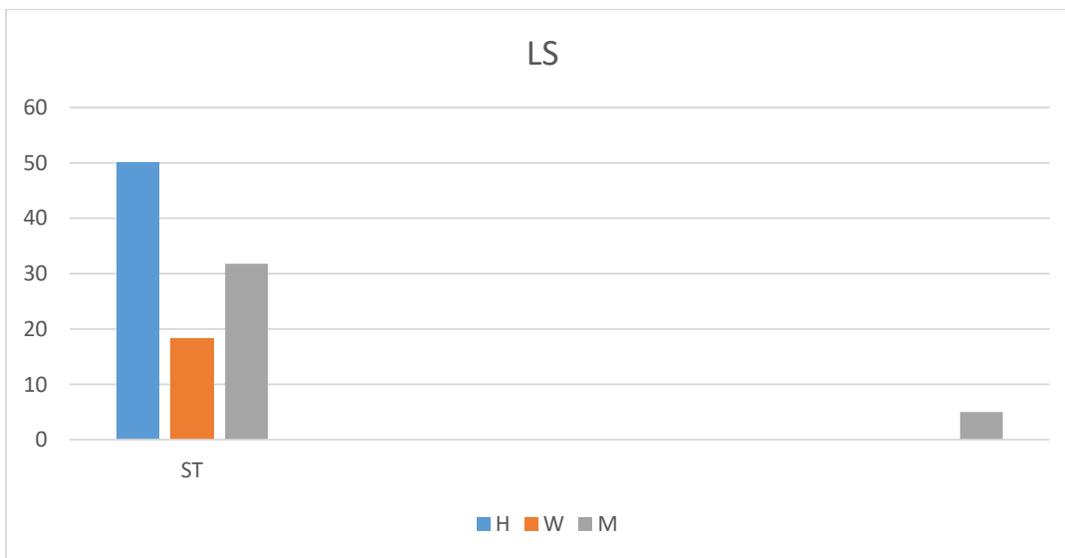


### 4.5.3.3*Aggressive strategies*

The speaker employs different aggressive strategies in his speech like hostility and insulting.

### *Hostility*

As mentioned previously the speaker describes the white as being harsh and this comes from his hostility against them. And to be fair this hostility against the white is justified by the works of the white against the black.

### *Insulting*

Insulting strategy is implied in the following lines when the speaker tries to encourage the Black to move on to their right ,human ,civil and just dream indicating that what are done before, by the white are wrong ,unhuman ,uncivil and unjust *"you must rise up and do what is right what is humane what is civil what is just*

This strategy is also implied in the speaker description of the white as being harsh and as being the cause behind making the world harsh.

Table No 15 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 2 | 25% |
| Insulting | 6 | 75% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 8 | 100% |

AS

Legend: hostility, insulting, profanity

**4.5.3 .4** <u>*Manipulation strategies*</u>

The speaker uses two manipulation strategies in this speech: repetition and appeal.

<u>**Repetition**</u>

The speaker, while issuing sectarianism, repeats certain expressions like: "do not allow the dreams to be deferred" and "their dreams have been deferred" this is done with the attempt of encouraging them to make their dreams real. The speaker also repeats the expression "golden bear" for the same purpose.

<u>**Appeal**</u>

The speaker uses different types of appeal throughout the speech. He appeals to fear when mentioning the white, and also fear of frustration if they defer their dream. He appeals to self-interest when he mentions the dreams as in the following lines :"***I'm so excited and happy to be here with you today because we know that at Western New England we're going to go …..*"** and

"*this is your time embodying the values and everything that is necessary to build a better and stronger* …" and he appeals to the ideal when he mentions people like Martin Luther. "I'm reminded of my uncle bob who was the associate publisher of jet magazine … he was classmates with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."

## *Fallacies*

The speaker relies on logic fallacies when he mentioned numbers and population of black people is enough to make their dream real , as in the following lines *"everything that is necessary to build a better and stronger world on a planet with more than seven 7.7 billion people as educated citizens we represent seven percent of the world's population therefore to whom much is given much is required "*

Table No .16 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulation strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 5 | 33% |
| Fallacies | 1 | 7% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 3 | 20% |
| Appeal of self interest | 4 | 27% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 2 | 13% |
| Omission | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 15 | 100% |

## Agressive strategies
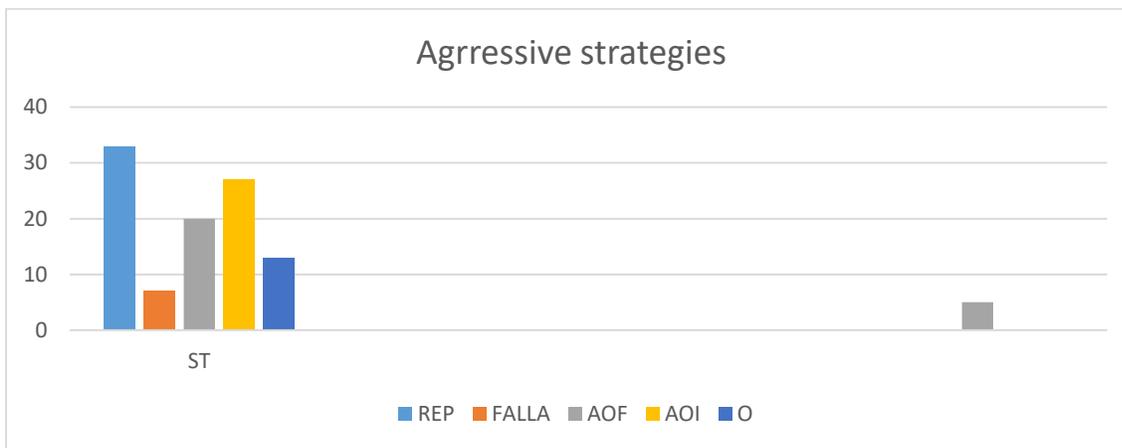


**4.5.3 .5** _Stance-taking strategies:_

The speaker makes use of certain stance-taking strategies like: de-approximation and othering.

_De-approximation:_

De-approximation includes two strategies:

_De-humanization_

The speaker exerts all his efforts to dehumanize the present white world as unhuman, uncivil and inequality which is differ from the black's dream as in the extracts **"the dream that one day black lives will matter that we will have a world that is human that one person will treat the other no matter who they are and no matter where they're from no matter what they look like no matter how they live with civility"**

_Hate speech_

warn the blacks form the white and this carries the strategy of hate speech in its folds.

## *Othering*

Again the speaker tries to make white the other by describing them by negative and bad attribution like "harsh" in order to make them out group in contrast with in group which is considered as positive and good one such as right ,civil and human.

Table No 17 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 15% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 21% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 3 | 21% |
| Hate speech | 6 | 43% |
| Total | 14 | 100% |
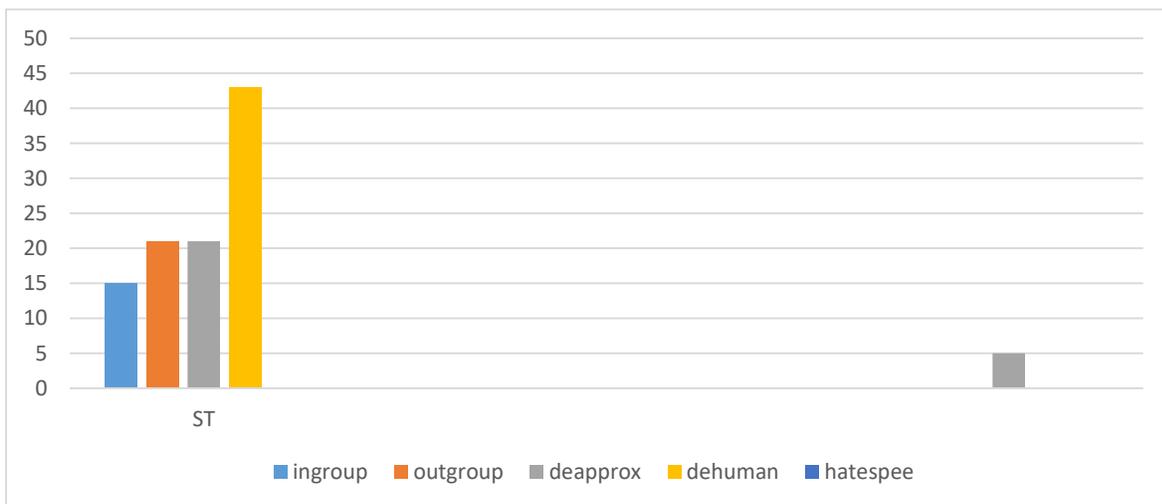
### 4.5.3 .6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker uses both maneuvering strategies mentioned in the model: Violating CP and impoliteness.

### *Violating CP*

The speaker violates the quantity maxim when he lets every claim presented in the speech with no evidence. He also violates the manner maxim when he keeps talking about things which are not obvious for all such.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker uses negative impoliteness when he describes the white as being harsh.

Table No 18 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 43% |
| Manner | 2 | 28.5% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 2 | 28.5% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

## MS

Chart showing bars for ST category. QV ≈ 43, VQ ≈ 29, NI ≈ 29, and a small PI bar ≈ 4 on the right. Legend: QV (blue), VQ (orange), PI (gray), NI (yellow). Y-axis: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50.
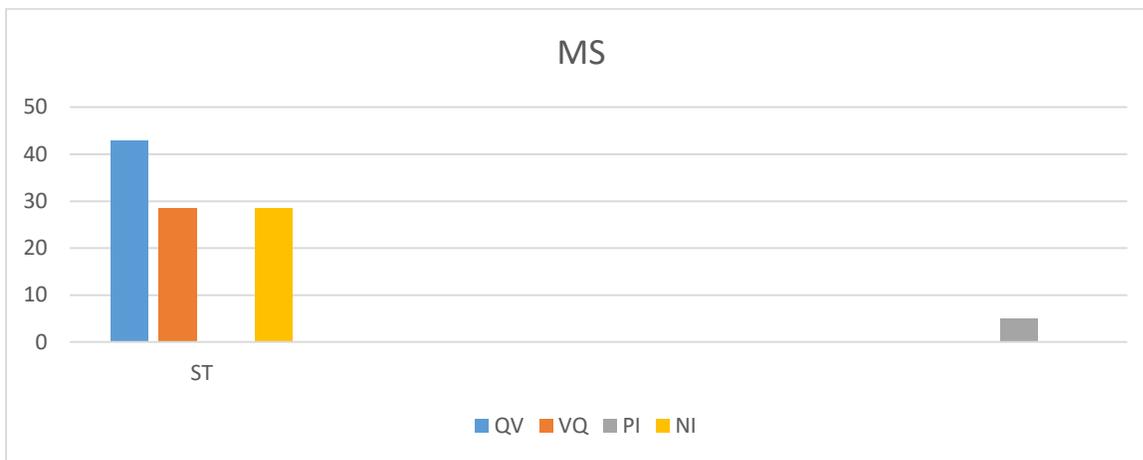
### 4.5.4. *Text NO.4*

Why Christianity is perceived as the white man's religion | Olivia Pierce | TEDxEdina

**close your eyes when I say Jesus what picture comes to your mind now open your eyes does he look something like this as a Christian and an african-american** I've been asked many times why I associate myself with the white man's religion but my response is that religion doesn't have a race there is no form that requires you to fill in the bubble for your ethnicity before you can become a Christian **so why is it that so many people see color when they think of God the answer is the devastating lack of representation in the visuals generated by the church Christianity is incorrectly perceived the white man's religion because unconscious bias leads to a disparity between perceived reality and verbal messages** now you may be thinking I'm not Christian why should the speech matter to me but the truth is lack of representation is everywhere not just within the church ironically unconscious bias does not discriminate it affects our schools our communities our workplaces and our places of worship if you are working

to create an inclusive atmosphere in any area of life then my speech applies to you so **let's get started if you were to look up Adam and Eve or Jesus on Google Images the majority of the photos would look like this these characters have been depicted as white Europeans for hundreds of years but is there anything in the foundations of the Christian faith to justify this** to investigate I went to the Bible the very first book is Genesis which is where the story of Adam and Eve takes place Genesis to 10 through 14 states that a river went out from Eden to water the garden from there it divided and became the source of 4 rivers the third river is the Tigris which runs east of Assyria and the fourth River is the Euphrates the Tigris and Euphrates rivers were in a location called mess tinea theologians believe that it is based on this evidence that the Garden of Eden was in Iraq in the Middle East if we look at Jesus's birth place we see a similar pattern the Book of **Luke writes that Joseph went with his wife Mary into the City of David the town of Bethlehem in order to be registered along with all of his people while they were there Mary gave birth to his son and his name was Jesus Bethlehem borders the Gaza Strip on the left side which is in Egypt which is in Africa biblical evidence shows that these major stories which make up the cushion faith actually take place in Northeast Africa and Western Asia not in Europe so if not from the Bible** then **right is this misconception come from that Christianity is primarily the white man's religion this incorrect perception is caused by an overwhelming lack of diversity in the Christian mission** field in order to reach those who may be hearing their message for the first time missionaries intentionally go to countries **where people know little about their religion therefore they're perceived as a sample group for Christians everywhere and if the only missionaries one sees are white it is perfectly logical to assume that all**

**missionaries are white and that it is therefore primarily the white man's religion let's look at some examples** these are three teams from local churches who went to Kenya Nicaragua and Haiti this past year let's take a closer look this is my mission team we were only in Haiti for eight days but I found myself wishing that I could stay forever I fell in love with the bright colored buildings the vendors riding donkeys on their way to the market the joy of calling to strangers in the street bone saw good afternoon the red dirt that I could taste between my teeth and feel between my toes after playing games with little kids in the dirt and the call of roosters waking me up at four o'clock in the morning so I could watch the Sun rise over the mountains Haiti is a beautiful country and we were there not just to admire the scenery but to tell people about Jesus in order to do this we used a wordless picture book to overcome the language barrier between us in the Haitians this is the very same book that we used and on every page Jesus is depicted as white I noticed this while we were training for our trip but I didn't want to bring any attention to race because out of the 22 students and leaders on my team I was the only one who wasn't white therefore I convinced myself then maybe I was just overreacting and the color of our cartoon biblical characters wasn't really that important but I soon saw the danger of this lack of visual representation we shared this white book with a black man on the side of a dirt road he listened intently to what we were saying and when we finished he said I understand your story **why is Jesus white and we said he's not worth Jesus has no race and he said then why have you drawn him is white and there was nothing we could say ultimately he rejected Christianity because he didn't see himself represented in our story and this was not the only way that we witnessed the lack of visual representation and the power that has while we were in Haiti my team**

**visited an organization set up by missionaries from Minnesota that provides education for Haitian youth the leader of the school introduced us to some of her students before informing us that most of them would have to quit school in the following year so that they could get jobs to provide for their families a common saying he or she said is that the Haitian dreams for the block these kids have gone dependent on white missionaries to survive her words broke my heart for as long as I can remember I have been surrounded by successful black lawyers missionaries entrepreneurs …**

## *Analysis*

### *4.5.4.1 Social practice*

The speaker is misjudging the white. He described them as being unjudged and as being the reasons behind making the world harsh. And the religion is the white's man religion.

Table No .19 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### *4.5.4.2 Discursive practice*

The speaker tends to use the following discursive strategies:

#### *Hyperbole:*

The speaker is exaggerating in depicting Jesus as a black man. He gives the black a hint to move and change the picture.

**And also the following lines:** close your eyes when I say Jesus what picture comes to your mind now open your eyes does he look something like this as a Christian and an african-american I've been asked many times why I associate myself with the white man's religion but my response is that religion doesn't have a race there is no form that requires you to fill in the bubble for your ethnicity before you can become a Christian **so why is it that so many people see color when they think of God the answer is the devastating lack of representation in the visuals generated by the church Christianity is incorrectly perceived the white man's religion because unconscious bias leads to a disparity between perceived reality and verbal messages** now you may be thinking I'm not Christian why should the speech matter to me but the truth is lack of representation is everywhere not just within the church ironically unconscious bias does not discriminate it affects our schools our communities our workplaces and our places of worship

## *Warning*

In his attempt of encouraging the black, the speaker tries to warn them by describing the white as being manipulative and so as the world.

## *Profanity*

The speaker describes the white as being cheaters

Table No 20 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 4 | 57% |
| Warning | 3 | 43% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

**LS**
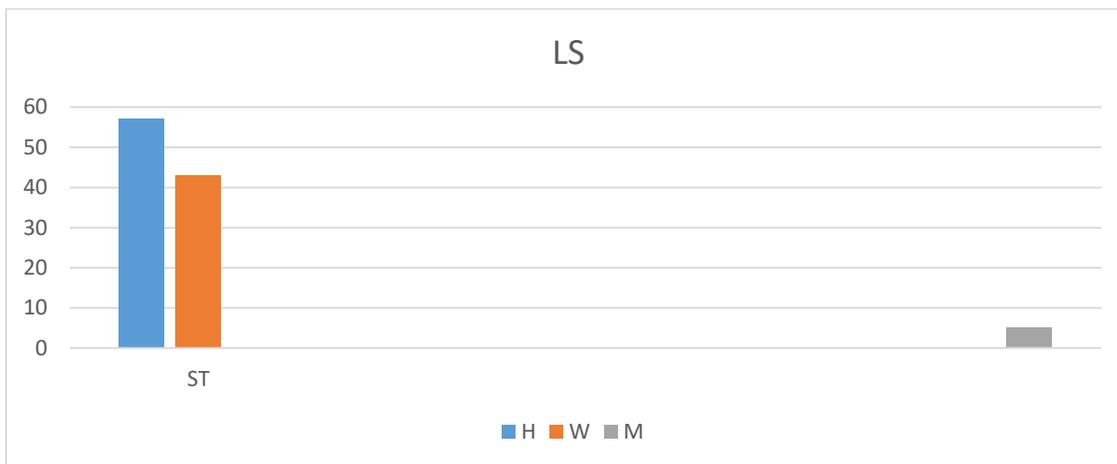
## 4.5.4.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker employs different aggressive strategies in his speech like hostility and insulting.

## *Hostility*

As mentioned previously the speaker describes the white as being manipulative and cheaters and this comes from his hostility against them. And to be fair this hostility against the white is justified by the works of the white against the black.

## *Insulting*

This strategy is also implied in the speaker description of the white as being manipulative and as being the cause behind making the world harsh.

Table No 21 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hostility | 3 | 43% |
| Insulting | 3 | 43% |
| Profanity | 1 | 14% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

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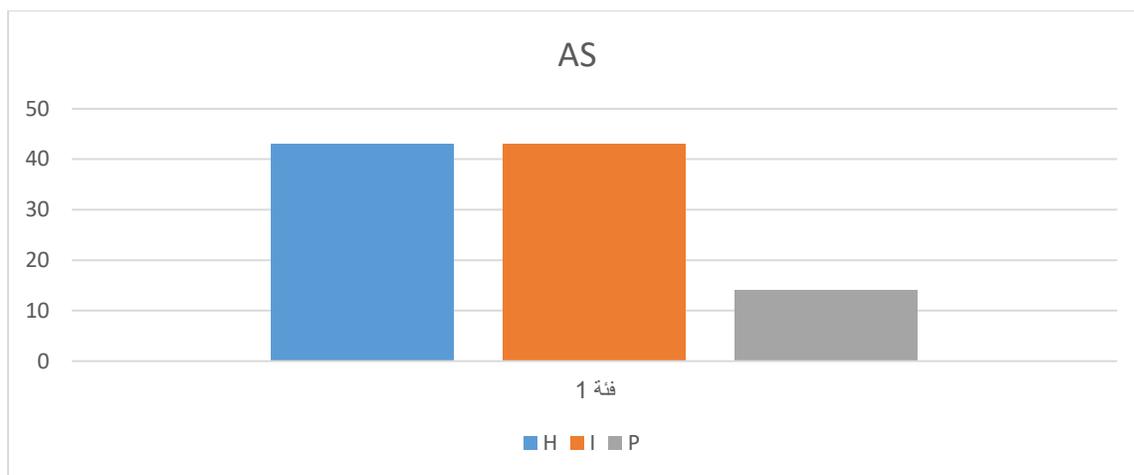


### 4.5.4.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses two manipulation strategies in this speech: repetition and appeal.

### *Repetition*

The speaker, while issuing sectarianism, repeats certain expressions like: "white man's religion" and the picture of jesus in an attempt to make the listeners focus on them.

### *Appeal*

The speaker uses one  type of appeal throughout the speech. He appeals to fear when mentioning the white.

Table No 22 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 4 | 80% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 1 | 20% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 5 | 100% |
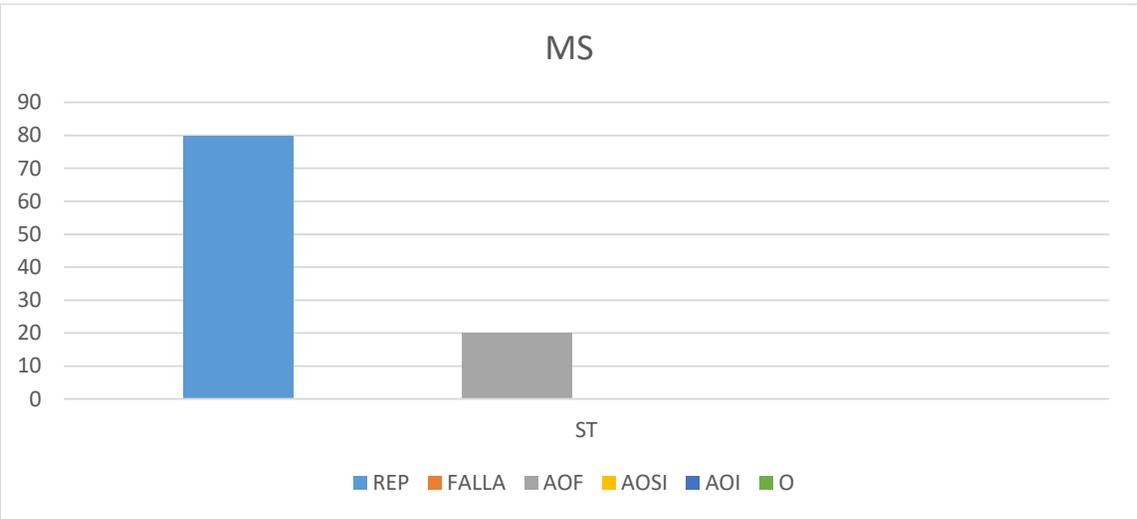


### 4.5.4.5 *Stance-taking strategies:*

The speaker makes use of certain stance-taking strategies like: de-approximation and othering.

### *De-approximation*

The speaker exerts all his efforts to warn the blacks form the white and this carries the strategy of de-approximation in its folds.

## *Othering*

Again the speaker tries to make white the other for him and this is why he describes them as being manipulative.

Table No 23 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 0 | 0% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 37.5% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 2 | 25% |
| Hate speech | 3 | 37.5% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
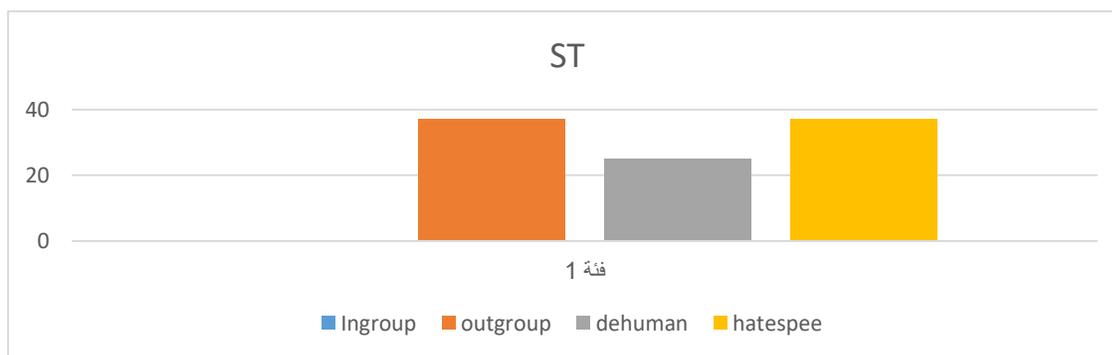


## 4.5.4.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker uses both maneuvering strategies mentioned in the model: Violating CP and impoliteness.

The speaker violates the quantity maxim when he lets every claim presented in the speech with no evidence. He also violates the manner maxim when he keeps talking about things which are not obvious for all.

 *Impoliteness*

The speaker uses negative impoliteness when he describes the white as being cheaters and manipulative persons.

Table No 24 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 4 | 45% |
| Manner | 2 | 22% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 33% |
| Total | 9 | 100% |

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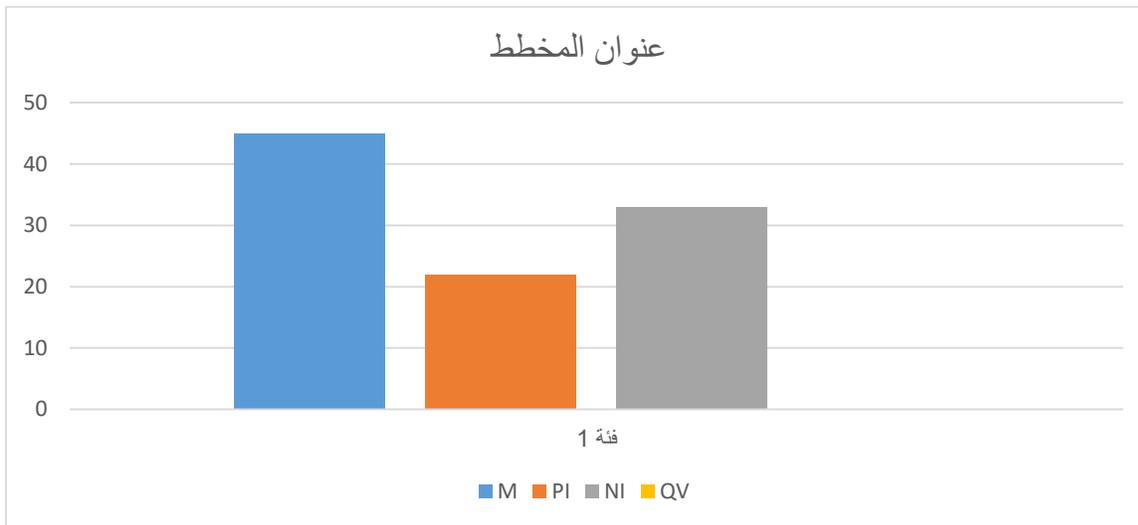
## 4.5.5 *Text NO. 5*

The Conservative Party - Professor Vernon Bogdanor

ladies and gentlemen this is the first of a series of lectures on the party system but I should also be giving a one-off lecture on the 7th of November on the anniversary of the American election on America one year on electron Donald Trump and populism but this first lecture will be on the Conservative Party in future weeks I shall talk about the Liberals and Liberal Democrats the Labour Party minor parties and nationalist parties I should do my best in these lectures to be fair to all of them and to be nonpartisan but of course there are few if any propositions in politics which command universal agreement I'm not myself a member of any political party but I have voted in every general election since reaching voting age I shall regard these lectures as successful if you the audience are unable to tell how I have voted in recent general elections now let me begin by making a few general points on the British party system if I had given this lecture fifty years ago the emphasis would have had to be on factors of stability and continuity 1945

had seen the beginning of a two-party battle between the Conservatives and labour before strating the lecture I want to give my opinion in the conservative party, *I regard the conservative extremist and unfair.* **They are the reason behind many political problems in the country.** This is my point of view, returing to the subject, it seemed that little would disturb it not only that but identification with the two major parties was strong and large numbers of people belonged to them who go a bit further back to 1951 no fewer than three and a half million around 10% of the electorate belonged to the conservative or Labour Party's and in the immediate post-war period the Liberals are very much a minor party in the general election of 1966 they gained just 12 seats actually what they got in the recent election and the nationalist parties did not win a single seat in 1966 there were only two MPs who didn't belong to one of the three major parties so 616 of 630 MPs were Labour or does bear some resemblance to the recent general election at which the two major parties won around 84 percent of the vote and the Liberal Democrats once again won 12 feet though of course the Scottish Nationalist Party won a large number of seats but what changes convulsions we have seen in the intervening years with the rise and fall of the Liberal Democrats the rise and fall of nationalist parties and the development of a completely separate party system in Northern Ireland and these are going to be the subject of future lectures in this series but for the moment it's simply worth pointing out that our assumptions of the continuity stability and slow evolution of the party system have taken a hard knock over the past 50 years now parties of course play a fundamental role in a parliamentary system it is Railly whom I would try to show has a claim to be regarded as the founder of the Conservative Party said in the 19th century but without party parliamentary government is impossible a great German sociologist Max

Weber said the same thing more potentially parties he said live in a house of power and what they both meant was that in a parliamentary system parties compete for the chance to gain executive leadership to govern the country now in Britain after the Glorious Revolution of 1689 rested power from the king and Britain became a parliamentary monarchy the question arose what should Parliament do with these new powers which it had won how should the country now be governed and to that question two answers were given the Tory answer and the Whig answer to be replaced in the 19th century by the conservative and liberal answers and in the twentieth by the conservative and Labour answers normally one of these parties formed a government following a general election the other form the opposition and sought to remove it not perhaps through a vote in the House of Commons but at the following general election there was in other words a battle between the ins and outs now the minor parties seek to change the parliamentary system the Liberal Democrats seek as its predecessor Liberal Party did to change the electoral system to one of proportional representation and that would almost certainly fragment the party system creating a permanent multi-party politics and no doub coalition and minority government as occurs in much of the continent you Kipp sought to take Britain out of the European Union and aim that it seems to have achieved but the party intends to maintain a watching brief to make sure that what it regards as the establishment parties do not backslide but carry out the people's verdict given in the referendum held last year the nationalist parties seek to change the system in a different way they do not seek to win power at Westminster indeed they go to Westminster to emphasize that they do not wish to be there they seek to win sufficient electoral support so as to cut loose from Westminster of course they want to form a government but not at Westminster they want to be in

government in Edinburgh or Cardiff in their own countries once independence has been achieved perhaps if independence were to be achieved they would break up as the Irish nationalists did after Irish independence in 1922 perhaps there would be a Scottish Nationalist Party of the left contesting elections against a Scottish Nationalist Party of the right we do not know but what is clear is the primary purpose of the nationalist parties is not to form or even sustain a government at Westminster but to use Westminster as a forum to achieve independence rather like the Irish nationalists in the 19th century their purpose in coming into Westminster is to say in a very loud voice we do not belong here only time will tell whether they will be successful or not now political parties developed long…

## *Analysis*

### *4.5.5.1 social practice*

### *misjudgment*

the speaker intends to attack the conservatives by describing them as being extremists, unfair and the reasons behind the problems of this country. This is misjudgment against them and as said by the speaker it is his own point of view.

Table No.25 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### *4.5.5.2 Discursive practice*

The speaker uses two discursive strategies: hyperbole and warning.

Hyperbole

The speaker tries to exaggerate his disappointment of the conservatives. He summarises this exaggeration in a sentence which is "they are the reason behind many political problems in the country". consider the following: "*I regard the conservative extremist and unfair.* **They are the reason behind many political problems in the country. This is my point of view**".

## *Warning*

In different places of his speech, the speaker tries to warn the addressee from the conservatives.

Table No 26 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 4 | 57% |
| Warning | 3 | 43% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

### 4.5.5.3 *Aggressive strategies*

Aggressive behavior can cause emotional harm to others. It may range from verbal abuse to physical abuse. It can also involve harming personal property. Aggressive behavior violates social boundaries. It can lead to breakdowns in relationships. It can be obvious or secretive. Occasional aggressive outbursts are common and even normal in the right circumstances.

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

### *Hostility*

Verbal abuse occurs in a variety of forms, but it can be capsulized as the use of language and other forms of verbal communication to inflict mental stress. Verbal aggression is the communication-based version of throwing a punch at the elder victim, with the intent to induce a desired emotional response. Verbal abuse can also take the form of bullying, which is emotional intimidation perpetrated by a person who is stronger than or in a position of power over the victim. Although bullying is most commonly associated with children or youth, the power differential between the elderly and their caretakers leaves them open to this common form of victimization, with accompanying mental stress. In this speech, the speaker was very hostile against the conservatives.

### *Insulting*

The speaker insults the conservatives when he describes them as being extremist and unfair.

Table No 27 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 3 | 50% |
| Insulting | 3 | 50% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |
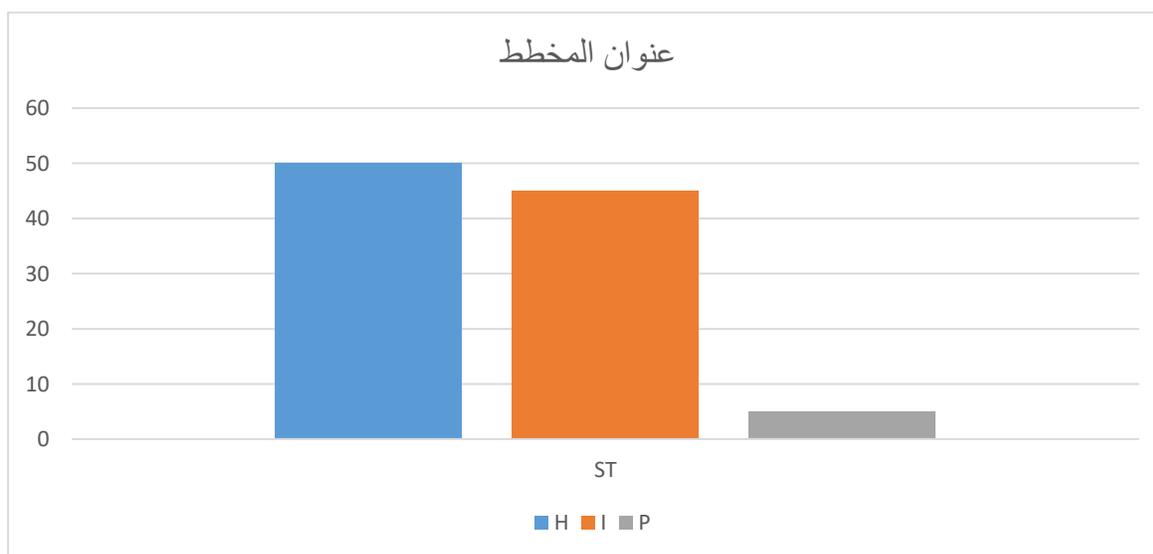


#### 4.5.5.4 Manipulation strategies

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies

#### Omission

The act of omission in this study is used to mean omitting part of the fact and in this speech, the speaker tries to omit many facts regarding the conservatives and other parties.

*Fallacies*

The speaker appeals to different types of fallacies like fallacies of fear and of pity.

*Appeals*

The speaker uses appeal to self interest in his speech. There is a wisdom saying: *"If you need to turn to an ally for help, do not bother to remind him of your past assistance and good deeds. He will find a way to ignore you. Instead, uncover something in your request, or in your alliance with him, that will benefit him, and emphasize it out of all proportion. He will respond enthusiastically when he sees something to be gained for himself."* The speaker in the above speech speech makes use of this wisdom.

Table No 28 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 3 | 30% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of self interest | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 3 | 30% |
| Omission | 2 | %20 |
| Total | 10 | 100% |

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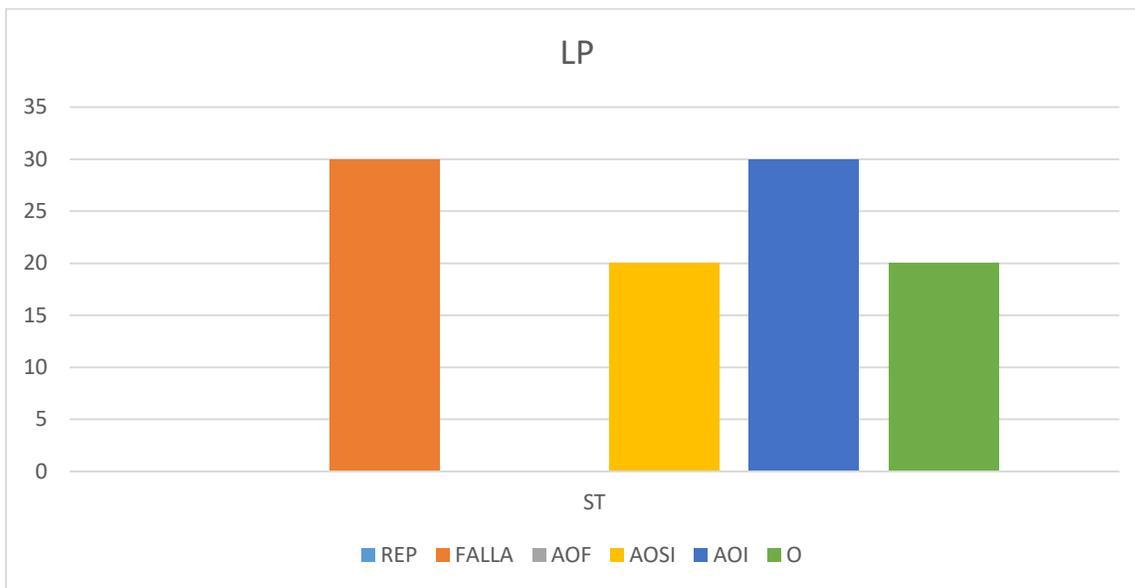
4.5.5.5 *Stance taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance-taking strategies: de-approximation and hate speech.

*De-approximation*

Dehumanization The speaker de-approximates the other in his speech. He was so intendent to dehumanize the conservative ,and make this de-approximation to the listener.

*Hate speech*

Describing others by using bad features is regarded as hate speech and this is what is done by the speaker.

Table No 29 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice |
| --- |
|  |

| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 20% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 30% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 3 | 30% |
| Hate speech | 2 | 20% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |
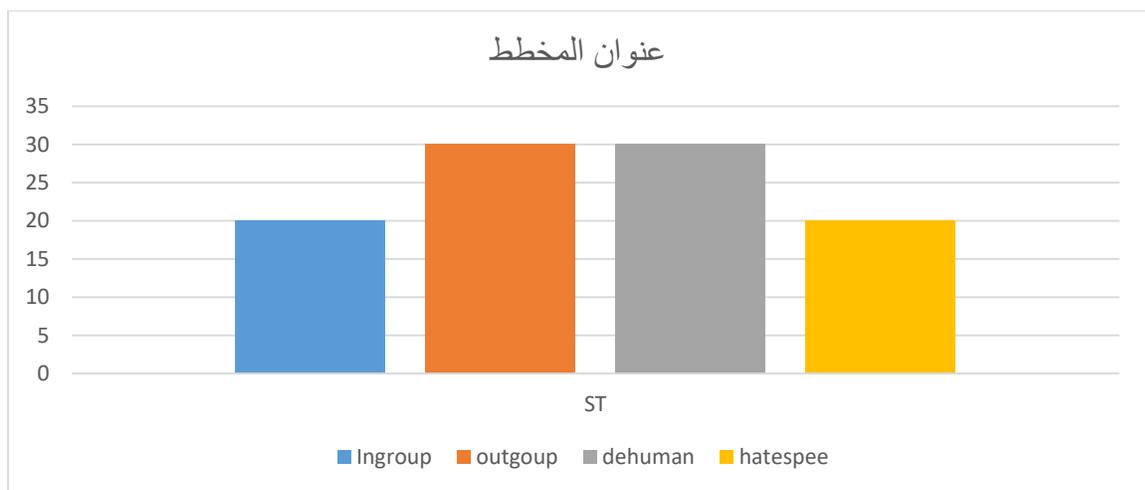


### 4.5.5.6 Maneuvering strategies

The speaker uses the following Maneuvering strategies:

**Violating CP**

Gricean Maxims are not always obeyed and their violation or floating bears more information than if they were obeyed. The flouting of a maxim can be defined as occasions when one or several maxims are absent during communication processes. For instance, telling a joke, writing a book and making a movie are different situations in which CP can be flouted, to surprise people so they burst into laughter, to better develop the plot of the story, or to create a special effect. Implicature is what the speaker intends to

communicate to the audience beyond or instead of what has been literally said. This is done by the speaker of this speech.

