

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria  
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research  
Abdelhamid Ibn Badis University - Mostaganem  
Faculty of Foreign Languages  
Department of English



A Critical Discourse Analysis of Algeria's Former Minister of Education Nouria  
Benghabrit-Remaoun's Speeches (2014 – 2019)

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**'Linguistics'**

**Submitted by :** Abdelkader BELAMECHE

**Board of Examiners:**

Dr. R. BENYOUCEF	<b>Chairwoman</b>	<b>University of Mostaganem</b>
Prof. S. HAMERLAIN	<b>Supervisor</b>	<b>University of Mostaganem</b>
Mrs. S. MAAROUFI	<b>Examiner</b>	<b>University of Mostaganem</b>

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**DEDICATION**

*Mom and Dad, I could never have done this without your faith, support, and constant encouragement. Thank you for teaching me to believe in myself.*

*To my soul's twin, my little brother Aymen, and my sweet sister Imen.*

*To my dear classmate namely Karima for her support and encouragement during these years.*

*To all of my friends.*

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## ABSTRACT

Algeria's ministers tend to use a specific jargon to communicate with their audience using humor, incorrect sentences, and word ambiguity. But this jargon has occasionally hidden some ideologies. This led us to investigate how this could possibly apply to the Algerian former Minister of Education Nouria Benghabrit through some of her interviews relying on Norman Fairclough's (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis model. This work also aims to extract discursive practices and rhetorical techniques used by Benghabrit. The major issue raised is the impact of Benghabrit's language on the Algerian people. The methodological process conducted is an observation of Benghabrit's Youtube videos. In particular, we have selected 11 videos. The analysis starts at the word level, the text level, and moves to the discursive practices. Eventually, we came up to identifying rhetorical techniques and hidden ideologies which obliterated Algerian identity through second-generation reforms. Moreover, the results reveal that Fairclough's model is suitable and applicable for the analysis of Benghabrit's speeches since our hypotheses are accepted and confirmed. To conclude, we could observe that her jargon helped her to convey her ideology easily and in a short time while the Algerian people were busy criticizing the way she speaks.

**Key words:** Norman Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, discursive practices, rhetorical techniques, hidden ideologies, second generation reforms, Nouria Benghabrit

## Resumé

Les ministres algériens ont tendance à utiliser un jargon spécifique pour communiquer avec leur public en utilisant l'humour, des phrases incorrectes et l'ambiguïté des mots, mais ce jargon a occasionnellement caché certaines idéologies. Cela nous a amené à enquêter sur les idéologies cachées de la ministre algérienne Nouria Benghabrit derrière son discours en s'appuyant sur le modèle de Norman Fairclough (1989) pour l'analyse critique du discours. Ce travail vise également à extraire les pratiques discursives et les techniques rhétoriques utilisées par Benghabrit. Le principal problème soulevé est l'impact de la langue de Benghabrit sur le peuple algérien. Le processus méthodologique mené est une observation des vidéos de Benghabrit sur Youtube. Dans cette recherche, nous avons sélectionné 11 vidéos. L'analyse commence au niveau des mots, pour passer à celui du texte, et ensuite aux pratiques discursives. Finalement, nous sommes arrivés à identifier les techniques rhétoriques et les idéologies cachées qui effaçaient l'identité algérienne à travers des réformes de deuxième génération. De plus, les résultats révèlent que le modèle de Norman Fairclough est approprié et applicable pour l'analyse des discours de Benghabrit puisque notre hypothèse est acceptée et confirmée. Pour conclure, d'après ce qui est observé, son jargon l'a aidée à transmettre son idéologie facilement et en peu de temps alors que le peuple algérien était occupé à critiquer sa façon de parler.

**Mots clés:** Norman Fairclough, analyse du discours critique, pratiques discursives, techniques rhétoriques, idéologies cachées, réformes de deuxième génération, Nouria Benghabrit

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

DA: Discourse Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CUV: Committee of University Volunteers

MAS: Master of Advanced Studies

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Language is a discursive formation; that is a group of ideas, images, and practices that forms ways of talking about a particular topic. Put differently, it is a regulated way of thinking and talking about something. In addition, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) views language as a form of social practice. CDA adopts multiple perspectives and it analyzes a text beyond textual level with specific reference to their contextual implications, genres, and societal structures. It is just as scientific and objective as any other type of analysis (not just linguistic). It also identifies hidden ideologies manifested in the language in any text with respect to social context.

Over the previous decade in the Algerian history, ministers have adopted a new language to deliver their speech to their audience. This language can be deemed as an influential tool that can be employed to obtain support in need and to convey hidden ideologies. This investigative work is an endeavour to use CDA as an apparatus to analyze Nouria Benghabrit's Speeches delivered on different occasions. To do so, I chose an analytical framework which is the Norman Fairclough's (1989) model. Consequently, the main purpose of choosing this model is not only to point up the linguistic features of Nouria Benghabrit speech, but also to identify the hidden and major ideological strategies used. This undertaking also aims at pondering upon what lies behind second-generation reforms. To accomplish that, the researcher raises the following questions:

- To what extent is Norman Fairclough's model applicable to Benghabrit's speech?
- What are the major hidden ideologies used by Benghabrit's speech?
- What are the linguistic features used in Benghabrit's speech?

Consequently, several hypotheses have been posited to be tested and, eventually, validated or rebutted via the investigation. The potential hypotheses are set out accordingly:

- We assume that Norman Fairclough's model (1989) can be applied to critically analyze Benghabrit's speech

- We believe that Benghabrit used a number of hidden ideologies in her speeches.
- Benghabrit's speech consists of such elements as rhetorical techniques.

The present research is divided into three chapters; the first two are theoretical, and the third one is practical. Thus, the first chapter provides an introduction to the approach of CDA. It offers definitions to basic notions and concepts (Discourse, DA, CDA, rhetoric, and political discourse), explains ideology and its role, and exposes the most known political rhetorical (ethos - pathos, and logos). Subsequently, the second chapter tackles Nouria Benghabrit's life and political language, to indicate how language and politics are affected by each other. It also offers the main linguistic features in political speeches and types of political discourse by ghostwriters, and closes with a succinct overview of the stereotypical assumptions as regards female politicians. Coming up to the last chapter, this one attempts to cover the analysis at three stages: the description stage or (textual analysis at the level of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure). The interpretation stage (or discursive analysis at the level the force of utterances, coherence, and intertextuality of texts). Then, the explanation stage (or social analysis through investigating the hidden power and ideology

**Introduction**

Discourse as a discipline has become a vast field of inquiry, and Critical Discourse Analysis as a logical development of it has to do with power, oppression and hegemony in political discourse. In recent years, there has been a heated debate about the importance of Critical Discourse Analysis in analyzing political speeches. In this chapter, we are going to define basic notions such as Discourse, Discourse Analysis (DA), and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). We are further going to present Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for the analysis of discourse. Then, this chapter will try to shed light on the meaning of rhetoric(s). Finally, it will attempt to highlight the most common features of political discourse.

**Key Concepts and Terminologies:**

Before clarifying the term CDA, it is of paramount importance to define theoretically the notions of discourse and discourse analysis. In fact, these share the same object of study, but they differ at the level of text accessibility, studying, and analyzing. The three concepts are defined below.

**1. Discourse**

In the domain of discourse studies, scholars attempt to investigate and understand discourse phenomena in order to set their distinctive traits. The popular use of the term "text" is usually restricted to written language, while "discourse" refers rather to the whole act of communication, but according to Fasold (1990, p. 65), "the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language". Furthermore, it indicates different meanings to different people within a society. Yet, it is any stretch of talk between the speaker and hearer using a piece of language, such as sentences, phrases, clauses or words. Discourse, as defined by Foucault (1987), means incorporating knowledge within social practices including the power of speech.

Wodak and Ludwig (1999) state that discourse and society are bound together. Hence, they do affect each other.

## **2. Discourse Analysis (DA)**

The term discourse analysis was first introduced by Zellig Harris in 1952. It focuses on the analysis of both spoken and written texts between the speaker and the hearer in negotiating meaning. Discourse analysis is an umbrella term for a number of approaches to analyzing written, spoken, sign language or any significant semiotic event. It is also concerned with language use in social contexts or language beyond the sentence. DA is an increasingly popular and important area of language study, it discusses not only language itself but also how it relates society, culture and thought. It is used to describe activities in several disciplines such as: linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. DA is just the analysis of the discourses without giving solutions to problems. It can discuss and analyse any type of topics such as political, media, religious, or any type of discourse and see the differences and give conclusions. Jorgensen & Phillips (2011) state that discourse analysis means how language is used by people to act socially and to achieve their goals in a variety of social contexts.

## **3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

CDA marked its beginning in the 1970s. It is an interdisciplinary approach that aims at studying the relationship between society, discourse, and power. It is also a new sub-branch of linguistics. In addition, it is the study of how language is used as a discursive power to affect people's minds. Moreover, it studies how ideology is manifested through texts. Hence, Caroline Coffin (2001, p. 99) defined CDA as “an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology”. CDA was introduced also by Van Dijk (2001, p.352) as:

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk

in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

CDA as its name suggests, is a critical device, it mainly deals with the questions of inequality and power, as it is a method of analysis. It deals with ideology and thoughts that the speaker or the writer delivers through his discourse. In fact, it exposes ideology and inequality in society. It deals with many problems in society like discrimination in race, religion, gender, or anything that can be felt unequal or biased. As Fowler (1996, p.10) suggests, CDA goes “beyond the formal structure of language as an abstract system, toward the practical interaction of language and context”.

It is an approach to analyse texts in which we have to view the text from a broader perspective, for instance which socio-political factors could influence a text (by keeping in mind the time period in which the text is written). As an example, consider that a historical text may be written from a historian’s personal perspective and could be analysed in a different way after a certain period of time. Simply, power and politics in a society could influence the writing of the text and its analysis at different levels. For instance, in newspapers and media certain perspectives are taken in reporting and writing news; it means media houses could influence the originality of the political and social situation because media houses have backing perhaps from different powerful groups which determine ideologies.