***Impoliteness** the speaker used negative impolite when he accused the conservative to be unfair and extremists*

Table No 30 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 37.5% |
| Manner | 2 | 25% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 37.5% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |



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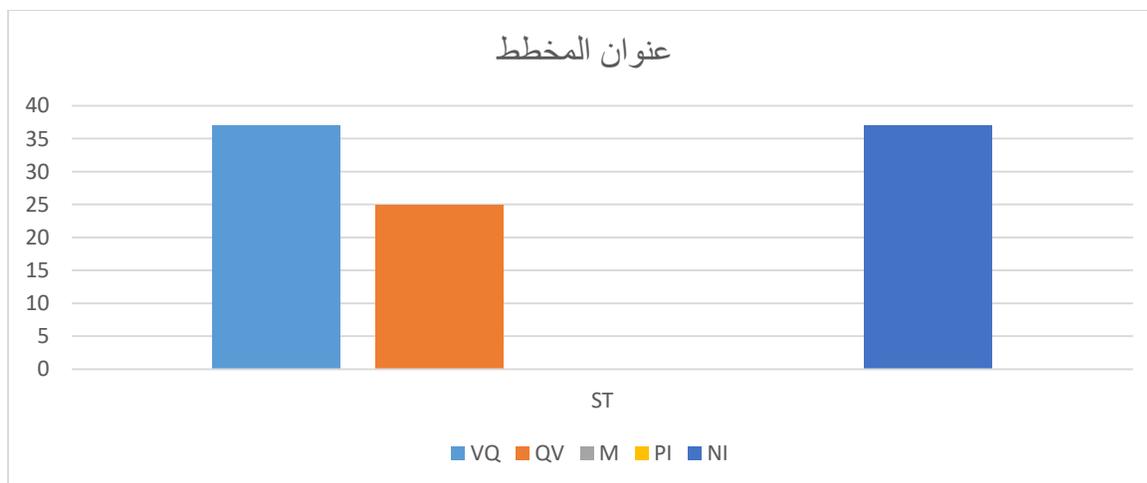
### 4.5.6 *Text NO.6*

It is here in Britain where different people, from different backgrounds, who follow different religions and different customs don't just rub alongside each

other but are relatives and friends; husbands, wives, cousins, neigh bours and colleagues.

It is here in Britain where in one or two generations people can come with nothing and rise as high as their talent allows.

It is here in Britain where success is achieved not in spite of our diversity, but because of our diversity.

So as we talk about the threat of extremism and the challenge of integration, we should not do our country down – we are, without a shadow of doubt, a beacon to the world.

And as we debate these issues, neither should we demonise people of particular backgrounds. Every one of the communities that has come to call our country home has made Britain a better place. And because the focus of my remarks today is on tackling Islamist extremism – not Islam the religion – let me say this.

I know what a profound contribution Muslims from all backgrounds and denominations are making in every sphere of our society, proud to be both British and Muslim, without conflict or contradiction.

And I know something else: I know too how much you hate the extremists who are seeking to divide our communities and how you loathe that damage they do.

As Prime Minister, I want to work with you to confront and defeat this poison. Today, I want to set out how. I want to explain what I believe we need to do as a country to defeat this extremism, and help to strengthen our multi-racial, multi-faith democracy.

### _analysis_

### 4.5.6.1 *social practice*

*misjudgment*

the speaker intends to attack the Muslims by describing them as being extremists and the reasons behind the problems of this country. This is misjudgment against them and as said by the speaker it is his own point of view.

Table No.( 31) shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 6 | 100% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |

### 4.5.6.2 *Discursive practice*

The speaker uses three discursive strategies: hyperbole and warning and profanity.

*Hyperbole*

The speaker tries to exaggerate his judgmentof the Muslims. He summarises this exaggeration in a sentence which is "they are the reason behind many political problems in the country".

*Warning*

In different places of his speech, the speaker tries to warn the addressee from the Muslims.

*Profanity*

*The speaker describes Muslims as poison as in the following line:* As **"Prime Minister, I want to work with you to confront and defeat this poison**".

Table No 32 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---------------------|----|------|
| Hyperbole | 3 | 60% |
| Warning | 2 | 40% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |



### 4.5.6.3 *Aggressive strategies*

Aggressive behavior can cause emotional harm to others. It may range from verbal abuse to physical abuse. It can also involve harming personal property. Aggressive behavior violates social boundaries. It can lead to

breakdowns in relationships. It can be obvious or secretive. Occasional aggressive outbursts are common and even normal in the right circumstances.

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

### *Hostility*

Verbal abuse occurs in a variety of forms, but it can be capsulized as the use of language and other forms of verbal communication to inflict mental stress. Verbal aggression is the communication-based version of throwing a punch at the elder victim, with the intent to induce a desired emotional response. Verbal abuse can also take the form of bullying, which is emotional intimidation perpetrated by a person who is stronger than or in a position of power over the victim. Although bullying is most commonly associated with children or youth, the power differential between the elderly and their caretakers leaves them open to this common form of victimization, with accompanying mental stress. In this speech, the speaker was very hostile against the Muslims, as is shown in these lines: ***"I know too how much you hate the extremists who are seeking to divide our communities and how you loathe that damage they do".***

### *Insulting*

The speaker insults the Muslims when he describes them as being extremist and unfair.

Table No 33 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 3 | 37.5% |
| Insulting | 4 | 50% |
| Profanity | 1 | 12.5% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
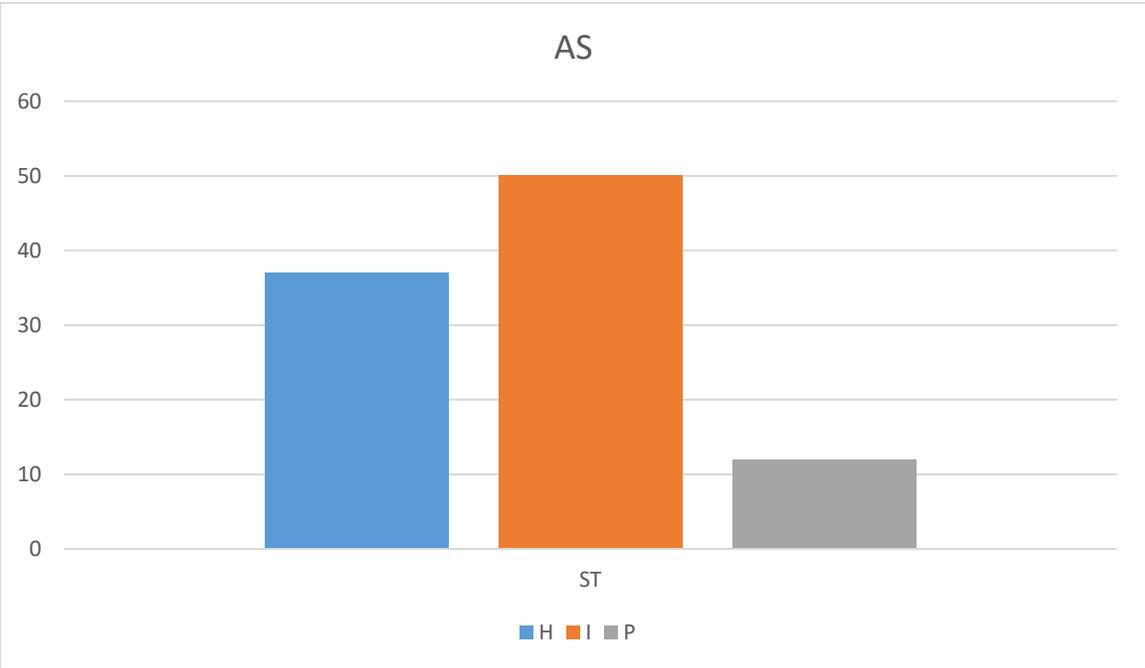


### 4.5.6.4Manipulation strategies

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies

### Omission

The act of omission in this study is used to mean omitting part of the fact and in this speech, the speaker tries to omit many facts regarding the Muslims ,in spite of  saying that he means Muslim extremism not Muslim as religion, he omit the good  merits of Muslim religion as in the following

extract: *"And because the focus of my remarks today is on tackling Islamist extremism – not Islam the religion"*

## *Fallacies*

The fallacies which are used by the speaker is obvious in the following lines when he misleads his audience that he doesn't attack all Muslim, but in fact he called all Muslim as poison and responsible for damaging the integration that he and his followers aim to reach ,and it is clear in these lines:

*"I know what a profound contribution Muslims from all backgrounds and denominations are making in every sphere of our society, proud to be both British and Muslim, without conflict or contradiction*."

## *Appeals*

The speaker uses appeal to self interest in the following extract: "*As Prime Minister, I want to work with you to confront and defeat this poison. Today, I want to set out how. I want to explain what I believe we need to do as a country to defeat this extremism, and help to strengthen our multi-racial, multi-faith democracy*". The speaker used Appeal of fear of divide the speaker's community as in the following lines "*I know too how much you hate the extremists who are seeking to divide our communities and how you loathe that damage they do.*"

There is a wisdom saying: *"If you need to turn to an ally for help, do not bother to remind him of your past assistance and good deeds. He will find a way to ignore you. Instead, uncover something in your request, or in your alliance with him, that will benefit him, and emphasize it out of all proportion. He will respond enthusiastically when he sees something to be*

*gained for himself." The speaker in the above speech speech makes use of this wisdom.*

Table No 34 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal of self interest | 4 | 40% |
| Appeal of pity | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 2 | 20% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |
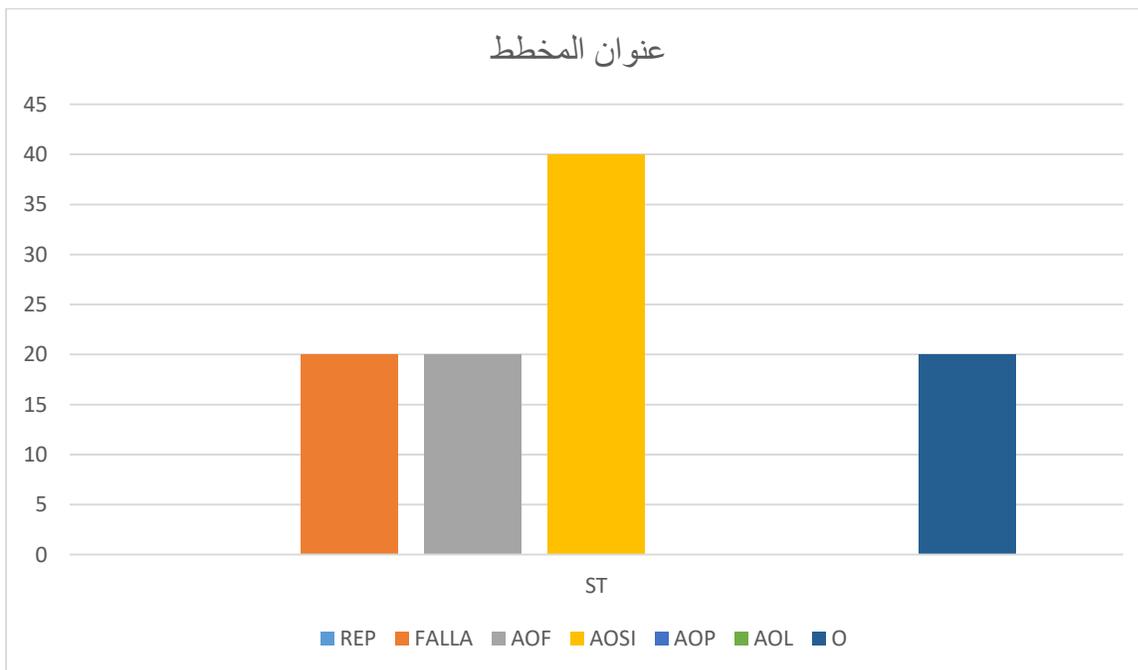
### 4.5.6.5 *Stance taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance-taking strategies: Othering and de-approximation .

**Othering**

The speaker discriminate his society from the other which is the Islamic society by using the pronoun "our"that associated with good and positive things contrasts the other bad and negative things that substitute by pronoun *"they" as appear in the following lines " I know too how much you hate the extremists who are seeking to divide our communities and how you loathe that damage they do".*

*"help to strengthen our multi-racial, multi-faith democracy."*


### De-approximation

The speaker de-approximates the other in his speech. He was so intendent to make clear this de-approximation to the listener by using hate speech and dehumanization.

### Hate speech

Describing others by using bad features is regarded as hate speech and this is what is done by the speaker.


### Dehumanization

The speaker regards what have been done by other people" Muslim "as un human and he also describes them as poison ,consider the following

example" *As Prime Minister, I want to work with you to confront and defeat this poison".*

Table No 35 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 22% |
| (-ve)out-group | 1 | 12% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 2 | 22% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 44% |
| Total | 9 | 100% |



**ST**

(Bar chart showing ST values: INGROUP ≈ 22, OUTGRU ≈ 12, DEHU ≈ 22, HS ≈ 44)
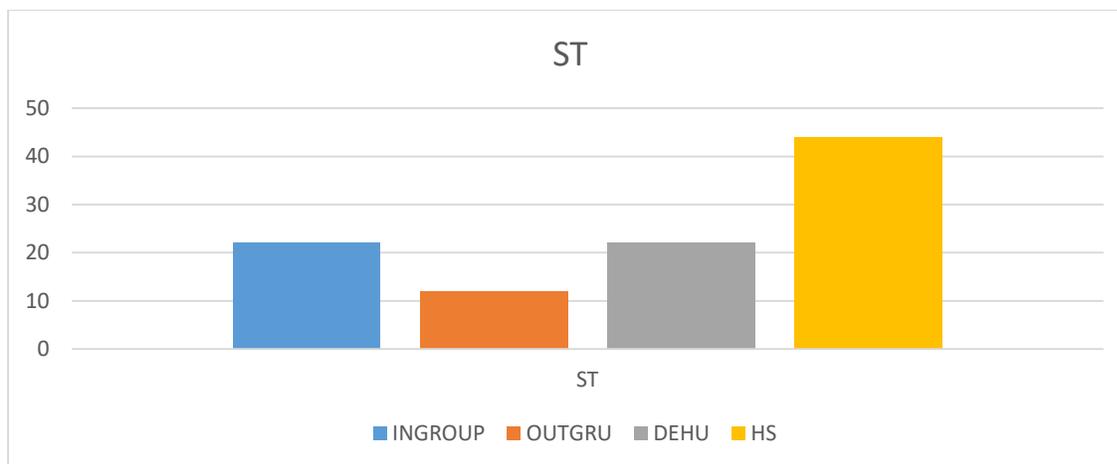
### 4.5.6.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker uses the following linguistic strategies:

### *Violating CP*

. The speaker uses implicature as violating CP strategies indicating what the speaker intends to communicate to the audience beyond or instead of what has been literally said. This is done by the speaker of this speech.

Table No 36 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Implicture | 2 | 17% |
| Quality violation | 3 | 25% |
| Quantity violation | 4 | 33% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 25% |
| Total | 12 | 100% |

It begins – it must begin – by understanding the threat we face and why we face it. What we are fighting, in Islamist extremism, is an ideology. It is an extreme doctrine.

And like any extreme doctrine, it is subversive. At its furthest end it seeks to destroy nation-states to invent its own barbaric realm. And it often backs violence to achieve this aim – mostly violence against fellow Muslims – who don't subscribe to its sick worldview.

But you don't have to support violence to subscribe to certain intolerant ideas which create a climate in which extremists can flourish.

Ideas which are hostile to basic liberal values such as democracy, freedom and sexual equality.

Ideas which actively promote discrimination, sectarianism and segregation.

Ideas – like those of the despicable far right – which privilege one identity to the detriment of the rights and freedoms of others.

And ideas also based on conspiracy: that Jews exercise malevolent power; or that Western powers, in concert with Israel, are deliberately humiliating Muslims, because they aim to destroy Islam. In this warped worldview, such conclusions are reached – that 9/11 was actually inspired by Mossad to provoke the invasion of Afghanistan; that British security services knew about 7/7, but didn't do anything about it because they wanted to provoke an anti-Muslim backlash.

And like so many ideologies that have existed before – whether fascist or communist – many people, especially young people, are being drawn to it. We need to understand why it is proving so attractive.

## Aanalysis

### 4.5.7 .1 social practice

### misjudgment

the speaker intends to attack the Muslims by describing them as being extremists and the reasons behind the problems of this country. This is misjudgment against them and as said by the speaker it is his own point of view.

Table No.( 37) shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 6 | 100% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |

### 4.5.7.2 Discursive practice

The speaker uses two discursive strategies: hyperbole and warning.

### Hyperbole

The speaker tries to exaggerate his judgmentof the Muslims. He summarises this exaggeration in a sentence which is *"they are the reason behind many political problems in the country"*. And in *" It is an extreme doctrine".*

### Warning

In different places of his speech, the speaker tries to warn the addressee from the Muslims. Consider the following lines " *But you don't have to support violence to subscribe to certain intolerant ideas which create a climate in which extremists can flourish".*

*"Ideas which are hostile to basic liberal values such as democracy, freedom and sexual equality".*

Table No 38 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 4 | 36% |
| Warning | 7 | 64% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |



### 4.5.7 .3*Aggressive strategies*

Aggressive behavior can cause emotional harm to others. It may range from verbal abuse to physical abuse. It can also involve harming personal property. Aggressive behavior violates social boundaries. It can lead to

breakdowns in relationships. It can be obvious or secretive. Occasional aggressive outbursts are common and even normal in the right circumstances.

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

### *Hostility*

Verbal abuse occurs in a variety of forms, but it can be capsulized as the use of language and other forms of verbal communication to inflict mental stress. Verbal aggression is the communication-based version of throwing a punch at the elder victim, with the intent to induce a desired emotional response. Verbal abuse can also take the form of bullying, which is emotional intimidation perpetrated by a person who is stronger than or in a position of power over the victim. Although bullying is most commonly associated with children or youth, the power differential between the elderly and their caretakers leaves them open to this common form of victimization, with accompanying mental stress. In this speech, the speaker was very hostile against the Muslims. Consider the following lines *" It is an extreme doctrine.And like any extreme doctrine, it is subversive. At its furthest end it seeks to destroy nation-states to invent its own barbaric realm. And it often backs violence to achieve this aim – mostly violence against fellow Muslims – who don't subscribe to its sick worldview".*

### *Insulting*

The speaker insults the Muslims when he describes them as being extremist and unfair.

### *Profanity*

It is clear when the speaker describes the Muslim as barbarian sinse they invent its own barbaric realms.

Table No 39 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 6 | 54.5% |
| Insulting | 4 | 36% |
| Profanity | 1 | 9.5% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
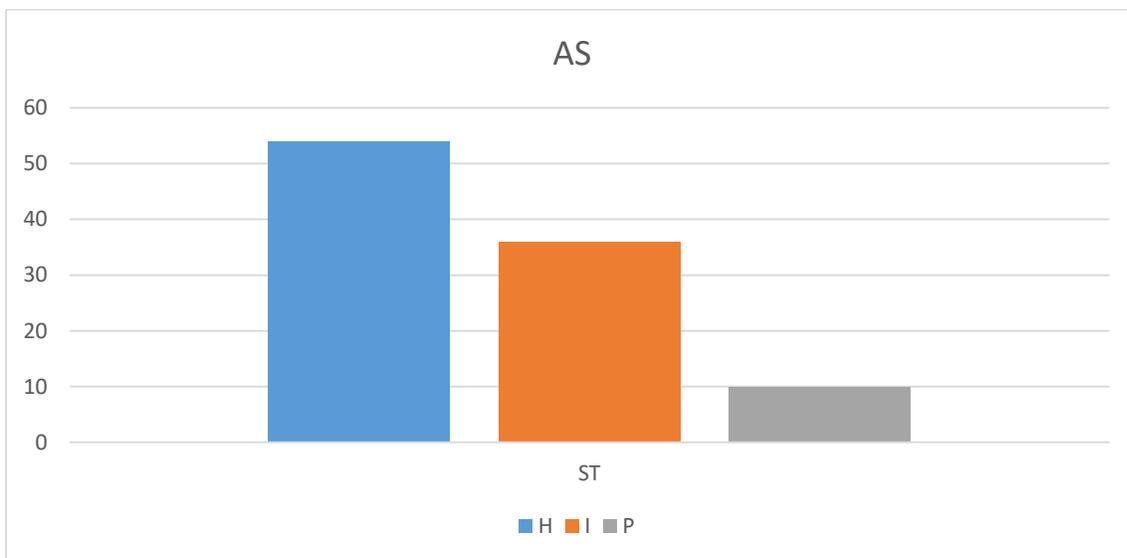


### 4.5.7 .4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies

### *Omission*

The act of omission in this study is used to mean omitting part of the fact and in this speech, the speaker tries to omit many facts regarding the Muslims.

## *Fallacies*

The speaker misleads his audians by using fallacies which are clear in the following extract:

*" And like any extreme doctrine, it is subversive. At its furthest end it seeks to destroy nation-states to invent its own barbaric realm. And it often backs violence to achieve this aim – mostly violence against fellow Muslims – who don't subscribe to its sick worldview."*


## *Appeals*

The speaker uses appeal to fear  and appeal of logic .Consider the following lines:

*"Ideas which actively promote discrimination, sectarianism and segregation.*

*Ideas – like those of the despicable far right – which privilege one identity to the detriment of the rights and freedoms of others".*

"that 9/11 was actually inspired by…... that British security services knew about 7/7, but didn't do ……."

Table No 40 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 4 | 33% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 5 | 42% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of logic | 1 | 8% |
| Omission | 2 | 17% |
| Total | 12 | 100% |
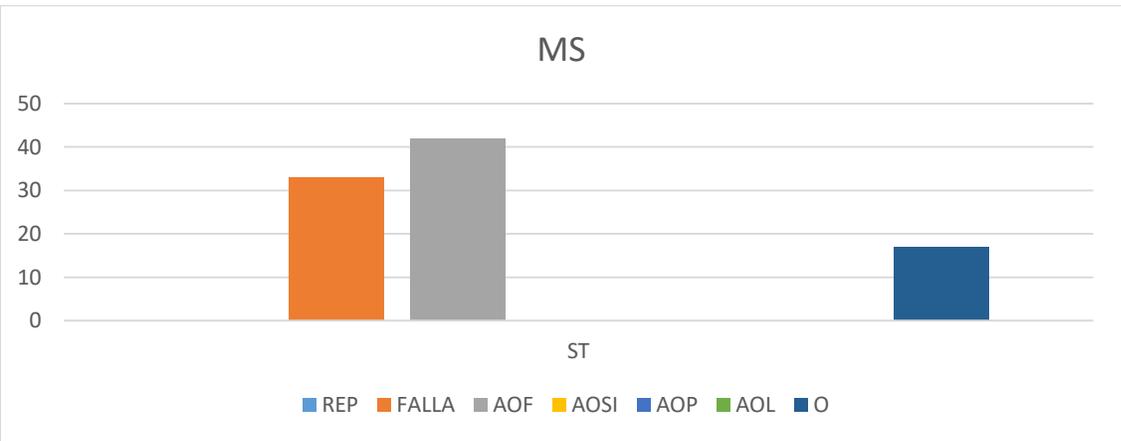


### 4.5.7 .5 *Stance taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance-taking strategies: de-approximation and hate speech.

### *Othering*

The speaker attributes positive things to him and his group like freedom., Democracy,… while the negative things are attributed to other extreme which is Muslims such as extremist doctrine ,unfair,….

### *De-approximation*

The speaker de-approximates the other in his speech. He was so intendent to make clear this de-approximation to the listener by using the following strategies:

### *Dehumanization*

The speaker De-approximates Muslims' world as *"barbaric realm"*

### *Hate speech*

Describing others by using bad features is regarded as hate speech and this is what is done by the speaker.

Table No 41 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 27% |
| (-ve)out-group | 5 | 33% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 1 | 7% |
| Hate speech | 5 | 33% |
| Total | 15 | 100% |

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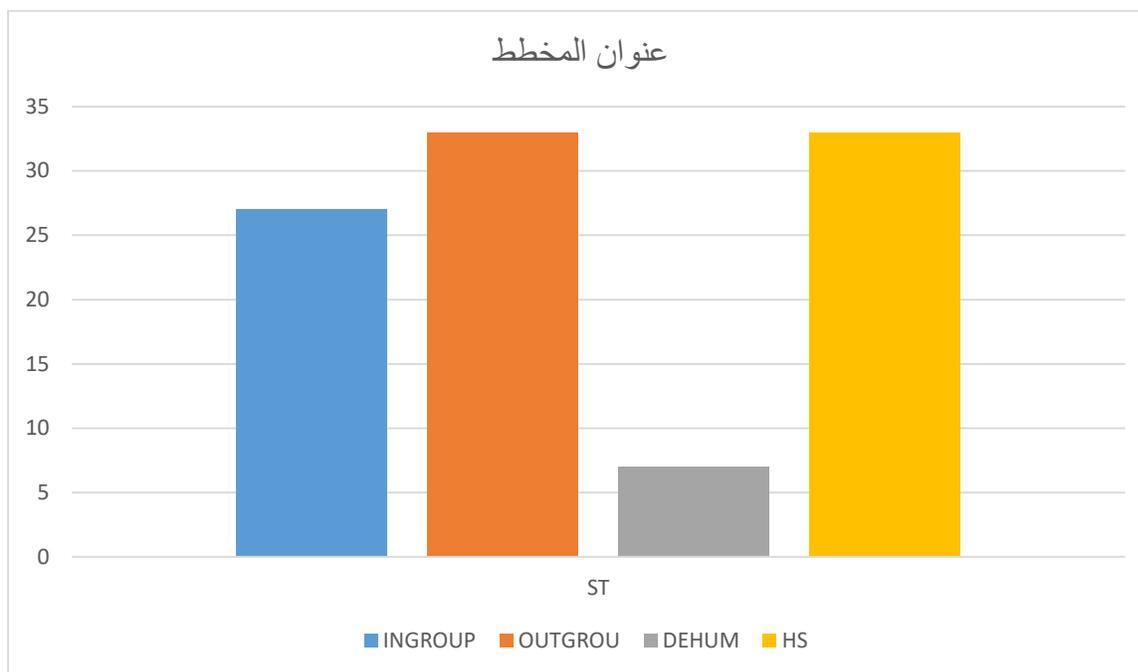
**4.5.7 .6 _Maneuvering strategies_**

The speaker uses the following linguistic strategies:

**_Violating CP_**

Implicature is what the speaker intends to communicate to the audience beyond or instead of what has been literally said. This is done by the speaker of this speech. The speaker intends to say that Muslims are savage, anti-democratic. anti-freedom …..

In addition to that, he violates quality maxim when he accused Muslim to be intolerance and unfair

Table No 42 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Implicture | 4 | 50% |
| Quality violation | 4 | 50% |
| Quantity violation | 0 | 0% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
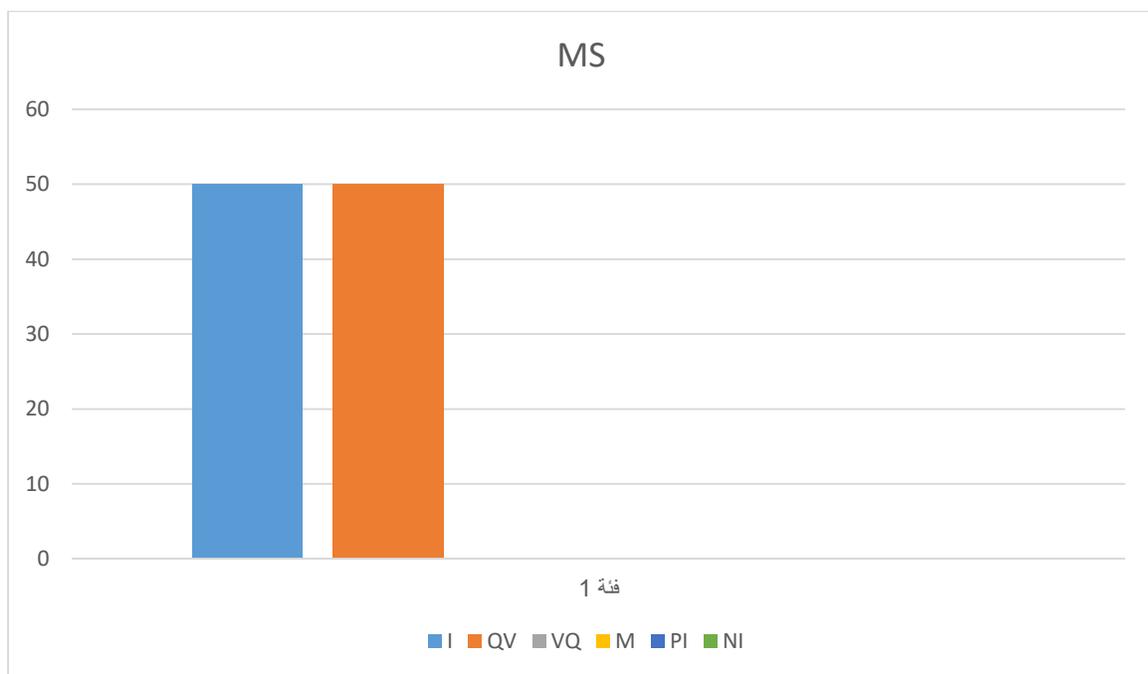


*4.5.8 Text NO.8*

**Speech by the lady at the Women Political Leaders Summit 2021**

<u>***Dear Friends***</u>

As women political leaders, we have to make sure that this will not happen!

I have been "a first", the first woman in a job, several times in my life. As so many of you have also been. We have all made our various experiences. And we know: Change does not come automatically. This is why last spring, for example, the Commission presented its first ever gender equality strategy. With this strategy, we want to ensure equal opportunities in the labour market and achieve gender balance in decision-making and in politics.

We lead through action. And we lead by example. Some of you might know that for the first time in history the European Commission, of which I have the honour to be President, has as many female members as male. This was long overdue!

**We now want to repeat this success at the middle and senior management levels. Women already hold more than 40 percent of the top positions in the European Commission. I have set a target of 50% by the end of 2024. Because our democracies are stronger when women are involved as equals. Not because women are better. But because we are different. To see the world in a fully rounded way, we need women and men. This is the only way we will be able to make the right decisions. And to maximise the success both of our societies and economies.**

As women leaders we have to make sure that we get the respect we are due and the treatment appropriate for our position – just as our male colleagues do. And we have to speak up, whenever this is not the case. We owe this to ourselves. And above all, to others. Because whatever happens to us is immediately brought to public attention. But what about the millions of women who do not have this advantage?

*You know dear it is the harshness and severeness of men the make us strong, it is their low judgment of us that help us to move on so it is a challenge for us.*

**Women who are hurt every day in every corner of our planet but hold neither the power nor the office to speak up. We have to make sure that their stories are also told – and then acted upon!**

**This is the mission I see for us at this very particular moment: To foster a more equal society as we come out of this pandemic. And to continue our fight for those who cannot make themselves heard. Let me say it again – I am so glad to be with you today!**

And I wish you a fruitful meeting!

 *Analysis*

*4.5.8.1 Social practice*

*Misjudgment*

The speaker in the above speech is misjudging men and at the same time she is misjudging women while she tries to make a fair judgment for them. In fact not all men are harsh and severe as she describes. Consider the following lines:

*"You know dear it is the harshness and severeness of men the make us strong, it is their low judgment of us that help us to move on so it is a challenge for us.*

**Women who are hurt every day in every corner of our planet but hold neither the power nor the office to speak up. We have to make sure that their stories are also told – and then acted upon!"**

Table No.( 43) shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### 4.5.8.2 *Discursive practice*

The speaker uses the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates his good estimation of women may be because she is a woman. Consider the following examples:

**We now want to repeat this success at the middle and senior management levels. Women already hold more than 40 percent of the top positions in the European Commission. I have set a target of 50% by the end of 2024. Because our democracies are stronger when women are involved as equals. Not because women are better. But because we are different. To see the world in a fully rounded way, we need women and men. This is the only way we will be able to make the right decisions. And to maximise the success both of our societies and economies.**

And the following:

We lead through action. And we lead by example. Some of you might know that for the first time in history the European Commission, of which I have the honour to be President, has as many female members as male. This was long overdue!

And regard the following:

**This is the mission I see for us at this very particular moment: To foster a more equal society as we come out of this pandemic. And to continue our fight for those who cannot make themselves heard. Let me say it again – I am so glad to be with you today!**

All these are examples of the hyperbole used by the speaker.

### *Metaphore*

The speaker uses this strategy and it is clear in the following line

*"the honour to be President, has as many female members as male. This was long overdue"*

Table No 44 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 10 | 91% |
| Warning | 0 | 0% |
| Metaphor | 1 | 9% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
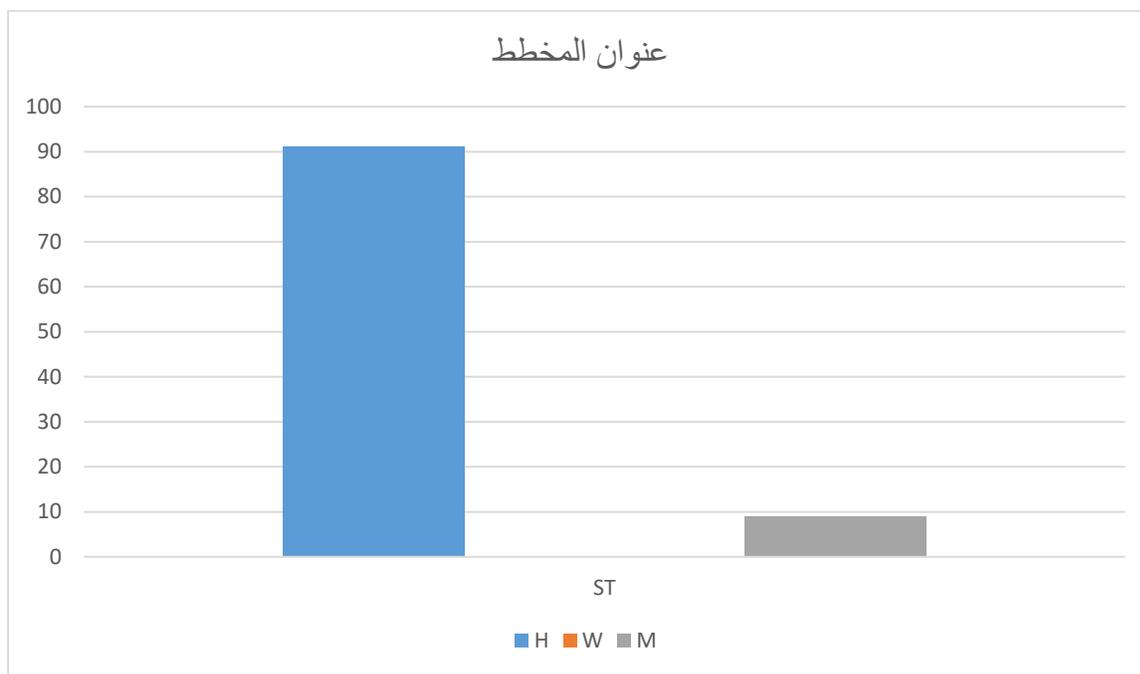
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### 4.5.8.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

Hostility and insulting

To start with hostility

### *Hostility*

It is the verbal attack against somebody. The speaker in the above speech becomes so hostile against men concentrate on the following example:

*"You know dear it is the harshness and severness of men the make us strong, it is their low judgment of us that help us to move on so it is a challenge for us.*

**Women who are hurt every day in every corner of our planet but hold neither the power nor the office to speak up. We have to make sure that their stories are also told – and then acted upon!"**

### *Insulting*

The speaker tries to insult men by describing them as being harsh and severe.

Table No 45 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 5 | 62.5% |
| Insulting | 3 | 37.5% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
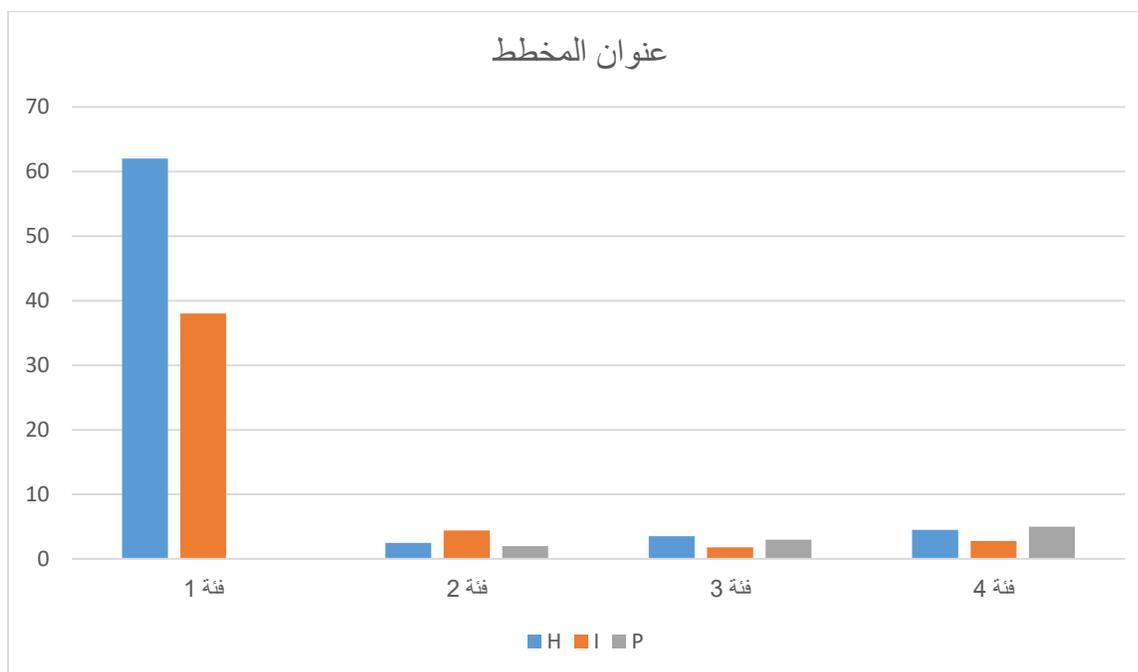
### 4.5.8.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker makes use of the following manipulation strategies:

Omission and appeals

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit the fact that not all men are harsh and not all women are badly treated. Consider the following:

*"You know dear it is the harshness and severeness of men the make us strong, it is their low judgment of us that help us to move on so it is a challenge for us.*

**Women who are hurt every day in every corner of our planet but hold neither the power nor the office to speak up. We have to make sure that their stories are also told – and then acted upon!"**

### *Appeal*

The speaker appeals to pity and self-interest. She appeals to pity when she talks about women suffering all over the world and she appeals to self-interest when she promised to do the best for women. Consider the following:

*"I have been "a first", the first woman in a job, several times in my life. As so many of you have also been. We have all made our various experiences. And we know: Change does not come automatically. This is why last spring, for example, the Commission presented its first ever gender equality strategy. With this strategy, we want to ensure equal opportunities in the labour market and achieve gender balance in decision-making and in politics."*

Table No 46 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of self interest | 6 | 54.5% |
| Appeal of pity | 3 | 27.5% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 2 | 18% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
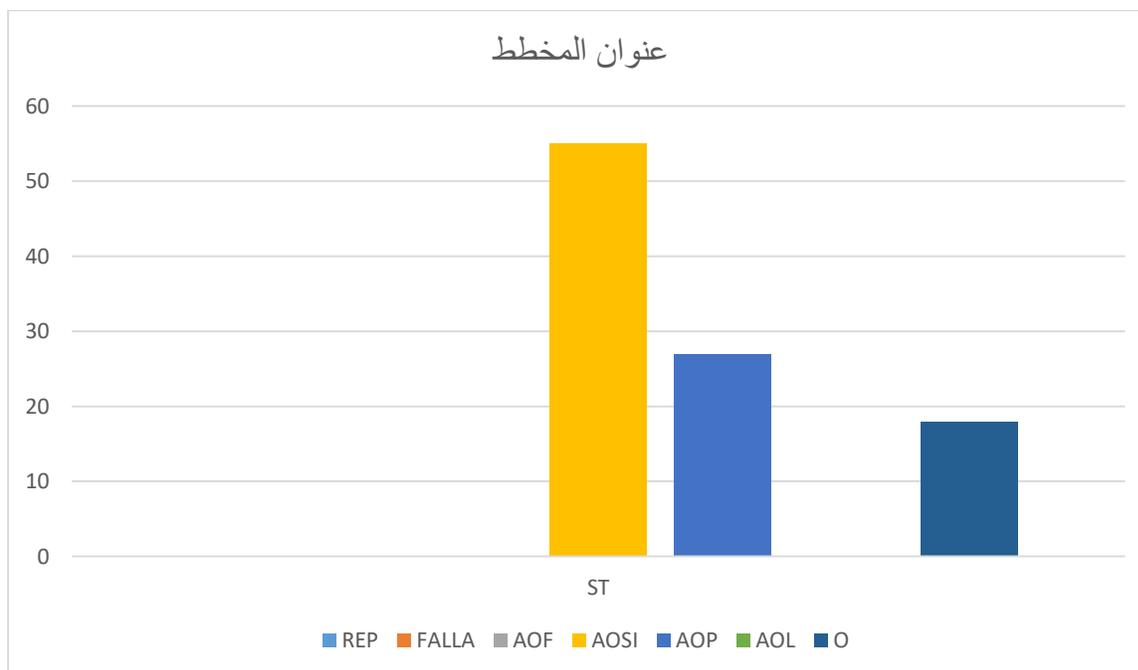


### 4.5.8.5 *Stance taking strategies*

The speaker manipulates the following strategies:

### *De-approximation*

The speaker tries to de-approximate men because they are behind most women suffering.The speaker uses two stratefies in order to de-approximate men such as:

### *De-humanization*

The speaker tries to say that women suffer from inhumanity and severness of men.

### *Hate speech*

### *Hate speech isvery clear in the folling extract:*

*"You know dear it is the harshness and severness of men ……*

### *Othering*

She makes man as the other and tries to attack him in her speech by negative speech whileshe describes her gender as  a strong women

Table No 47 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 20% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 30% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 2 | 20% |
| Hate speech | 3 | 30% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |
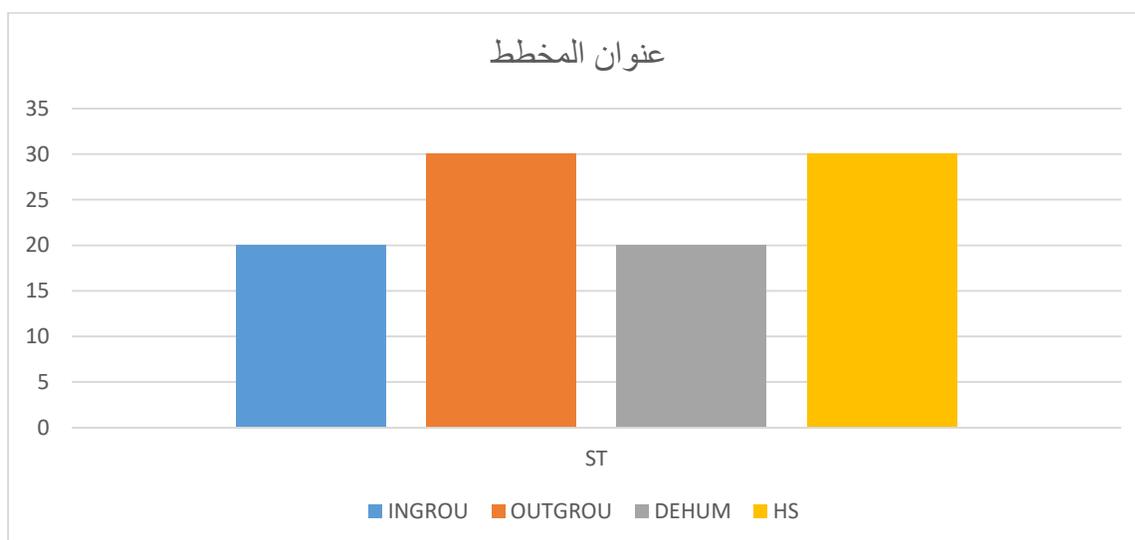
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### 4.5.8.6 _Maneuvering strategies_

The speaker uses the following Maneuvering strategies : violating the cooperative principle and impoliteness.

### _Violating CP_

The speaker violates CP when she violates the quality maxim through presenting no evidence for most of her claims in the speech.

### _Impoliteness_

The speaker uses bold-on-record and negative strategies when she attacks men.

Table No 48 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 50% |
| Quantity violation | 0 | 0% |

| Manner | 0 | 0% |
|---|---|---|
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 50% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |
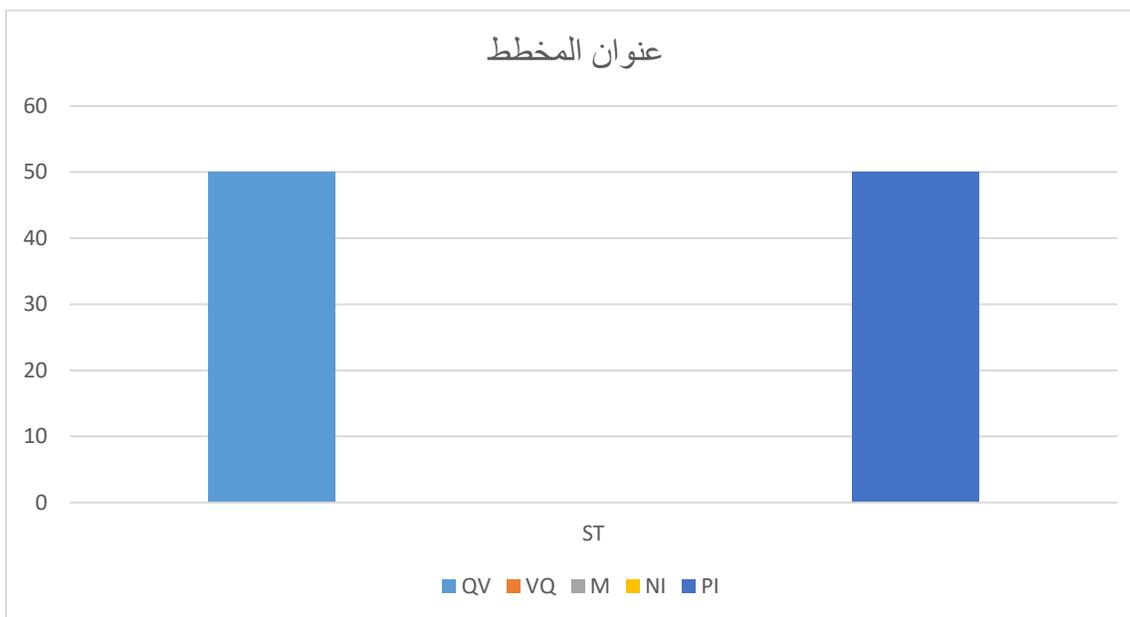


### *4.5.9* Text NO.9

### *closing Statement to the House of Commons on Black History Month in the United Kingdom*

And I'd like to congratulate the Member for Erith and Thamesmead [Abena Oppong-Asare], who's managed to be both a Front Bencher and a Back Bencher today; it's quite a feat; and also the Backbench Business Committee for granting this debate and giving me an opportunity to speak on an issue that's very close to my heart. And also thank you to all those Honorable and right Honorable Members who have made thoughtful contributions.

I will speak as quickly as I can, and I am afraid I won't be able to reference every speech, but I think that this has been a [fantastic debate](#).

This year, more than it has been for decades, race has been at the heart of our national conversation. Black History Month remains an opportunity to shine a light upon those whose contributions to our national history deserves [sic] to be better known. This month, the Government has taken the opportunity to celebrate the contribution of black Britons who enrich our collective national life and form an inseparable part of our national history - - women like [Yvonne Conolly](#), who in 1969 became the UK's first black female head teacher. Throughout her 40-year career, she has inspired and mentored generations of educators.

*The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.*

Mr. Speaker, the work of Ms. Conolly and her fellow heads is key in the topic we are debating. Education is the key to our mission as a Government to level up and spread opportunity to everyone, whatever their background.

**Many Members have said they want more black history taught, but they don't seem to be aware of what is actually on the curriculum. Our curriculum is not the curriculum of 50, 40, or even 20 years ago. Children today are able to learn about the British empire and colonialism, about the [transatlantic slave trade](#) and [its abolition](#), and of how our history has been shaped by people of all ethnicities, as well as having the opportunity to study non-European cultures such as [Mughal](#)**

**[India](#) or the [Benin Empire](#), which is where my ancestors decided to have their own opportunity to take over the world in their own way.**

Pupils -- Pupils can currently study migration, empires, and the people in the [AQA](#) history GCSE [General Certificate of Secondary Education], for example. The Member for Ilford North [[Wes Streeting](#)] is quite wrong to say that that's the only place that it can be learned. There are many other exam bodies that do offer -- that do offer this.

*But our curriculum does not need decolonising for the simple reason that it is not colonised. We should not apologise for the fact that British children primarily study the history of these islands. And it goes without saying that the recent fad to decolonise maths, decolonise engineering, decolonise the sciences, that we have seen across our universities -- to make race the defining principle of what is studied -- is not just misguided but actively opposed to the fundamental purpose of education.*

The curriculum, by its very nature, is limited; there are a finite number of hours to teach any subject. And what we haven't heard in this debate, from those Members who want more added to it -- on both sides of the House -- is what necessarily must be taken out. Perhaps we'll get to that on another day.

**Members such as the Member for Islington North [[Jeremy Corbyn](#)] and many others have raised the [Black Lives Matter movement](#). The Member for Streatham [[Bell Ribeiro-Addy](#)] raised the educational guidance and believes that we're trying to stop children from becoming activists. I believe another Member -- apologies, I've forgotten who it was who mentioned it. However, what we are against is the teaching of** *contested political ideas* **as if they are accepted facts.**

*Analysis*

### 4.5.9.1 *Social practice*

It seems from her words that the speaker speaks against the white. She misjudges them to a certain extent. Consider the following:

*"The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history."*

Table No.( 49) shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### 4.5.8.2 *Discursive strategies*

The speaker uses the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates in speaking against the white and she also exaggerates in praising the black. Regard the following example:

*The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.*

And the following:

**Many Members have said they want more black history taught, but they don't** *seem to be aware of what is actually on the curriculum. Our curriculum is not the curriculum of 50, 40, or even 20 years ago. Children today are able to learn about the British empire and colonialism, about the transatlantic slave trade and its abolition, and of how our history has been shaped by people of all ethnicities, as well as having the opportunity to study non-European cultures such as Mughal India or the Benin Empire, which is where my ancestors decided to have their own opportunity to take over the world in their own way*

### *Warning*

The speaker warns her audience that the curriculum is not enough and its hours are not enough to achieve the goals as in the following lines:

*"The curriculum, by its very nature, is limited; there are a finite number of hours to teach any subject"*

Table No 50 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 10 | 91% |
| Warning | 1 | 9% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
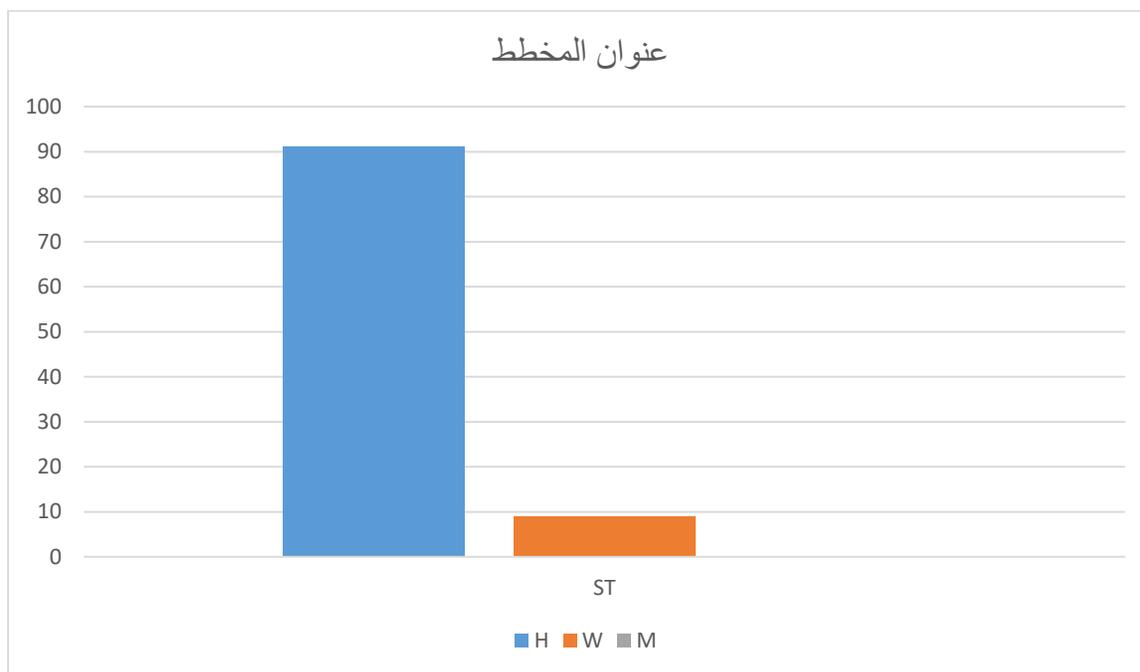
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(Chart legend: H  W  M; category axis: ST)

### 4.5.8.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

### *Hostility*

The speaker is very hostile against the white she says:

***The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.***

This refers to the bias of the speaker and her hostility.

### *Insulting*

The speaker tries to insult the white by saying that they having add nothing to the history and all contributions were black ones, as the following lines show:

*The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.*

Table No 51 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 4 | 67% |
| Insulting | 2 | 33% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |
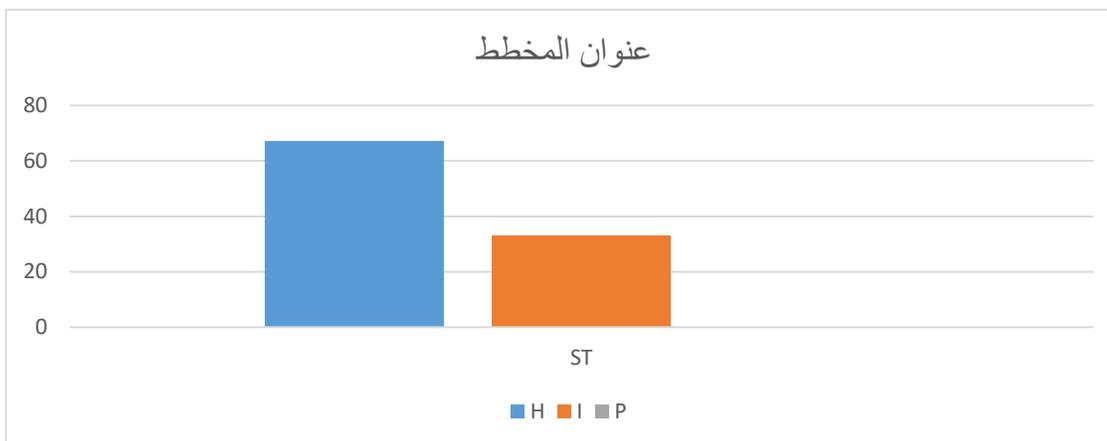


### 4.5.8.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies:

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit the white's contributions from her speech in an attempt to conceal part of the fact.

## _Repetition_

The speaker insists to repeat that though the history of the blacks is important and honorable, no need to teach it in schools.

## _Appeal_

The speaker uses different types of fallacy like fallacy of fear, fallacy of logic and.

Table No 52 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 3 | 27% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 1 | 9% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of logic | 6 | 55% |
| Omission | 1 | 9% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
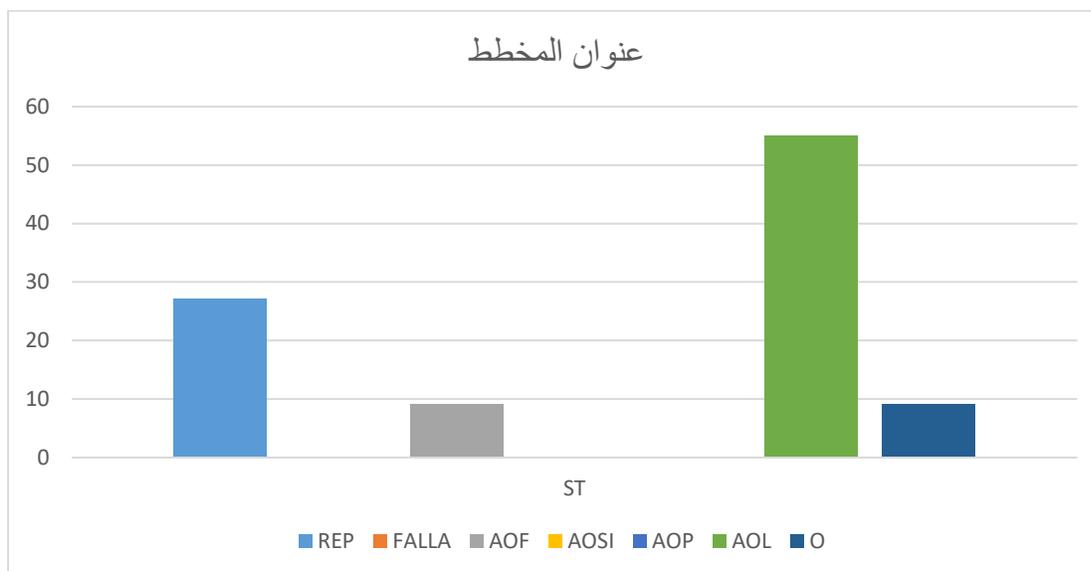
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Legend: REP  FALLA  AOF  AOSI  AOP  AOL  O

### 4.5.8.5 *Stance-taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance taking strategies: othering and de-approximation.

Othering

The speaker intends to make the white his other. This gives him the right to speak against them and to praise the black consider the following:

*The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.*

And the following:

**Many Members have said they want more black history taught, but they don't** *seem to be aware of what is actually on the curriculum. Our curriculum is not the curriculum of 50, 40, or even 20 years ago. Children today are able to learn about the British empire and colonialism, about*

*the transatlantic slave trade and its abolition, and of how our history has been shaped by people of all ethnicities, as well as having the opportunity to study non-European cultures such as Mughal India or the Benin Empire, which is where my ancestors decided to have their own opportunity to take over* the world in their own way.

### *De-approximation*

The speaker de-approximates the white and approximates the black by using the hate  strategy ,as in the following extract:

" *The black contribute more ………. away from entering the history.*

Table No 53 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 36.5% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 27% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 36.5% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |

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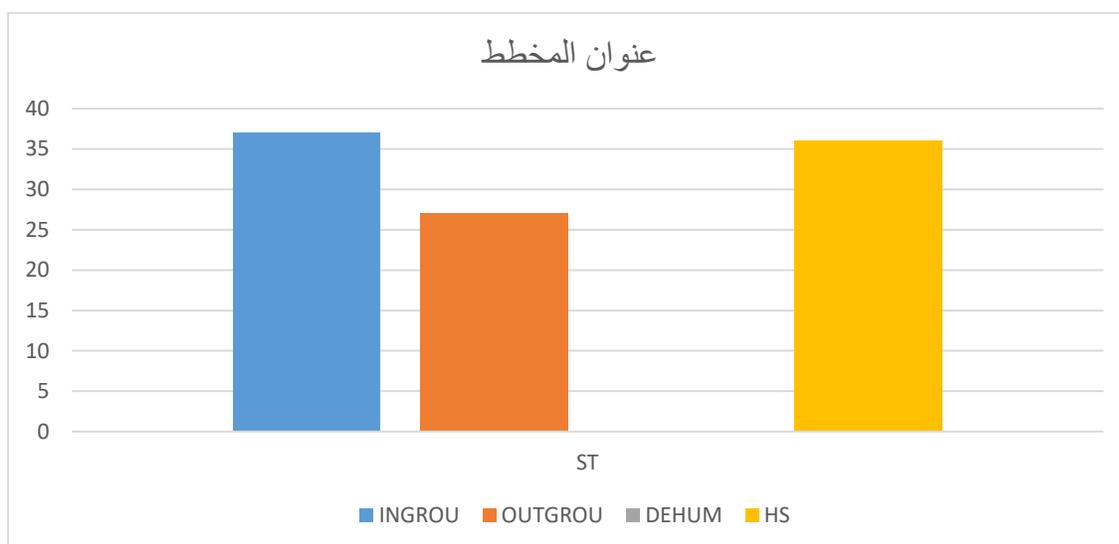
### 4.5.8.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker manipulates the following strategies: violating CP and impoliteness.

### *Violating CP*

The most frequent violation was the violation of the quantity maxim.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker uses the different impolite strategies in talking against the white.

Table No 54 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 4 | 57% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Quantity violation | 0 | 0% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 43% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

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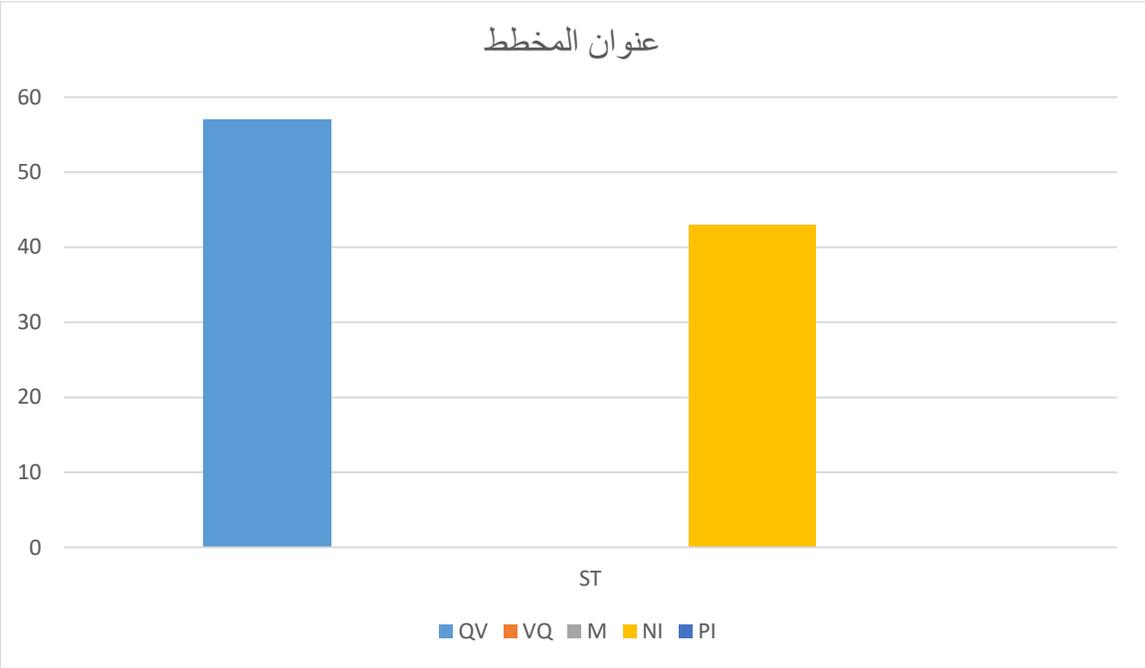


## 4.5.10 *Text NO. 10*

Across the world, discriminatory practices and hateful messages serve to stigmatize and vilify those perceived to be the "other", the "foreigner" or the "one who does not belong". Most of those targeted by these messages are minorities – overwhelmingly so. Disaggregated data in some countries

suggest that perhaps three-quarters or more of hate speech, for example, target ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. 'An ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these.

Minorities are killed everywhere around the world. This is unfair, this is not the justice of the fate. The majority is committing crimes against them, why is that. They are criminals in the form of angels….. why is that…silence is killing us….

### 4.5.10.1 *social strategies*

### *misjudgment*

the speaker is making clear misjudgment against the minorities. The  speaker tries to say that minorities are always obstacles in front of anything useful.

Table No 55 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### *Discursive strategies*

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates in his words against minorities and at the same time, he exaggerates when talking about Britain, and this is clear in the following lines:

*"some countries suggest that perhaps three-quarters or more of hate speech, for example, target ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these".*

### *Warning*

This strategy is used a lot by the speaker and in different places when he is issuing sectarianism. Warning is the most frequent strategy used in sectarian speeches as is shown in these few lines:

"*Across the world, discriminatory practices and hateful messages serve to stigmatize and vilify those perceived to be the "other", the "foreigner" or the "one who does not belong*"

### *Profanity*

In sectarian speeches, the speaker of dominant group tries to belittling and vilify the addressees by calling them "other", the "foreigner" or the "un belonging"

Table No 56 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 5 | 71% | |
| Warning | 2 | 29% | |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% | |
| Total | 7 | 100% | |
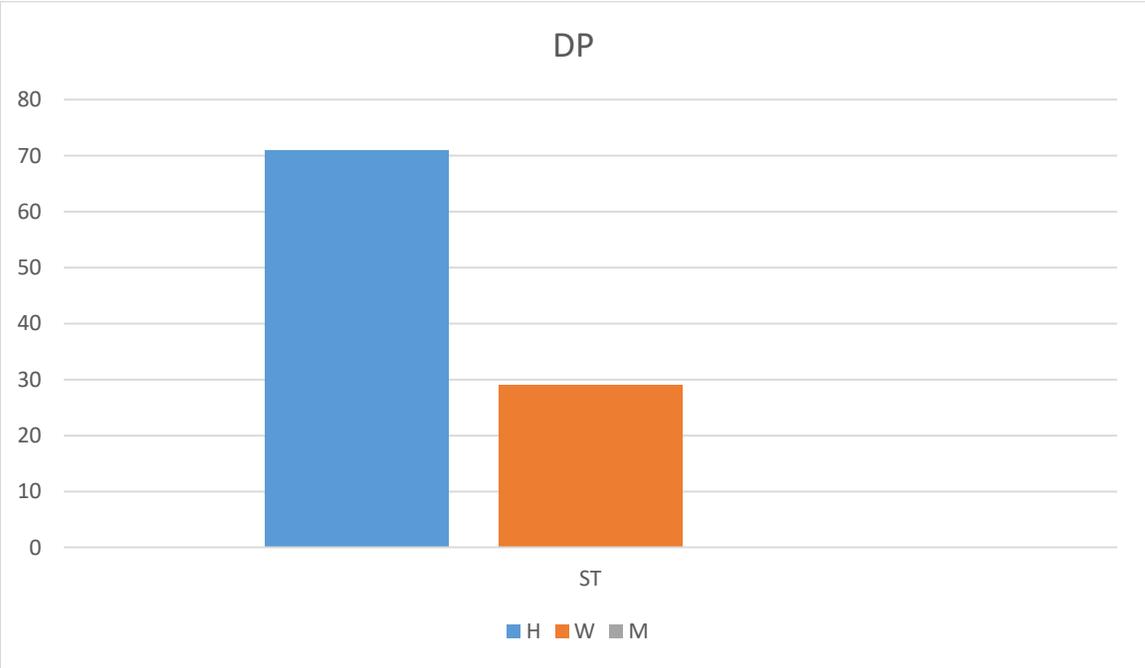


### 4.5.10.2 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses many of the aggressive strategies mentioned in the model developed in the previous chapter. This can be attributed to the nature of the theme of the speech and the sectarian nature of the speaker.

### *Hostility*

The speaker can be described as being hostile in different places in his speech. The hostility of the speaker is clear in his lines and words. This is

clear in the following lines: "***The majority is committing crimes against them, why is that. They are criminals in the form of angels***"

### *Insulting*

The speaker employs this strategy to a certain extent in his words. He is insulting the majority sometimes and the minorities other times. The speaker tries to make his stance not clear as is shown by the following lines: "linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State ……. Minorities are killed everywhere around the world. ………."

Table No 57 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 6 | 43% |
| Insulting | 5 | 36% |
| Profanity | 3 | 21% |
| Total | 14 | 100% |

**AS**
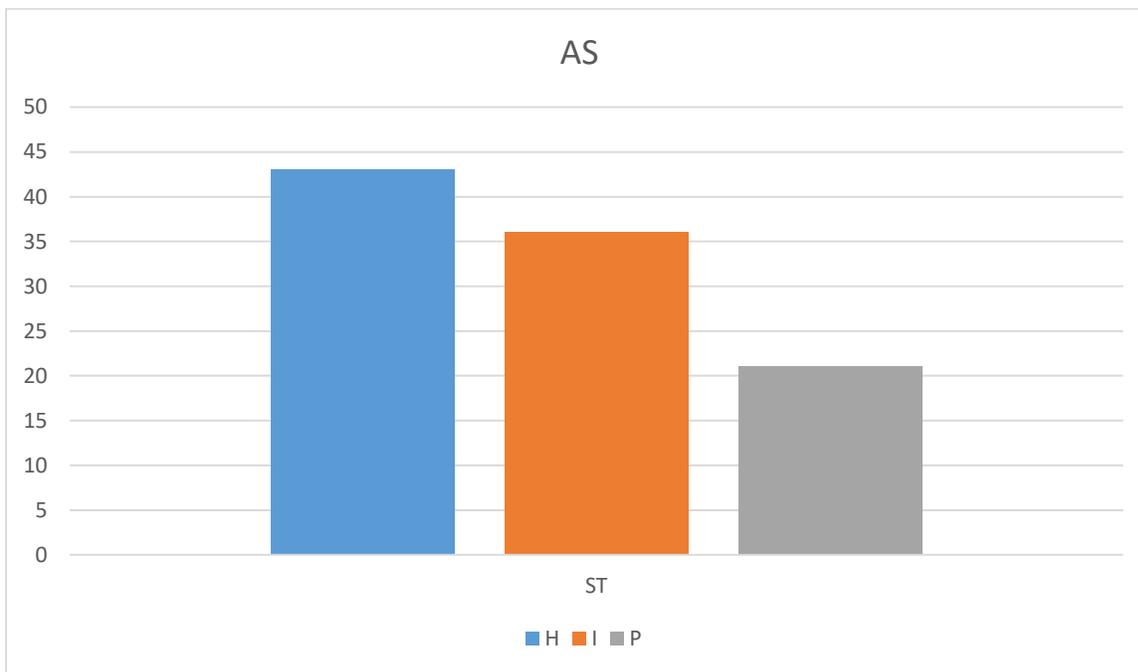
### 4.5.10.3 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker employs different manipulation strategies like: repetition and fallacies.

#### *Repetition*

The speaker is repeating the fact that the majority is demonstrating the land and the minorities have no any rights there. He also repeats the fact that ***An ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State*** This fact is implied in the sense of the lines of the speaker.

#### *Appeal*

*The speaker utilizes of two types of appeal to achieve his aim: the appeal of a fear ,fear of* discriminatory practices and hateful messages which lead to

sectarianism *,and appeal of pity when he describes the violating "killing"*
*which is committed against minorities as unfair and unjust.*

Table No 58 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic
practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 3 | 30% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal of self interest | 3 | 30% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |

**LP**

Legend: REP, FALL, AOF, AOSI, AOP, AOL, O
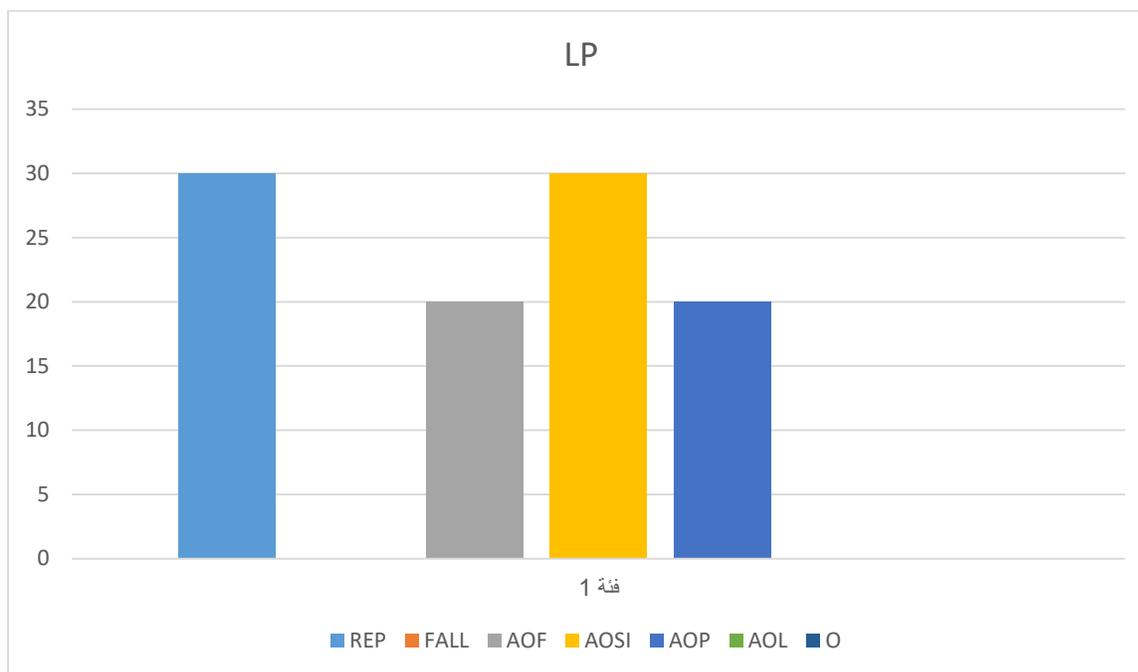
## 4.5.10.5  *Stance taking:*

Two types of stance taking are considered in his speeches as follow:

*Othering* The speaker intends to make the minorities his other. This gives him the right to speak against them.

## *De-approximation*

The speaker de-approximates the minorities by using two strategists as follow:

## *Dehumanization:*

This strategy is shown by the following line:

*"They are criminals in the form of angels"*

### *Hate speech*

The speaker belittles the minorities by naming them others, foreigners and unbelong .

Table No 59 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 0 | 0% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 43% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 1 | 14% |
| Hate speech | 3 | 43% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

ST
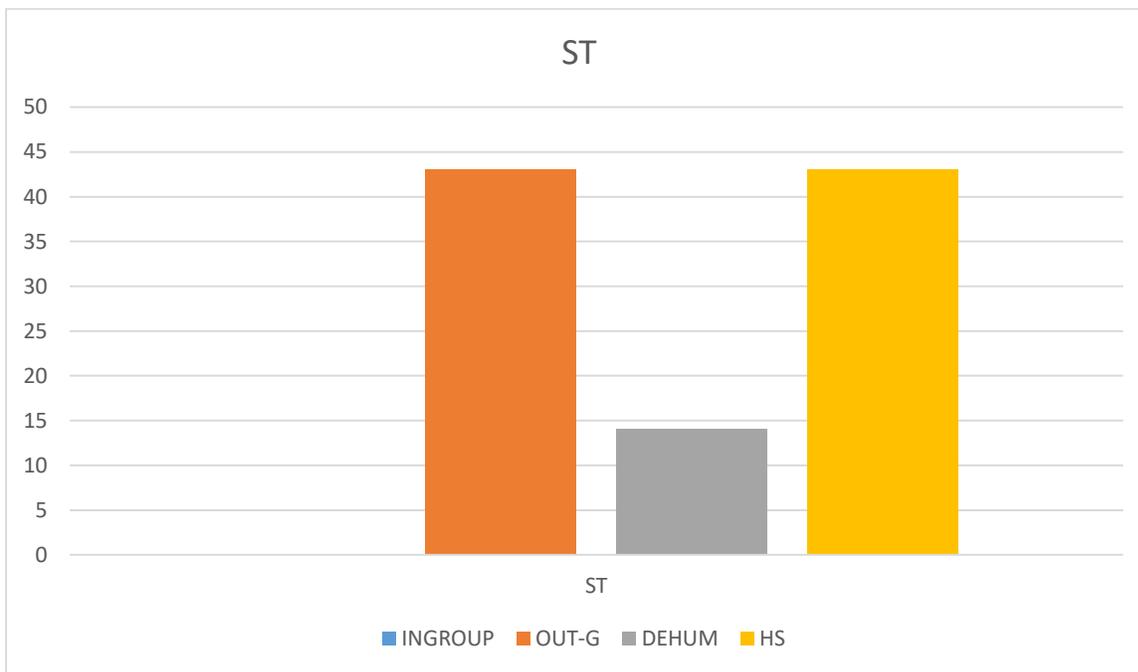
**4.5.10.6 *Maneuvering strategies***

The speaker manipulates the following strategies: violating CP and impoliteness.

***Violating CP***

The most frequent violation was the violation of the quality maxim.

***Impoliteness***

The speaker uses negative impoliteness strategies like "criminals"

Table No 60 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 75% |
| Quantity violation | 0 | 0% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 1 | 25% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |
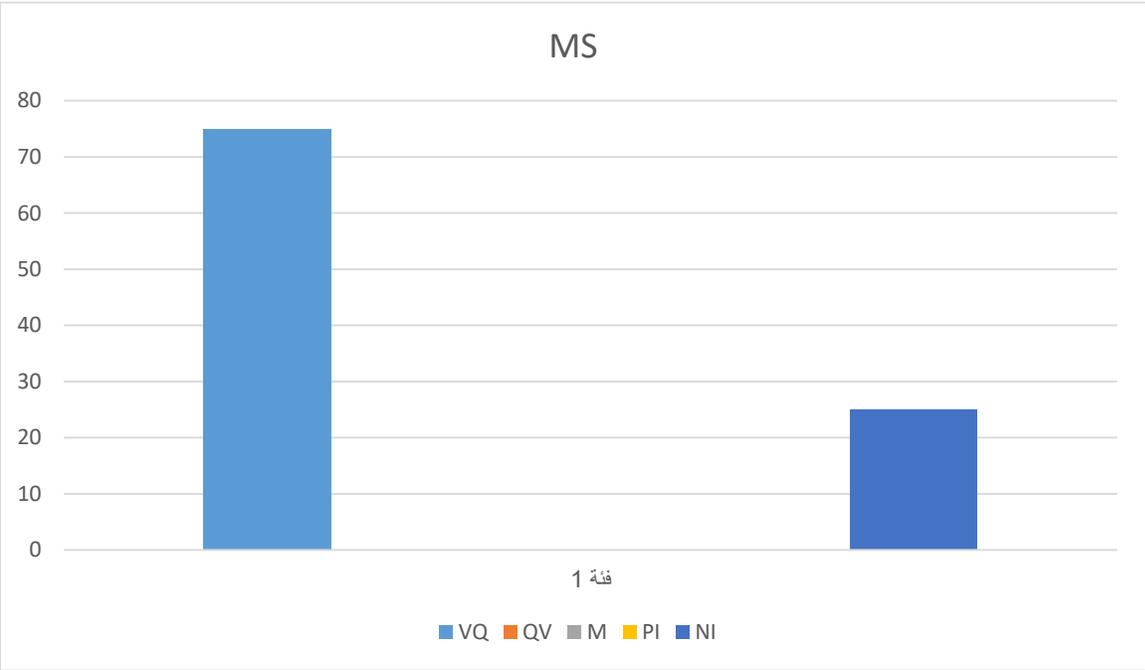
## 4.6 *American context*

### 4.6 .1 *Text 11.*

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief of Staff to the President, Honorable Ministers, diplomatic colleagues, luminaries of Nigeria's health sector and the private sector.  It is a pleasure to be here to mark another milestone in Nigeria's road to HIV epidemic control.  Today's inauguration of the HIV Trust Fund creates an opportunity to bring Nigeria's dynamic private sector into efforts to expand domestic investment in HIV control.

Since 2003, the U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has invested more than $6 billion in the national HIV response.  We currently provide roughly $400 million per year in a program focused on lifesaving antiretroviral treatment and HIV care services to over 1.6 million Nigerians.  This achievement is the result of the compassion and generosity of the American people and a consistent commitment across many U.S. administrations to fight HIV with host governments and Global Fund partners.

Even the COVID-19 pandemic did not slow our march toward controlling HIV.  On the contrary, our data-based, targeted surge activities put more than 500,000 Nigerian on life saving treatment since we launched in late 2019.  We did this in partnership with governors of high burden states, who joined us in meeting the challenge of identifying people living with HIV.  The next phase of our game plan is to sustain these gains by ensuring funding gaps are filled to keep people living with HIV on treatment.

This requires mobilizing domestic resources and pooling them for high quality, equitable HIV services from the government and other contributors, such as health insurance, to closing this funding gap. Our placement of people on treatment means that they can contribute to the development and prosperity of their country. The United States remains committed to supporting Nigeria in reaching and sustaining HIV epidemic control, but we also believe that national ownership is critical to its success.

This is where the private sector, which depends on a healthy workforce, comes in. The HIV Trust Fund represents a major component of the government's resource mobilization strategy. Private sector support for HIV is critical to sustaining current programs, particularly for commodities such as test kits and drugs.

The United States applauds the National Agency for the Control of AIDS and the National AIDS/STI Control Program for its forward thinking in mobilizing private sector support through the HIV Trust Fund. I urge all of you gathered here today to ensure these efforts are fully resourced and operationalized. We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support. These Nigerians will need treatment for life. By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control. We cannot let them down!

## *analysis*

there is sectarianism in this speech, though not clear. The ambassador is trying to say that the Nigerian people is ignorant and in need of help because of this ignorance. This makes them a burden on America and it has to help them all the time.

## 4.6 .1.1 *Social practice:*

When applying the model of analysis to this speech one can find clear misjudgment in the words and lines of the ambassador. Consider the following words: "the U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has invested more than $6 billion in the national HIV response" "We currently provide roughly $400 million per year in a program focused on lifesaving antiretroviral treatment and HIV care services to over 1.6 million Nigerians.   This achievement is the result of the compassion and generosity of the American people and a consistent commitment across many U.S. administrations to fight HIV with host governments and Global Fund partners" and regard the following "The United States applauds the National Agency for the Control of AIDS and the National AIDS/STI Control Program for its forward thinking in mobilizing private sector support through the HIV Trust Fund"

This is her judgment of the U.S. on the other hand when she speaks about the Nigerian people she says:  " We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support.  These Nigerians will need treatment for life.  By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control".

So one can conclude that she tries to say that HIV comes from Nigeria whereas treatment and help comes from America.

Table No 61 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 9 | 100% |

| Total | 9 | 100% |
|---|---|---|

### *4.6 .1.2 Discursive practice*

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker is exaggerating the helps coming from America. At the same time, she is exaggerating the attitude of the U.S. towards Nigeria. And in her words there is a clear exaggeration of the ignorance of the Nigerian people.