CDA is concerned with the language of politics in order to seek interpretations for any implication in the given discourse, based on pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches standpoints. Norman Fairclough (2003) states that language influences political discourse. Thus, political discourse can affect language, or vice versa. In fact, politics is a social field that promotes CDA to do its job. CDA connects text patterns at the level of lexicon and syntax to larger social issues, with the particular intention of reducing the amount of pain in the world.

Some other kinds of DA lack either a careful attention to text at the ‘micro’ level, or a political commitment to CDA.

Ideological battles are usually shown in parliament, presidential campaigns, and political debates. Van Dijk (2004, p.11) claims that, “it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggle and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized.”

To Fairclough (1993, p.135), CDA aims to:

systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and 2 processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

## **1.2 Ideology**

CDA aims at showing hidden ideologies as demonstrated in the language used. In fact, language works in tandem with ideology through providing a vocabulary for key terms, and channeling ideology in discourse. In DA, ideology is defined as “significations or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” Fairclough (1992, p.87). Indeed, people have various ways of thinking, each one has the same thoughts as others, but looks at and perceives things in a different way. The concept of ideology has been given different definitions in the past. It was first introduced at the beginning of the 18th century by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to relate a set of thoughts, ideas, and beliefs since it has a direct link with political issues (Van

Dijk, 2004). Ideology in politics is shown as a set of conventions and thoughts of a political system (Freeden 1996, Van Dijk, 2005).

To sum up, Ideologies mean ideas or thoughts reflected people's choice of words, structure, syntax and so on. Ideology makes discourse look naturalized because certain ideologies are manifested and introduced through discourse. Besides, the continuous exposure to such ideological discourse makes them sound natural, logical and common sense to the receivers as well as it allows us to see things from different perspectives. Ideologies are inherited in the unconscious aspect of our personalities, and ideology plays an important role in this world. Currently, ideology is portrayed as a compendium of "sociocultural values, such as Equality, Justice, Truth or Efficiency" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 248). Fairclough (2003, p.28), in his definition, links ideology to power relations, as he explains: "ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. Analysis of texts [...] is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique"

### **1.3 CDA Major Frameworks**

#### **1.3.1 Norman Fairclough's Framework**

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that uses language as a form of social practice. Fairclough (1989) assumes that any case of language is a communicative event. He has developed a model for CDA to analyze a text. The model consists of three categories that he called dimensions. The three dimensions are description, interpretation, and explanation (as noted by Fairclough 1989, p.26). Furthermore, Fairclough's analytical approach assumes that language helps create change and can be used to change behaviour. Here, language becomes a powerful tool. It aims to analyse power, ideology, opinion-shaping in any type of discourse. This approach and others of critical discourse analysis are aiming to free people from the ideologies spread throughout discourse.

Also, it tends to see how people select the appropriate words and invest meaning in their speeches (Fairclough 1995). Hence, it is an approach of CDA in which Fairclough related discourse to society to study ideology. In analyzing a text, Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA contains inter-related processes of analysis linked to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. They are all explained below.

### **1.3.1.1 Description**

The first dimension represents the textual level at which one is supposed to analyse the text on word-level, i.e. what types of words have been used for example adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs. Janks (1997, p.138) defines the term text as “the object of analysis refers to (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts). Furthermore, a text can be spoken, written, represented through images, or a mixture of the three forms of communication. This form of analysis takes place at word level.

### **1.3.1.2 Interpretation**

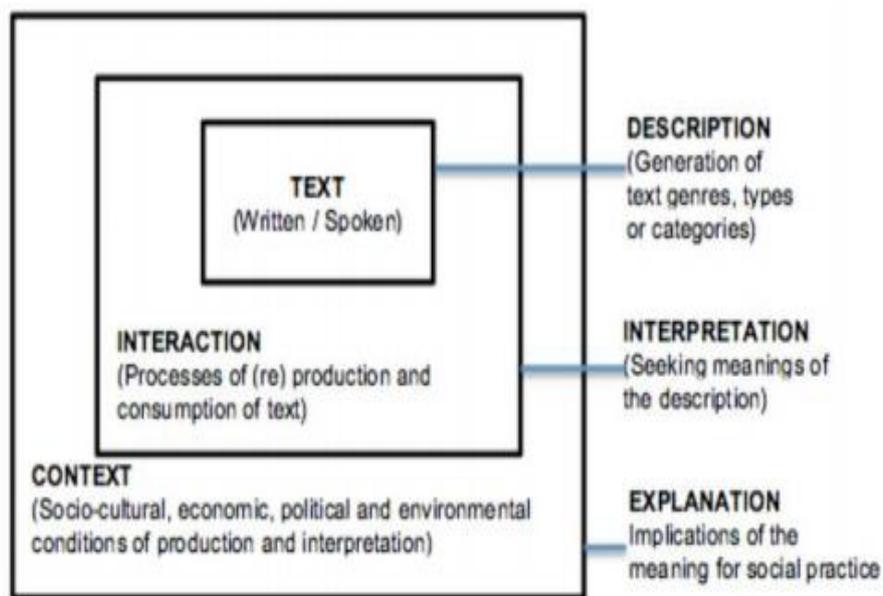
The second level which is known as Discourse Practice is related to the production and distribution of the discourse i.e. who is the addresser and target audience and what means have been used for the distribution of the discourse: whether it is written, spoken, or electronic. Processing analysis can be defined as “the processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects” Janks (1997, p. 26). Discursive practice involves the production or constitution of texts, and in which the analysis takes place at text level.

### **1.3.1.3 Explanation**

The last dimension of discourse can be described as "power behind discourse" or as "social practices". In fact, it contains “the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes [of production and reception]” (Janks 1997, p. 26). Social practice is about stands of society or the organization in effect, social structure. In other words, our activities stress

and emphasize how socially embedded we are. All kinds of such activities, verbal, nonverbal, behavioral, cultural and psychological represent our social practice. Here, it is the analysis of what scholars called the norms levels. Socio-cultural practice relates discourse to society, culture, and ideologies, so the hidden agendas are brought into light. Fairclough (1995, p. 134) states that “[L]anguage use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs.”

The following figure shows Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework of discourse and DA (Fairclough 1989, p. 73)



**Figure 1. Fairclough’s Three-dimensional Framework (1989)**

The figure shows Fairclough's model. How Fairclough works on CDA. It has 3 levels. The first level is textual, anything that has to do with linguistics: phonology, morphology, syntax and so on. The analysis does not stop there, it has to go further than that. Therefore, after analyzing your text, you do not have the full picture. You have to understand how it is produced, reproduced, and consumed. It is labeled as the interactional level. The two levels are also not enough to get a full picture of the problem. The last level is far from

linguistics, it is more of a sociological analysis of a wider context. It explains what is going on, on the first and second levels, in society.

#### **1.4 Rhetoric**

Researchers and scientists alike have long debated the domain of rhetoric since the 4th century BCE. Aristotle defined it in his book *Rhetoric* as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (as quoted in Crider 2014, p. 11). In light of this, the term “rhetoric” was defined by Andrew King and Jim Kuypers (1936) as the art of communicating strategy, oral or written, to achieve specific goals and to avoid misunderstanding. They, also, considered it as a persuasion art and adeptness in oratory. It signifies that rhetoric is not simply talking or have a conversation, it is the practice of using speech artfully and skilfully to get what you want. In the same prospect, George Campbell (1986) believes that the main aim of rhetoric is to instruct, persuade, and please. He defined it as: The art or talent by which discourse is adapted to its end. The four ends of discourse are to enlighten the understanding, please the imagination, move the passion, and influence the will." (para 5). Rhetoric sometimes refers to oratory skills or the art of writing and giving speeches. It is generally the art of persuasive writing or speaking. Various rhetorical devices can be employed to persuade the receptors of the speaker's message.

##### **1.4.1 Rhetoric and Politics**

Generally speaking, rhetoric is the art of public speaking and debate in politics. The rhetorical analysis deals with the persuasion method that a person uses towards the others. Thus, it studies the inherited energy in emotions, thoughts, and ideologies transmitted through language, to others to affect their decisions (Kennedy, pp. 5-8). People who are related to these kinds of analysis are politicians, namely deputies, ministers, and presidents. Rhetoric may refer to the language of persuasion and may also refer to making speeches. There is no

politics without rhetoric through which politicians can convince audiences of their plans, their stances, and even their blunders.

In the 4th century B.C, Aristotle suggested that rhetoric has three branches, namely deliberative or political, judicial or forensic, and epideictic or ceremonial. He asserted that the deliberative discourse had a relationship with the political debate since the future findings will be of a public interest. He also claimed that political speech is used to persuade a person in a certain way. Unlike political speaking, judicial speeches are used to accuse or defend a person while ceremonial discourse used to praise or blame someone for his / her accomplishments or actions.

Hence, rhetoric is a technique of persuasion in communication. For instance, in politics, a person who has a convincing style of speech and understands people's needs and desires can win elections over a much more qualified, experienced and knowledgeable candidate. Thus, our speech must be persuasive Crider (2014, p.26). Aristotle claims that politicians use rhetoric for their own purposes and by hiding many facts from their citizens. Mary P. Nichols (1987) states that “the idea of rhetoric has fallen into disrepute. A man who uses rhetoric appears to have something to hide. He uses his talk about justice and the common good as a cloak for his selfish aims and unjust purposes” (para 1).

So since political power became heavily dependent on rhetoric, politicians used more effective rhetoric through their speech. They are regarded as people who are competent in critical thinking and creativity. Consequently, language is the most persuasive tool; for that politicians use it to convince people about their decisions. Aristotle states that a politician needs to be persuasive and attract people's emotions. Falzer (1991, p 240. 241) states that: “Rhetoric became a testament to privation—an expression of humankind’s captivity by a world of appearances, momentary interests, and sensory passions. ...Rhetoric thus was constituted on the principle of insufficient reason”

Consequently, rhetoric explains the features of political power and allows us to analyse politicians' speech. When a politician uses rhetoric in political discourse, thus s/he tries to influence the public's opinion in an unfair and false manner. In fact, politicians say many things during the political debates; therefore, the first task is to identify the forms of rhetoric and arguments that they made in their speech. We might come to the conclusion that politics and rhetoric have come to be considered as false political debates accessible from discourse analysis meaning that politicians use different ways to persuade the readers by using metaphors or doublespeak, to hide their failure. Thirty years ago, these ways were not seen in the political speech. Vickers (1988, p.90) says that:

Plato equates rhetoric and political speech, broadly speaking, with flattery. He argues that truth can only be disclosed in private conversations, not in the public sphere. Both politics and rhetoric should therefore be abandoned in favor of Socratic philosophy, which alone has access to the truth.