### *Warning*

The speaker used this strategy implicitly to make this people avoid this virus. She used warning a lot in her speech when talking to the Nigerian people. Consider the following: " We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support.  These Nigerians will need treatment for life.  By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control.  We cannot let them down!". The expression "we are excited" is used here to warn the Nigerian people.

### *Euphemism*

This strategy is used by the speaker when she talks about the sick people, she describes them as "fighters" and she talks about the disease as being "epidemic".  These words are used to decrease the effect of strong word on the listeners.

Table No 62 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 9 | 69% |
| Warning | 3 | 23% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Euphemism | 1 | 8% |
| Total | 13 | 100% |
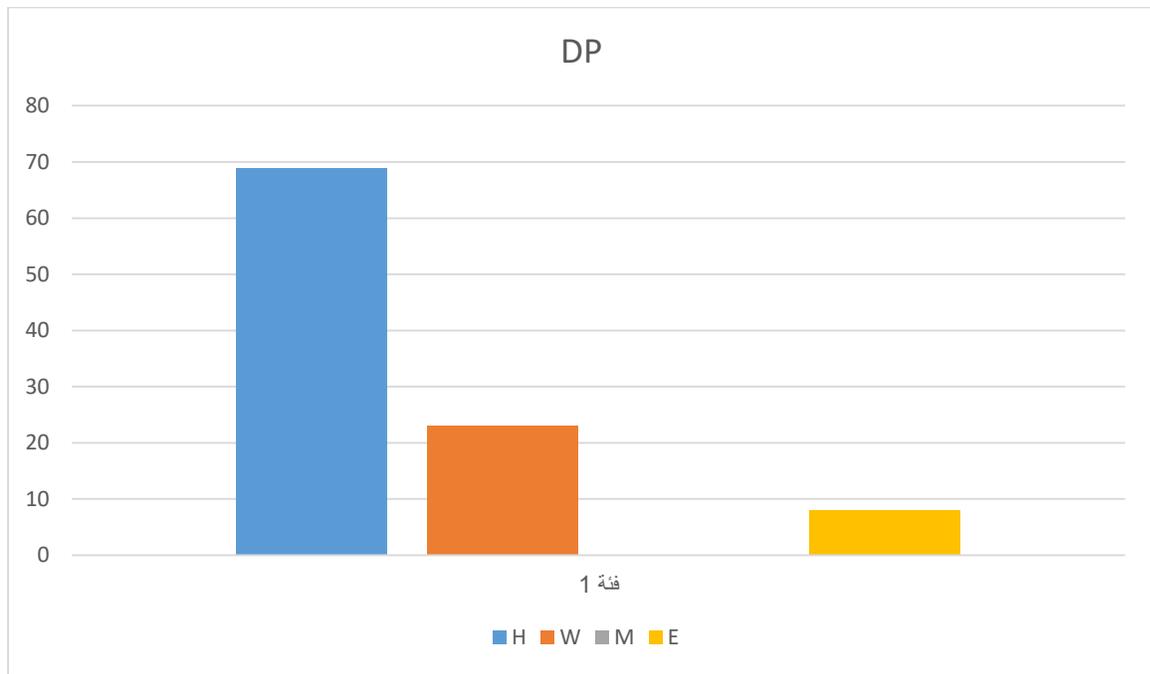


### 4.6 .1.3 Aggressive strategies

The speaker was polite to the extent that there are no hostility or profanity. The speaker, in fact, was so careful in choosing her expressions and this is because the theme of the speech is sensitive one. There is a little insult used by the speaker when she says *"We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support. These Nigerians will*

*need treatment for life. By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control. We cannot let them down!"*

The speaker tries to say that though the disease is dangerous, the Nigerian people are not careful and they are led by their sexual desires.

Now time is ripe to move to linguistic strategies:

Table No 63 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 2 | 69% |
| Profanity | 0 | 15.4% |
| Insulting | 2 | 15.4% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

*AS*
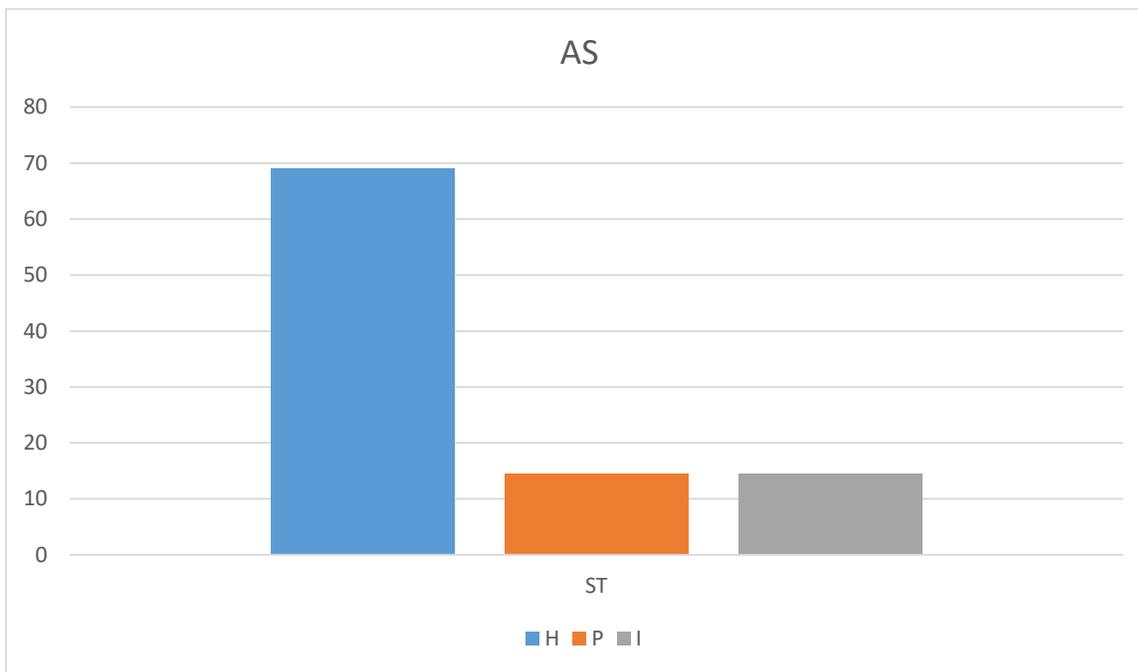
## *Linguistic strategies*

According to the model developed in the previous chapter, the linguistic strategies in the data scrutinized are three groups: manipulation, stance taking and maneuvering strategies.

## *4.6 .1.4Manipulation strategies*

In this speech the speaker used three manipulation strategies: repetition, fallacies and appeals.

## *Repetition*

The speaker is repeating the role of the U.S. in fighting HIV in Nigeria and at the same time she is repeating sentences that mention the increase in the number of those who suffer from this disease. Consider the following:

*"Today's inauguration of the HIV Trust Fund creates an opportunity to bring Nigeria's dynamic private sector into efforts to expand domestic*

*investment in HIV control". And "the U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has invested more than $6 billion in the national HIV response. We currently provide roughly $400 million per year in a program focused on lifesaving antiretroviral treatment and HIV care services to over 1.6 million Nigerians."*

And again in the following lines:

*"Even the COVID-19 pandemic did not slow our march toward controlling HIV. On the contrary, our data-based, targeted surge activities put more than 500,000 Nigerian on life saving treatment since we launched in late 2019. We did this in partnership with governors of high burden states, who joined us in meeting the challenge of identifying people living with HIV. The next phase of our game plan is to sustain these gains by ensuring funding gaps are filled to keep people living with HIV on treatment."*

### *Appeal*

In this speech, one can find that the speaker uses a lot of appeal to fear and appeal to pity. The speaker tries to terrify the people to make them more careful and at the same time she tries to mention the suffering of the sick people to make them more pitiful. The speaker used the appeal to self-interest. This strategy is used when the speaker tries to show the listener that something is made just for his sake. In certain places, he appeals to logic by giving them numbers and statistics.

Table No 64 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 6 | 35% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 12% |
| Appeal of self interest | 3 | 18% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 12% |
| Appeal of logic | 4 | 23% |
| Omission | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 17 | 100% |
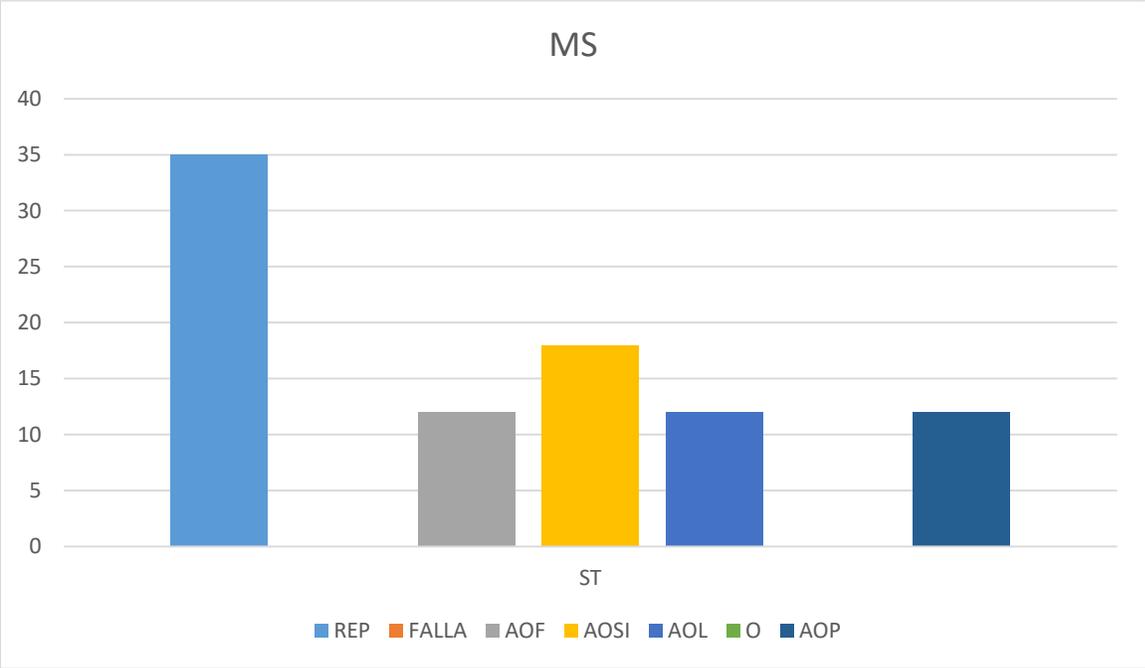
### 4.6 .1.1 *Stance-taking strategies*

The speaker used just one strategy if the stance-taking strategies which is othering. The speaker tries to explain that what U.S. does is good and what Nigeria does is bad. So she tries to say that she belongs to what is good and they belong to what is bad. This strategy is called "negative out- group".

Table No 65 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 67% |
| (-ve)out-group | 2 | 33% |
| Approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |

**ST**

(Chart legend: INGROUP, OUTGROU, DEHUMA, HS)
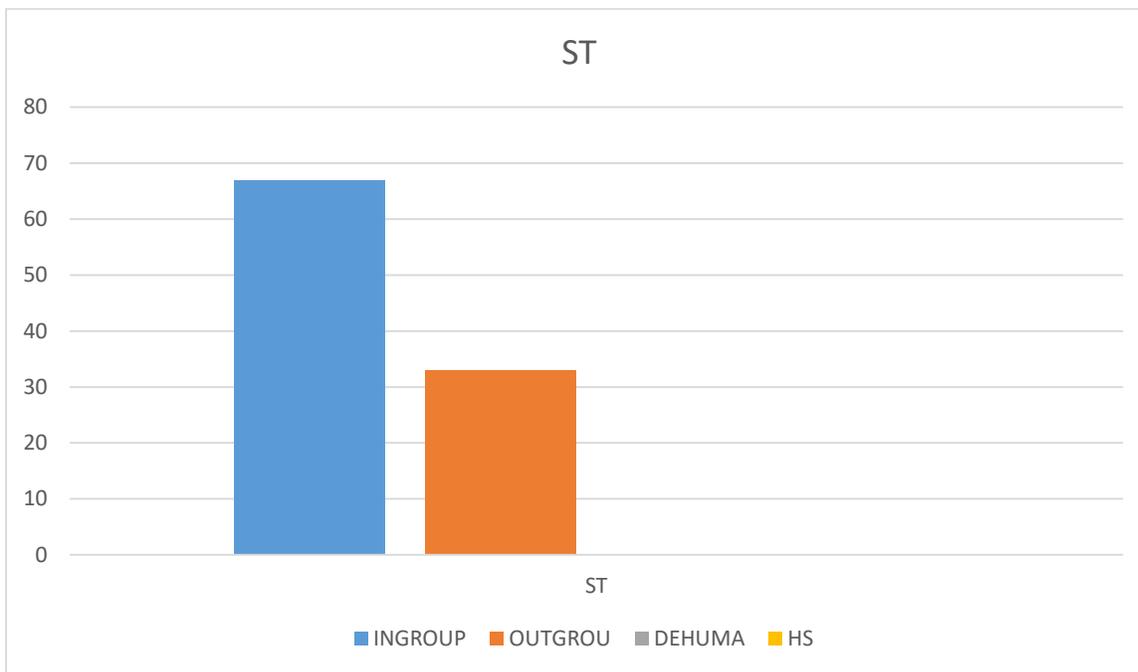
### *4.6 .1.6Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker was so careful in maneuvering. She violates the CP many times and for different reasons. First she violates CP through violating the manner maxim, consider the following:

*We currently provide roughly $400 million per year in a program focused on lifesaving antiretroviral treatment and HIV care services to over 1.6 million Nigerians. This achievement is the result of the compassion and generosity of the American people and a consistent commitment across many U.S. administrations to fight HIV with host governments and Global Fund partners.*

The reason given by the speaker is not clear and not true at the same time.

Now consider another violation for the quantity maxim:

*"The United States applauds the National Agency for the Control of AIDS and the National AIDS/STI Control Program for its forward thinking in mobilizing private sector support through the HIV Trust Fund. I urge all of you gathered here today to ensure these efforts are fully resourced and operationalized. We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support. These Nigerians will need treatment for life. By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control. We cannot let them down!"*

Table No 66 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 2 | 67% |
| Manner | 1 | 33% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 3 | 100% |

**MS**

Legend: QV ■ M ■ PI ■ NI
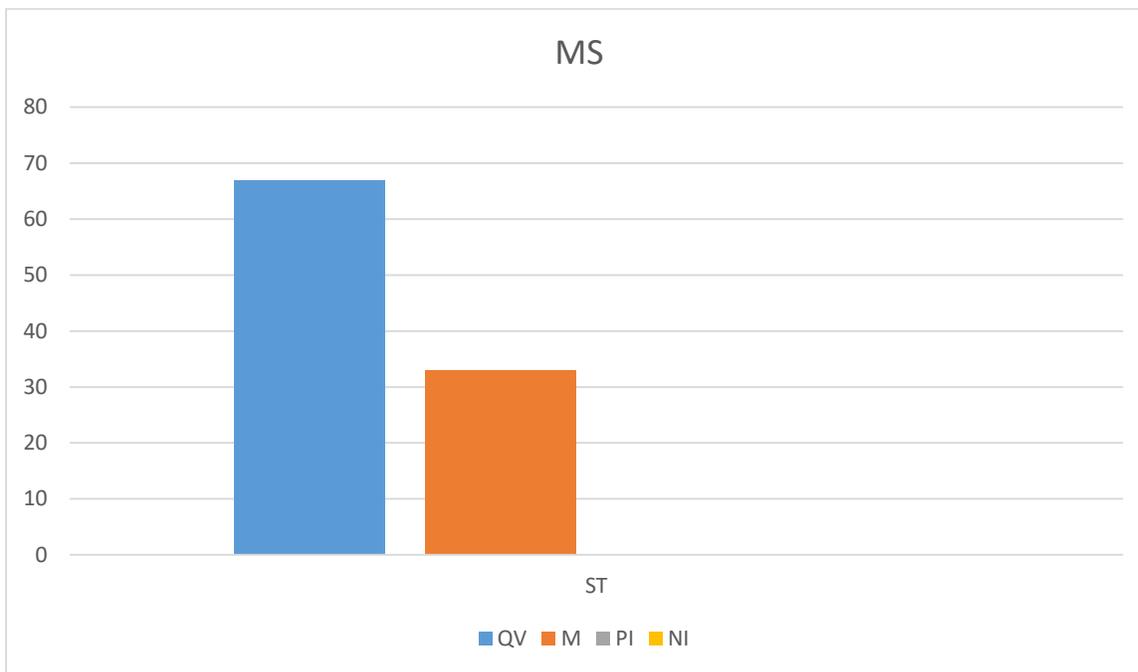
## 4.6 .2 *Text NO. 12*

### *Stephen Fry VS The Catholic Church*

it's not just a debate I genuinely believe that the Catholic Church is not to put it at its mildest a force for good in the world and therefore it is important for me to try and marshal my facts as well I can to explain why I think that but I want first of all to say that I have no quarrel no argument and I wish to express no contempt for individual devout and pious members of that church they are welcome to their sacraments to their welcome to their reliquaries and to their Blessed Virgin Mary they're welcome to their to their faith to the importance they place in it to the comfort and the joy that they received from it all of that is absolutely fine by me it would be impertinent and wrong on me to express any antagonism towards any individual who wishes to find salvation in whatever form they wish to express it that to me is sacrosanct as

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much as any article of faith is sacrosanct to anyone of any church or any faith in the world it's very important it's also very important to me as it happens that I have my own beliefs they are a belief in the Enlightenment they're a belief in the eternal adventure of trying to discover moral truth in the world discover it's a terribly important word to which we might return it's a fight it's an empirical fight it's one that was begun in the middle of the of the last millennium it's given the name the Enlightenment and there is nothing sadly that the Catholic Church and its fireworks likes to do more than to attack the Enlightenment he did so at the time reference was made to Galileo and the fact that he was tortured for trying to explain the Copernican theory of the universe that's history history as Miss Widdecombe has reminded us is irrelevant it's not important all that matters now is the billions of pounds go out of this extraordinary institution to relieve the poor around the world to make the world a better place history is of no importance whatsoever well I beg to differ history history whinnies and Quivers and vibrates in all of us in this hall in this square mile let's think about this square mile I'll come back to it in a moment at first crystal made mention of limbo it seems so tedious and so silly and one of those little kazoo estate games that Thomas and others play Aquinas and Augustine of Hippo both proposed this extraordinary idea that babies who were unbaptized would not know heaven they also proposed the idea of purgatory which doesn't exist in the Bible there's absolutely no evidence for it however what an extraordinary brilliant COO to imagine such a thing as purgatory that a soul needs to be prayed for in order to go to heaven in order to turn left when he enters the aeroplane of heaven and get a first-class seat that he needs to be prayed for and for many hundreds indeed over a thousand years you'll be amazed what generous terms that his prayers came at sometimes as little or as two-thirds

of a year's salary could ensure that a dead loved one would go to heaven and money could ensure that your baby your dead child your dead uncle your dead mother could go to heaven and if you were rich enough you could have a chance rebuilt …

*analysis*

in the above speech, there is a clear religious sectarianism against the catholic church.

## 4.6 .2.1 *Social practice*

*Misjudgment*

The speaker tries to misjudge the catholic church. He aims to attack it in his words. This is because he does not believe in some of the religious beliefs of this church as is shown by these lines: *it's not just a debate I genuinely believe that the Catholic Church is not to put it at its mildest a force for good in the world"* and *"that the Catholic Church and its fireworks likes to do more than to attack the Enlightenment"*

Table No 67 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 5 | 100% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |

## 4.6 .2.2 *Discursive strategies*

The speaker intends to use the following discursive strategies:

*Hyperbole*

speaker exaggerates his attack against the catholic church saying that:

*"it's not just a debate I genuinely believe that the Catholic Church is not to put it at its mildest a force for good in the world and therefore it is important for me to try and marshal my facts as well I can to explain why I think that but I want first of all to say that I have no quarrel no argument and I wish to express no contempt for individual devout and pious members of that church they are welcome to their sacraments to their welcome to their reliquaries and to their Blessed Virgin Mary they're welcome to their to their faith to the importance they place in it to the comfort and the joy that they received from it all of that is absolutely fine by me it would be impertinent and wrong on me to express any antagonism towards any individual who wishes to find salvation in whatever form they wish to express it that to me is sacrosanct as much"*

### ***Warning***

The speaker implicitly warns from spreading the beliefs of the catholic church all over the Christian world.

Table No 68 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 6 | 75% |
| Warning | 2 | 25% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |

## DP

*(Bar chart titled "DP" with vertical axis ranging from 0 to 80 in increments of 10, horizontal axis labeled "ST", legend: H (blue), W (orange), M (gray). H ≈ 75, W ≈ 25, M ≈ 2.)*
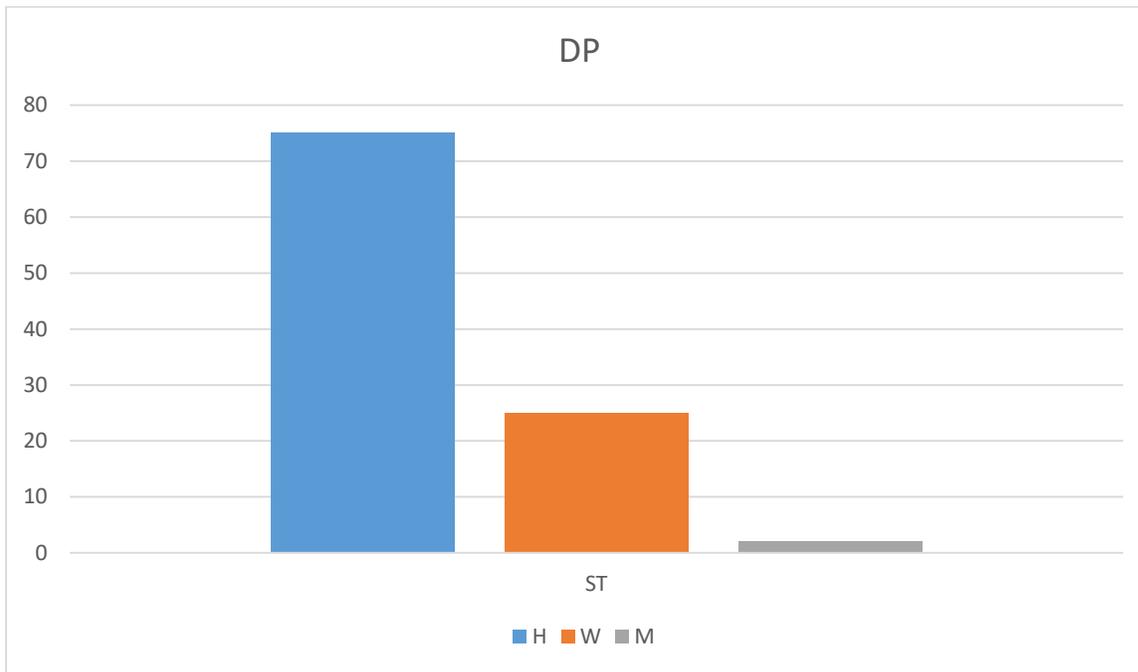
### *4.6 .2.3Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following strategies

### *Hostility*

The speaker expresses his hostility against the catholic church to a certain extent. He was extremist in his judgment against them and at the same time he was afraid from the widespread explosion for their ideas in the Christian world. Consider the following lines:

" me it would be impertinent and wrong on me to express any antagonism towards any individual who wishes to find salvation in whatever form they wish to express it that to me is sacrosanct as much as any article of faith is sacrosanct to anyone of any church or any faith in the world it's very important it's also very important to me as it happens that I have my own beliefs they are a belief in the Enlightenment they're a belief in the eternal adventure of trying to discover moral truth in the world discover it's a terribly

important word to which we might return it's a fight it's an empirical fight it's one that was begun in the middle of the of the last millennium it's given the name the Enlightenment and there is nothing sadly that the Catholic Church and its fireworks likes to do more than to attack the Enlightenment he did so at the time reference was made to Galileo and the fact that he was tortured for trying to explain the Copernican theory of the universe that's history history as Miss Widdecombe has reminded us is irrelevant it's not important all that matters now is the billions of pounds go out of this extraordinary institution to relieve the poor around the world to make the world a better place history is of no importance whatsoever well I beg to differ history history whinnies and Quivers and vibrates in all of us in this hall in this square mile let's think about this square mile I'll come back to it in a moment"

### *Insulting*

There was an implied insult for the catholic church and it can be cleared as being the source of odd ideas and beliefs. Consider the following extract: "*what an extraordinary brilliant COO to imagine such a thing as purgatory that a soul needs to be prayed for in order to go to heaven in order to turn left when he enters the aeroplane of heaven and get a first-class seat that he needs to be prayed……*"

Table No 69 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |

| Hostility | 4 | 57% |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Insulting | 3 | 43% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 7 | 100% |



عنوان المخطط
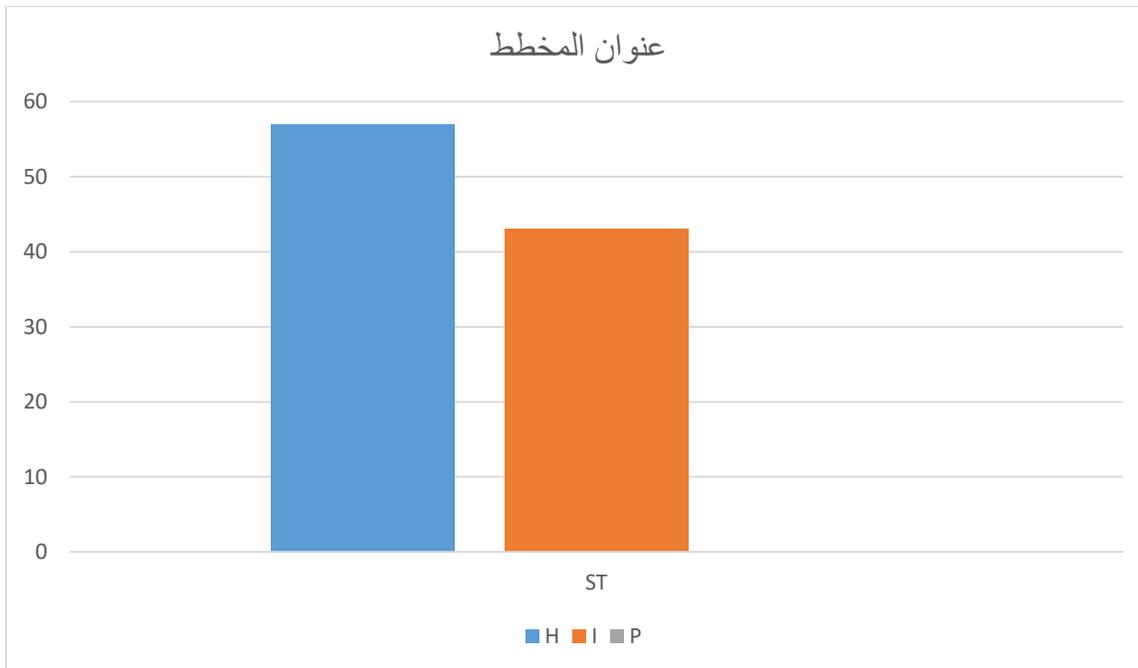
### 4.6 .2.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies: omission, fallacies and appeals.

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit part of the fact that each church has its own beliefs and in fact each religion, sect or people has its own beliefs.

### *Fallacies*

The speaker makes use of the fallacy of example when he mentions certain characters and names. Then he makes use of the fallacy of the wrong belief when he attacks the catholic church.

### *Appeal*

The speaker appeals to fear and pity at the same time in his speech. This is made in an attempt to gain the addressee.

Table No 70 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 3 | 30% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 20% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 3 | 30% |
| Appeal of logic | 1 | 10% |
| Omission | 1 | 10% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |
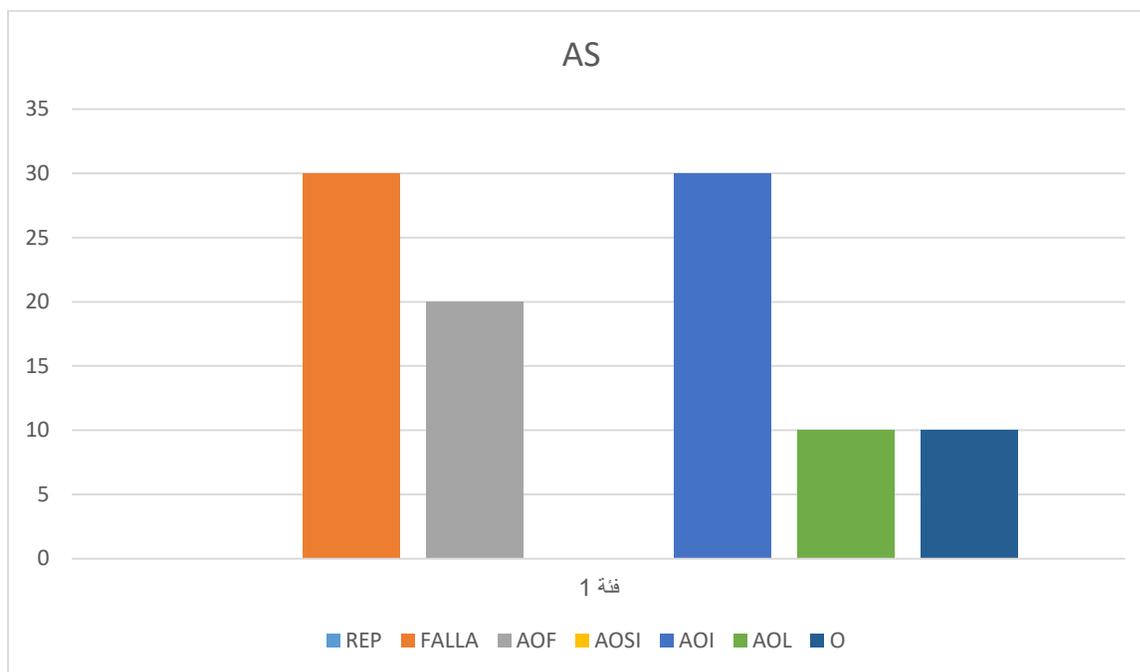
## 4.6 .2.5 _Stance-taking strategies_

The speaker uses the following stance tacking strategies: othering and de-approximation.

### _Othering_

In this speech, the speaker makes the catholic church his enemy and attacks it in an attempt to show that his and his church's beliefs are better.

### _De-approximation_

The speaker de-approximates the catholic church and criticize their beliefs. Consider the following:

_"it's a terribly important word to which we might return it's a fight it's an empirical fight ……. there is nothing sadly that the Catholic Church and its fireworks likes to do more than to attack the Enlightenment he did so at the time reference was made to Galileo and the fact that he was tortured_

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*…….. I beg to differ history history whinnies and Quivers and vibrates in all of us in this hall in this square mile let's think about this square mile I'll come back to it in a moment"*

Table No 71 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 36.5% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 27% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 36.5% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |
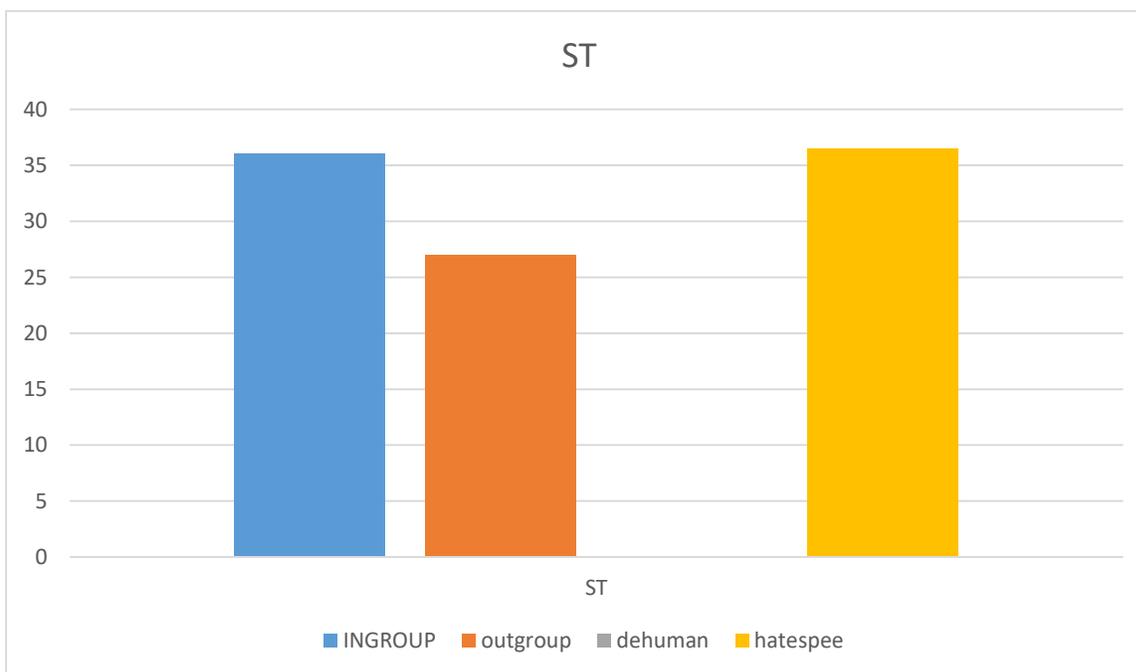
### 4.6 .2.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker intends to use all the linguistic strategies to prove that his ideas are correct.

### *Violating CP*

The speaker violates all the maxims of CP in his speech and especially the quantity maxim.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker uses all impolite strategies in his attack against the catholic church.

Table No 72 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 2 | 50% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 2 | 50% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |
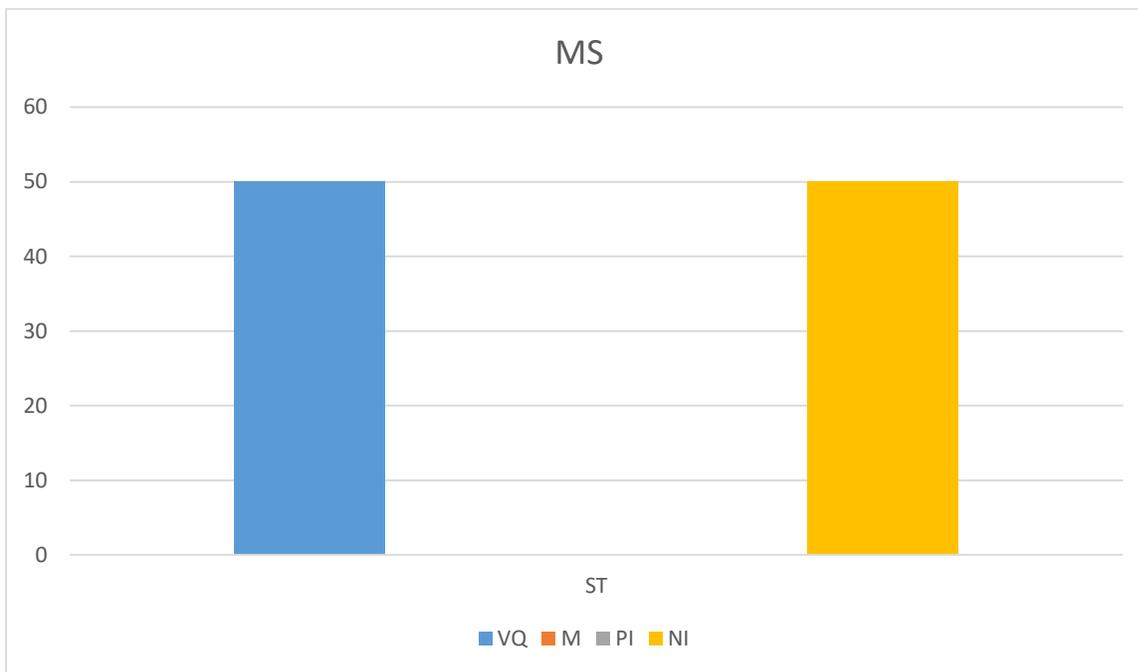
### 4.6 .3 Text NO. 13

### speech against the catholic

which other churches and other cultures have also their guilt to admit it's not unique to the Catholic Church and I never said it was an emotion doesn't say it was or at least the opposition of the motion does not irrigate to the Catholic Church uniquely this sin however the particular nature of the exploitation of the poor the vulnerable and the young if I were to talk to a priest now believe me that priest would be the most worldly charming self deprecating snobbish in a Ronald Knox alfred Gill be sort of way haha he would be lovely he would smoke gosh how daring he would be a sort of hahaha priest and the superstition and the nonsense that we read about of the church it's absolutely don't pay any attention Stephen just join Farm Street or one or the Brompton Oratory and have a marvelous time as of Catholic and everything is lovely

and splendid but be poor and ignorant and my goodness me every single detail of damnation and original sin and of any possibility of your complaining or asking to think for yourself I said let's think of this square-mile just imagine in this square mile how many people were burned for reading the Bible in English and one of the principal burners and torturers of those who tried to read the Bible in English here in London was Thomas More you may know if you've read the novel world which one the Man Booker Prize just the other day now that's a long time ago it's not relevant except that it was only in our century that Thomas More was made a saint and it was only in the year 2000 that the last pope the pole he he made it Thomas More the patron saint of politicians this is a man who put people on the rack for daring to own a Bible in English he tortured them for owning a Bible in their own language the idea that the Catholic Church exists to disseminate the word of the Lord is nonsense it is the only owner …….

## *analysis*

in the above speech, there is a clear religious sectarianism against the catholic church.

### *4.6 .3.1Social practice*

### *Misjudgment*

The speaker tries to misjudge the catholic church. He aims to attack it in his words. This is because he does not believe in some of the religious beliefs of this church.

Table No 37shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 3 | 100% |

| Total | 3 | 100% |
|-------|---|------|

### 4.6 .3.2 *Discursive strategies*

The speaker intends to use the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates his attack against the catholic church.

### *Warning*

The speaker implicitly warns from spreading the beliefs of the catholic church all over the Christian world.

Table No 74 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---------------------|----|---|
| Hyperbole | 4 | 57% |
| Warning | 3 | 43% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

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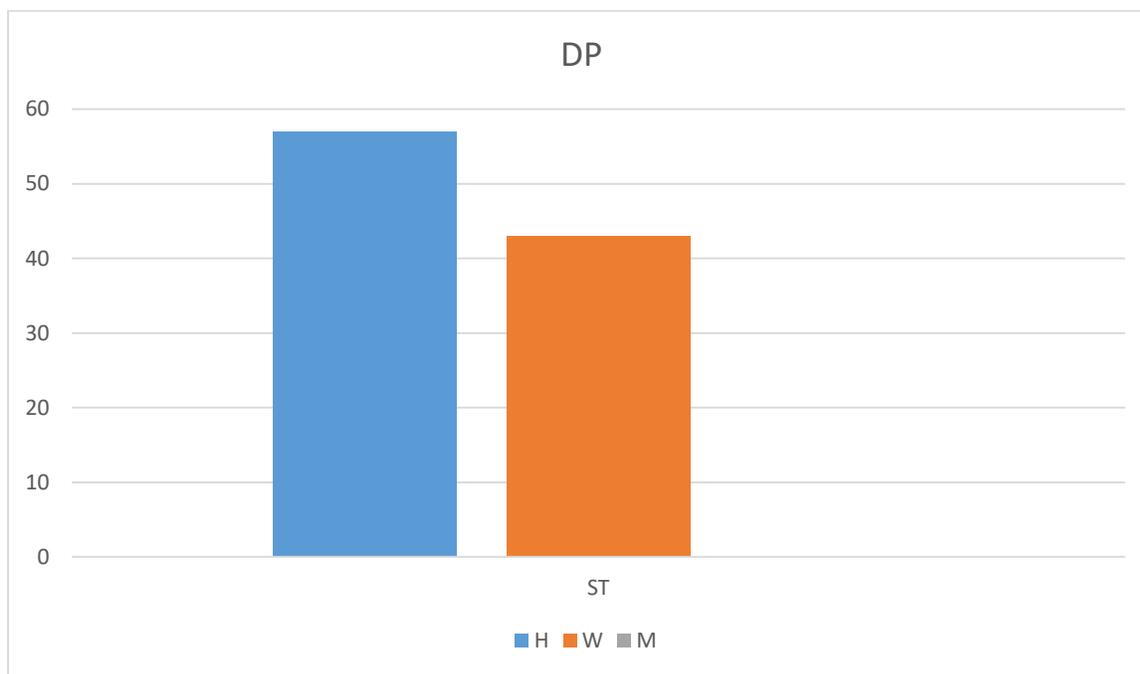
### 4.6 .3.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following strategies

### *Hostility*

The speaker expresses his hostility against the catholic church to a certain extent. He was extremist in his judgment against them and at the same time he was afraid from the widespread explosion for their ideas in the Christian world.

### *Insulting*

There was an implied insult for the catholic church and it can be cleared as being the source of odd ideas and beliefs.

Table No 75 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 4 | 57% |
| Insulting | 3 | 43% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |



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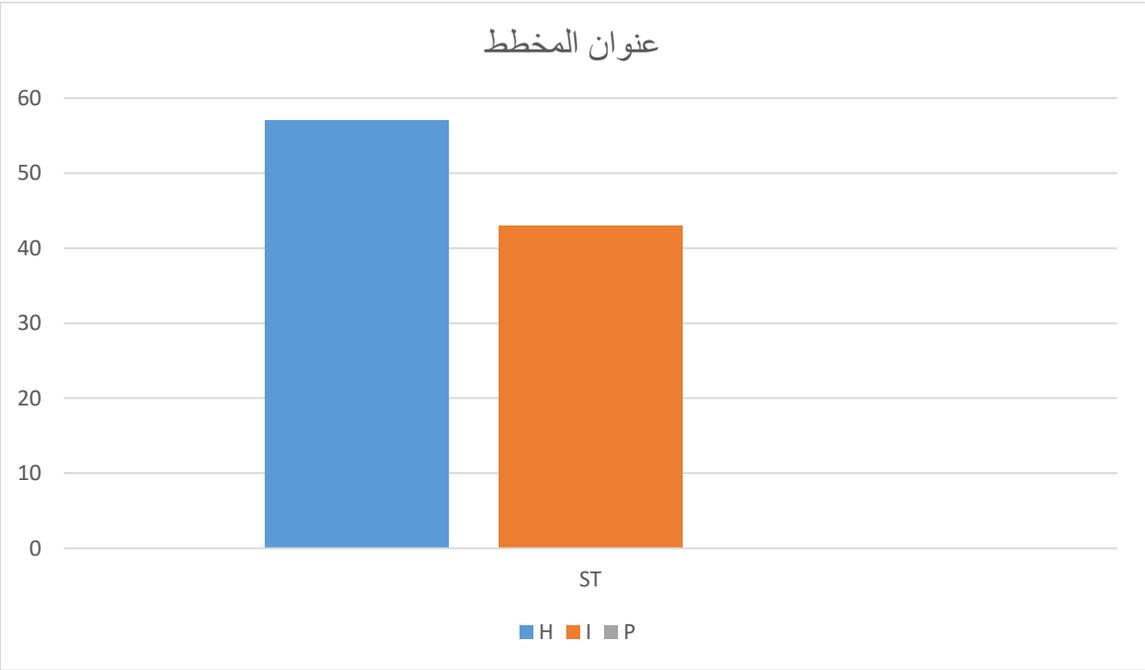
### 4.6 .3.4 Manipulation strategies

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies: omission, fallacies and appeals.

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit part of the fact that each church has its own beliefs and in fact each religion, sect or people has its own beliefs.

### *Fallacies*

The speaker makes use of the fallacy of example when he mentions certain characters and names. Then he makes use of the fallacy of the wrong belief when he attacks the catholic church.

### *Appeal*

The speaker appeals to fear and pity at the same time in his speech. This is made in an attempt to gain the addressee.

Table No 76 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 2 | 28.5% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 28.5% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 28.5% |
| Omission | 1 | 14.5 |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

**MS**
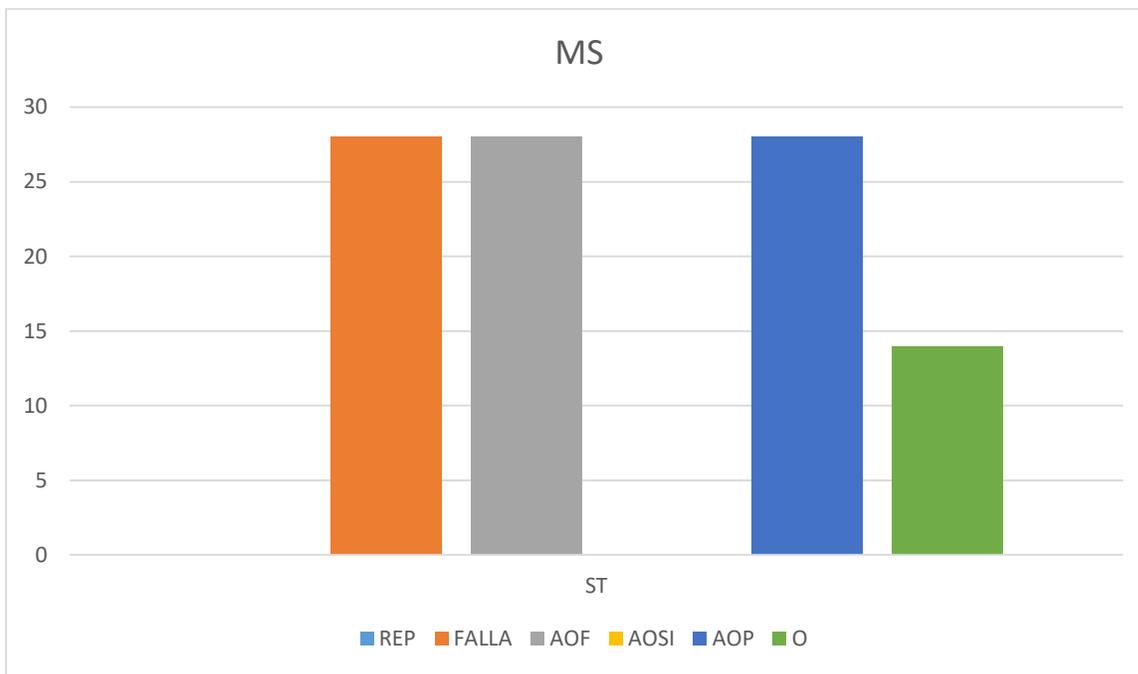
*4.6 .3.5Stance-taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance tacking strategies: othering and de-approximation.

**_Othering_**

In this speech, the speaker makes the catholic church his enemy and attacks it in an attempt to show that his and his church's beliefs are better.

**_De-approximation_**

The speaker de-approximates the catholic church and criticize their beliefs.

Table No 77 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |

| Othering: | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 20% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 30% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 5 | 50% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |



## 4.6 .3.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker intends to use all the linguistic strategies to prove that his ideas are correct.

The speaker violates all the maxims of CP in his speech and especially the quantity maxim.

*Impoliteness*

The speaker uses all impolite strategies in his attack against the catholic church.

Table No 78 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 3 | 30% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 2 | 20% |
| Negative impolite | 5 | 50% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |

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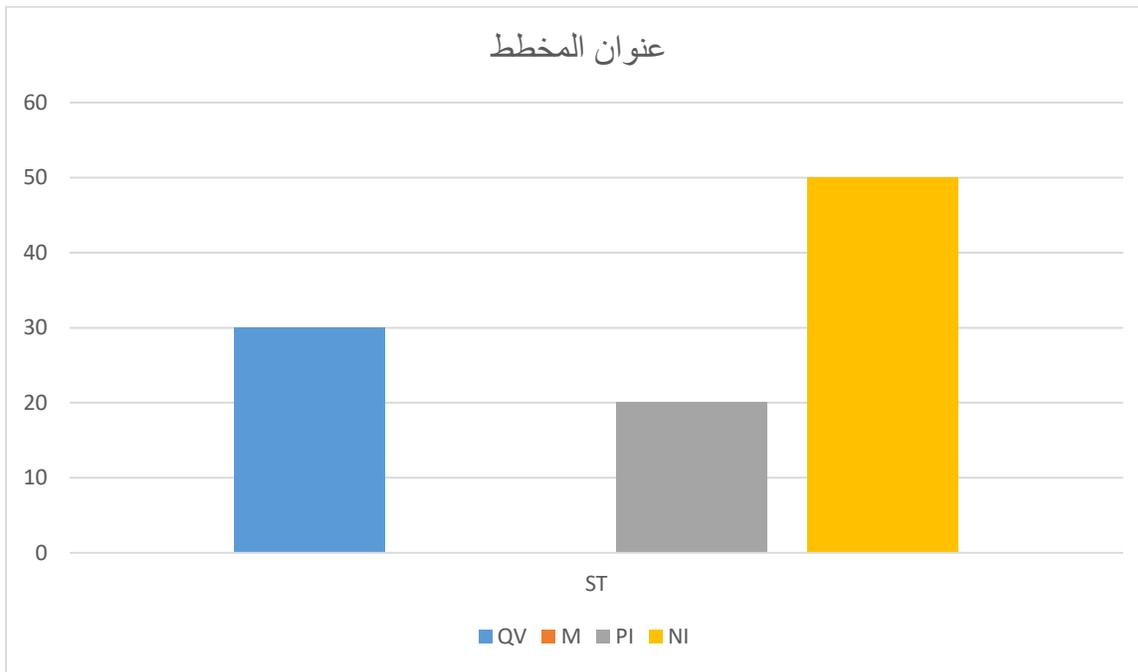
**4.6 .4.** <u>*Text NO.14*</u>

<u>*Misconceptions About the Orthodox Church*</u>

One misconception that a lot of people have about the Orthodox Church is that it is only for certain kinds of people: Only for Greeks, only for Russians, etc. The truth is: everyone belongs in the Orthodox Church. We want everyone to check us out and to become part of our communities. We have a lot of things in common with Roman Catholicism. But there are some big differences between the way that the Orthodox and Roman Catholics view Church authority. The way that we view salvation. The way that we understand what happens to us after we die. Even though we have a number of things in common, some very important things in common, we're really

not the same. Not only are we not the same, we're not in communion. The Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic church have not been part of the same Church together for about a thousand years now. The word idolatry literally means "the service of phantoms", or the service of something that is fake; something phony. For us, what we see in our icons is not something that's fake, it's something that's real. An icon of Jesus is about the real God-man. Icons of the Saints are about real people who actually exist and walked this earth, and now are glorified with our Lord. We connect with them with these things. An icon is for us a connection between a Heavenly reality and ourselves. If I see an icon of Jesus, when I pay honor to that icon by say, bowing to it or kissing it, I'm not giving my devotion to that piece of wood or the paint that is on that piece of wood. I am giving my devotion, my love to Jesus Christ. One thing some people will say about the Orthodox is that we think that we "earn our way to Heaven". That's not what we believe at all. We believe that the only reason why any of us can be saved is because of God's mercy which we do not deserve. There's nothing we can do to deserve God's mercy; there's nothing we can do to to "earn it". Rather, what happens is God gives his Grace fully, completely, to all of mankind. We can choose to cooperate with it or not to cooperate with it. For instance if you want to get a suntan, from the Sun which is shining on the whole world, you need to go out and stand in the sun and experience the Sun so you can get that suntan. But if you stay inside, you're not going to get the suntan. You're not earning the suntan by going out there. But you have to be in the sun if you want to experience the benefits of the Sun. It's God who does the work, but we have to open ourselves up to let him do it. Sometimes when people say this about religion that is liturgical, (in other words, that's focused on

ritual prayer), They won't examine the rituals in their own lives.For instance, most Americans have various rituals that we do all the time.

## *Analysis*

in the above speech, there is a clear religious sectarianism against the orthotics church.

### *4.6 .4.1Social practice*

#### *Misjudgment*

The speaker tries to misjudge the orthotics church. He aims to attack it in his words. This is because he does not believe in some of the religious beliefs of this church .Consider the following extract: ***"But there are some big differences between the way that the Orthodox and Roman Catholics view Church authority. The way that we view salvation. The way that we understand what happens to us after we die. Even though we have a number of things in common, some very important things in common, we're really not the same. Not only are we not the same, we're not in communion".***

Table No 79 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

### *4.6 .4.2Discursive strategies*

The speaker intends to use the following discursive strategies:

### Hyperbole

The speaker exaggerates his attack against the orthotics. Consider the following lines: *"we're really not the same. Not only are we not the same, we're not in communion. The Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic church have not been part of the same Church together for about a thousand years now……."*

*"For us, what we see in our icons is not something that's fake, it's something that's real. An icon of Jesus is about the real God-man…………."*

### Warning

The speaker implicitly warns from spreading the beliefs of the orthotics church all over the Christian world as is shown by these two extracts:

*"We want everyone to check us out and to become part of our communities"*

*They won't examine the rituals in their own lives. For instance, most Americans have various rituals that we do all the time.*

Table No 80 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 6 | 75% |
| Warning | 2 | 25% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
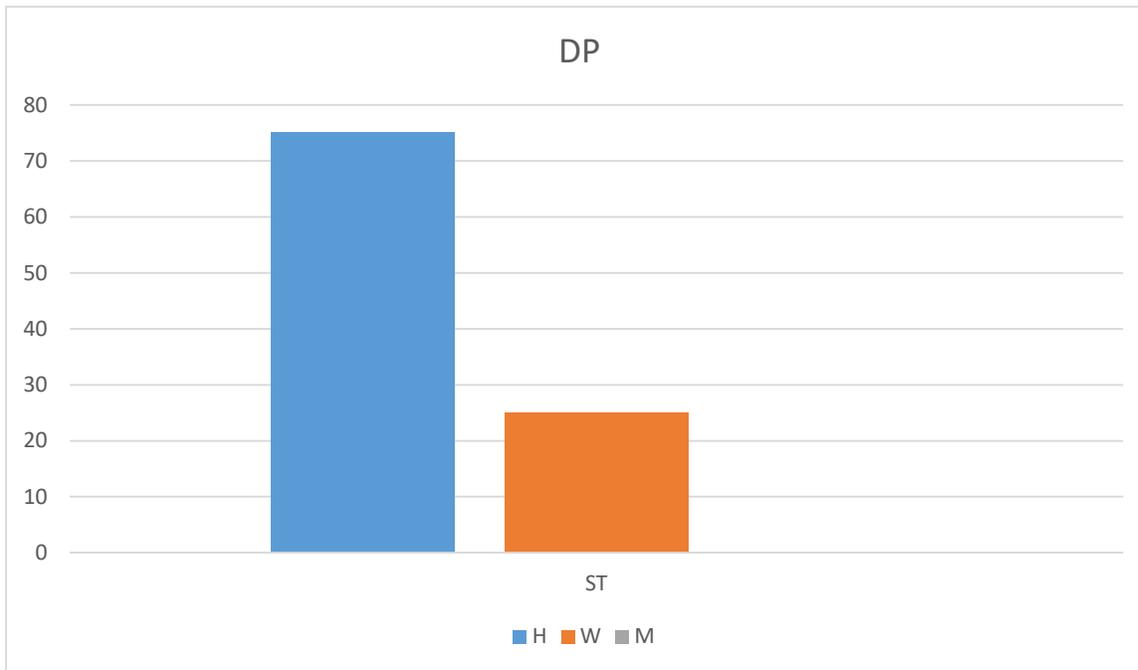
### *4.6 .4.3 Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following strategies

### *Hostility*

The speaker expresses his hostility against the orthotics church to a certain extent. He was extremist in his judgment against them and at the same time he was afraid from the widespread explosion for their ideas in the Christian world as is shown by these lines:

*"The word idolatry literally means "the service of phantoms", or the service of something that is fake; something phony. For us, what we see in our icons is not something that's fake, it's something that's real………."*

### *Insulting*

There was an implied insult for the orthotics church and it can be cleared as being the source of odd ideas and beliefs for example  ,the idea of "*the service of phantoms" and "earn our way to Heaven" "*

Table No 81 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 5 | 62.5% |
| Insulting | 3 | 37.5% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
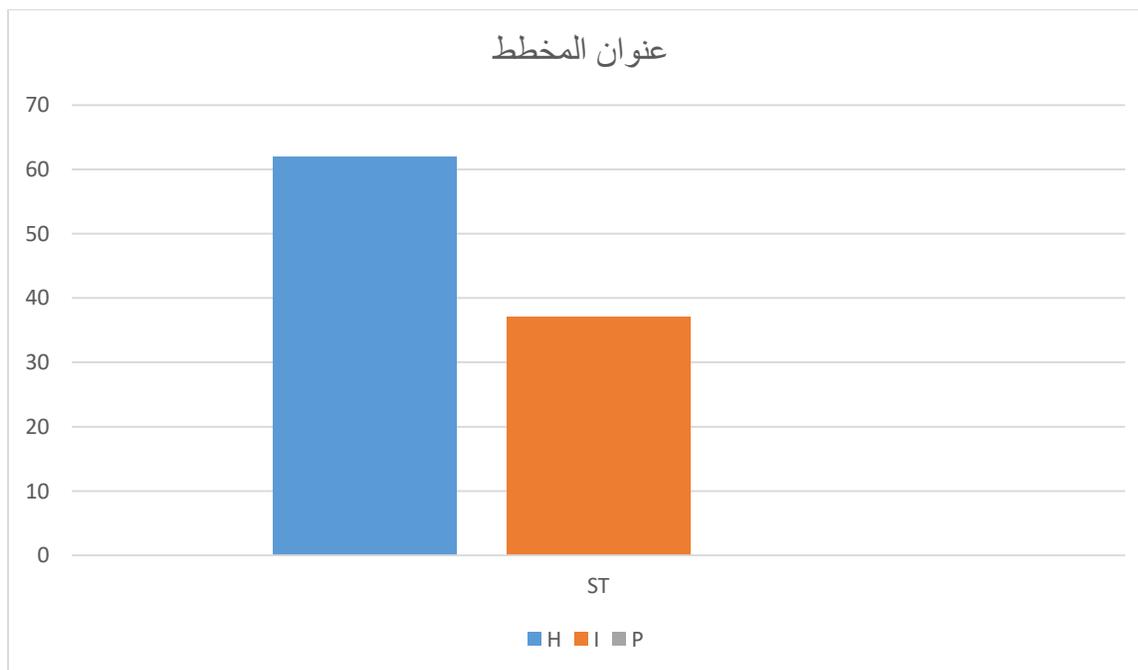
### 4.6 .4.4 Manipulation strategies

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies: omission, fallacies and appeals.

### Omission

The speaker tries to omit part of the fact that each church has its own beliefs and in fact each religion, sect or people has its own beliefs.

### Fallacies

The speaker makes use of the fallacy of example when he mentions certain characters  like the icon of Jesus . Then he makes use of the fallacy of the wrong belief when he attacks the orthotics church by giving an examples to persuade his addressee the other idea is wrong as in the following lines: ***"We can choose to cooperate with it or not to cooperate with it. For instance if you want to get a suntan, from the Sun which is shining on the whole world,………"***

### Appeal

The speaker appeals to fear and pity at the same time in his speech. This is made in an attempt to gain the addressee which is clear in the following lines: ***"If I see an icon of Jesus, when I pay honor to that icon by say, bowing to it or kissing it, I'm not giving my devotion to that piece of wood or the paint that is on that piece of wood. I am giving my devotion, my love to Jesus Christ"***

Table No 82 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 2 | 33% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 1 | 17% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 33% |
| Omission | 1 | 17% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |
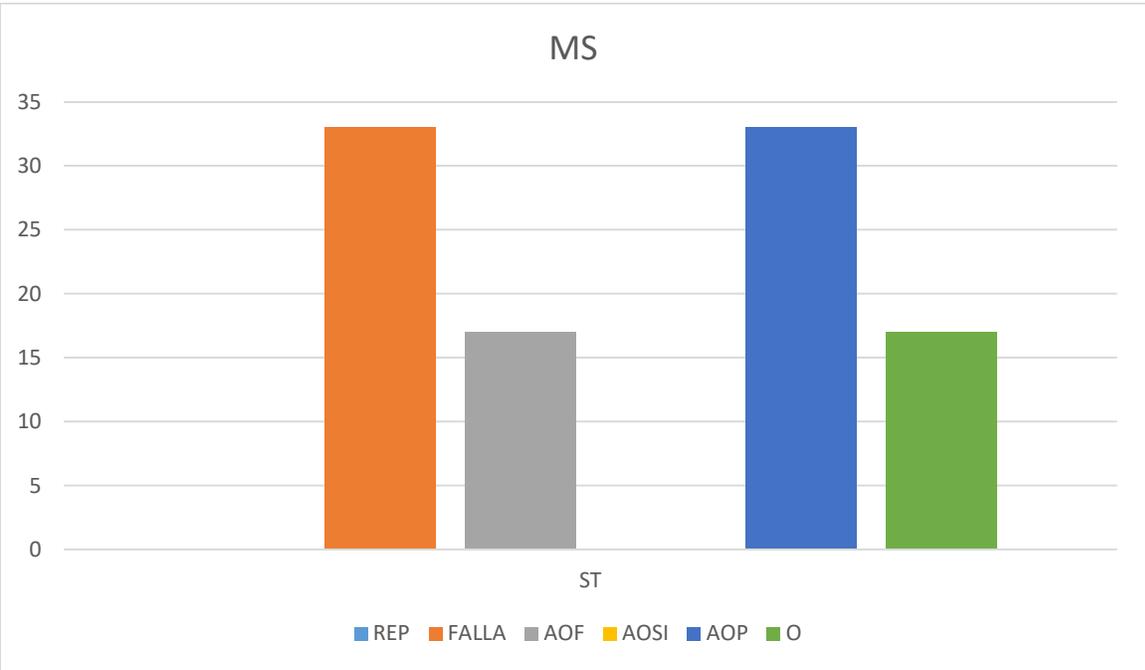
### *4.6 .4.5Stance-taking strategies*

The speaker uses the following stance tacking strategies: othering and de-approximation.

### *Othering*

In this speech, the speaker makes the orthotics church his enemy and attacks it in an attempt to show that his and his church's beliefs are better.

### *De-approximation*

### *Hate speech*

The speaker de-approximates the orthotics church and criticize their beliefs.

Table No 83 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 4 | 36% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 28% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 36% |
| Total | 11 | 100% |

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Chart legend: ■ ingroup ■ outgroup ■ dehuman ■ hatespee
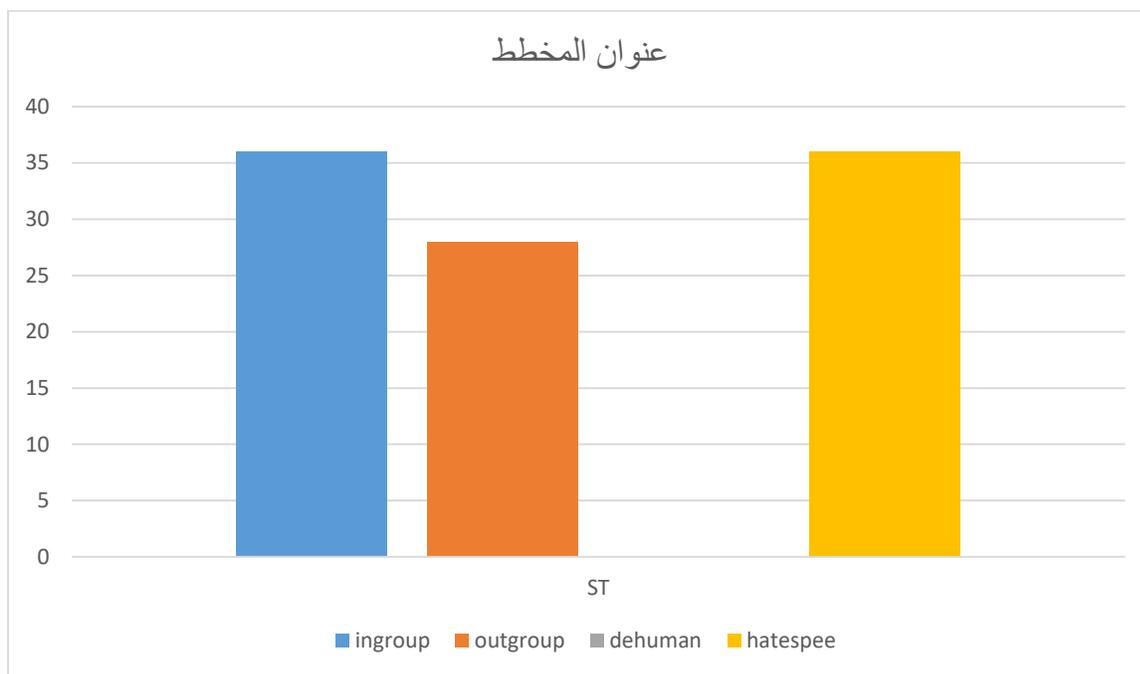
### *4.6 .4.6Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker intends to use all the linguistic strategies to prove that his ideas are correct.

### *Violating CP*

The speaker violates all the maxims of CP in his speech and especially the quantity maxim.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker uses all impolite strategies in his attack against the orthotics church such as positive and negative impoliteness which are represented all means of attacking the orthotics and by making them wrong and unwanted.

Table No 84 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 4 | 44% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 2 | 22.5% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 33.5% |
| Total | 9 | 100% |
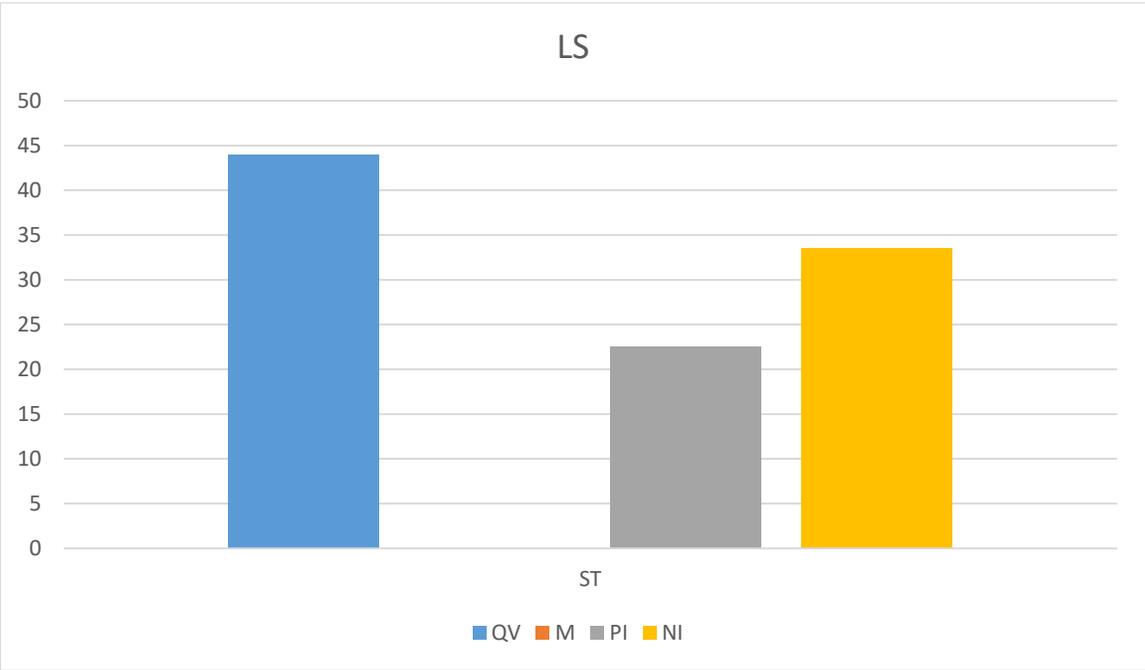
## 4.6 .5 *Text No.15*

### *Dr. George Fraser - Black People are Heading into a Second Slavery*

the sexiest thing the sexiest thing got a black band you can do today [Applause] I speak from experience yes I am black for those of you who were not entirely sure that is the beauty of our culture and race we come in all shapes and sizes and skin tones and hair textures lots of options out there brothers and sisters no need to strike now I can say that does I'm in America the same sister I said sister people ask me all the time dr. Fraser what is the secret to me to staying married to the same system for 45 years and it's a one word secret amnesia 45 years Nora Gene's gonna do something stupid I'm gonna do something stupid we discussed the stupid things that we have done Bishop we reach middle ground we bless it and release it never to bring it up again and we go about raising our family loving our children and serving our people till death do us part that is the key to success in the black community a strong black family a strong we just don't have time to unpack that but huge now all that needed to be said and today has already been said I got I got here at 8 o'clock this morning i sat patiently and listened to 6070 brothers and sisters speak with brilliance with intelligence with calm and collaboration was just a beautiful thing to see and they covered everything that you could possibly want to cover so a I applaud you for that Benz L I know you often call yourself Denzel yeah everybody else but you are the bomb I love you you are in fact a race man as I am a race man that we have committed our time talent and treasure to the investment and the upliftment of black people first I did say only I said first not only for that so let me say this to you from my heart if I could not be me I would want to be youth you're their brother I appreciate you and who and and the people that you

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coalesced around a powerful vision for the future a black folk in Denver you are going to have obstacles one of my favorite quotes this for Marcus Aurelius Marcus Aurelius was one of the five great CSIS and it was Marcus Aurelius who said that the impediment to action advances action that what stands in the way becomes the way let me say that where there is no obstacle there is no way when God gives you an assignment when you're ready….. I Just want to ask you one question why religion is the white man religion. Is it a curse for us we the black.

## *Analysis*

## *4.6 .5 .1Social practice*

The speaker is misjudging the white. He described them as being unjudged and as being the reasons behind making the world harsh.

Table No 85 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 6 | 100% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |

## *4.6 .5.2 Discursive practice*

The speaker tends to use the following discursive strategies:

## *Hyperbole:*

The speaker is exaggerating in depicting Jesus as a black man. He gives the black a hint to move and change the picture.

## *Warning*

In his attempt of encouraging the black, the speaker tries to warn them by describing the white as being manipulative and so as the world.

Table No 86 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 2 | 40% |
| Warning | 3 | 60% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |
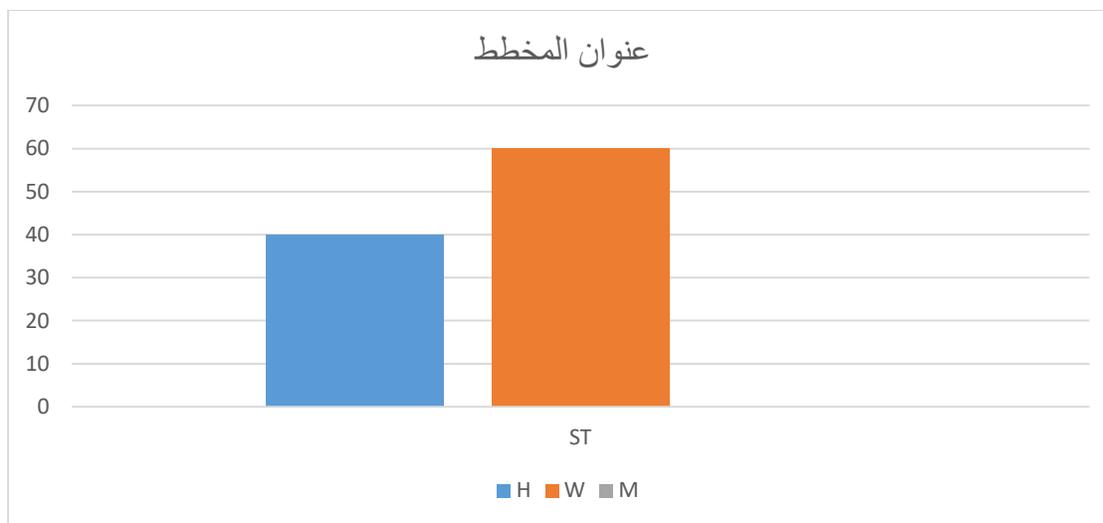


### 4.6 .5.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker employs different aggressive strategies in his speech like hostility and insulting.

### *Hostility*

As mentioned previously the speaker describes the white as being manipulative and cheaters and this comes from his hostility against them. And to be fair this hostility against the white is justified by the works of the white against the black.

## *Insulting*

This strategy is also implied in the speaker description of the white as being manipulative and as being the cause behind making the world harsh.

Table No 87 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 3 | 43% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Insulting | 4 | 57% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |
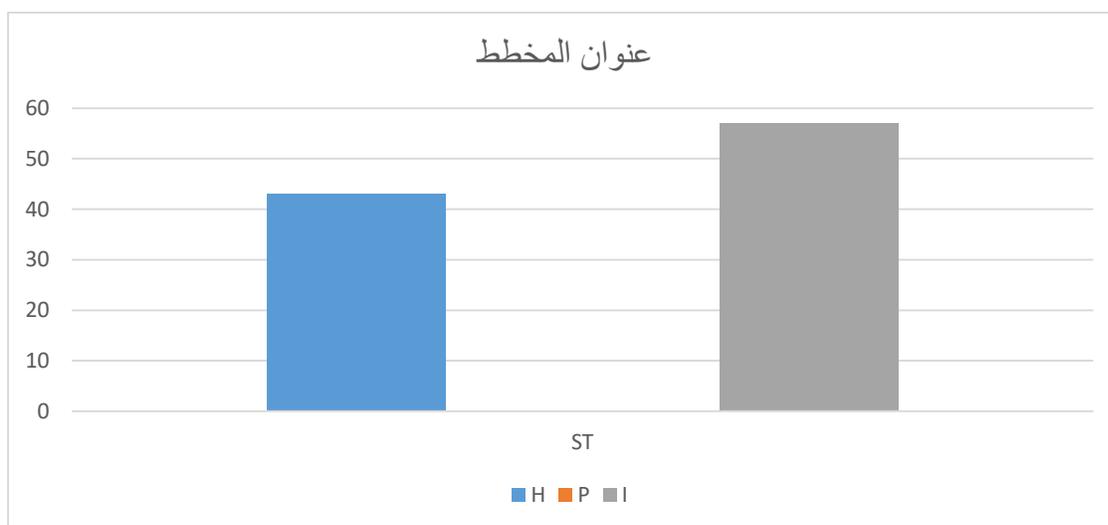


## 4.6 .5 .4*Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses two manipulation strategies in this speech: repetition and appeal.

## *Repetition*

The speaker, while issuing sectarianism, repeats certain expressions like: "white man's religion" and the picture of jesus in an attempt to make the listeners focus on them.

### *Appeal*

The speaker uses one type of appeal throughout the speech. He appeals to fear when mentioning the white.

Table No 88 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 3 | 50% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 3 | 50% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |



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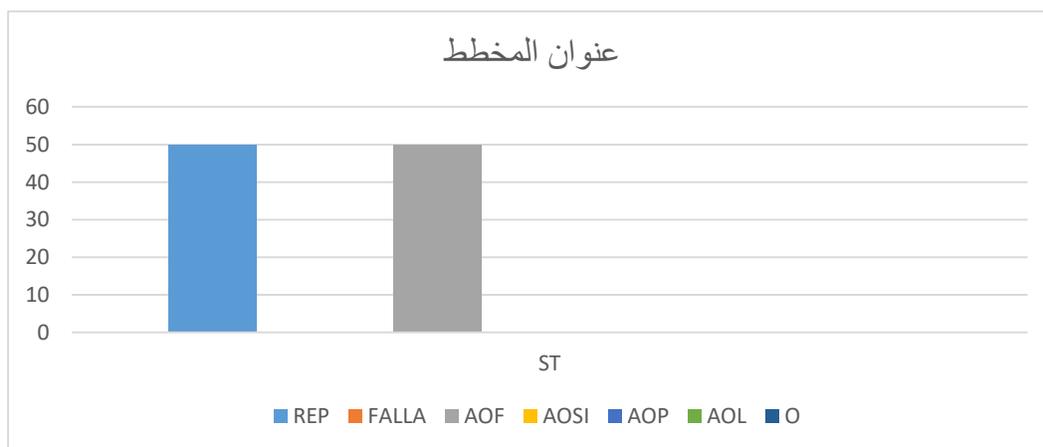
### 4.6 .5.5 *Stance-taking strategies:*

The speaker makes use of certain stance-taking strategies like: de-approximation and othering.

### *De-approximation*

The speaker exerts all his efforts to warn the blacks form the white and this carries the strategy of de-approximation in its folds.

### *Othering*

Again the speaker tries to make white the other for him and this is why he describes them as being manipulative.

Table No 89 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 3 | 38% |
| (-ve)out-group | 2 | 24% |
| Approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 3 | 38% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |

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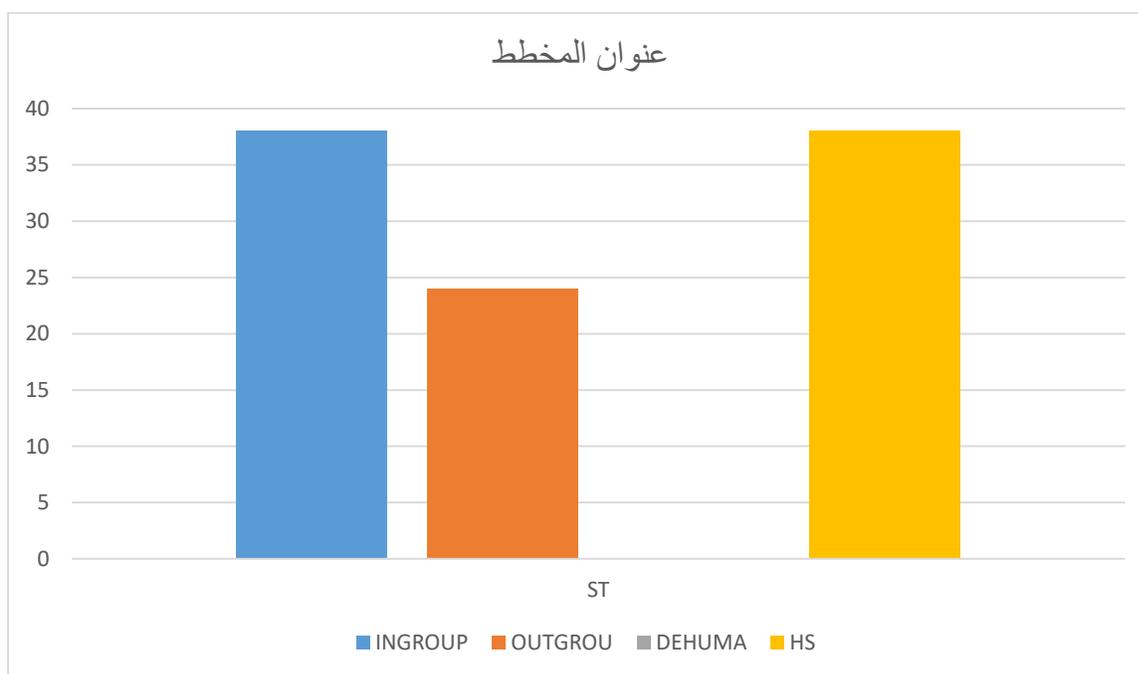
### *4.6 .5 .6Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker uses both maneuvering strategies mentioned in the model: Violating CP and impoliteness.

### *Violating CP*

The speaker violates the quality maxim when he lets every claim presented in the speech with no evidence. He also violates the manner maxim when he keeps talking about things which are not obvious for all.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker was so impolite against the white to the extent that he uses all impolite strategies to attack them.

Table No 90 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 2 | 33% |
| Manner | 1 | 17% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 50% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |



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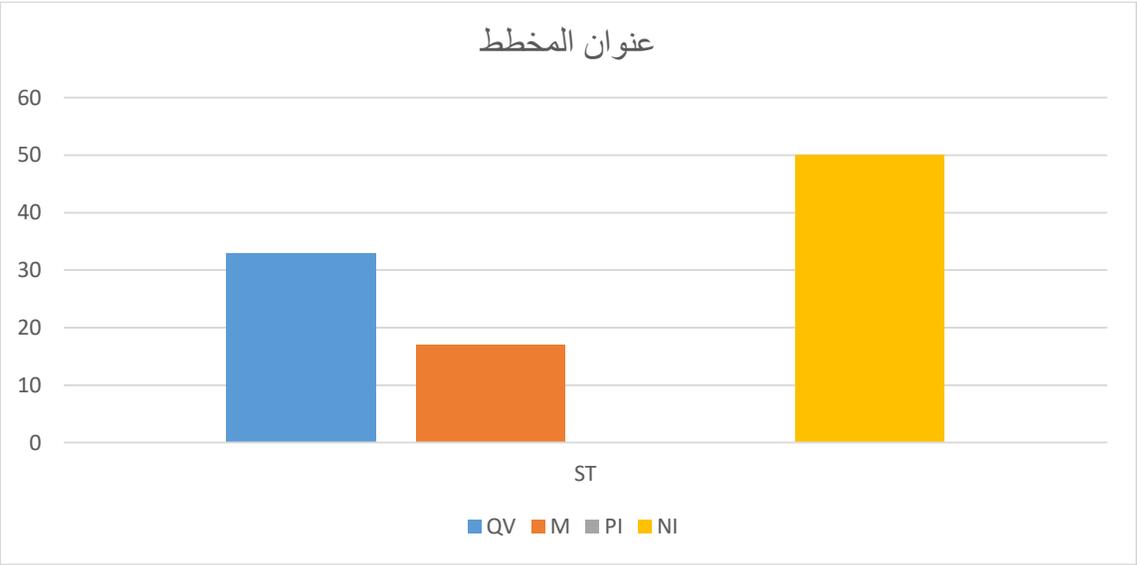
## 4.6 .6 *Text NO.16*

The priest VS the orthotics

and he cannot mix in the Bible so this is no strange subject we just need to bring the subject up more frequently so we launched this year wins wins wins is an acronym well for the name of our divine son we know that is I

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created a little piece of poetry under winds and it says for the wind for it is the wind that makes us soar and it is the winds that bring change winds they will be financially a financial literacy centers wealth building centers that's how we're branding them now I have a little experience with branding I spent 13 years in branding and marketing in leadership positions with Procter and Gamble now anybody know anything about branding and marketing they are the beasts of branding and marketing they invented branding and I sat at the feet of the masters for thirteen years I was the guy that was partly responsible for the launch of pampers which disrupted the cloth diaper category forty years ago so I know a little bit on how to package design and do the brand architecture for something as powerful as a brand that needs to bring the suit literacy we are we introduced it last year at the power networking conference we said here's what's coming we launched it this year at the power networking conference we recruited now I eat the prototype I've had a win Center in my church for thelast 14 months so I was sort of the test market we're now doing what they call in the branding world a soft launch so we've got 15 people around the country we will be meeting in October for the final train-the-trainer each person directing a win center must have some history in the financial services industry and then they must get a CFP i which is sort of a certification of financial education instruction you see because you are a stockbroker doesn't mean that you can teach financial education it is no different than basketball Michael Jordan is the baddest basketball player that ever played the game but he would fire himself as the coach of a team that he won because he cannot coach but Phil Jackson was a mediocre basketball player and Phil Jackson has 11 rings and nine of them offer coaching because you can play basketball doesn't mean that you can teach basketball because you could read doesn't mean that you could teach reading because you can

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do math doesn't mean that you can teach math you have to be certified I have to African sent to charter schools and you cannot teach basic reading in my charter schools without certification and reading but why would we allow people to teach our people something they're not certified and teaching ….