Unlike Plato, Aristotle defined political rhetoric as a means of persuasion. Aristotle's rhetorical theory explained that the artistic proofs have strength in DA (Michael Burke, 2013). In an argument, orators may appeal to one or more of the three modes of persuasion: Ethos, Logos, and Pathos. Actually, it is more subtle than that, and different philosophers put different amounts of value on each. These modes are all clarified below.

#### **1.4.1.1 Ethos**

Ethos is one of the persuasion techniques advanced by Aristotle. It means moral character, so a politician uses ethos to persuade his audience. In fact, it is an appeal to the character and credibility of the orator by telling the audience who they are and who they are not. It is considered as “character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion” (Aristotle, 1358 a1,10). Ethos depends on the language and the topic that is used

by the politician, so s/he should master the language including grammar, vocabulary, and syntax to convince people to trust and believe in them.

#### **1.4.1.2 Pathos**

Pathos is another persuasion method. It refers to feelings and how a speaker manipulates listeners' feelings. Aristotle (1358) states that "persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions" (a1,10). It is not about the speaker's emotions; it is about whether it is appealing to the audience emotions or not.

#### **1.4.1.3 Logos**

The last persuasion technique is Logos. It is an appeal to 'reason', 'rationality' and 'logic'. Orators can also appeal to reason, facts, and rationality to persuade their audience. It indicates to logic and how a message is based on logical thinking. Aristotle states that "everyone who affects persuasion through proof does in fact use either enthymemes or examples: there is no other way." (Aristotle, 1358 a1,10).

### **1.5 Political Discourse**

The domain of political discourse has attracted the attention of many researchers, political scientists, philosophers, linguists, and anthropologists for years. It is a slippery and complex term to define in the domain of DA. It has been associated with CDA since the 1970s. It identifies the link between language and politics. As Farr (1989, p.48) states:

“Politics, as we know it, would not only be indescribable without language, it would be impossible...we criticize, plead, promise, argue, exhort, demand, negotiate, bargain, compromise, counsel, brief, debrief, advise nor consent. To imagine politics without these actions would be to imagine no recognizable politics at all”

Discourse could be developed as being political and having some elements. For instance, the speaker should be a politician and his discourse is normally communicated in an institution. In addition, political discourse should reach a goal (Van Dijk, 2001). In political

discourse, the pronoun "we" is often used in debates and hearings by politicians Van Dijk (2004).

Political discourse is defined as a form of multiple discourse used by politicians to obtain a certain authority on specific situations such as events, conflicts, and debates. It plays a proper distinctive role in changing people's perceptions, cognitions, and even emotions. In short, politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore central to politics (Hague et al. 1998: 3–4)

### **Conclusion**

To sum up, the orator's speech was regarded to be a part of the art of persuasion. In fact, Algerian leaders want to inform, persuade, and to entertain at the same time. We may notice that this chapter has presented the basic notions of discourse, DA then CDA. The second part has called upon a review of Fairclough's model of CDA. Eventually, a brief mention of value judgment on how rhetoric and discourse affect each other has been exposed. The next chapter attempts to shed light on one of Algeria's former ministers of education, namely Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun.

## **Introduction**

As a preamble to the CDA domain, I am choosing Norman Fairclough's Framework as a model for the methodology of the study. In this chapter, the main aim is to provide the audience with an overview of Nouria Benghabrit's life and professional career. Moreover, we are going to discuss the impact of language on politics and vice versa. In addition, we are further going to explain the main linguistic features of political speeches, then shed light on the characteristics of political language and types of political discourse. Thus, it is of paramount importance for us in this chapter to determine who writes political speeches to presidents, parliamentarians, and ministers and its impact on manipulating people's opinions and thoughts. This chapter closes with a discussion of the stereotypical assumptions about female politicians.

## **Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun**

Nouria Benghabrit, born March 5, 1952 in Oujda (Morocco), is an Algerian sociologist and researcher. She was Minister of National Education from May 5, 2014 to March 31, 2019. Her thoroughness and firmness in the implementation of her decisions, especially with matters pertaining to unions, earned her the nickname of "Iron Lady".

### **1.1.1 Early Life and Education**

She comes from a Tlemcenian family of Andalusian origin. As for her husband, his family is of Moroccan origin, whose family name Remaoun comes from the Arabization of the Spanish name Ramón. She is Djilali Benghabrit's daughter, former Moujahid colonial fighter who died in 2007, and the granddaughter of Si Kaddour Benghabrit's brother, founder of the Great Mosque of Paris.

In 1973, she obtained a bachelor's degree in sociology, then in 1977, defended her advanced studies Diploma in Sociology of Education at the University of Oran on the issue of academic and professional guidance. She was a studious student, in tune with the political

data of the time which put the majority in the fold of the «progressives» fighting against imperialism and capitalism. She was then a member of the committee of university volunteers' (CUV) which mobilized the students in the campaign of explanation of the Agrarian Revolution to the peasants.

In 1982, she got her doctorate in the same field of study as her Master of Advanced Studies (MAS), awarded from the University of Paris 5. She is equipped to lead research topics such as education, youth, and women in society.

### **1.1.2 Professional Life and Political Career**

She started her career as a teacher at Oran University in 1973. Then, as the head of the department of sociology in 1977 at the same university. In 1985, she joined the National Center for Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology, first as a researcher and head of the research unit on education and training systems, then as vice-director of this institution from 1989 to 1992, and as the chief from 1992 to 2014 until she became a minister of National Education. She is considered a technocratic minister because she did not belong to a particular political affiliation. She was a member of the so-called Benzaghrou commission. She was elected for two successive years 2002 and 2005 as a member for representing North Africa on the Executive Committee of the Council of the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

From 2003 to 2006, she was President of the UNESCO Arab Committee for Higher education. Thus, a member of the World Committee of the UNESCO Forum for higher education, research, and knowledge. From 2007 to 2010, she was vice-president of the board of directors of the African Institute of Governance. In 2012, after she was elected as a secretary-general of the United Nations (UNSG or just SG), she joined the Development Policy Committee for a three-year term. This committee having to present independent

analyzes and opinions to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, she had to resign because she was appointed as minister in the Algerian government. Until now, she is the first and only Algerian woman to have served in this Committee.

In 2015, she was classified by the Algerian news site Almanach-Dz as the Algerian personality of the year. In 2017, a decree from her ministry prohibited the “**NIGAB**” or the full veil in Algerian schools. In April 2018, she was appointed to the board of directors of a new Islamic Development Bank fund called "Transform", with a budget of US \$500 million. She sits there alongside politicians such as Mehmet Şimşek, Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, Sanusi Lamido, Emir of Kano and former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, former Prime Minister of Denmark and Richard Curtis, filmmaker Néo - Zélandais. The objective of this fund is to encourage science and technology in developing countries, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals.

### **1.1.1 Controversy over the Introduction of Dialectal Arabic into Primary Education**

The controversy originated in one of the recommendations from the National Conference on the evaluation of the implementation of the reform of the Algerian education system held on July 25 - 26, 2015. This recommendation proposes the use of mother tongues by teachers. Among the arguments put forward by pedagogues, psycholinguists, neurolinguists, and speech therapists, is that it is important not to shock schoolchildren with a literary Arabic language which in reality is a new language for them. The argument takes into account the diglossia existing in Algerian society (mainly between Algerian Arabic and classical Arabic).

In fact, the reaction to this recommendation was immediate, an uninterrupted virulent campaign emanating in particular from conservative purists and deputies of the Islamist coalition Alliance Verte who violently attacked the minister. Thus, they demanded the minister's “immediate departure” through certain Arabic-speaking media and social networks.

They equate "her decision" (which is the proposal of experts present at the National Conference mentioned) of replacing Classical Arabic with Dialectal Arabic "to any attempt to harm Arabic, which is the language of the Koran, Islam, and the Algerian people" said Saadaoui 2016 at the dome of Parliament. This unfounded controversy over Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic persisted, even after the denial made by the Minister, in which she also recalled that the education sector and her personality have been subject to perpetual rumors and misinformation since her appointment to the post of minister.

Thus, Nouria Benghabrit declared that "one should not deceive the society". Some newspapers have gone so far as to distort the words of Benghabrit, who questioned himself during an interview about the low level of Arabic of certain pupils from Arabic-speaking environments who had been enrolled at a young age in the Koranic school. These newspapers published titles claiming that the minister treated the pupils who have had a passage by the Koranic school as weak as regards their school level, which is an aberrant disinformation knowing that it is easy to verify that through the video of the conference Press.

#### **1.1.4. Support of Prime Minister Abdelmalek Sellal**

The Prime Minister at the time, Abdelmalek Sellal, publicly expressed his "unwavering support" for the Minister of National Education and her school reform. Thus, he put an end to the controversy in these terms: "our schools' reform will be done far from ideologies and political ulterior motives", he said also "... that is the will of our president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, included in his programme legitimized by popular suffrage " said Sellal 2016 at a press conference.

### **1.2 Language and Politics**

Politics and language could not be separated; any political task needs a language either oral or written to get citizens' attention under the exercise of discretionary power. In previous years, many scholars of several fields have studied language function used in politics. It has

attracted the attention of scholars, researchers, philosophers, anthropologists, and sociolinguistics over centuries.