*analysis*

in the above speech, there is a clear religious sectarianism against the orthotics church.

## 4.6 .6 .1 *Social practice*

### *Misjudgment*

The speaker tries to misjudge the orthotics church. He aims to attack it in his words. This is because he does not believe in some of the religious beliefs of this church.

Table No 91 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 5 | 100% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |

## 4.6 .6 .2 *Discursive strategies*

The speaker intends to use the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates his attack against the orthotics.

### *Warning*

The speaker implicitly warns from spreading the beliefs of the orthotics church all over the Christian world.

Table No 92 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 3 | 60% |
| Warning | 2 | 40% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |
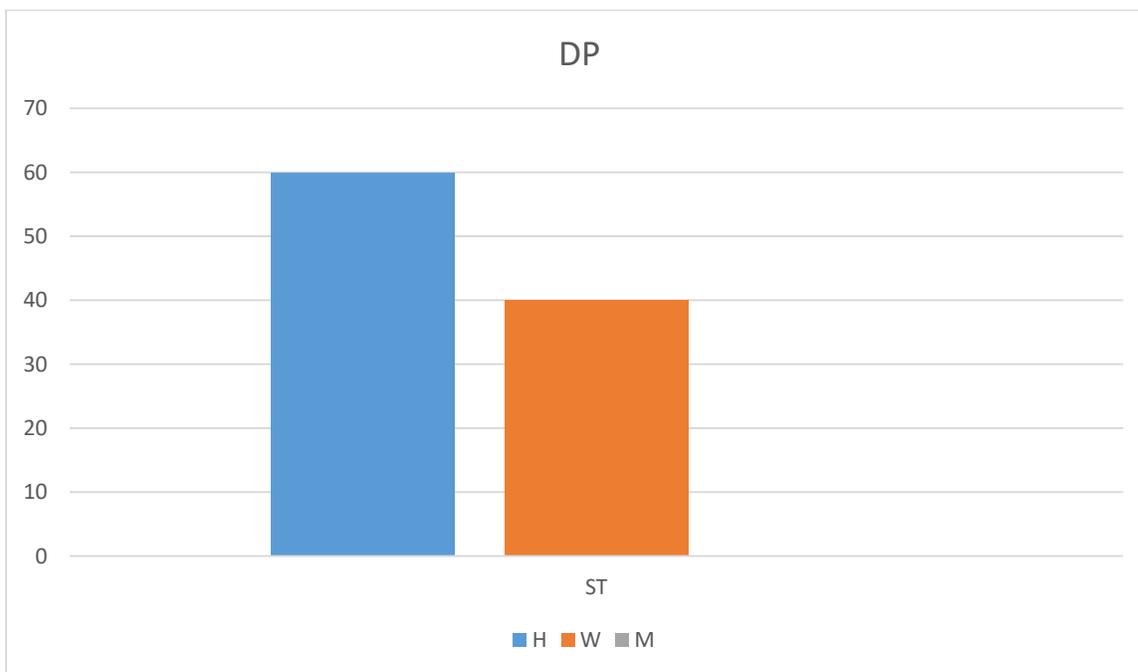


### 4.6 .6 .3*Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following strategies

### *Hostility*

The speaker expresses his hostility against the orthothics church to a certain extent. He was extremist in his judgment against them and at the same time he was afraid from the widespread explosion for their ideas in the Christian world.

## *Insulting*

There was an implied insult for the orthothics church and it can be cleared as being the source of odd ideas and beliefs.

Table No 93 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 3 | 60% |
| Insulting | 2 | 40% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |
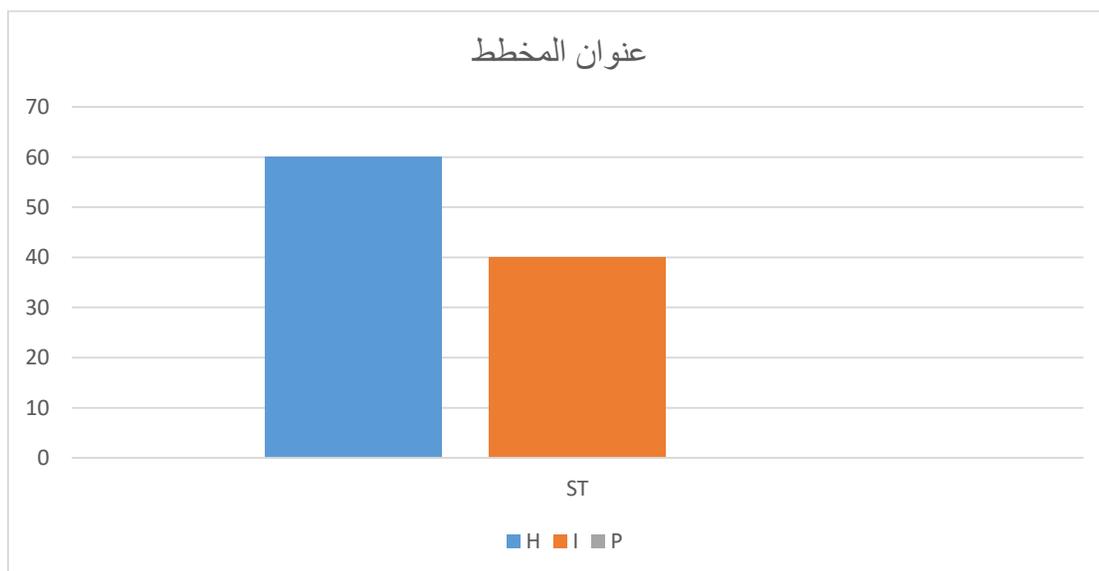
### 4.6 .6 .4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses the following manipulation strategies: omission, fallacies and appeals.

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit part of the fact that each church has its own beliefs and in fact each religion, sect or people has its own beliefs.

### *Fallacies*

The speaker makes use of the fallacy of example when he mentions certain characters and names. Then he makes use of the fallacy of the wrong belief when he attacks the orthothics church.

### *Appeal*

The speaker appeals to fear and pity at the same time in his speech. This is made in an attempt to gain the addressee.

Table No 94 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 2 | 25% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 3 | 38% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 25% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 1 | 12% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |

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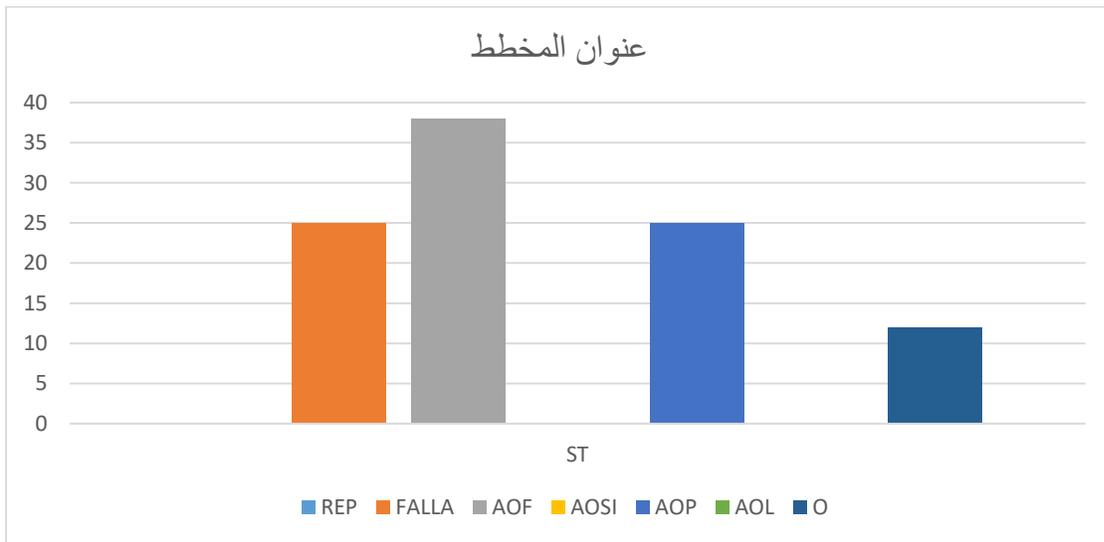
## 4.6 .6 .5 _Stance-taking strategies_

The speaker uses the following stance tacking strategies: othering and de-approximation.

### _Othering_

In this speech, the speaker makes the orthothics church his enemy and attacks it in an attempt to show that his and his church's beliefs are better.

### _De-approximation_

The speaker de-approximates the orthothics church and criticize their beliefs.

Table No 95 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+ve)in-group | 3 | 43% |
| (-ve)out-group | 2 | 28.5% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 2 | 28.5% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |
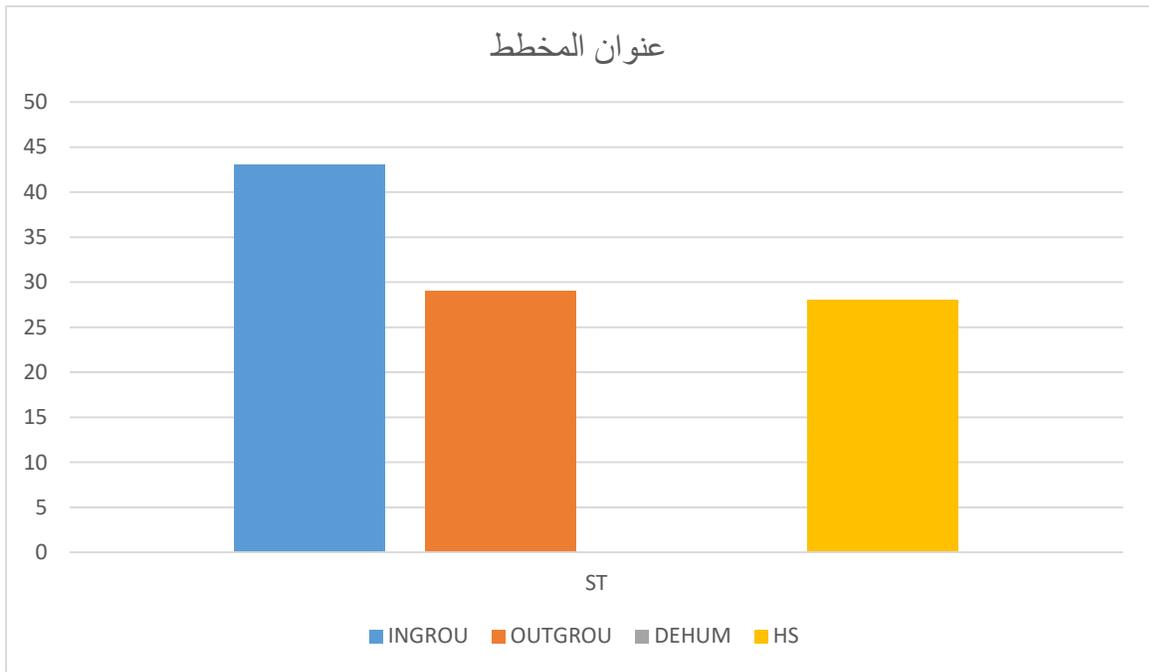


## 4.6 .6 .6_Maneuvering strategies_

The speaker intends to use all the linguistic strategies to prove that his ideas are correct.

### _Violating CP_

The speaker violates all the maxims of CP in his speech and especially the quantity maxim.

### _Impoliteness_

The speaker uses all impolite strategies in his attack against the orthothics church.

Table No 96 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 50% |
| Quantity violation | 0 | 0% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 50% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |



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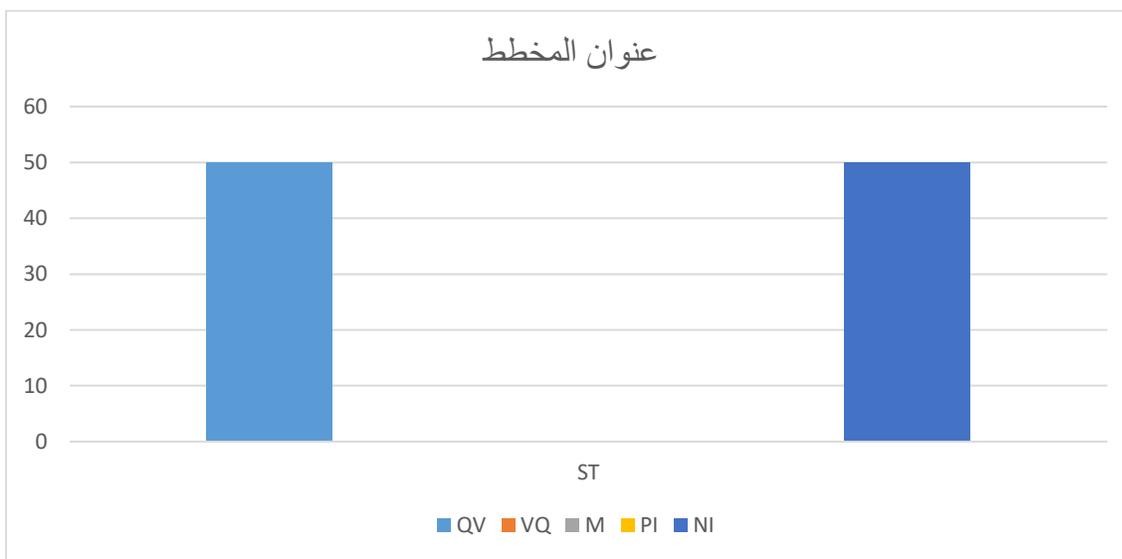
## 4.6 .7 *Text NO. 17*

## *An inside look at Islamic extremism by Mubin Shaikh*

when I was still an extremist I celebrated the 9/11 attacks when the news came in over the radio that a plane that hit a building the first thing that came out of my mouth was god is great Allahu Akbar now you see extremists are made and not born in my journey as a middle-class Muslim kid from Canada began at a Koran school that I attended every day of the week every weekend the boys were on one side the girls were on another side and both of us would be rocking back and forth in front of wooden benches reciting the Quran by rote not understanding a word of what we were reciting if you made a mistake you were slapped you were beaten we were put into a stress position and this is where I was first introduced to the concept that religion is something violent of course the public school that I went to during the day was the complete opposite of this environment the boys and girls mixed was a nurturing caring environment he weren't slapped if he made a mistake and this contrast would lay the foundation for an identity crisis for my identity crisis that would manifest later on in high school I wasn't bullied in high school I wasn't picked on we were one of the cool kids but one day when my parents were gone overseas I had a house party and unbeknownst to me my father had told his brother my uncle to check on the house while he was gone so as a teenager has this party happening and all the friends are over in the middle of the party my uncle walks in and he begins yelling and screaming telling everyone to get out he grabbed me by the scruff of my neck he says what have you done you've shamed the family you have dishonored and defiled the home people pray here he said you're bringing these people here

to do these things he called up other uncle's who came to the house sat me down surrounded me and berated me over and over making me feel so guilty over what I had done and so I told myself there the only way for me to dissolve egde what was left of my……..

## *analysis*

## *4.6 .7.1 social Practice*

the speaker is misjudging the Muslims. He is accusing them of the murders happening in the world, he is accusing them of everything bad without presenting any evidence for his arguments. The speaker is issuing sectarianism in an extreme way against Muslims.

Table No 97 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 8 | 100% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |

## *4.6 .7.2  Discursive strategies:*

## *Hyperbole*

The speaker is using hyperbole a lot when he speaks about Muslims. He attributed all bloody works to them. And he uses this strategy again when he talks about the reasons why Muslims hate non-Muslims.

## *Warning*

The speaker's words and lines include warning of Muslim and what of would happen if the Muslims control. The murders, the terror, dictatorship, etc.

Table No 98 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 7 | 54% |
| Warning | 6 | 46% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 13 | 100% |
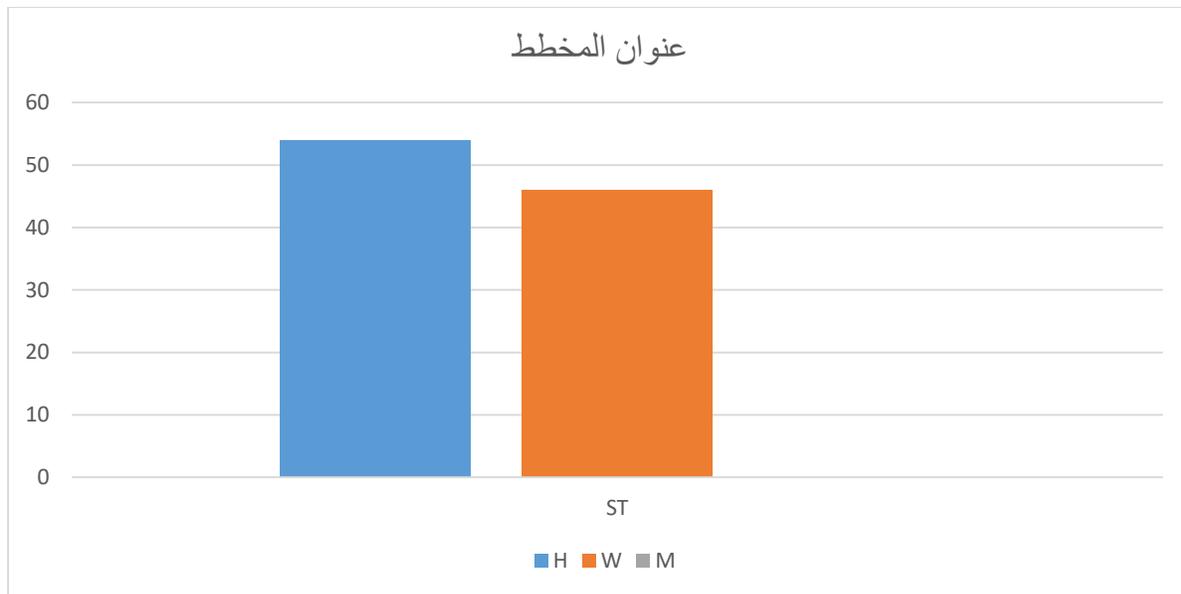


### 4.6 .7 .3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker was so aggressive in his speech against Muslims so he uses the following strategies:

### *Hostility*

Hostility is clear in every line of the speech under analysis. All the speech is against the muslims. So every word carries hostility in its folds.

### *Insulting*

The speaker is insulting the Muslims through accusing them of terror works. In different places of his speech, there is a clear insult for them.

### *Profanity*

The speaker presents certain expression that are belittling the others and at the same time reflect the profanity and aggression of Muslims even with their sons.

Table No 99 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 7 | 43% |
| Insulting | 6 | 38% |
| Profanity | 3 | 19% |
| Total | 16 | 100% |

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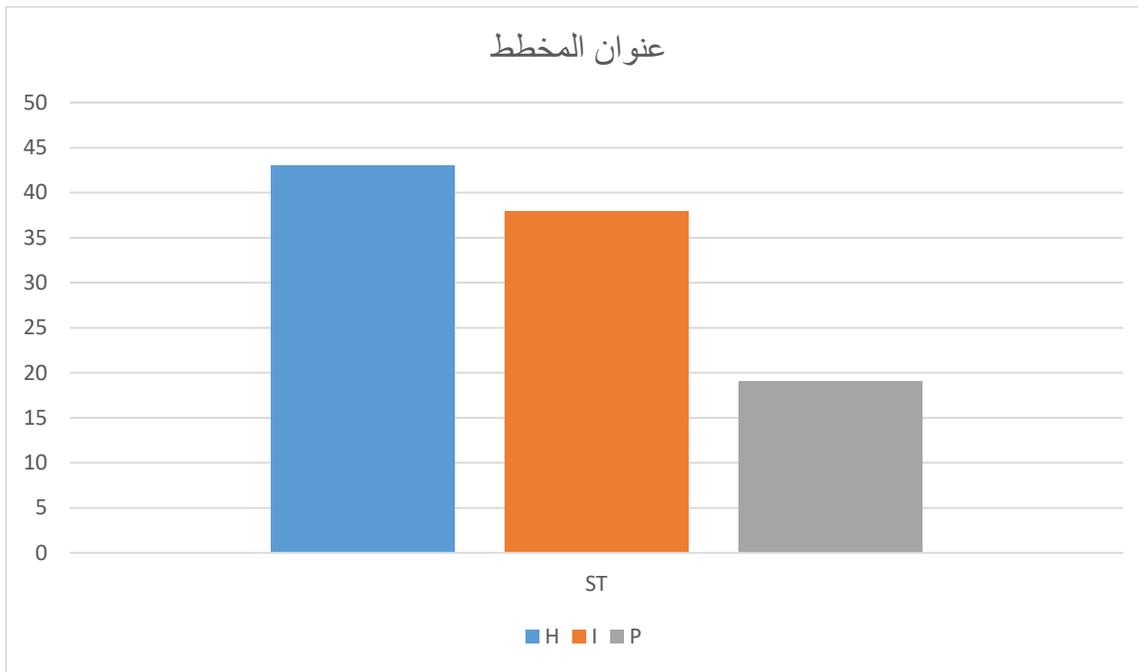
### *4.6 .7 .4Manipulation strategies*

The speaker seems manipulative in this words. He uses two manipulative strategies when issuing sectarianism against Muslims: repetition and fallacy.

### *Repetition*

The speaker repeats the lines of murders to show that Muslims are murderers to a great extent.

### *Fallacies*

The speaker uses two types of fallacies in this speech: fallacy of appeal to fear and fallacy of appeal to self-interest. The speaker tries to arouse fear in the listeners through mentioning works of murder made by Muslims according to his claim.

Table No 100 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 6 | 46% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 4 | 31% |
| Appeal of self interest | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of pity | 3 | 23% |
| Appeal of logic | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 13 | 100% |
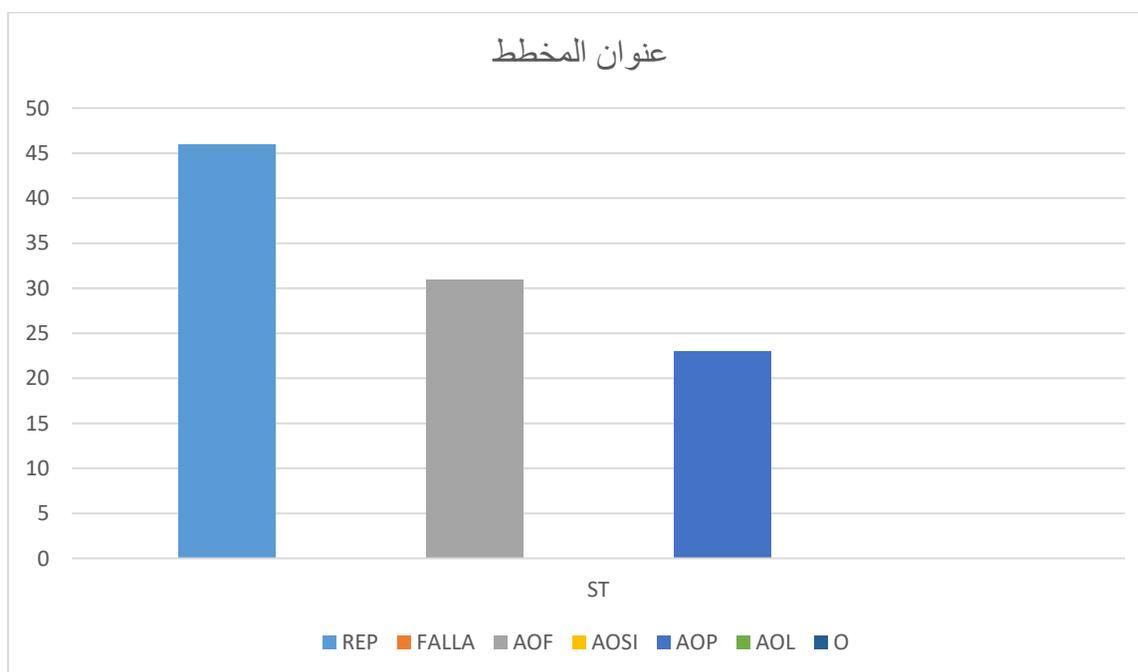


### 4.6 .7 .5 _Stance taking strategies:_

The speaker uses different stance taking strategies like:

### _**Othering**_

The speaker tries to judge himself and his listeners as being good and at the same time, he is judging the other (Muslims) as being bad.

## De-approximation

The speaker exerts all what he has to de-approximate Muslims and that's why he accuses them of all the bad things mentioned in the speech.

## De-humanization

The speaker is belittling the Muslims through accusing them of many murder works.

## Hate-speech

The whole speech can be regarded as hate-speech.

Table No 101 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 6 | 30% |
| (-ve)out-group | 4 | 20% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 3 | 15% |
| Hate speech | 7 | 35% |
| Total | 20 | 100% |

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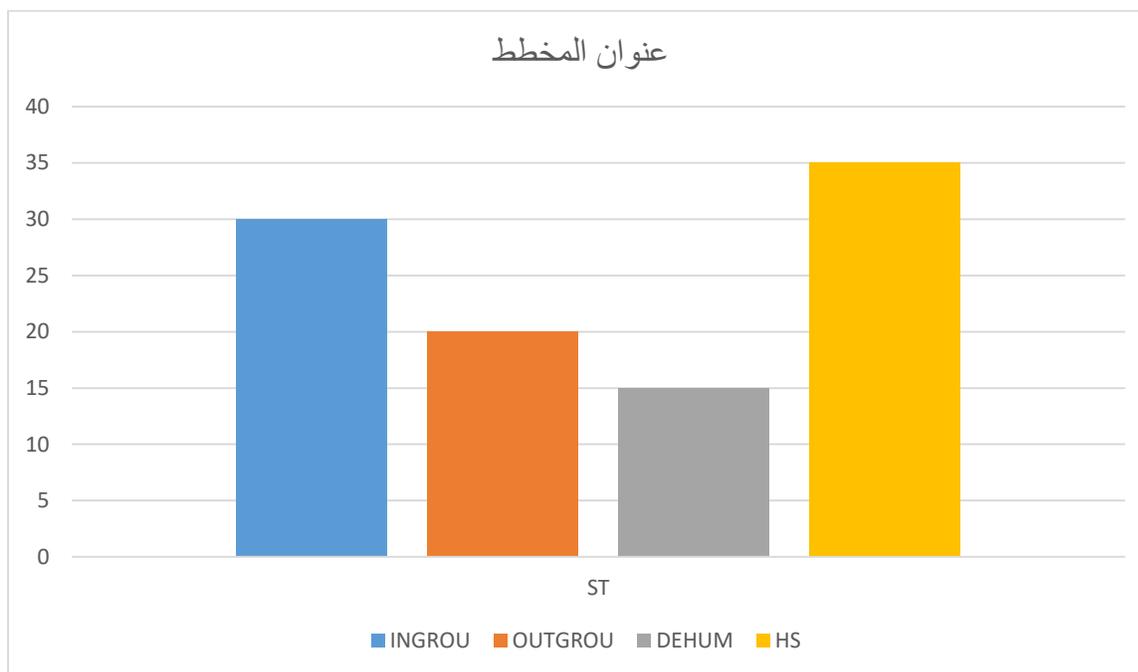
### 4.6 .7.6 *Maneuvering strategies*

The speaker violates both CP and Politeness.

### *Violating CP*

The speaker is accusing Muslims of all bad things mentioned in his speech without giving any clear evidence for this accusation and this is regarded as clear violation of the quality maxim. The speaker also violates the manners maxim when he lets many things vague without any clarification.

### *Impoliteness*

The speaker is so impolite in issuing sectarianism against Muslims. He uses different strategies like negative impoliteness and negative impoliteness.

Table No 102 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 21.5% |
| Manner | 2 | 14% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 3 | 21.5% |
| Negative impolite | 6 | 43% |
| Total | 14 | 100% |



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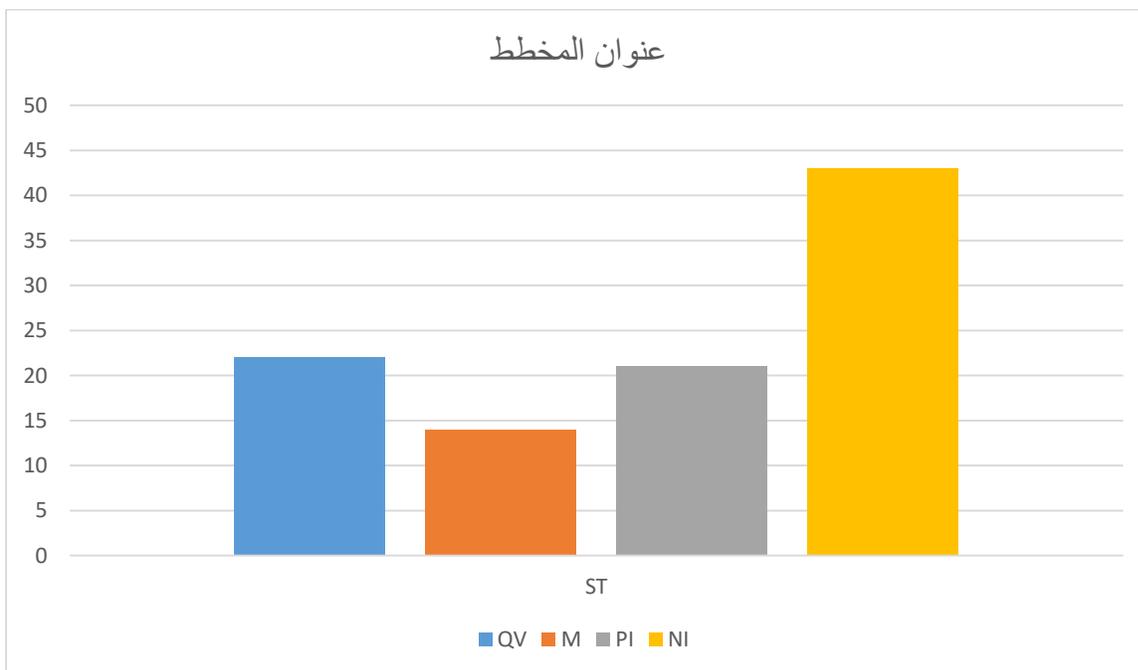
## 4.6 .8 *Text NO. 18*

Let's get to the root of racial injustice | Megan Ming Francis | TEDxRainier

For those who don't know North Philly, it's an area that is predominantly black and low-income, with a very visible police presence. When I returned his phone call, Kenny is loud and swearing into the phone. I can tell that

something very bad happened, but I'm not sure what. When I'm finally able to get him to calm down, he tells me how he was sitting on the stoop of his building talking to a friend when four police officers ran up on him and threw him and three others on the ground, handcuffed them and then pushed them up against a wall, all the while asking them, "What drugs do you have? What drugs do you have?" Kenny had no drugs. He told the officers this many times, but each statement of no drugs only seemed to provoke more force and make the officers more upset. As Kenny sat, cuffed, and slumped against a brick wall, he quietly told the officers that he was a student at Temple University and without reason, they could not hold him. The officers finally retrieved his college ID, which was in his wallet that had slipped out when he was slammed to the pavement, realized that he was indeed in college, without drugs, and then let him go. After Kenny told me this story, he was still loud and upset. I was shaking, barely able to hold the phone to my ear, all of the joy from my great day of teaching - gone ... and replaced with a deep sense of helplessness and alarm. I wanted to remove the hurt and frustration that Kenny felt, that I could hear so clearly through the phone, but I neither had the will nor the ability to lie to him about the mightiness of American racism. And we both silently knew that this would not be the last time that he would be stopped and frisked by the police for drugs. In an and to shift attention onto something that he perhaps did have control over, I had this genius idea and suggested that he focused his attention on school work to kind of take his mind off of things. He yells into the phone at me, "What is that going to do? Why should I focus on my school work when the police are allowed to do things like this?" And then he says to me, "I'm not a student in your class, Megan. Your books are not going to save me." I silently nodded on the other end of the phone, In a lifetime of often heated exchanges

with him, I've probably never been more wrong, and he has never been more right. Kenny is not alone. This violent interaction between black men and women, and police officers plays out in cities and towns across the United States, often with much more devastating results. According to the most recent statistics, blacks are three times more likely to be shot and killed by police than whites. The question on everyone's mind and the question that I get asked the most is, "How do we solve this problem?"

## *Analysis*

In this inspiring and powerful talk, Megan Francis traces the root causes of our current racial climate to their core causes, debunking common misconceptions and calling out "fix-all" cures to a complex social problem Megan Ming Francis is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Washington where she specializes in the study of American politics, race, and the development of constitutional law. She is particularly interested in the construction of rights and citizenship, black political activism, and the post-civil war South. Born and raised in Seattle, WA, she was educated at Garfield High School, Rice University in Houston, and Princeton University where she received her M.A. and her Ph.D. in Politics. In her award winning book, Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State, shows that the battle against lynching and mob violence in the first quarter of the 20th century were pivotal to the development of civil rights and the growth of federal court power. She is inspired by people who fight for justice–even when the end appears nowhere in sight. This talk was given at a TEDx event using the TED conference format but independently organized by a local community.

## *Analysis*

### 4.6 .8.1 _Social practice_

### _Misjudgment_

The speaker is misjudging the white. He described them as being harsh ,more violent against the Black as being the reasons behind making the world harsh.

Table No 103 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 5 | 100% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |

### 4.6 .8.2 _Discursive practice_

The speaker tends to use the following discursive strategies:

### _Hyperbole:_

The speaker is exaggerating in encouraging the black. He gives them different features and calls them using different names in an attempt to encourage them to move on.

### _Warning_

In his attempt of encouraging the black, the speaker tries to warn them by describing the white as being harsh and so as the world.

Table No 104 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 4 | 57% |
| Warning | 3 | 43% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

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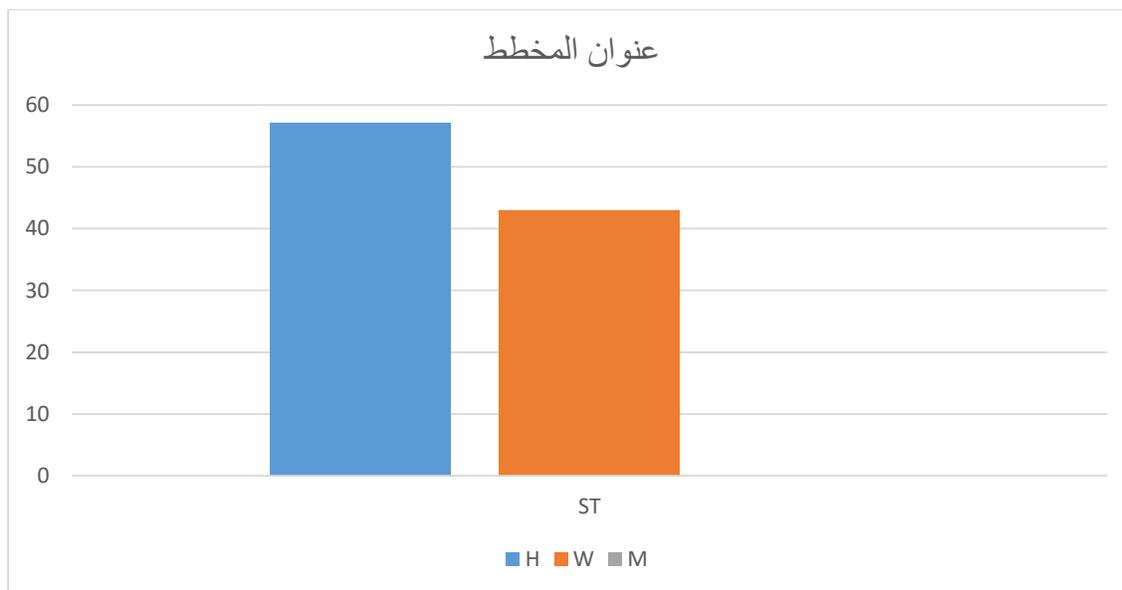


### 4.6 .8.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker employs different aggressive strategies in his speech like hostility and insulting.

### *Hostility*

As mentioned previously the speaker describes the white as being harsh and this comes from his hostility against them. And to be fair this hostility against the white is justified by the works of the white against the black.

### *Insulting*

This strategy is also implied in the speaker description of the white as being harsh and as being the cause behind making the world harsh.

### *Profanity*

The speaker makes this strategy very clear when he describes how the white police belittle the Black student when he arrest him

## Table No 105 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 7 | 44% |
| Insulting | 5 | 31% |
| Profanity | 4 | 25% |
| Total | 16 | 100% |

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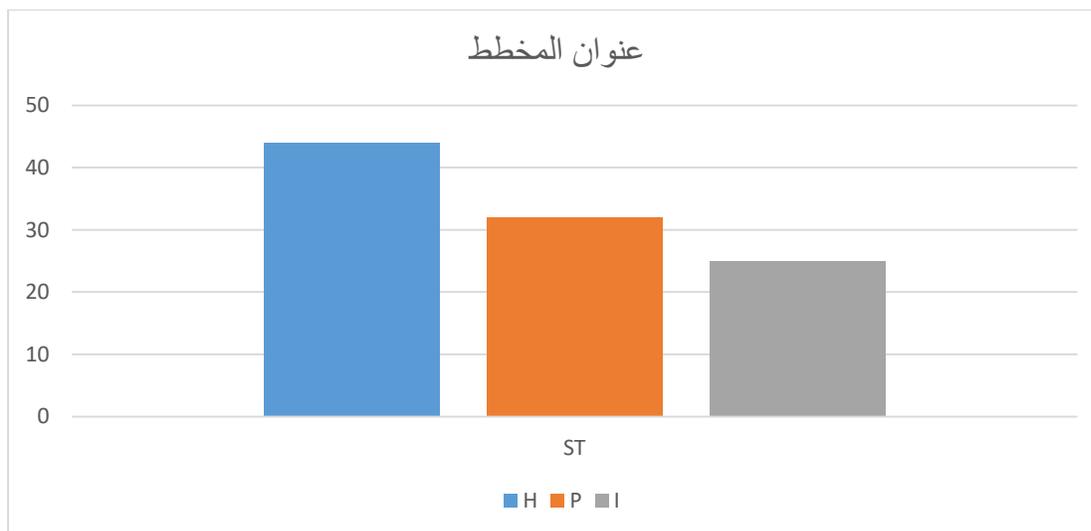


### 4.6 .8.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker uses two manipulation strategies in this speech: repetition and appeal.

### *Repetition*

The speaker repeats the lines of violence to show that Black police are murderers to a great extent.