Although political language has been a scope of study to many disciplines, several philosophical approaches in which the analysis of this study occurs, still, there is a strong consensus on the importance of language in politics. Language is among the most invaluable tools that politicians have used to manipulate people's thoughts, ideas, and visions. Beard (2004, p.18) argues that "language is not something somehow separate from the ideas it contains, but the way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped".

Politicians must have a proper language devoid of any linguistic scandals. Otherwise, they will be criticized by citizens and the media. In fact, there is no universal language used by politicians. They share things in common that is for sure, but they use language differently. That is why each politician needs to be studied independently. To put it succinctly, political discourse analysis is made for that.

Language is seen as the channel of politics that carries its ideas and achieves its purposes for people, and it is one of the most important means of public influence. In this context, Fasold (2008, p.172) states that politics is a "word game". He believes that leaders and politicians assume power through their manipulation of words, the ability to persuade and elicit emotions. They employ verbal symbols in their communicative activity. In this sense, political language is achieved by information and not by its words; it transmits the context in which the process of communication exists. For example, a politician uses romantic words that tickle people's feelings and emotions, so he always needs to manipulate by his words.

In fact, political language is a means to achieve noble or sinister goals, and it can tell the truth or lies. It is a deceptive and vague language that conceals many facts, and it is full of multiple meanings and interpretations aimed at stimulating souls at the service of politics. As

George Orwell (1984, p.157) claims: "political language is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind". The nature of political texts is very similar to other speeches; you need to understand and interpret through logical reasoning. Even though, we can not fully understand what a politician wants to say unless we are good listeners who can crack the ambiguity of utterances.

Many philosophers make a useful distinction between the concepts of validity from that of truth because suggesting a valid argument that does not mean gaining a true conclusion, since sometimes a true conclusion comes from an invalid argument. It signifies that the relationship between language and truth is more complicated, tricky, and hard to understand. For a more proper understanding let's take an example from our speech. If a mother asks her son/daughter, to tell the truth, it is a relatively straightforward matter. But for politicians, it is a much more problematic issue because they cannot tell the truth easily, because it fails to take into consideration the fact that the sender and the receiver of the text provide ideological values to it.

In addition, Lakoff (1990) talks about the political nature of language as used in major corporations and the justice system. However, Van Dijk (1993) applies it as an ideological stance (racism as an example) in various discourses such as education and media. To conclude, we cannot deny that politics has been disseminated widely and has become well known in our daily life. In this light, George Orwell (1984 ,p.159) states that "in our age, there is no such thing as 'keeping out of politics.' All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred, and schizophrenia"

### **1.3 Linguistics Features in Political Speeches**

Unlike other types of discourse, political speech has a specific unique jargon which makes it a bit different from others. In fact, language and politics are inseparable from each other. We are going further to know political language, its characteristics, and its types.

### 1.3.1 Characteristics of Political Language

Generally, politics is about manipulating language, so you will find the speaker or writer using language to impose a certain ideology. A prominent feature is this interrelation between power and ideology; the powerful can impose an ideology. In political speeches, there is the notion of **US** vs **THEM**. You find the speaker ascribing positive attributes to himself / herself and the negative attributes to others.

The language of politics cannot be described only by its social nature but by other factors such as its context, actors, and topics. A language represents a decisive tool in political discourse, through its powerful words, as it steers them to gain a sense of belonging and adopting one specific ideology. Van Dijk (2003) has shown that politicians frequently introduce off-topics using formulaic expressions, which means that politicians' speeches are not essentially based on politics. He has highlighted the idea that politicians present cues to their citizens, however, they can comprehend their speech without employing language.

Political language can be examined immediately from its nature; examining speech provided in the parliamentary or electoral conference, or vicariously, through its representation in the mass media. In this regard, there is an astonishing amount of research that presented how political language is depicted by the media whether written or audiovisual. So, all the types of mass media through which citizens consume political speeches are of major importance to the study of political language and influence the way in which politicians forward their discourses.

Political language is an imperative language in its nature and mainly tends to recall the positive things. It also relies mainly on significant rhetoric, because its emotional impact is due to its cultural importance over the years. It is a language characterized by the repetition of words and sentences, in order to focus on a specific idea and then to control the style of redundancy and the predominance of their style over creation and reliability.

However, there are several characteristics that distinguish political discourse from other discourses. For instance, the political language lacks personal pronouns and uses modal verbs. This language is also marked by a lack of signs indicating place and time and syntactic formulas that involve the organic relationship between the speaker and the addressee (for example, interrogative). Political speech works to provide a picture of commendable and appreciation for some policies which are pursued within a community.

So, Van Dijk (2011) advances an example for a better understanding: a media meeting with politicians have contained a higher frequency of the pronoun "I" as well as backchannelling expressions such as you know, of course, that's right, you see, hum good, and exactly right than pre-editing political speeches. They have used passive rather than active voice because they require to concentrate attention on the citizens.

### 1.3.2 Types of Political Discourse

Sauser (1997) demonstrates the press briefings, meetings, press conferences, and speeches as contexts in which political discourse occurs. Chilton and Schaffner (2002) have distinguished the term of "the internal" from that of "the external" as two types of political discourse. The first type relates to communication which takes place in political institutions and political parties as in a parliament. However, the second type is concerned with communication supplied to most people and channeled through the media.

Technology and media carry out an important role as a channel that allowed politicians to speak on behalf of their countries to a worldwide audience. This would have been incredible earlier to the worldwide dissemination provided by modern communications media, further when comparing the classical world, the speaker's accessibility was inescapably related to the citizens' voice. Nevertheless, the prevailing situation seems overall propitious, it may also be perilous and cause undesirable effects. Ensink (1997) demonstrated a former diplomatic crisis in 1986 between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union when Helmut Kohl, the

former German chancellor, made a comparison between Josef Goebbels and Nazi propaganda minister. Such a comparison was produced within an interview with an American magazine; it notwithstanding created a misinterpretation that, if not resolved in the appropriate time, could have intensified into unwanted antagonism between those two governments.

Register regarded as the nature of the text. This concept was identified from the perspective of functional varieties of language, determined by the activities in which it is exercised. Register has remained an area of interest by many scholars in the field of functional linguistics. Halliday (1977 - 1978) as a pioneer who has devoted his career to the development of Systematic Functional Linguistics. Lemke (1995, p.26) states that:

The language of a sports report, a sales transaction, and a newspaper editorial differ not simply in their vocabulary, and not simply because these uses of language are more likely for people in some social positions than others, but because the frequencies of occurrence of many grammatical and semantic features in these texts were skewed by the nature of the different activities in which language was being used .

As a result, it is of utmost importance to note that political language can be studied from many perspectives. Eggins (1994, p.10) defines political language from a functional perspective as "the staged, structured way in which people go about achieving goals using language". Political language is disparate from medical staff meetings due to the fact that their objectives and aims are not the same. Now, let's talk about the register of political language (the current context of the situation in which texts are produced: press briefings, political meetings, and parliamentary debates), then its mode (the role that language performs in a particular interchange). Also, its tenor based on the relationship between politicians and citizens, and lastly its field, which is customarily topics related to taxes, financial laws,

immigration, and legislation. Deictic expressions state how political language represents a unique genre than any other speech not only at a lexical level but also at a grammatical level.

#### **1.4 Who Writes Political Speeches**

Several politicians do not write their own speeches, but they are assigned a ghostwriter (speechwriter) to do this task instead of them due to the lack of their competence. In fact, a speechwriter has their own way of writing speeches in which their intentions can be conveyed. They are employed by many high executives, presidents, ministers, or any person who works at the government, as well as private sectors, which is undeniably required currently.

The speechwriter's task is limited to present the messages, topics, and the main points that should be raised by politicians so that their task is a difficult art, and not anyone can do that because they focus on the intentions. Politicians try to read what has been said by speechwriters in a draft so that they can change or keep the same ideas. In fact, speechwriters should accept the criticism and comments that are given to them. They have to be able to work simultaneously on various different speeches, to finish their task at the right time and to keep their identities anonymous.

Rachel 2016 states that writing a political speech requires various steps. To start with, speechwriters have to arrange a meeting with the executives so that they can discuss the key ideas that they would cover in their speech. Then, they are committed to do a research on the topic and suggest a framework by providing anecdotes and examples. Lastly, it is of paramount importance for the political speechwriters to consider the setting in which the speech will take place as well as the audience. Ultimately, they should combine all the messages, themes, and points together with their own contributions so as to create an original, inventive, creative speech for the leaders.

Jonathan Favreau (2016), the former speechwriter for Obama, determines five crucial techniques through his experience in this domain:

- Try to tell a story that contains hidden intentions rather than restricted words, and focus only on the main argument.
- It is highly important to make a sense of humor in your speech for your audience.
- Be concise and precise and avoid shorthand and jargon.
- You should be courageous and honest; authenticity is highly required to sustain idealism.

In fact, Jonathan Favreau (2017) claims that political speechwriters should submit a draft paper to the executive by explaining each term that has been written in the paper. If a speechwriter is familiar with the status and style of the executives then s/he is asked to make only a few minor changes. Otherwise, if speech does not fit the exact meaning, the paper should be reworded to make a better sense. In brief, Dianna Booher (2012) summarized the importance of the speechwriter's job in the following quotation "If you can not write your message in a sentence, you can not say it in an hour."

To conclude, Anthony R. Dolan (2017) states that speechwriters do not have a specific diploma in the domain they are writing about, for example, a speechwriter who writes about the economy does not necessarily have a master of Economy Degree. In fact, they do not have training in all fields, but have a background on basic political issues.

### **1.5 The Stereotypical Assumptions about Female Politicians**

The relationship between gender and the use of language especially in government-owned property, demonstrates women's need for discursive strategies so as to accomplish their political position in society. The issue of women's position in our community is basically a political question. However, women being criticized in all spheres of life for pursuing higher education, voting or taking on managerial positions are but social and patriarchal constitutions

that are naturalized and hence open for challenge. So, women also face significant hurdles in the domain of politics. Lakoff (2003, p.173) states that

It is true that men in the public eye can be criticized for their looks, but these comments are much more dangerous to a women's already dangerous fragile grasp of power than to a man's: they reduce a woman to her traditional role of object, one who is seen rather than one who sees and acts.

As showed by Wodak (2005), male domination is the highest. It is prominent and at the top of the hierarchy. For example, in the ECE region, women's employment opportunities vary considerably by country. Globally, the stereotypical misperception of women and men remain to preserve inequality in the distribution of rights and duties. Walsh (2001) notes that a considerable increase of Female Labour MPs in 1997, took place after the general election in Britain was supplemented by the media stereotyping description. Cameron goes a step further to recommend that stereotypes not only maintain power and, in most situations, empirically unsupported, yet they are able to "become self-fulfilling prophecies" (2003, p.463) unintentionally leading people towards stereotypical behaviours.

Salter (2002) notes that there is a complicated relationship between power and women. When women hold power, they are seen in a very weird way due to their sexuality, private lives, and external appearance. This composes a further burden for them. As to sexualization, objectification through the elaborate debate of appearance, commonly negative, is frustrating. Women's image in society is related to people's traditional views about them. Politicians, especially women, are far more subject to corrosion of the barrier between their public and private impersonate than are men, with anything unorthodox about their private lives leaching into shortcomings of their public performance.

Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany, has defied the international community as a feminist politician in the world of a masculine parliament. Just like her, several females'

politicians around the world are confronting this predicament. If they want to succeed in political life, they must face stereotypical beliefs, challenges, and resist them. As Lakoff (2003, p.164) gives an example of Hillary Rodham Clinton, senator for New York

For eight years she had functioned as a standard-bearer in the gender wars, a woman cast in a traditional role trying to redefine it and herself, and thereby womanhood. Her fight for a US Senate seat could be seen as a referendum on new option gender

Critical discourse analysts aim to cover positive change through their investigations. They want to enhance social permissiveness and deal with the possible language-connected stereotyping gender in political speeches.

### **Conclusion**

In the light of what has been mentioned, politics attained enormous changes throughout the world as a consequence of the usage of appropriate language to govern or to get control over a million people in only one political discourse. Consequently, language is considered to be the motive power of manipulation and persuasion to any new policies that serve political activity's intentions. The proficiency of the latter provides the good leadership of nations, whereas inefficiency of the latter drive to the bottom. So, and in according with the CDA framework proposed by Norman Fairclough, the discursive practices of the Algerian Former Minister Nouria Benghabrit- Remaoun will be the subject of the practical issues of the next chapter. The analytical side, and the research as a whole, try to demonstrate evidence of the main ideological features that Nouria Benghabrit's discourse, exhibit in the Algerian society.

## Introduction

According to what has been said in the former two chapters, our attempt was to highlight Nouria Benghabrit's political speeches 2014 - 2019, relying on the framework of CDA by Norman Fairclough (1989). In fact, Benghabrit is considered the most controversial and ironic minister in the history of the Algerian government according to the media. Consequently, we are going to analyze her speeches at three stages as suggested by Norman Fairclough's (1989) model. First, the description stage or textual analysis consists of four major elements: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Second, the interpretation stage or discursive analysis comprises the force of utterances, coherence, and intertextuality of texts. Then, the explanation stage or social analysis includes Nouria Benghabrit's way of thinking and ideology.

### 3.1 Data Analysis

The analysis aims to equip the readership with the optimal awareness possible to Benghabrit's views and ideologies incarnated in her speeches. Relying on Fairclough's framework of CDA, there are three stages in the analysis process. Nevertheless, the analysis of this work is divided into three parts. Firstly, the textual analysis is concerned with examining Benghabrit's language features in her speeches. The latter relates to vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Secondly, the discursive practice analysis has to do with the force of utterances, coherence, and intertextuality of texts. Lastly, Benghabri's ideological features are examined in the social and cultural speech practiced through her speeches. This model, as expected, enables us to gather a selection of relevant remarks to be made about texts. Even though, and on account of the limited corpus, no generalizations could be made. Therefore, the analysis seeks to express fair potentialities to be developed in further research.

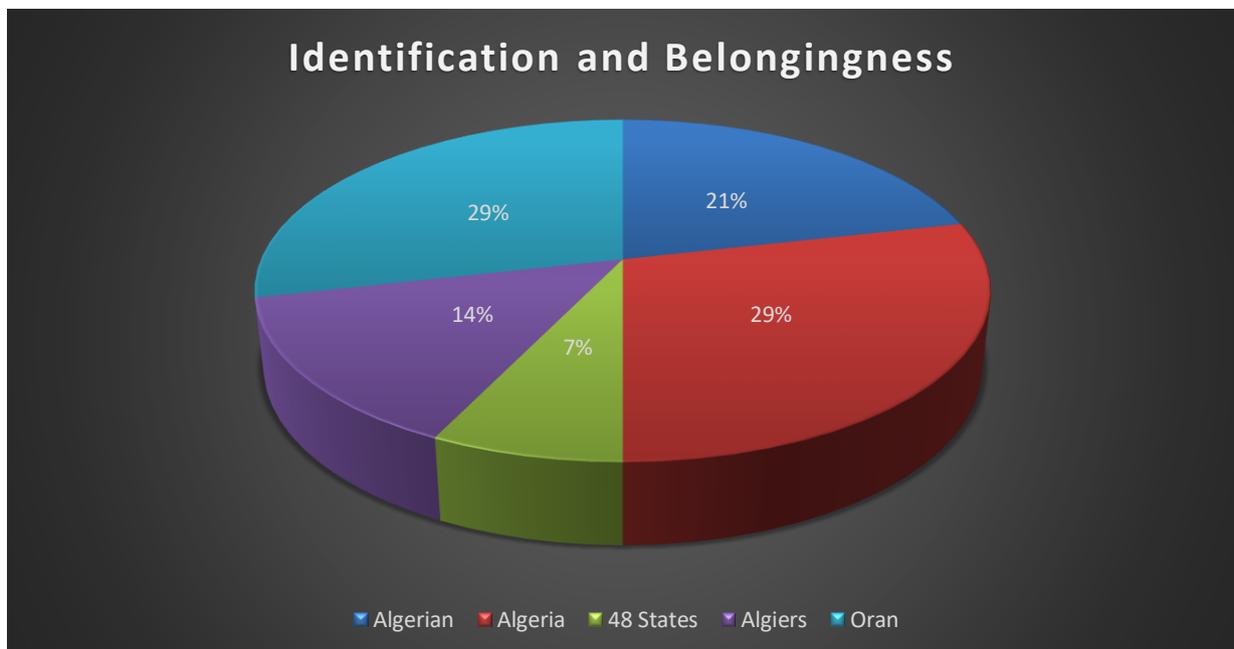
### 3.1.1 Description Stage (Textual Analysis)

As noted previously, this stage of analysis is concerned with vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure provided in Benghabrit's speeches. Vocabulary is examined in terms of words rate and meaning. Grammar is examined by determining the selection of pronouns, conjunctions, modality, and syntax. Cohesion is examined by parsing the cohesive devices. Eventually, the textual structure is examined as a whole device.

#### 3.1.1.1 Vocabulary

This level involves Benghabrit's speeches diction. We have selected some words from her discourse. Only three sets of words are examined as samples of Benghabrit's vocabulary. The first category is concerned with identification and belongingness, the second with thoughts, beliefs, hopes, and wishes, and the last one with ambiguousness and meaninglessness.

The first figure presents the frequency of words that shows identification and belongingness:



**Figure 02. The Frequency of Identification and Words of Belongingness**

هذا غلط جدا أنا جزائرية و أنا بروحي فتجأت كيفاه خرجوا و قالوا عليا يهودية

**Algerian**

/æl'dʒi:ri.ən/

أنا مقر ديالي في العاصمة و دايمن في المرادية معندي وقت لهادو الاشاعات

**Algiers**

/al-'āʃima/

السكن الأصلي ديالي في وهران و عندي غي واحد malgré أنا معندي وقت حتا باه نروح لوهران

**Oran**

/wahrān/

**Oran**

/wahrān/

**Home**

/as-sakan/

(Interview "Annahar TV, on the 24th of Juin 2016, see appendix I)

الجزائر هادي الأرض الطيبة متشبعة بدماء الشهداء

**Algeria**

/al-jazā'ir/

(A message to baccalaureate students on her official Facebook page, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Juin 2018, see appendix I)

بلادنا لازمها تتغيير من خلال تغيير النظام الجيل الأول لي لاحظنا كان مكثف و بلا فائدة

**Our country**

/bilādīna/

هادو الاصلاحات التربوية يتطبقو في 48 ولاية مشي غي العاصمة عندنا برك

**Algiers**

/al-'āʃima/

**48 States**

/48 wilāya/

(Interview "Echorouk news TV, on the 25th of March 2016, see appendix I)

The purpose of selecting these words is to form the basis for more in-depth consideration of her ideology and nationalism. Benghabrit uses the word "Algeria" very often to reference that she belongs to Algeria and not to a Jewish community because she was criticized about her family name (See appendix I). Benghabrit, however, never used the name of other countries in her speeches to prove that she pertains to one nationality which is the Algerian one.