## *Appeal*

The speaker uses different types of appeal throughout the speech. He appeals to fear when mentioning the white, and he appeals to self-interest when he mentions the question as is shown by the following lines:

***"The question on everyone's mind and the question that I get asked the most is, "How do we solve this problem?"***

Table No 106 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 4 | 31% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 4 | 31% |
| Appeal of self interest | 2 | 15% |
| Appeal of pity | 3 | 23% |
| Omission | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 13 | 100% |

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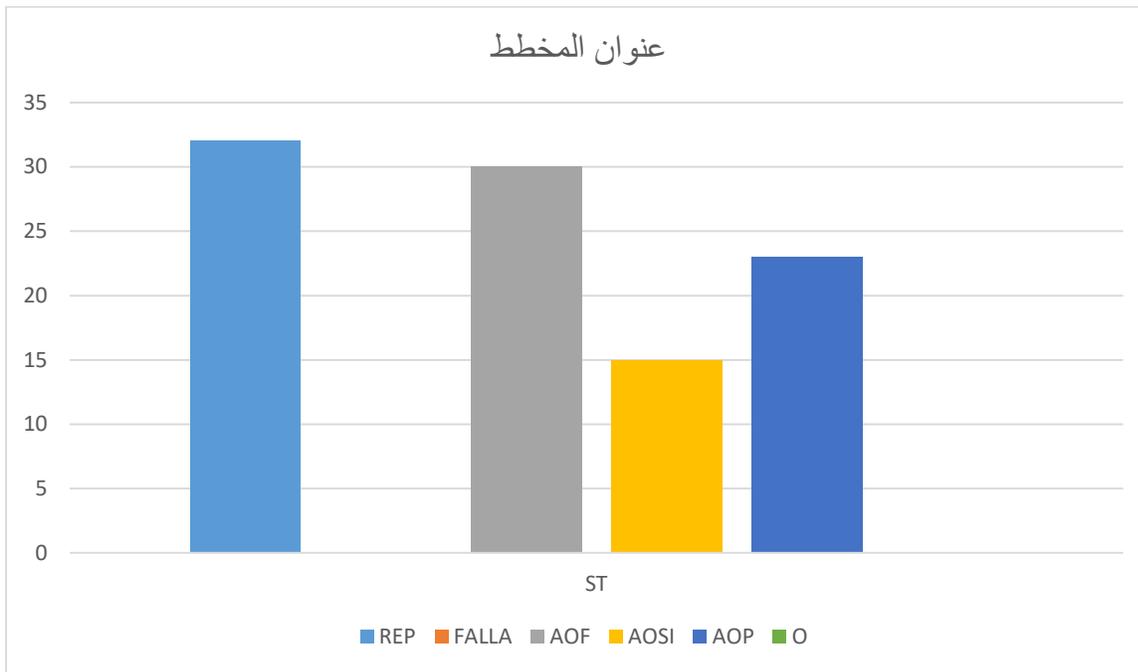
## 4.6 .8.5 *Stance-taking strategies:*

The speaker makes use of certain stance-taking strategies like: de-approximation and othering.

### De-approximation

The speaker exerts all his efforts to warn the blacks form the white and this carries the strategy of de-approximation in its folds.

### De-humanization

This strategy is clarified by the white police performance when they arrest and dehumanize him .

### Hate speech

The hate speech strategy appears many time in this speech against the white police

### ***Othering***

Again the speaker tries to make white the other for him and this is why he dercribes them as being harsh.

Table No 107 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 13% |
| (-ve)out-group | 4 | 27% |
| Deapproximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 4 | 27% |
| Hate speech | 5 | 33% |
| Total | 15 | 100% |

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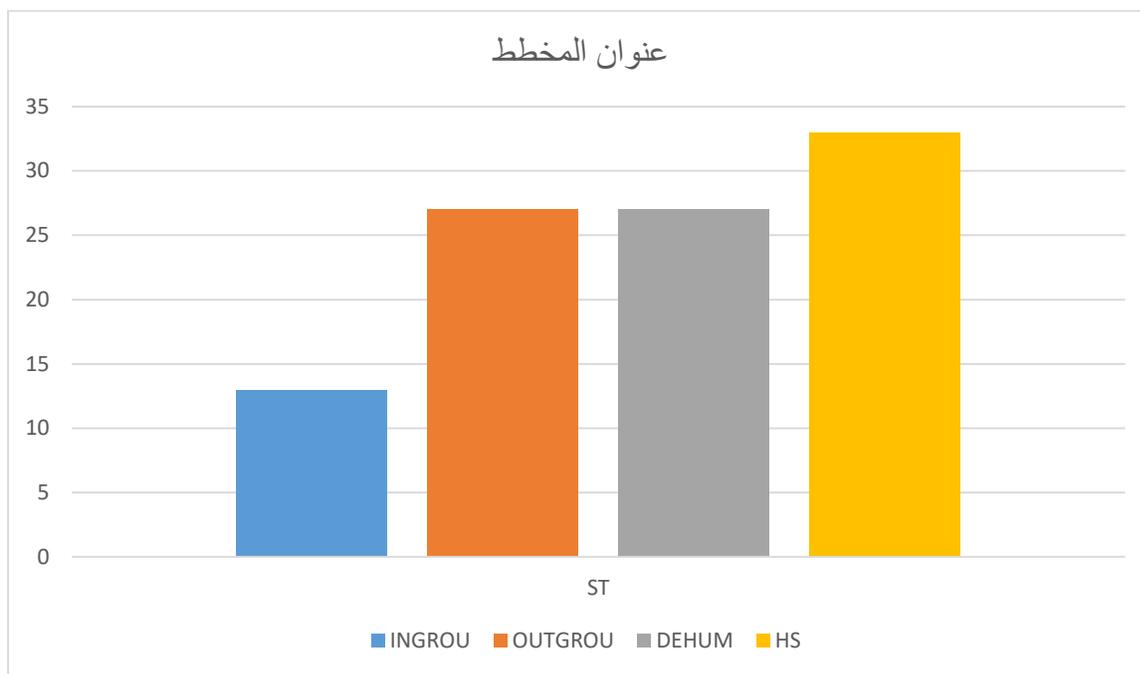
4.6 .8.6 _Maneuvering strategies_

The speaker uses both maneuvering strategies mentioned in the model: Violating CP and impoliteness.

_Violating CP_

The speaker violates the quality maxim when he lets every claim presented in the speech with no evidence. He also violates the manner maxim when he keeps talking about things which are not obvious for all.

_Impoliteness_

The speaker uses negative impoliteness when he describes the white as being dominant.

Table No 108 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies:

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quantity violation | 2 | 40% |
| Manner | 1 | 20% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 2 | 40% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |



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293
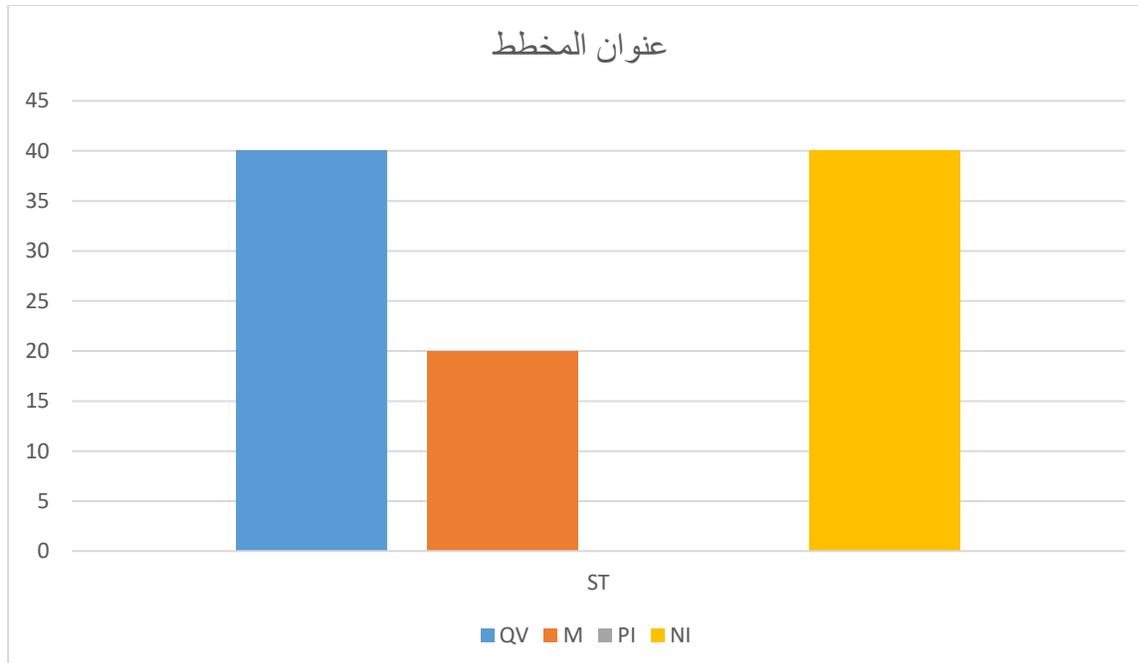
## 4.6 .9 *Text NO.19*

We may only be two decades in, but the 21st century has seen monumental shifts regarding gender equality. Movements such as me too, global fights for abortion rights, and the Saudi Arabian women's driving ban are a few that have highlighted the issue.

When you think of great speeches in history, images of Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama may spring forth. Due to ingrained biases, women have always needed to 'speak louder to have their voices heard'. Women's Equality Day, often referred to as Gender Equality Day, commemorates when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed the proclamation granting American women the right to vote. On this Women's Equality Day (26th August 2021), we celebrate powerful speeches by women on the world stage fighting for equal rights.

"In 1944, Recy Taylor was a young wife and a mother. She was just walking home from a church service she attended in Abbeville, Alabama, when she was abducted by six armed white men raped and left blindfolded by the side of the road coming home from church. They threatened to kill her if she ever told anyone. But her story was reported to the NAACP, where a young worker by the name of Rosa Parks became the lead investigator on her case"

 "So I want all the girls watching here now to know that a new day is on the horizon. And when that new day finally dawns. It will be because of a lot of magnificent women, many of whom are right here in this room tonight, and some pretty phenomenal men fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say me too again."

## 4.6 .9.1 *Social practice*

### *Misjudgment*

The speaker in the above speech is misjudging men and at the same time she is misjudging women while she tries to make a fair judgment for them. In fact not all men are harsh and severe as she describes.

Table No 109 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|-----------------|----|----|
| Misjudgment | 4 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 100% |

## 4.6 .9.2 *Discursive practice*

The speaker uses the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates his good estimation of women may be because she is a woman.

### *Warning*

The speaker warns the women from the men and their dominance

Table No 110 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---------------------|----|----|
| Hyperbole | 3 | 60% |
| Warning | 2 | 40% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 5 | 100% |

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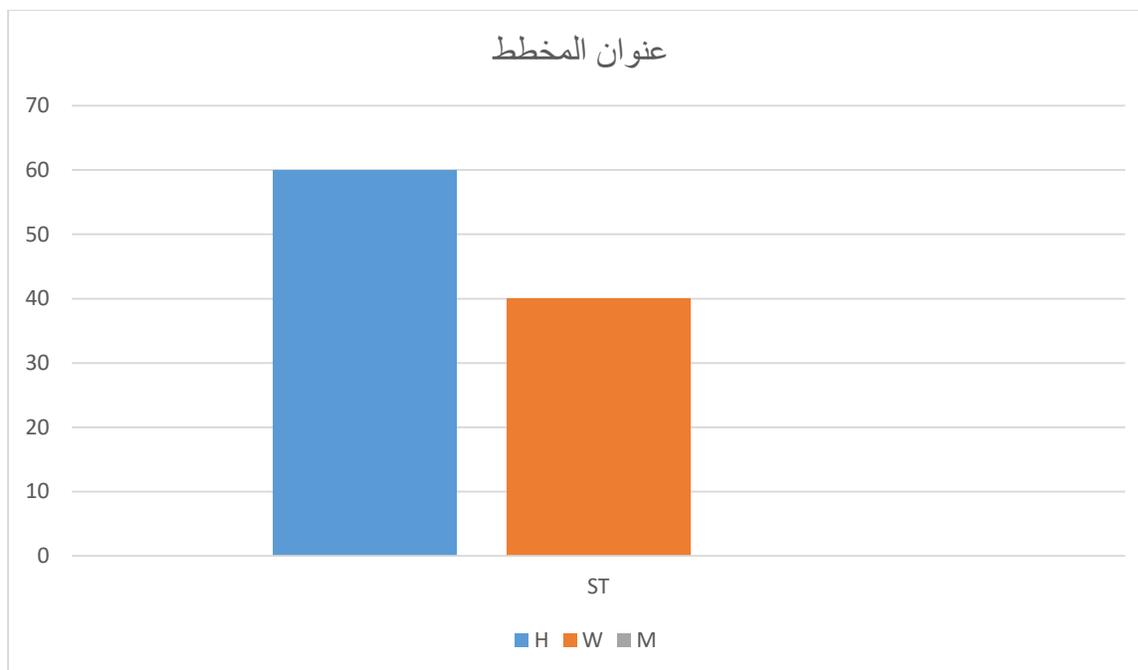
## 4.6 .9.3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

Hostility and insulting

To start with hostility

### *Hostility*

It is the verbal attack against somebody. The speaker in the above speech becomes so hostile against men.

### *Insulting*

The speaker tries to insult men by describing them as being harsh and severe.

Table No 111 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 5 | 62.5% |
| Insulting | 3 | 37.5% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |



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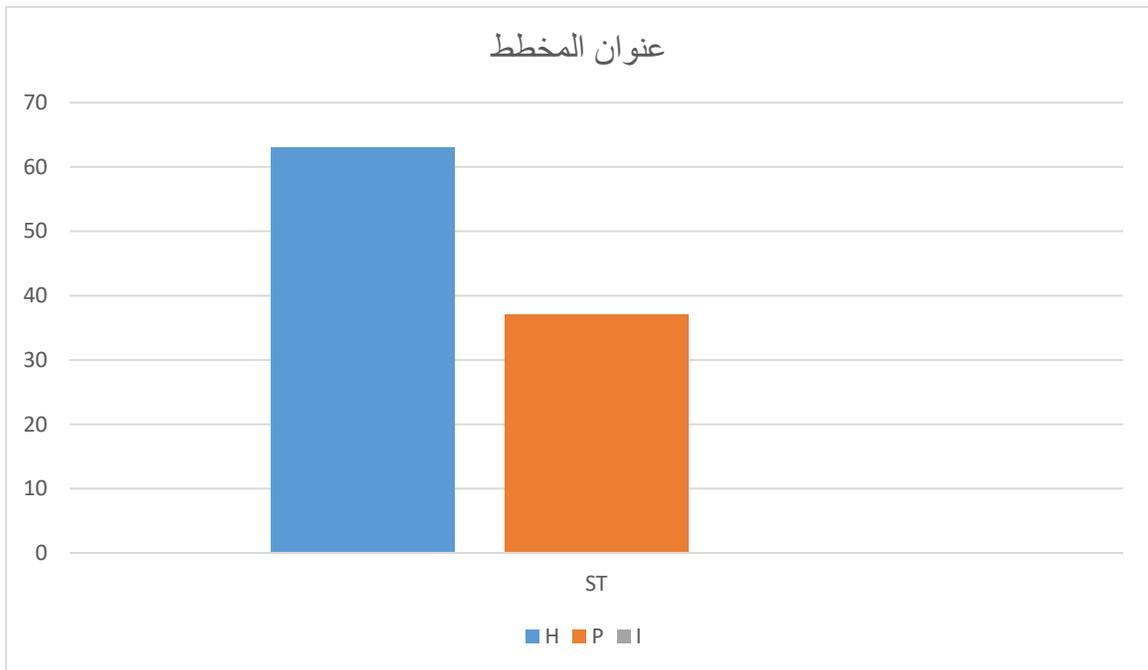
### 4.6 .9.4 *Manipulation strategies*

The speaker makes use of the following manipulation strategies:

Omission and appeals

### *Omission*

The speaker tries to omit the fact that not all men are harsh and not all women are badly treated.

### *Appeal*

The speaker appeals to pity and self-interest. She appeals to pity when she talks about women suffering all over the world and she appeals to self-interest when she promised to do the best for women. Add to that the appeal of ideal when the speaker mentions the name of certain persons

Table No 112 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 2 | 25% |
| Appeal of self interest | 1 | 12.5% |
| Appeal of pity | 2 | 25% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 2 | 25% |
| Omission | 1 | 12.5% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
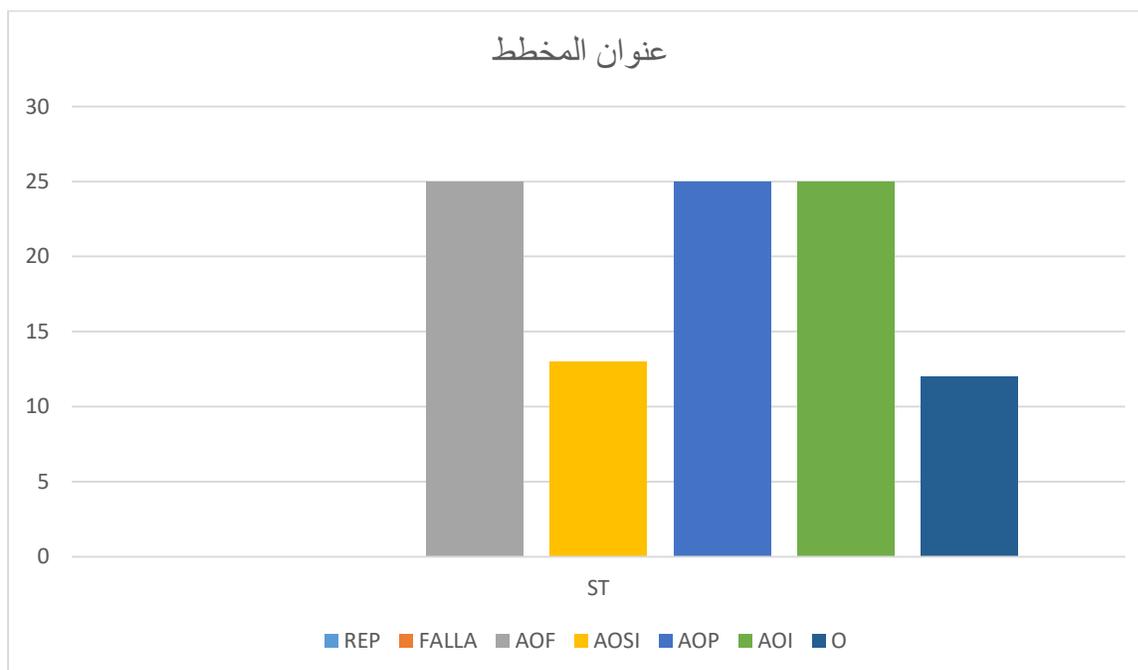
### 4.6 .9.5 <u>*Stance taking strategies*</u>

The speaker manipulates the following strategies:

### <u>*De-approximation*</u>

The speaker tries to de-approximate men because they are behind most women suffering.

### <u>*Hate speech*</u>

The speaker intends to use hate speech against the men

### <u>*Othering*</u>

She makes man as the other and tries to attack him in her speech.

Table No 113 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 20% |
| (-ve)out-group | 4 | 40% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 40% |
| Total | 10 | 100% |

عنوان المخطط

Chart legend: ■ INGROUP   ■ OUTGROU   ■ DEHUM   ■ HS
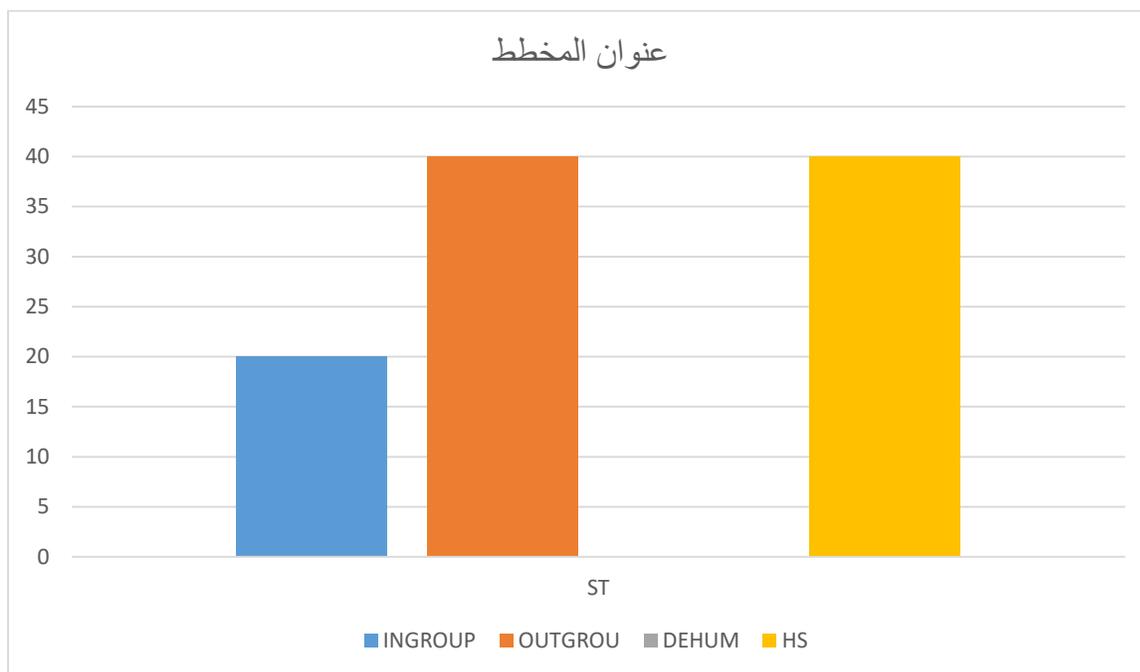
## 4.6 .9.6 Maneuvering strategies

The speaker uses the following linguistic strategies: violating the cooperative principle and impoliteness.

### Violating CP

The speaker violates CP when she violates the quality maxim through presenting no evidence for most of her claims in the speech.

### Impoliteness

The speaker uses bold-on-record and negative strategies when she attacks men.

Table No 114 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 2 | 33% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 50% |
| Bold on record | 1 | 17% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |
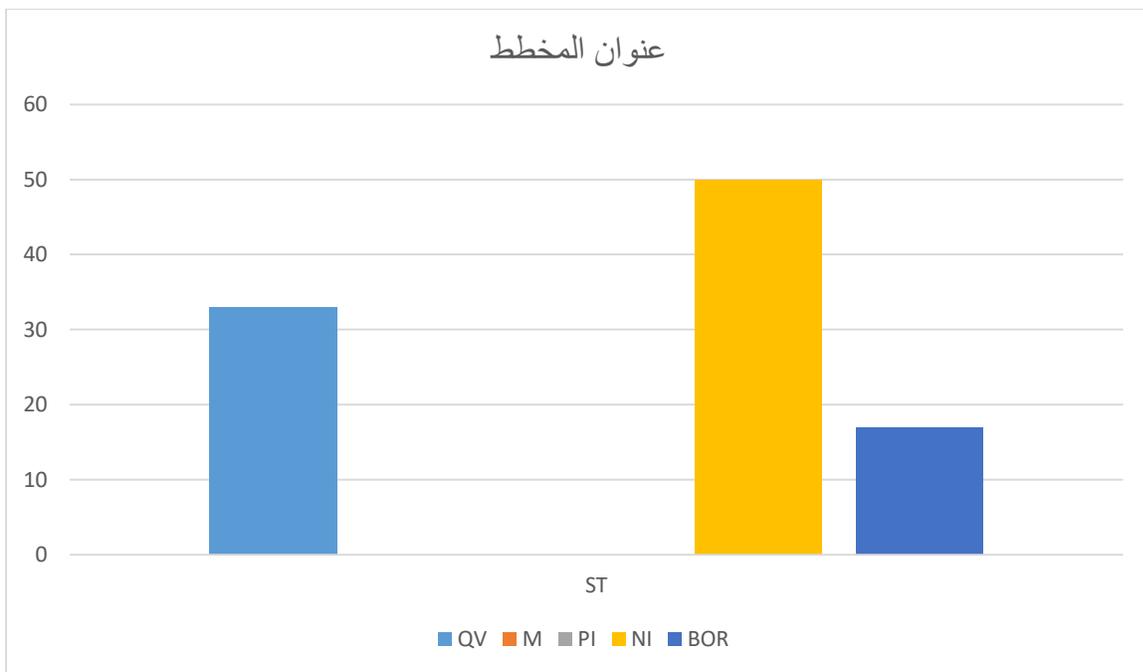


### 4.6 .10 *Text tNO. 20*

"The more I've spoken about feminism, the more I have realized that fighting for women's rights has too often become synonymous with man-hating. If there is one thing I know for certain. It is that this has to stop. For the

record, feminism, by definition, is the belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities."

"I am from Britain. And I think it is right that I am paid the same as my male counterparts. I think it is right that I should be able to make decisions about my own body. I think. I think it is right that women be involved on my behalf in the policies and the decisions that will affect my life. I think it is right that socially I am afforded the same respect as men. But sadly, I can say that there is no one country in the world where all women can expect to receive these rights. No country in the world can yet say that they have achieved gender equality."

"If men don't have to be aggressive in order to be accepted, women won't feel compelled to be submissive. If men don't have to control, women won't have to be controlled. Both men and women should feel free to be sensitive, both men and women should feel free to be strong. It is time that we all perceive gender on a spectrum instead of two sets of opposing ideals."

## *Analysis*

## **4.6 .10 .1** *Social practice*

## *Misjudgment*

The speaker in the above speech is misjudging men and at the same time she is misjudging women while she tries to make a fair judgment for them. In fact not all men are harsh and severe as she describes.

Table No 115 shows the frequencies and percentage of social practice

| Social practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Misjudgment | 5 | 100% |

| Total | 5 | 100% |
|---|---|---|

## 4.6 .10 .2 *Discursive practice*

The speaker uses the following discursive strategies:

### *Hyperbole*

The speaker exaggerates his good estimation of women may

### *Warning*

Table No 116 shows the frequencies and percentage of discursive practice:

| Discursive practice | Fr | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hyperbole | 3 | 50% |
| Warning | 3 | 50% |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 6 | 100% |

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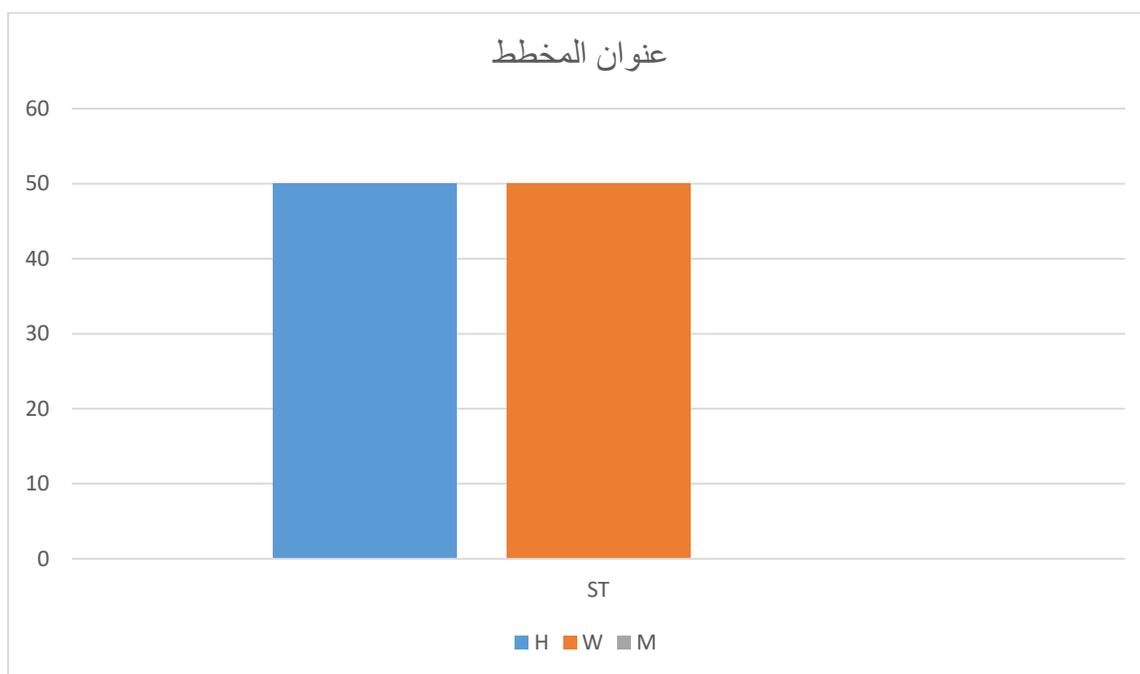
### 4.6 .10 .3 *Aggressive strategies*

The speaker uses the following aggressive strategies:

Hostility and insulting

To start with hostility

### *Hostility*

It is the verbal attack against somebody. The speaker in the above speech becomes so hostile against men.

### *Insulting*

The speaker tries to insult men by describing them as being harsh and severe.

Table No 117 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/aggressive strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive strategies | Fr | % |
| Hostility | 5 | 62% |
| Insulting | 3 | 38% |
| Profanity | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |



عنوان المخطط
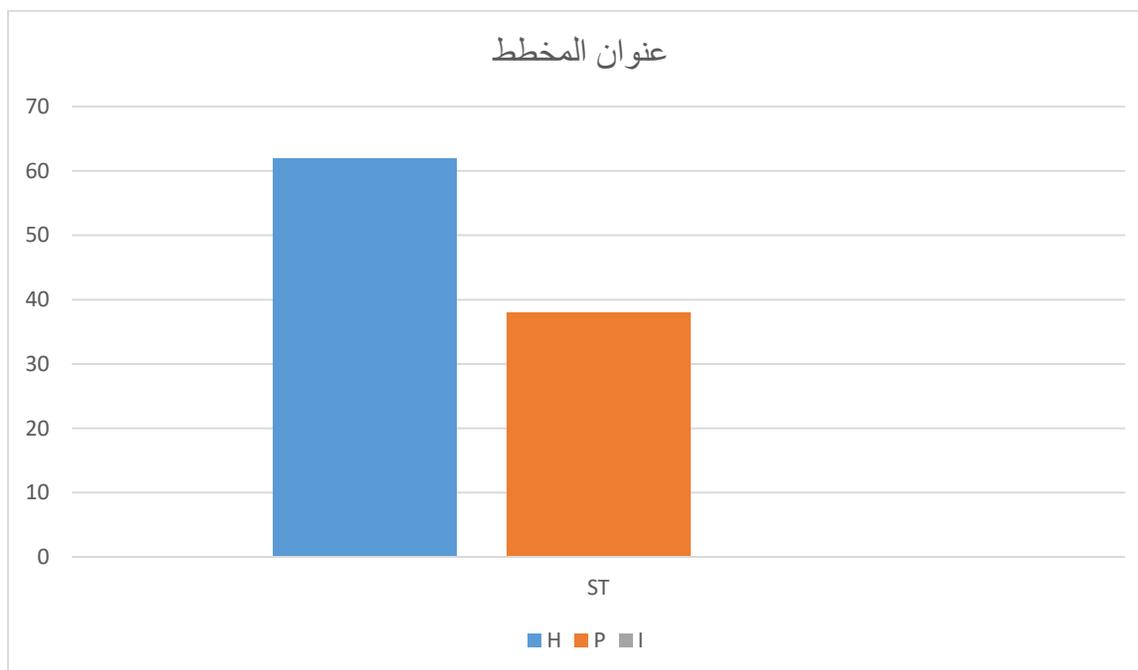
### 4.6 .10 .4 Manipulation strategies

The speaker makes use of the following manipulation strategies:

Omission and appeals

### Omission

The speaker tries to omit the fact that not all men are harsh and not all women are badly treated.

### Appeal

The speaker appeals to pity and self-interest. She appeals to pity when she talks about women suffering all over the world and she appeals to self-interest when she promised to do the best for women.

Table No 118 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Manipulation strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manipulative strategies | Fr | % |
| Repetition | 0 | 0% |
| Fallacies | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal: | | |
| Appeal of fear | 0 | 0% |
| Appeal of self interest | 2 | 28.5% |
| Appeal of pity | 3 | 43% |
| Appeal of Ideal | 0 | 0% |
| Omission | 2 | 28.5% |
| Total | 7 | 100% |

عنوان المخطط
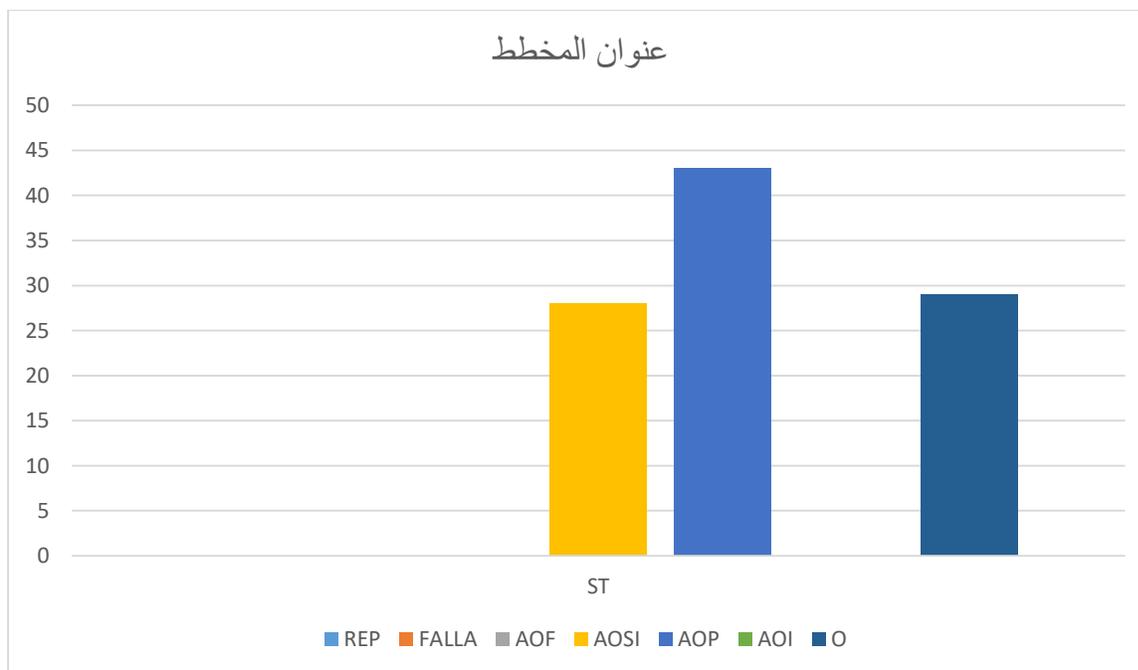
### 4.6 .10 .5 *Stance taking strategies*

The speaker manipulates the following strategies:

### De-approximation

The speaker tries to de-approximate men because they are behind most women suffering.

### Hate speech

All hate speeches are used by speaker against the men

### Othering

She makes man as the other and tries to attack him in her speech.

Table No 119 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/Stance taking strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stance taking strategies | Fr | % |
| Othering: | | |
| (+ve)in-group | 2 | 22.5% |
| (-ve)out-group | 3 | 33.5% |
| De-approximation | | |
| Dehumanization | 0 | 0% |
| Hate speech | 4 | 44% |
| Total | 9 | 100% |

عنوان المخطط
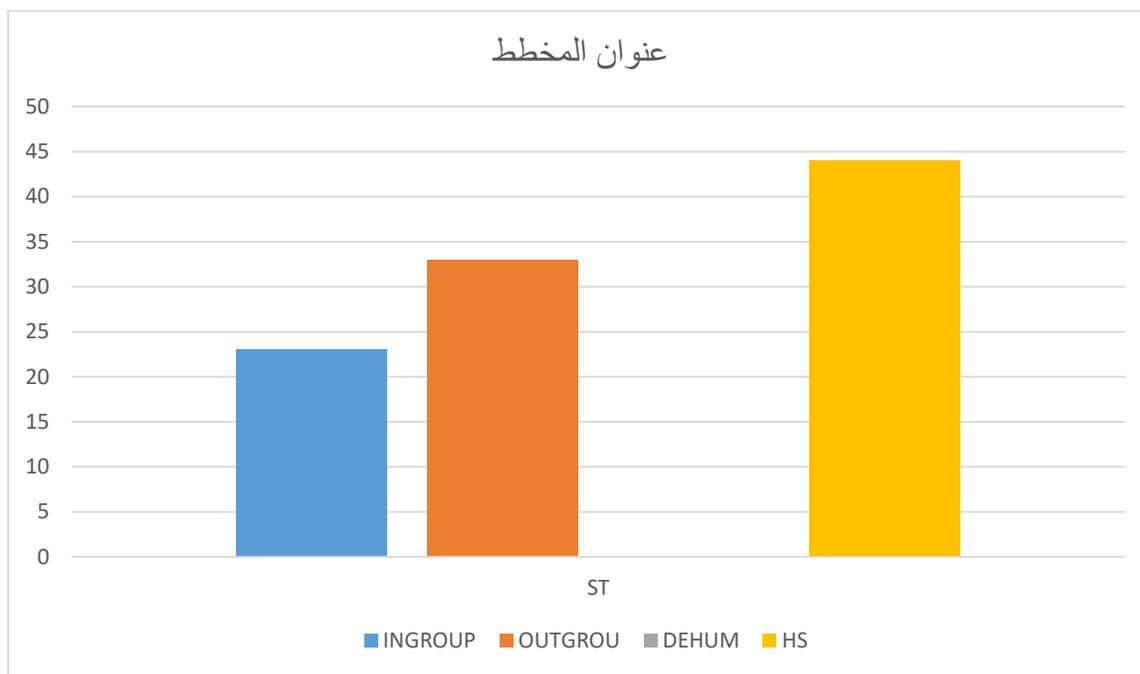
### 4.6 .10 .6 _Maneuvering strategies_

The speaker uses the following linguistic strategies: violating the cooperative principle and impoliteness.

### _Violating CP_

The speaker violates CP when she violates the quality maxim through presenting no evidence for most of her claims in the speech.

### _Impoliteness_

The speaker uses bold-on-record and negative impoliteness strategies when she attacks men as is shown by the following extract:

_"But sadly, I can say that there is no one country in the world where all women can expect to receive these rights. No country in the world can yet say that they have achieved gender equality."_

Table No 120 shows the frequencies and percentage of linguistic practice/maneuvering strategies

| Linguistic practice | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maneuvering strategies | Fr | % |
| Violating CP | | |
| Quality violation | 3 | 37.5% |
| Manner | 0 | 0% |
| Impoliteness: | | |
| Positive impolite | 0 | 0% |
| Negative impolite | 3 | 37.5% |
| Bold on record | 2 | 25% |
| Total | 8 | 100% |
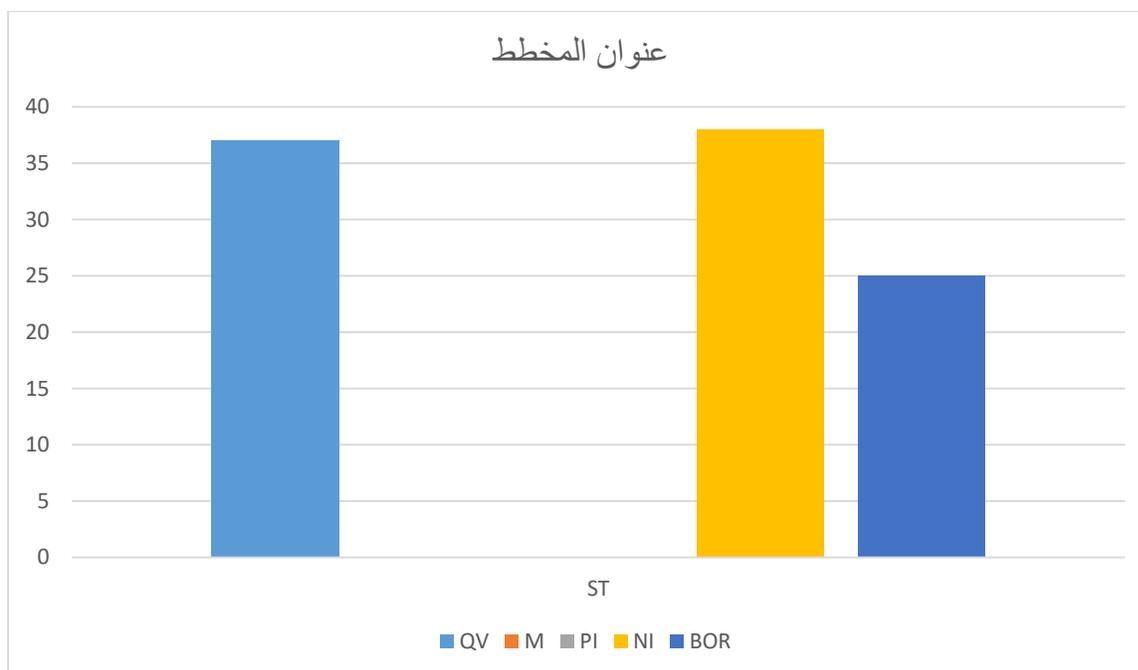
## Chapter five

## Conclusions, Recommendations, and Suggestions for Further Research

5.1 The study has come up with the following conclusions:

1. The process of issuing sectarianism is a long process that may take two pages in a speech. It is performed through stages starting from the introduction to the sectarianism up to the proofs presented by the speaker to support his speech. This finding fulfils the first aim of the study and verifies the first hypothesis.

2. The speaker uses different types of strategies throughout issuing sectarianism like: social, strategies, discursive strategies, aggressive strategies, manipulation strategies, stance-taking strategies and maneuvering strategies. These super strategies include a number of sub-strategies that are manipulated by the speaker to fulfil his mission. This finding fulfils the second aim of the study and verifies the second hypothesis.

3. There is a number of sub strategies used by the speaker who issues sectarianism like: misjudgment, hyperbole, metaphor, euphemism, warning, hostility, insulting, omission, repetition, fallacies, appeal, othering, de-approximation, dehumanization, hate-speech, violating CP and impoliteness. This finding fulfils the second aim of the study and verifies the second hypothesis.