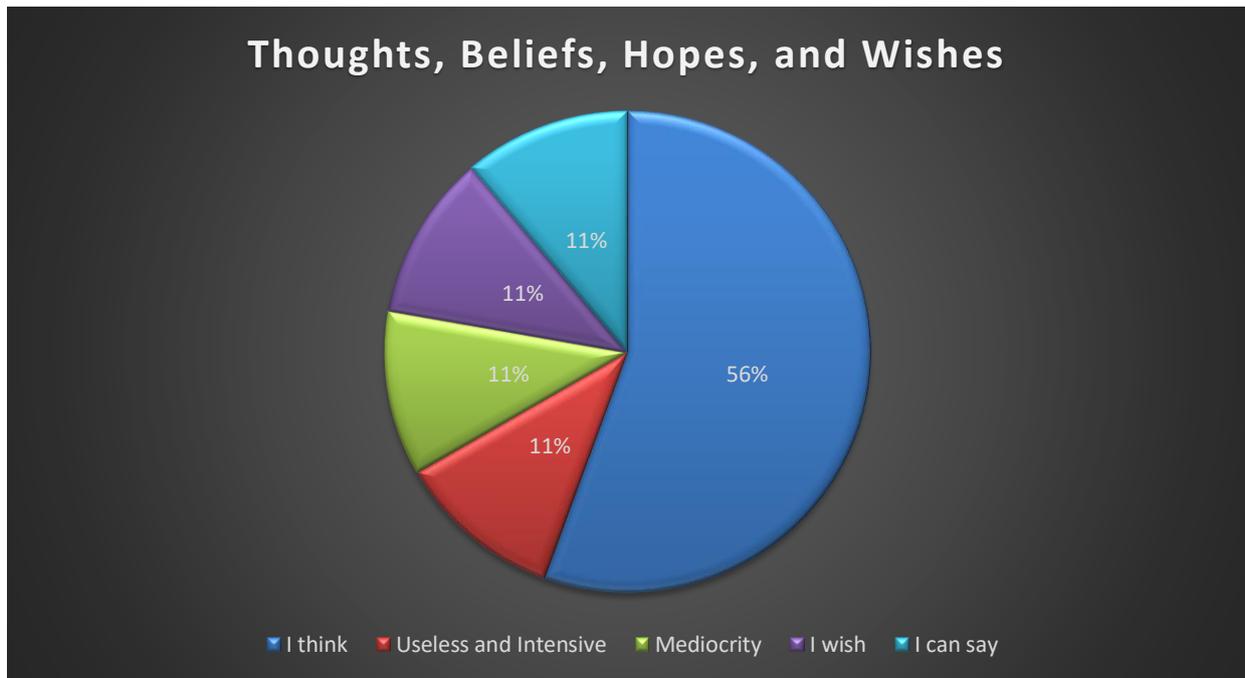
The second figure presents the frequency of words and collocations that shows thoughts, beliefs, hopes, and wishes (manifested in words like: I think, useless and intensive, mediocrity, I wish, I can say). We have selected verbs, nouns, and adjectives; for instance, the pronoun "I" and verbs are presented as collocations rather than individual words. Actually, the basic purpose of selecting these words is that they embody thoughts and beliefs to focus on new

educational reforms which were known as the second generation and to criticize the old educational system. These words also carry hopes and wishes about the new system that would be better for both teachers and students, which at the same time, seems to embody hidden ideologies as Fairclough (1989: 26) claims, "description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text" which means vocabulary, grammar, and textual aspects.

بلادنا لازم لها تتغيير من خلال تغيير النظام الجيل الأول لي لاحظنا كان **مكثف و بلا فائدة**  
Useless and intensive

**أنا نتمنى** بناء سلوك سليم حتى نكون حصنا منيعا ضد **الرداءة**  
Mediocrity I wish

**أن نظن** بلي حانة الوقت باه نطبقو هدي الاصلاحات  
I think



**Figure 03. The Frequency of Words Expressing Thoughts, Beliefs, Hopes, and Wishes**

Conspicuously, the adjectives "mediocrity, useless, and intensive" are used six times in her speech. The verbs "think" is used five times, and four times "I wish" compiled with the personal pronoun "I" to express her toughness to change her sector in a good way. The adjectives are used only one time to represent the former sector (Ministry of National Education) before she would set as a minister.

The third category presents some examples that include ambiguousness and meaninglessness.

**حانة** الوقت باه نطبقو هذه الاصلاحات  
**Intended meaning (it's high time)**

فتجنت خاص واحد كي شغل بقولو **يقيس** نفسو على  
**Intended meaning (evaluate himself/herself)**

لأن في هذه مادة الفلسفة مكانوش بلاك **متواضعين** باش تكون عندهم اسئلة تركيبية  
**Intended meaning (they did not expect)**

هذا السلوك تاع الغش يمكن يظهر أنو كايين نوع من **تخفيض** من السلطة  
**Intended meaning (covering up this behaviour)**

بناتي و **أبناتي** نأمل أن توصل الجهد و المثابرة لتحقيق أمانني والديكم  
**Intended meaning (my sons)**

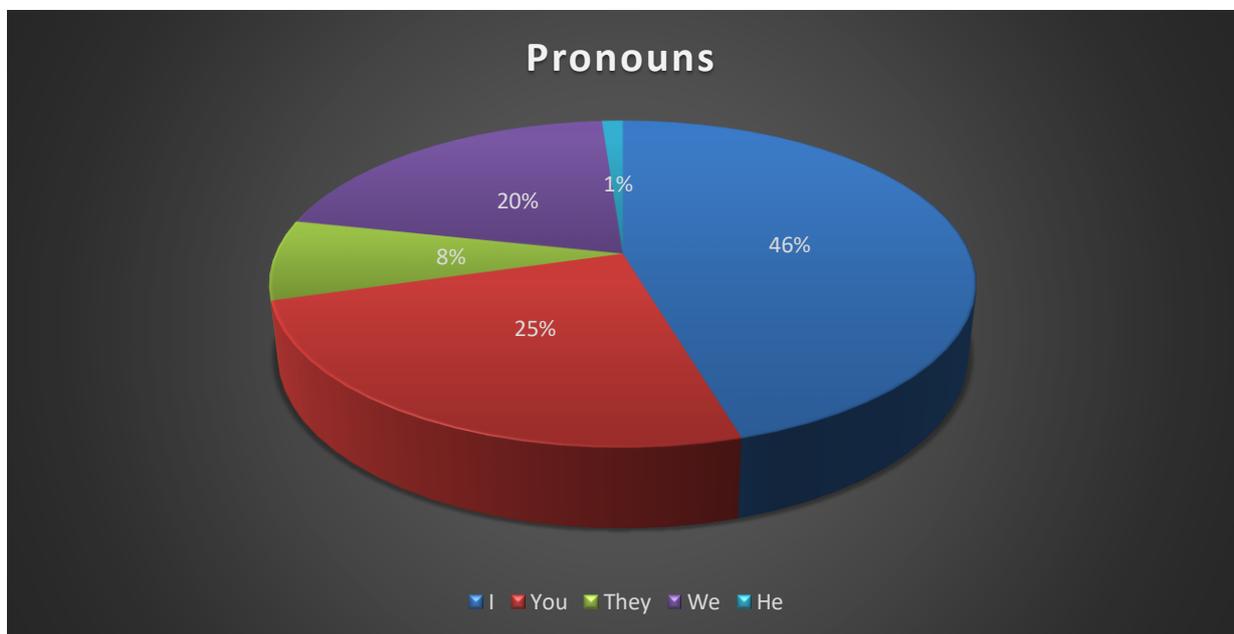
Thus, we have selected those words to show how Benghabrit's speech has more than one meaning. For example, it is vague to say 'ha:nt' in the first context, because it may lead us to think that it refers to "nightclub", and 'mtwa:d'ʕjn' in the third context as they are "humble". All the sentences above lead us to vagueness and ambiguousness, and would often produce a humorous effect. Consequently, Benghabrit's words are can only be understood through the context.

### 3.1.1.2 Grammar

In this part, we are going to analyze Benghabrit's speech at the level of grammar. To do that, we have selected words such as pronouns, conjunctions, modality, and tenses. At this juncture, some features of Benghabrit's sentences and text structure are examined, especially repetitive patterns, nominalization, active voice, and cohesion.

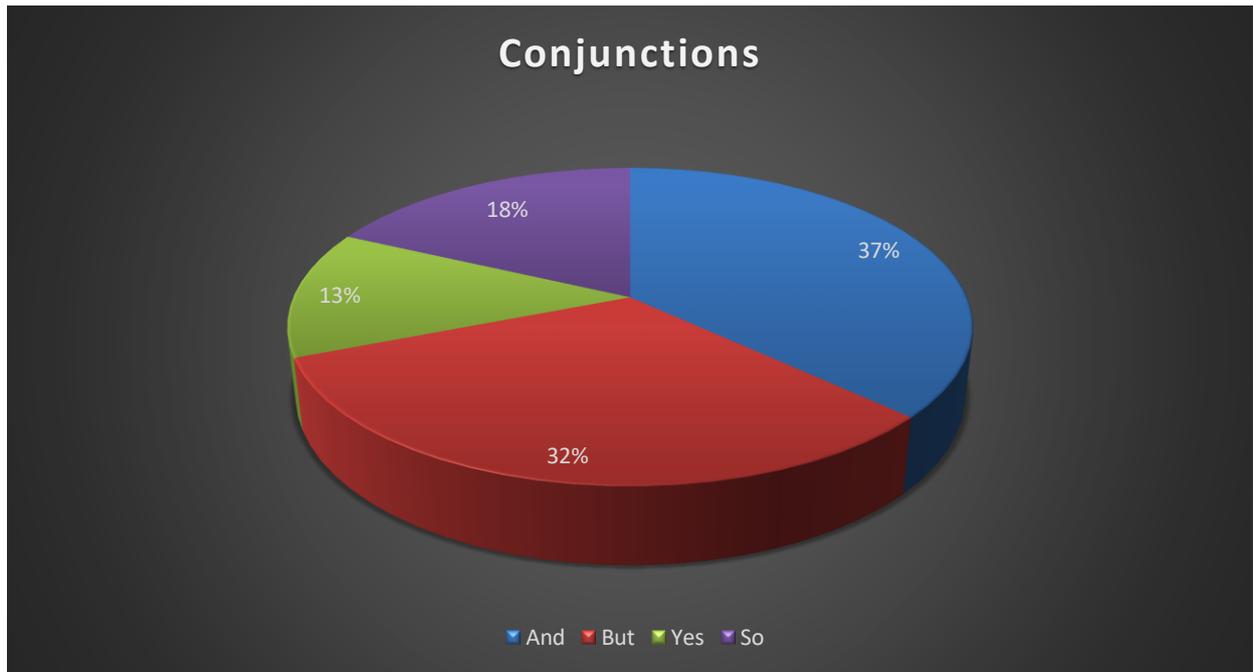
In terms of pronouns, we have selected the personal ones (I, you, and we). The main purpose of selecting those pronouns is to show their effectiveness in Benghabrit's speech and to frame her discourse. As figure 4 below demonstrates, the personal pronoun that refers to Benghabrit is obviously more frequent than the other pronouns. This could be a sign of power in her sector as a minister. "I" is used almost forty times in her chosen speeches. Other recurrent

pronouns are "you" to refer to students and teachers and "we" when denoting the government. "You" is used almost twenty-two times and "we" almost eighteen times in the chosen speeches. Another discernible finding is the least frequent pronouns "she or he". This is to show that Benghabrit does not talk about a particular person. She used the pronoun "he" once when the journalist asked her about Shams al-Din al-Jazaery, an Algerian preacher, whose real name is Shams al-Din Bouroubi. She said that she does not agree with him in his beliefs and thoughts. "They" is also used almost seven times to refer to her enemies and those who accuse her of being Jewish.



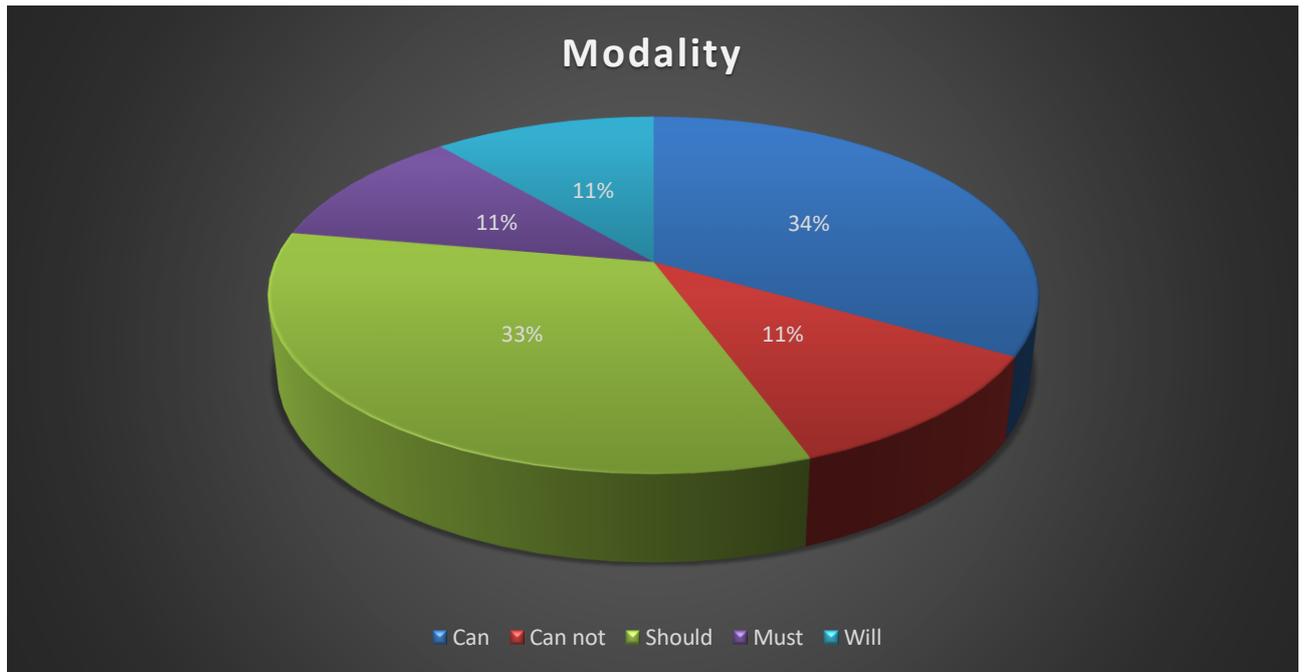
**Figure 04. The Frequency of Personal Pronouns**

In terms of conjunctions, we have selected the coordinating ones (and, but, yes, so). The significance of studying these conjunctions in Benghabrit's speeches is actually that they form her speech in relation to her choices of words and sentence structures. Furthermore, those conjunctions, specifically, are the basic frequent ones in Benghabrit's speech. As the figure below shows, "and" is the conspicuously used conjunction in her discourse. As regards other conjunctions (but, yes, so), they are not much frequent as the coordinating conjunction "and".



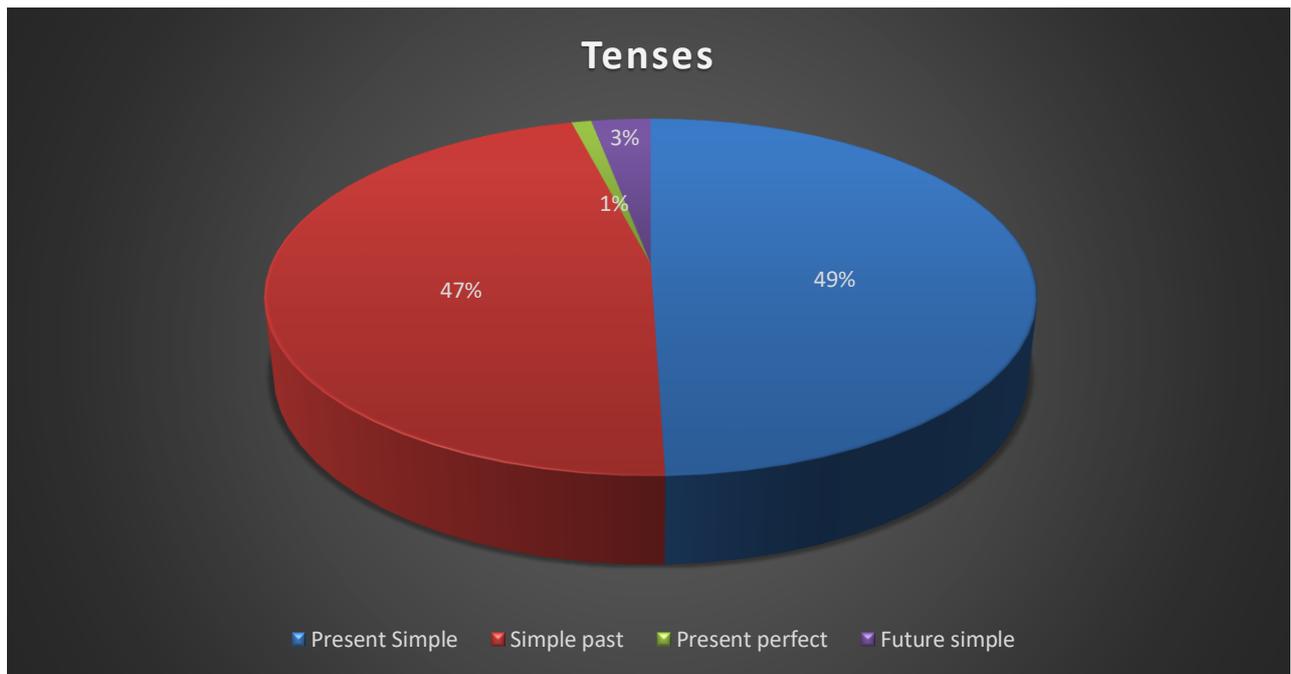
**Figure 05. The Frequency of Conjugations**

In terms of modality, we have selected some modal verbs in their both affirmative and negative forms. The relevance of analyzing those modal verbs is to indicate that they are helpful in constructing meaning, reflecting thoughts, beliefs and power, structuring intentions, and demonstrating forecasts, expectations, and yearnings. Prominently, the modal verb "can" is the most frequent in Benghabrit's speech. Other eminent modal verbs are "should and must". She used these models to express obligation because of her professional status that calls for giving orders. The least frequent modal verb is "will".



**Figure 06. The Frequency of Modality**

In terms of tenses, the present simple is the most frequently used in Benghabrit's speeches. Benghabrit used it when she wants to present her perspective and to issue decisions and laws in the national education sector. She used also the simple past to talk about the former national education sector and its deficiencies (Appendix.I, 11). Moreover, Benghabrit used the present perfect to emphasize the losses left behind former ministers that still affect her sector such as intensive and useless educational programs. In addition, the future tense is primarily used in Benghabrit's speech to promise the Algerian people that she will work hard to propel her sector via second-generation reforms.



**Figure 07. The Frequency of Tenses**

### 3.1.1.3. Cohesion

It is customary that personal and possessive pronouns are quite similar as they both construct cohesion inside a text. Cohesion is reached in the text by using such cohesive devices which are held together to give meaning. In Benghabrit's speech, possessive pronouns are used to help the Algerian people understand who cares or not about a particular speech event delivered by the minister. In other words, Benghabrit always directs her speech to particular people, not to everyone (Appendix I, 5.6). Like pronouns, conjunctions also operate cohesively between sentence components and help to connect words and phrases together in creating meaning. Deixis is presented in terms of personal deixis (pronouns) and temporal deixis (time). They are known as referential words too, and Benghabrit used them in her speech to avoid repetition. It is clear that deixis helped her speech, as it is known, Benghabrit does not have good pronunciation because her education career was in French rather than in Arabic, and deictic expressions are used by language beginners (Appendix.I, 1.2.3.4.5.6).

In her speech, transition words also contribute to the form of text structure and cohesion and help the audience to understand how words and sentences are connected. In view

of the fact that cohesion connects between lexical items, this presupposes that it will help in shaping a powerful text structure, and therefore a powerful discourse. The speeches, as observed, included different lexical items that construct cohesion. Unlike pronouns and conjunctions, time markers and prepositions such as now, before, in, and at, also embody the cohesiveness of the discourse context. Thus, coherence in Benghabrit's speech is merely expressed in terms of grammar and lexical cohesion. Generally, the solidity and power of texts are the result of former texts which demonstrate that Benghabrit is fully aware of social practices. Moreover, her enthusiasm and keenness for the Ministry of Education in the first place reinforced them more.