4. There are strategies that gets the higher frequencies among others like: misjudgment, hyperbole, warning, hostility, insulting, repetition, fallacies, appeal, othering, de-approximation, hate-speech, violating CP and impoliteness. This finding fulfils the second aim of the study and verifies the second hypothesis.

5. There are different types of sectarianism that are found in the current study like: sectarianism for religious purposes, sectarianism for social purposes and sectarianism for political purposes. This finding fulfils the third aim of the study and verifies the third hypothesis.

6. Sectarianism for political purposes and sectarianism for religious purposes get the higher frequencies among other types. This finding achieves the fourth aim of the study and verifies the fourth hypothesis.

7. Contextual factors, topic, goal, speaker, settings, addressee, channel and message play a great role in the process of issuing sectarianism. They mainly affect the strategies used and the types of sectarianism issued in the speech. This finding achieves the fifth aim of the study and verifies the fifth hypothesis.

8. The analysis reveals that there are slight differences between American and British texts as far as sectarianism is concerned. These differences, as the results show, are in the areas of frequencies of strategies and the types of sectarianism. This finding achieves the sixth aim of this study and verifies the sixth hypothesis.

9. The illustratively analyzed examples, alongside with the other examples, reveal that the main purpose behind issuing sectarianism is showing hate and persuasion.

10. The model developed by the study proved to be workable.

## 5.2 Pedagogical

a. for public speakers

1.Public speakers should be well aware of the strategies and stages of issuing sectarianism.

2. They should be acquainted with the various and different strategies of issuing sectarianism so as to use them effectively in their speeches.

3.Public speakers should be familiar with the fact that the context rules the process of issuing sectarianism.

### *5.2.2. Pedagogical Recommendations*

In connection with the results and conclusions of the present study, it is pedagogically recommended that:

1- Instructors should enhance their students' awareness of the fact that there are different types of sectarianism to be used in different contexts. Students should be taught that these types vary according to the topic discussed and the aim of the speaker.

2- Instructors should enhance their students' abilities to recognize the role of the contextual factors in issuing sectarianism.

3- Sectarianism should be given more attention in undergraduate studies in order to enable the students to be equipped against it.

4- Sectarianism situations should be included in the materials of the textbooks taught to students in pre-university and university stages to familiarize them with such situations.

### *5.3. Suggestions for Further Research*

To reinforce the findings of this study and bridge the gaps in it, the following are suggestions for future studies:

1-      A pragmatic study of sectarianism in some advertisements.

2-      A pragmatic study of sectarianism in war speeches.

3-      A pragmatic study of  sectarianism in interviews.

4-      A pragmatic study of  sectarianism  in mass media.

5-      A pragmatic study of  sectarianism in electoral propagandas.

6-      A pragmatic study of sectarianism in  war propagandas.


7-      A pragmatic contrastive  study of monological and dialogical sectarianism in politics.

8-      A contrastive pragmatic study of sectarianism in British and American political war speeches.

11-A contrastive pragmatic study of sectarianism in Arabic and English.

12-A contrastive pragmatic study of  sectarianism in British and American propagandas.

   13-A socio-pragmatic study of hate speech in chatting.

CDA

Social practice      discursive practice      linguistic analysis

Misjudgement    hyperbole  warning  metaphor    euphemism

Aggressive strategies   manipulation strategies   stance-taking strategies    maneuvering strategies

Hostility profanity   omission  repetition appeal fallacies  othering     de-approximation  violating CP

Insulting                      dehumanization  hate-speech

Appeal to pity appeal to fear appeal to idea appeal to example          impoliteness

Bald on record negative positive impoliteness

*……..retrospect what we should have been talking about what we should have been paying attention to and I include myself very much in that which is Englishness and English identity perhaps it's inbuilt in unions with a dominant partner that the identity of the minority partners will always be problematized and that the identity of the dominant partner will never be nobody thought about the English and nobody thought about what English think of themselves nobody that is except English themselves silently quietly but in an extraordinary way over a very short period of time there's been a radical seismic shift in the nature of English identity and we have to place this at the center of how we think about Briggs's and what's happening with brexit English identity after all should not be in itself fundamentally surprising to us if you look at history at all a couple of things they're obvious one is that England itself is probably the first functioning nation-state anywhere certainly in Europe it emerges as a political community in certainly by the 14th century it has a centralized governments it has a single vernacular language and it has a defined and stable territory people know what England is this is not true of France for example for you know for a very very long time after that Germany Spain Italy you know most of the major countries of Europe simply do not have this England does and it's accompanied by a very aggressive and South confident and triumphal idea of nationalism and of national identity so one of the questions is then what happens to it why should we be surprised at its reimagines and we should be surprised because I don't know if anybody remember in the 1970s.*

*TEXT 2*

<u>*UK: UKIP leadership hopeful leads anti-Islam rally in London*</u>

*now we've had another year or more of people murdered in London people murdered in Manchester people murdered in Paris people murdered in Barcelona and across the board there was absolute silence as to the cause of these murders they were coming up with any excuse they possibly could in order to avoid the real reason now you know what that we have written that reason is and I know what it is there is a religious war being waged against the Western world that's true as a reason the reason we know this is because they keep telling us so listen to them when they tell you they hate you because you are a kuffar they hate you because you are free and they hate you because you won't bow down to them if I become the leader of you keep on Friday this really will be the last day of silence [Applause] I don't want to live in a society where example has sway and that's already happening here and across Western countries it's terribly terrible news for women it's terrible news for people who want to be free and I will oppose it as well politically what I want us to do is talk about immigration we need to deal with the issue of Muslim immigration separate from immigration itself Islamic far-right I'm not I am NOT here I'm here to protect democracy to protect women to protect children how is that far right you know I'm standing up for for Jews I'm hunting up for X Muslims none of this is far-right it's quite the opposite in fact and this is just a smear and it's a smear used by cowards who don't have the courage to face the issues and are trying to silence us as I said my speech.*

*TEXT 3*

*Dr. Robert E. Johnson: Black Lives Matter Rally Speech*

good evening everyone come on good evening everyone i want to welcome all of you here on this day at this moment for this event during this time in the history of the world you know i'm reminded of that poet langston hughes who said what happens to a dream defer does it dry up like a raisin in the sun or fester like a sore and then run does it sink like rotten meat or crust and sugar and sugar over like a syrupy sweet maybe it just sags like a heavy load or maybe it explodes. we are here today at this point in time in our history because dreams have been deferred dreams have been deferred generation over generation over generations over generations and that frustration has brought us to this point in this time in the history of our country and the world where people in this generation has said enough i'm so excited and happy to be here with you today because we know that at Western New England we're going to go out and educate each and every one of you as a generation to transform the world to make a difference my first point is this is your time each generation must meet the needs of the present age you must rise up and do what is right what is humane what is civil what is just this is your time generation after generation has become frustrated and their dreams have been deferred what we do in this era during this time span in the history of the world will determine what this country will look like for generations to come my challenge to you as golden bears is to no longer allow dreams to be deferred this is your time embodying the values and and everything that is necessary to build a better and stronger world on a planet with more than seven 7.7 billion people as educated citizens we represent

seven percent of the world's population therefore to whom much is given much is required we must be a voice for the voiceless we must help those who are helpless we must provide hope to those who are hopeless this is your time so do not allow the dreams to be deferred and remember that if you do that everything will be all right all you have to do is just believe just believe everything that exists today started from someone's dream someone thought of it and said it's possible and people laughed at them and said it's not possible you know i'm reminded of my uncle bob who was the associate publisher of jet magazine who grew up in the Jim Crow throw south in birmingham alabama who wrote the stories and history of black america during the civil rights movement he was classmates with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and he used to say to me nephew i know it's hard but if you just keep putting one foot in front of the other is going to be okay i know it's hard and sometimes you want to give up but if you just believe in who you are and whose you are anything is possible he said those of us who have come before you nephew made it possible for you to do the things that you're doing today i would not be standing here if my uncle Bob and Dr. Martin Luther King and Emmett Till and countless others had not died for a cause that they believed in and not tried to pursue their dreams in all of its facets and forms this is your time as golden bears and golden bear country let us be a shining example for this community in the world the world that the white make harsh for us. The white are harsh and they are as harsh as the life of every one of us as to what is possible it's possible to realize the dream that one day black lives will matter that we will have a world that is humane that one person will treat the other no matter who they are and

no matter where they're from no matter what they look like no matter how they live with civility trust and just plain old respect this is your time believe believe that the dream that has been deferred generations after generation after generation will stop right here right now with your generation so my charge to you as golden bears is to go out into the world and be a shining example and hope .

Text 4

Why Christianity is perceived as the white man's religion | Olivia Pierce | TEDxEdina

**close your eyes when I say Jesus what picture comes to your mind now open your eyes does he look something like this as a Christian and an african-american** I've been asked many times why I associate myself with the white man's religion but my response is that religion doesn't have a race there is no form that requires you to fill in the bubble for your ethnicity before you can become a Christian **so why is it that so many people see color when they think of God the answer is the devastating lack of representation in the visuals generated by the church Christianity is incorrectly perceived the white man's religion because unconscious bias leads to a disparity between perceived reality and verbal messages** now you may be thinking I'm not Christian why should the speech matter to me but the truth is lack of representation is everywhere not just within the church ironically unconscious bias does not discriminate it affects our schools our communities our workplaces and our places of worship if you are working to create an inclusive atmosphere in any area of life then my speech applies to you so **let's get started if you were to look up**

**Adam and Eve or Jesus on Google Images the majority of the photos would look like this these characters have been depicted as white Europeans for hundreds of years but is there anything in the foundations of the Christian faith to justify this** to investigate I went to the Bible the very first book is Genesis which is where the story of Adam and Eve takes place Genesis to 10 through 14 states that a river went out from Eden to water the garden from there it divided and became the source of 4 rivers the third river is the Tigris which runs east of Assyria and the fourth River is the Euphrates the Tigris and Euphrates rivers were in a location called mess tinea theologians believe that it is based on this evidence that the Garden of Eden was in Iraq in the Middle East if we look at Jesus's birth place we see a similar pattern the Book of **Luke writes that Joseph went with his wife Mary into the City of David the town of Bethlehem in order to be registered along with all of his people while they were there Mary gave birth to his son and his name was Jesus Bethlehem borders the Gaza Strip on the left side which is in Egypt which is in Africa biblical evidence shows that these major stories which make up the cushion faith actually take place in Northeast Africa and Western Asia not in Europe so if not from the Bible** then **right is this misconception come from that Christianity is primarily the white man's religion this incorrect perception is caused by an overwhelming lack of diversity in the Christian mission** field in order to reach those who may be hearing their message for the first time missionaries intentionally go to countries **where people know little about their religion therefore they're perceived as a sample group for Christians everywhere**

**and if the only missionaries one sees are white it is perfectly logical to assume that all missionaries are white and that it is therefore primarily the white man's religion let's look at some examples** these are three teams from local churches who went to Kenya Nicaragua and Haiti this past year let's take a closer look this is my mission team we were only in Haiti for eight days but I found myself wishing that I could stay forever I fell in love with the bright colored buildings the vendors riding donkeys on their way to the market the joy of calling to strangers in the street bone saw good afternoon the red dirt that I could taste between my teeth and feel between my toes after playing games with little kids in the dirt and the call of roosters waking me up at four o'clock in the morning so I could watch the Sun rise over the mountains Haiti is a beautiful country and we were there not just to admire the scenery but to tell people about Jesus in order to do this we used a wordless picture book to overcome the language barrier between us in the Haitians this is the very same book that we used and on every page Jesus is depicted as white I noticed this while we were training for our trip but I didn't want to bring any attention to race because out of the 22 students and leaders on my team I was the only one who wasn't white therefore I convinced myself then maybe I was just overreacting and the color of our cartoon biblical characters wasn't really that important but I soon saw the danger of this lack of visual representation we shared this white book with a black man on the side of a dirt road he listened intently to what we were saying and when we finished he said I understand your story **why is Jesus white and we said he's not worth Jesus has no race and he said then why have you drawn him is white and there was nothing we could say**

**ultimately he rejected Christianity because he didn't see himself represented in our story and this was not the only way that we witnessed the lack of visual representation and the power that has while we were in Haiti my team visited an organization set up by missionaries from Minnesota that provides education for Haitian youth the leader of the school introduced us to some of her students before informing us that most of them would have to quit school in the following year so that they could get jobs to provide for their families a common saying he or she said is that the Haitian dreams for the block these kids have gone dependent on white missionaries to survive her words broke my heart for as long as I can remember I have been surrounded by successful black lawyers missionaries entrepreneurs**

Text 5

The Conservative Party - Professor Vernon Bogdanor

ladies and gentlemen this is the first of a series of lectures on the party system but I should also be giving a one-off lecture on the 7th of November on the anniversary of the American election on America one year on electron Donald Trump and populism but this first lecture will be on the Conservative Party in future weeks I shall talk about the Liberals and Liberal Democrats the Labour Party minor parties and nationalist parties I should do my best in these lectures to be fair to all of them and to be nonpartisan but of course there are few if any propositions in politics which command universal agreement I'm not myself a member of any political party but I have voted in every general election since reaching voting age I shall regard these lectures as successful if you the audience are unable to tell how I have voted

in recent general elections now let me begin by making a few general points on the British party system if I had given this lecture fifty years ago the emphasis would have had to be on factors of stability and continuity 1945 had seen the beginning of a two-party battle between the Conservatives and labour before strating the lecture I want to give my opinion in the conservative party, *I regard the conservative extremist and unfair.* **They are the reason behind many political problems in the country.** This is my point of view, returing to the subject, it seemed that little would disturb it not only that but identification with the two major parties was strong and large numbers of people belonged to them who go a bit further back to 1951 no fewer than three and a half million around 10% of the electorate belonged to the conservative or Labour Party's and in the immediate post-war period the Liberals are very much a minor party in the general election of 1966 they gained just 12 seats actually what they got in the recent election and the nationalist parties did not win a single seat in 1966 there were only two MPs who didn't belong to one of the three major parties so 616 of 630 MPs were Labour or does bear some resemblance to the recent general election at which the two major parties won around 84 percent of the vote and the Liberal Democrats once again won 12 feet though of course the Scottish Nationalist Party won a large number of seats but what changes convulsions we have seen in the intervening years with the rise and fall of the Liberal Democrats the rise and fall of nationalist parties and the development of a completely separate party system in Northern Ireland and these are going to be the subject of future lectures in this series but for the moment it's simply worth pointing out that our assumptions of the continuity stability and slow evolution of the party system have taken a hard knock over the past 50 years now parties of course play a fundamental role in a parliamentary system it is

Railly whom I would try to show has a claim to be regarded as the founder of the Conservative Party said in the 19$^{th}$ century but without party parliamentary government is impossible a great German sociologist Max Weber said the same thing more potentially parties he said live in a house of power and what they both meant was that in a parliamentary system parties compete for the chance to gain executive leadership to govern the country now in Britain after the Glorious Revolution of 1689 rested power from the king and Britain became a parliamentary monarchy the question arose what should Parliament do with these new powers which it had won how should the country now be governed and to that question two answers were given the Tory answer and the Whig answer to be replaced in the 19th century by the conservative and liberal answers and in the twentieth by the conservative and Labour answers normally one of these parties formed a government following a general election the other form the opposition and sought to remove it not perhaps through a vote in the House of Commons but at the following general election there was in other words a battle between the ins and outs now the minor parties seek to change the parliamentary system the Liberal Democrats seek as its predecessor Liberal Party did to change the electoral system to one of proportional representation and that would almost certainly fragment the party system creating a permanent multi-party politics and no doub coalition and minority government as occurs in much of the continent you Kipp sought to take Britain out of the European Union and aim that it seems to have achieved but the party intends to maintain a watching brief to make sure that what it regards as the establishment parties do not backslide but carry out the people's verdict given in the referendum held last year the nationalist parties seek to change the system in a different way they do not seek to win power at Westminster indeed they go to Westminster to

emphasize that they do not wish to be there they seek to win sufficient electoral support so as to cut loose from Westminster of course they want to form a government but not at Westminster they want to be in government in Edinburgh or Cardiff in their own countries once independence has been achieved perhaps if independence were to be achieved they would break up as the Irish nationalists did after Irish independence in 1922 perhaps there would be a Scottish Nationalist Party of the left contesting elections against a Scottish Nationalist Party of the right we do not know but what is clear is the primary purpose of the nationalist parties is not to form or even sustain a government at Westminster but to use Westminster as a forum to achieve independence rather like the Irish nationalists in the 19th century their purpose in coming into Westminster is to say in a very loud voice we do not belong here only time will tell whether they will be successful or not now political parties developed long.

### *Text 6*

It is here in Britain where different people, from different backgrounds, who follow different religions and different customs don't just rub alongside each other but are relatives and friends; husbands, wives, cousins, neighbours and colleagues.

It is here in Britain where in one or two generations people can come with nothing and rise as high as their talent allows.

It is here in Britain where success is achieved not in spite of our diversity, but because of our diversity.

So as we talk about the threat of extremism and the challenge of integration, we should not do our country down – we are, without a shadow of doubt, a beacon to the world.

And as we debate these issues, neither should we demonise people of particular backgrounds. Every one of the communities that has come to call our country home has made Britain a better place. And because the focus of my remarks today is on tackling Islamist extremism – not Islam the religion – let me say this.

I know what a profound contribution Muslims from all backgrounds and denominations are making in every sphere of our society, proud to be both British and Muslim, without conflict or contradiction.

And I know something else: I know too how much you hate the extremists who are seeking to divide our communities and how you loathe that damage they do.

As Prime Minister, I want to work with you to confront and defeat this poison. Today, I want to set out how. I want to explain what I believe we need to do as a country to defeat this extremism, and help to strengthen our multi-racial, multi-faith democracy.

*Text 7*

It begins – it must begin – by understanding the threat we face and why we face it. What we are fighting, in Islamist extremism, is an ideology. It is an extreme doctrine.

And like any extreme doctrine, it is subversive. At its furthest end it seeks to destroy nation-states to invent its own barbaric realm. And it

often backs violence to achieve this aim – mostly violence against fellow Muslims – who don't subscribe to its sick worldview.

But you don't have to support violence to subscribe to certain intolerant ideas which create a climate in which extremists can flourish.

Ideas which are hostile to basic liberal values such as democracy, freedom and sexual equality.

Ideas which actively promote discrimination, sectarianism and segregation.

Ideas – like those of the despicable far right – which privilege one identity to the detriment of the rights and freedoms of others.

And ideas also based on conspiracy: that Jews exercise malevolent power; or that Western powers, in concert with Israel, are deliberately humiliating Muslims, because they aim to destroy Islam. In this warped worldview, such conclusions are reached – that 9/11 was actually inspired by Mossad to provoke the invasion of Afghanistan; that British security services knew about 7/7, but didn't do anything about it because they wanted to provoke an anti-Muslim backlash.

And like so many ideologies that have existed before – whether fascist or communist – many people, especially young people, are being drawn to it. We need to understand why it is proving so attractive.

*Text 8*

**Speech by the ladyat the Women Political Leaders Summit 2021**

*<u>Dear Friends</u>*

As women political leaders, we have to make sure that this will not happen!

I have been "a first", the first woman in a job, several times in my life. As so many of you have also been. We have all made our various experiences. And we know: Change does not come automatically. This is why last spring, for example, the Commission presented its first ever gender equality strategy. With this strategy, we want to ensure equal opportunities in the labour market and achieve gender balance in decision-making and in politics.

We lead through action. And we lead by example. Some of you might know that for the first time in history the European Commission, of which I have the honour to be President, has as many female members as male. This was long overdue!

**We now want to repeat this success at the middle and senior management levels. Women already hold more than 40 percent of the top positions in the European Commission. I have set a target of 50% by the end of 2024. Because our democracies are stronger when women are involved as equals. Not because women are better. But because we are different. To see the world in a fully rounded way, we need women and men. This is the only way we will be able to make the right decisions. And to maximise the success both of our societies and economies.**

As women leaders we have to make sure that we get the respect we are due and the treatment appropriate for our position – just as our male colleagues do. And we have to speak up, whenever this is not the case. We owe this to ourselves. And above all, to others. Because whatever happens to us is immediately brought to public attention. But what about the millions of women who do not have this advantage?

*You know dear it is the harshness and severness of men the make us strong, it is their low judgment of us that help us to move on so it is a challenge for us.*

**Women who are hurt every day in every corner of our planet but hold neither the power nor the office to speak up. We have to make sure that their stories are also told – and then acted upon!**

**This is the mission I see for us at this very particular moment: To foster a more equal society as we come out of this pandemic. And to continue our fight for those who cannot make themselves heard. Let me say it again – I am so glad to be with you today!**

And I wish you a fruitful meeting!

Text 9

*closing Statement to the House of Commons on Black History Month in the United Kingdom*

And I'd like to congratulate the Member for Erith and Thamesmead [Abena Oppong-Asare], who's managed to be both a Front Bencher and a Back Bencher today; it's quite a feat; and also the Backbench Business Committee for granting this debate and giving me an

opportunity to speak on an issue that's very close to my heart. And also thank you to all those Honorable and right Honorable Members who have made thoughtful contributions.

I will speak as quickly as I can, and I am afraid I won't be able to reference every speech, but I think that this has been a fantastic debate.

This year, more than it has been for decades, race has been at the heart of our national conversation. Black History Month remains an opportunity to shine a light upon those whose contributions to our national history deserves [sic] to be better known. This month, the Government has taken the opportunity to celebrate the contribution of black Britons who enrich our collective national life and form an inseparable part of our national history -- women like Yvonne Conolly, who in 1969 became the UK's first black female headteacher. Throughout her 40-year career, she has inspired and mentored generations of educators.

*The black contribute more to the world than the white. The white are more likely to keep their contributions for their families then to the country. This, which I regard it selfishness, keeps them away from entering the history.*

Mr. Speaker, the work of Ms. Conolly and her fellow heads is key in the topic we are debating. Education is the key to our mission as a Government to level up and spread opportunity to everyone, whatever their background.

**Many Members have said they want more black history taught, but they don't seem to be aware of what is actually on the**

**curriculum. Our curriculum is not the curriculum of 50, 40, or even 20 years ago. Children today are able to learn about the British empire and colonialism, about the transatlantic slave trade and its abolition, and of how our history has been shaped by people of all ethnicities, as well as having the opportunity to study non-European cultures such as Mughal India or the Benin Empire, which is where my ancestors decided to have their own opportunity to take over the world in their own way.**

Pupils -- Pupils can currently study migration, empires, and the people in the AQA history GCSE [General Certificate of Secondary Education], for example. The Member for Ilford North [Wes Streeting] is quite wrong to say that that's the only place that it can be learned. There are many other exam bodies that do offer -- that do offer this.

*But our curriculum does not need decolonising for the simple reason that it is not colonised. We should not apologise for the fact that British children primarily study the history of these islands. And it goes without saying that the recent fad to decolonise maths, decolonise engineering, decolonise the sciences, that we have seen across our universities -- to make race the defining principle of what is studied -- is not just misguided but actively opposed to the fundamental purpose of education.*

The curriculum, by its very nature, is limited; there are a finite number of hours to teach any subject. And what we haven't heard in this debate, from those Members who want more added to it -- on both

sides of the House -- is what necessarily must be taken out. Perhaps we'll get to that on another day.

**Members such as the Member for Islington North [Jeremy Corbyn] and many others have raised the Black Lives Matter movement. The Member for Streatham [Bell Ribeiro-Addy] raised the educational guidance and believes that we're trying to stop children from becoming activists. I believe another Member -- apologies, I've forgotten who it was who mentioned it. However, what we are against is the teaching of *contested political ideas* as if they are accepted facts.**

### *Text 10*

Across the world, discriminatory practices and hateful messages serve to stigmatize and vilify those perceived to be the "other", the "foreigner" or the "one who does not belong". Most of those targeted by these messages are minorities – overwhelmingly so. Disaggregated data in some countries suggest that perhaps three-quarters or more of hate speech, for example, target ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. 'An ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these.

Minorities are killed everywhere around the world. This is unfair, this is not the justice of the fate. The majority is committing crimes against them, why is that. They are criminals in the form of angels….. why is that…silence is killing us.

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief of Staff to the President, Honorable Ministers, diplomatic colleagues, luminaries of Nigeria's health sector and the private sector. It is a pleasure to be here to mark another milestone in Nigeria's road to HIV epidemic control. Today's inauguration of the HIV Trust Fund creates an opportunity to bring Nigeria's dynamic private sector into efforts to expand domestic investment in HIV control.

Since 2003, the U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has invested more than $6 billion in the national HIV response. We currently provide roughly $400 million per year in a program focused on lifesaving antiretroviral treatment and HIV care services to over 1.6 million Nigerians. This achievement is the result of the compassion and generosity of the American people and a consistent commitment across many U.S. administrations to fight HIV with host governments and Global Fund partners.

Even the COVID-19 pandemic did not slow our march toward controlling HIV. On the contrary, our data-based, targeted surge activities put more than 500,000 Nigerian on life saving treatment since we launched in late 2019. We did this in partnership with governors of high burden states, who joined us in meeting the challenge of identifying people living with HIV. The next phase of

our game plan is to sustain these gains by ensuring funding gaps are filled to keep people living with HIV on treatment.

This requires mobilizing domestic resources and pooling them for high quality, equitable HIV services from the government and other contributors, such as health insurance, to closing this funding gap. Our placement of people on treatment means that they can contribute to the development and prosperity of their country. The United States remains committed to supporting Nigeria in reaching and sustaining HIV epidemic control, but we also believe that national ownership is critical to its success.

This is where the private sector, which depends on a healthy workforce, comes in. The HIV Trust Fund represents a major component of the government's resource mobilization strategy. Private sector support for HIV is critical to sustaining current programs, particularly for commodities such as test kits and drugs.

The United States applauds the National Agency for the Control of AIDS and the National AIDS/STI Control Program for its forward thinking in mobilizing private sector support through the HIV Trust Fund. I urge all of you gathered here today to ensure these efforts are fully resourced and operationalized. We are excited to have new partners in the fight against HIV and increased government ownership of the care and treatment of the 1.6 million Nigerians we now support. These Nigerians will need treatment for life. By getting tested and treated, they have put Nigeria on the verge of epidemic control. We cannot let them down!

## *Stephen Fry VS The Catholic Church*

it's not just a debate I genuinely believe that the Catholic Church is not to put it at its mildest a force for good in the world and therefore it is important for me to try and marshal my facts as well I can to explain why I think that but I want first of all to say that I have no quarrel no argument and I wish to express no contempt for individual devout and pious members of that church they are welcome to their sacraments to their welcome to their reliquaries and to their Blessed Virgin Mary they're welcome to their to their faith to the importance they place in it to the comfort and the joy that they received from it all of that is absolutely fine by me it would be impertinent and wrong on me to express any antagonism towards any individual who wishes to find salvation in whatever form they wish to express it that to me is sacrosanct as much as any article of faith is sacrosanct to anyone of any church or any faith in the world it's very important it's also very important to me as it happens that I have my own beliefs they are a belief in the Enlightenment they're a belief in the eternal adventure of trying to discover moral truth in the world discover it's a terribly important word to which we might return it's a fight it's an empirical fight it's one that was begun in the middle of the of the last millennium it's given the name the Enlightenment and there is nothing sadly that the Catholic Church and its fireworks likes to do more than to attack the Enlightenment he did so at the time reference was made to Galileo and the fact that he was tortured for trying to explain the Copernican theory of the universe that's history history as Miss Widdecombe has

reminded us is irrelevant it's not important all that matters now is the billions of pounds go out of this extraordinary institution to relieve the poor around the world to make the world a better place history is of no importance whatsoever well I beg to differ history history whinnies and Quivers and vibrates in all of us in this hall in this square mile let's think about this square mile I'll come back to it in a moment at first crystal made mention of limbo it seems so tedious and so silly and one of those little kazoo estate games that Thomas and others play Aquinas and Augustine of Hippo both proposed this extraordinary idea that babies who were unbaptized would not know heaven they also proposed the idea of purgatory which doesn't exist in the Bible there's absolutely no evidence for it however what an extraordinary brilliant COO to imagine such a thing as purgatory that a soul needs to be prayed for in order to go to heaven in order to turn left when he enters the aeroplane of heaven and get a first-class seat that he needs to be prayed for and for many hundreds indeed over a thousand years you'll be amazed what generous terms that his prayers came at sometimes as little or as two-thirds of a year's salary could ensure that a dead loved one would go to heaven and money could ensure that your baby your dead child your dead uncle your dead mother could go to heaven and if you were rich enough you could have a chance rebuilt

### *text 3*

### *speech against the catholic*

which other churches and other cultures have also their guilt to admit it's not unique to the Catholic Church and I never said it was an emotion doesn't say it was or at least the opposition of the motion does

not irrigate to the Catholic Church uniquely this sin however the particular nature of the exploitation of the poor the vulnerable and the young if I were to talk to a priest now believe me that priest would be the most worldly charming self deprecating snobbish in a Ronald Knox alfred Gill be sort of way haha he would be lovely he would smoke gosh how daring he would be a sort of hahaha priest and the superstition and the nonsense that we read about of the church it's absolutely don't pay any attention Stephen just join Farm Street or one or the Brompton Oratory and have a marvelous time as of Catholic and everything is lovely and splendid but be poor and ignorant and my goodness me every single detail of damnation and original sin and of any possibility of your complaining or asking to think for yourself I said let's think of this square-mile just imagine in this square mile how many people were burned for reading the Bible in English and one of the principal burners and torturers of those who tried to read the Bible in English here in London was Thomas More you may know if you've read the novel world which one the Man Booker Prize just the other day now that's a long time ago it's not relevant except that it was only in our century that Thomas More was made a saint and it was only in the year 2000 that the last pope the pole he he made it Thomas More the patron saint of politicians this is a man who put people on the rack for daring to own a Bible in English he tortured them for owning a Bible in their own language the idea that the Catholic Church exists to disseminate the word of the Lord is nonsense it is the only owner.

## *Text four*

## *Misconceptions About the Orthodox Church*

One misconception that a lot of people have about the Orthodox Church is that it is only for certain kinds of people: Only for Greeks, only for Russians, etc. The truth is: everyone belongs in the Orthodox Church. We want everyone to check us out and to become part of our communities. We have a lot of things in common with Roman Catholicism. But there are some big differences between the way that the Orthodox and Roman Catholics view Church authority. The way that we view salvation. The way that we understand what happens to us after we die. Even though we have a number of things in common, some very important things in common, we're really not the same. Not only are we not the same, we're not in communion. The Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic church have not been part of the same Church together for about a thousand years now. The word idolatry literally means "the service of phantoms", or the service of something that is fake; something phony. For us, what we see in our icons is not something that's fake, it's something that's real. An icon of Jesus is about the real God-man. Icons of the Saints are about real people who actually exist and walked this earth, and now are glorified with our Lord. We connect with them with these things. An icon is for us a connection between a Heavenly reality and ourselves. If I see an icon of Jesus, when I pay honor to that icon by say, bowing to it or kissing it, I'm not giving my devotion to that piece of wood or the paint that is on that piece of wood. I am giving my devotion, my love to Jesus Christ. One thing some people will say about the Orthodox is that we think that we "earn our way to Heaven". That's not what we believe at all. We believe that the only reason why any of us can be saved is because of God's mercy which we do not deserve. There's nothing we

can do to deserve God's mercy; there's nothing we can do to to "earn it". Rather, what happens is God gives his Grace fully, completely, to all of mankind. We can choose to cooperate with it or not to cooperate with it. For instance if you want to get a suntan, from the Sun which is shining on the whole world, you need to go out and stand in the sun and experience the Sun so you can get that suntan. But if you stay inside, you're not going to get the suntan. You're not earning the suntan by going out there. But you have to be in the sun if you want to experience the benefits of the Sun. It's God who does the work, but we have to open ourselves up to let him do it. Sometimes when people say this about religion that is liturgical, (in other words, that's focused on ritual prayer), They won't examine the rituals in their own lives.For instance, most Americans have various rituals that we do all the time.

## *Text 5*

## ***Dr. George Fraser - Black People are Heading into a Second Slavery***

the sexiest thing the sexiest thing got a black band you can do today [Applause] I speak from experience yes I am black for those of you who were not entirely sure that is the beauty of our culture and race we come in all shapes and sizes and skin tones and hair textures lots of options out there brothers and sisters no need to strike now I can say that does I'm in America the same sister I said sister people ask me all the time dr. Fraser what is the secret to me to staying married to the same system for 45 years and it's a one word secret amnesia 45 years Nora Gene's gonna do something stupid I'm gonna do something stupid we discussed the stupid things that we have done Bishop we reach middle ground we bless it and release it never to bring it up again

and we go about raising our family loving our children and serving our people till death do us part that is the key to success in the black community a strong black family a strong we just don't have time to unpack that but huge now all that needed to be said and today has already been said I got I got here at 8 o'clock this morning i sat patiently and listened to 6070 brothers and sisters speak with brilliance with intelligence with calm and collaboration was just a beautiful thing to see and they covered everything that you could possibly want to cover so a I applaud you for that Benz L I know you often call yourself Denzel yeah everybody else but you are the bomb I love you you are in fact a race man as I am a race man that we have committed our time talent and treasure to the investment and the upliftment of black people first I did say only I said first not only for that so let me say this to you from my heart if I could not be me I would want to be youth you're their brother I appreciate you and who and and the people that you coalesced around a powerful vision for the future a black folk in Denver you are going to have obstacles one of my favorite quotes this for Marcus Aurelius Marcus Aurelius was one of the five great CSIS and it was Marcus Aurelius who said that the impediment to action advances action that what stands in the way becomes the way let me say that where there is no obstacle there is no way when God gives you an assignment when you're ready….. I Just want to ask you one question why religion is the white man religion. Is it a curse for us we the black.

Text 6

The priest VS the orthothics

and he cannot mix in the Bible so this is no strange subject we just need to bring the subject up more frequently so we launched this year wins wins wins is an acronym well for the name of our divine son we know that is I created a little piece of poetry under winds and it says for the wind for it is the wind that makes us soar and it is the winds that bring change winds they will be financially a financial literacy centers wealth building centers that's how we're branding them now I have a little experience with branding I spent 13 years in branding and marketing in leadership positions with Procter and Gamble now anybody know anything about branding and marketing they are the beasts of branding and marketing they invented branding and I sat at the feet of the masters for thirteen years I was the guy that was partly responsible for the launch of pampers which disrupted the cloth diaper category forty years ago so I know a little bit on how to package design and do the brand architecture for something as powerful as a brand that needs to bring the suit literacy we are we introduced it last year at the power networking conference we said here's what's coming we launched it this year at the power networking conference we recruited now I eat the prototype I've had a win Center in my church for thelast 14 months so I was sort of the test market we're now doing what they call in the branding world a soft launch so we've got 15 people around the country we will be meeting in October for the final train-the-trainer each person directing a win center must have some history in the financial services industry and then they must get a CFP i which is sort of a certification of financial education instruction you see because you are a stockbroker doesn't mean that you can teach financial education it is no different than basketball Michael Jordan is the

baddest basketball player that ever played the game but he would fire himself as the coach of a team that he won because he cannot coach but Phil Jackson was a mediocre basketball player and Phil Jackson has 11 rings and nine of them offer coaching because you can play basketball doesn't mean that you can teach basketball because you could read doesn't mean that you could teach reading because you can do math doesn't mean that you can teach math you have to be certified I have to African sent to charter schools and you cannot teach basic reading in my charter schools without certification and reading but why would we allow people to teach our people something they're not certified and teaching ….

## Text 7

### An inside look at Islamic extremism by Mubin Shaikh

when I was still an extremist I celebrated the 9/11 attacks when the news came in over the radio that a plane that hit a building the first thing that came out of my mouth was god is great Allahu Akbar now you see extremists are made and not born in my journey as a middle-class Muslim kid from Canada began at a Koran school that I attended every day of the week every weekend the boys were on one side the girls were on another side and both of us would be rocking back and forth in front of wooden benches reciting the Quran by rote not understanding a word of what we were reciting if you made a mistake you were slapped you were beaten we were put into a stress position

and this is where I was first introduced to the concept that religion is something violent of course the public school that I went to during the day was the complete opposite of this environment the boys and girls mixed was a nurturing caring environment he weren't slapped if he made a mistake and this contrast would lay the foundation for an identity crisis for my identity crisis that would manifest later on in high school I wasn't bullied in high school I wasn't picked on we were one of the cool kids but one day when my parents were gone overseas I had a house party and unbeknownst to me my father had told his brother my uncle to check on the house while he was gone so as a teenager has this party happening and all the friends are over in the middle of the party my uncle walks in and he begins yelling and screaming telling everyone to get out he grabbed me by the scruff of my neck he says what have you done you've shamed the family you have dishonored and defiled the home people pray here he said you're bringing these people here to do these things he called up other uncle's who came to the house sat me down surrounded me and berated me over and over making me feel so guilty over what I had done and so I told myself there the only way for me to dissolve egde what was left

Text 8

Let's get to the root of racial injustice | Megan Ming Francis | TEDxRainier

For those who don't know North Philly, it's an area that is predominantly black and low-income, with a very visible police presence. When I returned his phone call, Kenny is loud and swearing into the phone. I can tell that something very bad happened, but I'm

not sure what. When I'm finally able to get him to calm down, he tells me how he was sitting on the stoop of his building talking to a friend when four police officers ran up on him and threw him and three others on the ground, handcuffed them and then pushed them up against a wall, all the while asking them, "What drugs do you have? What drugs do you have?" Kenny had no drugs. He told the officers this many times, but each statement of no drugs only seemed to provoke more force and make the officers more upset. As Kenny sat, cuffed, and slumped against a brick wall, he quietly told the officers that he was a student at Temple University and without reason, they could not hold him. The officers finally retrieved his college ID, which was in his wallet that had slipped out when he was slammed to the pavement, realized that he was indeed in college, without drugs, and then let him go. After Kenny told me this story, he was still loud and upset. I was shaking, barely able to hold the phone to my ear, all of the joy from my great day of teaching - gone ... and replaced with a deep sense of helplessness and alarm. I wanted to remove the hurt and frustration that Kenny felt, that I could hear so clearly through the phone, but I neither had the will nor the ability to lie to him about the mightiness of American racism. And we both silently knew that this would not be the last time that he would be stopped and frisked by the police for drugs. In an  and to shift attention onto something that he perhaps did have control over, I had this genius idea and suggested that he focused his attention on school work to kind of take his mind off of things. He yells into the phone at me, "What is that going to do? Why should I focus on my school work when the police are allowed to do things like this?" And then he says to me, "I'm not a student in your class, Megan.

Your books are not going to save me." I silently nodded on the other end of the phone, In a lifetime of often heated exchanges with him, I've probably never been more wrong, and he has never been more right. Kenny is not alone. This violent interaction between black men and women, and police officers plays out in cities and towns across the United States, often with much more devastating results. According to the most recent statistics, blacks are three times more likely to be shot and killed by police than whites. The question on everyone's mind and the question that I get asked the most is, "How do we solve this problem?"

Text 9

We may only be two decades in, but the 21st century has seen monumental shifts regarding gender equality. Movements such as #metoo, global fights for abortion rights, and the Saudi Arabian women's driving ban are a few that have highlighted the issue.

When you think of great speeches in history, images of Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama may spring forth. Due to ingrained biases, women have always needed to 'speak louder to have their voices heard'. Women's Equality Day, often referred to as Gender Equality Day, commemorates when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed the proclamation granting American women the right to vote. On this Women's Equality Day (26th August 2021), we celebrate powerful speeches by women on the world stage fighting for equal rights.

"In 1944, Recy Taylor was a young wife and a mother. She was just walking home from a church service she attended in Abbeville, Alabama, when she was abducted by six armed white men raped and left blindfolded by the side of the road coming home from church. They threatened to kill her if she ever told anyone. But her story was reported to the NAACP, where a young worker by the name of Rosa Parks became the lead investigator on her case"

"So I want all the girls watching here now to know that a new day is on the horizon. And when that new day finally dawns. It will be because of a lot of magnificent women, many of whom are right here in this room tonight, and some pretty phenomenal men fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say me too again."

## *Text 10*

"The more I've spoken about feminism, the more I have realized that fighting for women's rights has too often become synonymous with man-hating. If there is one thing I know for certain. It is that this has to stop. For the record, feminism, by definition, is the belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities."

"I am from Britain. And I think it is right that I am paid the same as my male counterparts. I think it is right that I should be able to make decisions about my own body. I think. I think it is right that women be involved on my behalf in the policies and the decisions that will affect my life. I think it is right that socially I am afforded the same respect as men. But sadly, I can say that there is no one country in the world

where all women can expect to receive these rights. No country in the world can yet say that they have achieved gender equality."

 "If men don't have to be aggressive in order to be accepted, women won't feel compelled to be submissive. If men don't have to control, women won't have to be controlled. Both men and women should feel free to be sensitive, both men and women should feel free to be strong. It is time that we all perceive gender on a spectrum instead of two sets of opposing ideals."

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