#### **3.1.1.4 Text Structure**

In order to study the text structure, many features take place at this level. Here, we will analyze only the main discernible ones, namely the repetitive patterns, nominalization, and the passive form. In terms of repetitive patterns, verbal filters are always found in Benghabrit's speech such as "uh..", "so..", "hmm....", and so on. She used "It appeared to me that..." many times in her discourse. She used "hmm..." in instances where she is thinking about an answer in an interview. The latter filter is used twice in (Appendix II,8). Besides, repetitions of some utterances within the same sentence, where outages occur, are set up as in "hm..." "so", and "you know".

Furthermore, Benghabrit repeated different utterances in each interview. The greetings are repeated, as in "thank you for this invitation" and "it is a pleasure to be here...." (Appendix II, 1-6). Another instance is set up in listing her aims and objectives behind staying in the government, particularly, her Ministry as in ".....we need now to grow up to a new generation through new reforms.... " (Appendix I, 26-35). Other examples are found in her discourses where she delivers her encouragement and best wishes for baccalaureate students as in "I wish you all the best" (Appendix I, 26-35).

At nominalization and passive forms levels, the main noticeable feature in Benghabrit's sentence structure is nominalization. It is easily changing a sentence to a nominal clause or noun-like entities. It is usually related to the passive voice by avoiding human agency in subjects. Ultimately, the outcomes of these features are that people as subjects of verbs are not present. The first instance in Benghabrit's speech is: "you are wrong, cheating was applied by students in the former minister era" (App.I, 9). Benghabrit was discussing the deletion of "Basmala" (In the name of Allah) from schools' books; although she expected this by the basic fact that she began the sentence by "we as a sector"(App.I, 9). The cause, as she stated, was that it was not originally present in schools' books since the independence of Algeria (App.I, 9). At this point, the passive voice hid the human agency and sustained Benghabrit to avoid any accountability of direct allegations and accusations.

The second instance is in: "ideology was applied by them because of this speech" (App.I, 9). Benghabrit textualizes the agents by using nominalization. Truly, stalemate and dysfunction - as she stated to her opponents - are the outcomes of human behaviours and decisions, even the political system is but a set of people. The passive voice also plays an attractive function at the level of the verb because what comes before or after the verb calls for less attention.

### **3.1.2 Interpretation Stage (Discursive Analysis)**

This stage of analysis is concerned with the force of Benghabrit's utterances and their effect on the Algerian people. Then, we are headed to analyze the coherence of her texts and their significance in creating a correct meaning. Lastly, this part is going to analyze the rhetorical techniques used by Benghabrit to reinforce her power and ideology.

#### **3.1.2.1 Force of Utterances**

The force of utterances relates to the speaker's intention to reach functional and communicative aims. In this chapter, we shall see that Benghabrit is not seeking to get the

Algerian people to perform an illocutionary act in itself and there are no direct questions or apologies intended at the Algerian people. The greatest influential voice in Benghabrit's speech comes from her response as to the act of deleting the "Basmla" from schools' books, saying "Since 1962 there is no Basmalah in books, tell them that Algerian schools need level only" (App, I. 9). Moreover, Benghabrit shows that ideology must not be included in the educational system, but students should focus only on their studies. The examples provided below prove her strong language:

In the first example, Benghabrit was in a way or another aiming to make the Algerian people far more patient regardless of how long second-generation reforms take for the educational system to be as powerful as ever. At first, her speech was interpreted negatively because of her family name and her speech lost its power and the Algerian people were no more satisfied since these reforms are not appropriate in the Algerian society (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gGzHMjFxBcI>). As she was also criticized by the current minister of education (See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ZtSAvVW0-M>). From what has been said previously, one may understand that the Algerian people were just getting curious about the new decisions that will be issued by her as a new minister.

In the second example, Benghabrit was to make fun of a journalist in an unsuitable manner to address such a highly-acclaimed T.V channel namely "El Ennahar" which is one of the essential audiovisual media that conveys the news of the Algerian society. And, at the same time, she announced a piece of very hazardous news about the possibility of remaining in the ministry for an unlimited period by saying "haha are you serious? I am still a minister and not going to resign be sure" (see appendix II. 6). As if she carries immunity and is indifferent to what she says.

All in all, these examples showcase the force of Benghabrit's utterances and their effect on the Algerian society.

### 3.1.2.2 Coherence of Texts

Coherence aims to make a text semantically meaningful. In this regard, we are going to analyze Benghabrit's speech at the level of coherence in three terms: deixis, anaphoric and cataphoric references. We have selected three examples, each one of them contains one of these linguistic devices. Examples are presented below:

أنا موظفة أنا باحثة أنا أستاذة

I am an employee, I am a researcher, I am a teacher

In the first example, Benghabrit uses personal deixis to refer to herself as a minister. She wants to use these terms to avoid any ambiguity or vagueness during her speech since they are easy to learn and pronounce. It was clear through Benghabrit interviews that she faced some problems as regards Arabic pronunciation and deixis could be of help since she could shortcut words.

أبنائي للحفاظ على مستقبلنا و مستقبلكم ... أنتم أمل الغد و أنتم قادرين على تحقيق نتائج أفضل

Dear children, to preserve your future and ours ... you are tomorrow's hope and you are able to achieve better results.

In the second example, Benghabrit uses anaphora to point out the ideas she needs to convey. As an anaphoric reference, the recurrence of the word "Dear children" engenders a passionate effect on students, especially those who will have a baccalaureate. Then, the replication of the word "you" reveals Benghabrit's emotional attachment to our country and hopes that students get their baccalaureate to develop Algeria as an economic power.

واه شفت كانوا بزاف لي دارو هذا عمل لا اخلاقي انا في حقيقة ندهشت مين شفت فيديوهات تاع غش لأنوا كانوا بزاف

Yes, I have seen that, there were a lot who have done this unethical behaviour. In fact, I was surprised when I saw these videos of cheating because they were a lot!

In the third example, Benghabrit uses another feature of coherence in her speech called cataphora. The use of the word "many" refers to the Algerian students who cheat in the exam, which has not been used in the speech up until that point. For the audience to know what she is talking about, she mentioned the word "many" twice in the same utterance. Consequently, this word is an example of cataphora in this discourse.

### 3.1.2.3 Rhetorical Techniques

Benghabrit's earnestness for her professional life, is reflected through her language, the force of utterances, and the convincing devices she uses. Repetition is the first technique used by Benghabrit in her speech to convince the Algerian people. For example, women fought for many rights and values, and Benghabrit is one of them. She mentioned those rights under what is called democracy "hopefully, we have democracy in Algeria to face the unions" (App.I, 11). Moreover, she repeated that expression once more "democracy gives rights and does not oppress" (App.I, 11).

Another conspicuous rhetorical technique is providing convictions through contradictions. This technique is highly possible associated with the coordinating conjunction "but". It is regularly used in Benghabrit's speech as to prove ideas by denying or refuting them through affirming their opposite. Two examples are provided below to make this technique clearer for the reader:

شوف حنا رانا نطبقو في هذي الاصلاحات الجيل الثاني بصرح مزال جزائر باه تتطور يعني لازم وقت  
Look, we are applying these second-generation reforms but Algeria still needs time to develop.

و شوف هدي مدة لي طولت كانت بسبب النقائص لي شهدها القطاع من قبل راك عارف  
Look, this long period was due to the deficiencies that the sector witnessed before, you know!

Benghabrit, in the first example, wanted to inform the audience about the prosperity that Algeria achieved. In fact, the main purpose of this rhetorical technique is not to inform the listeners but to make them believe. Therefore, Benghabrit used such a technique to obtain the audience's attention and trust. While in the second example, she recalled Algerians of the bad state of education by denying referring to it for the purpose of change. Consequently, recalling is, like informing, used to make the Algerian people believe in what is wished for by Benghabrit.

Benghabrit's rhetoric through persuading the listeners by opposed ideas is, additionally, described in her vision for Algeria through framing both the educational system and unions. Benghabrit used "but" as a preliminary convincing device, where to compare her ministerial era's good aspects to the former ministerial eras' evil ones. In addition, she explained how to assess Algerians success (App.I, 7-11-12) by a powerful technique called repetition, to convince Algerians that her vision is great while others' are not.

There are also other examples of the use of "but" in Benghabrit's speeches. Benghabrit said: "we need to change the reforms of the first generation, but as I have already said, we need time" (App.I, 12). She covered frustration with reaffirming her intents. She claimed, too: "but look to be honest..." (App.I, 10). In general, this tool of persuasion makes the audience focus on the current good ideas and thoughts and helps them forget the previous ones. Moreover, a politician, like Benghabrit, may rely on multi-techniques to enhance her speech.

Furthermore, Benghabrit uses the rhetorical tool of restricting meaning through relative clauses. In other words, she limited the meaning of a referred term, person, a number of things or people. For example, she said: "we have democracy in Algeria to face the unions" (App.I, 10). We can change this clause by "democracy gives rights and does not persecute people". There is also another example when Benghabrit said: "I can say that the first enemy is the first-generation reforms." (App.I, 12). It may well be to restrain the relative clause to any intended enemy Benghabrit pointed at, whether internal or external. We may notice that Benghabrit used other devices of persuasion.

### **3. Explanation Stage**

This stage aims to establish the relationship between interaction (referred to as the interpretation level) and the socio-political context that Benghabrit's speeches are issued in. Actually, the text's production is socially and politically shaped. At this stage, we seek to

investigate the hidden power and ideology through the language used and describe them within their socio-political context.

The power relations in Benghabrit's discourse were formed across the language used. As she opened her interviews and welcomed the spectators (See Appendix, II. 1.4.6), Benghabrit delivered interviews using courteous and kindly expressions, as “thank you for the invitation” and “it is a pleasure to be here”. When using these expressions, Benghabrit positioned herself as equal to the audience. Another citation of Benghabrit's discourse demonstrated the power relation as below: "I am an employee, I am a researcher, I am a teacher, I am a minister". The use of the pronoun "I" may point out that Benghabrit is in a superior position.

Benghabrit's speech was parallel to the circumstances when it was delivered. The issues discussed were vigorously affected by what was happening when this discourse was conveyed. This can be noticed in the following citations: "we hope to build proper conduct so that we can be a strong bulwark against mediocrity, which causes cheating in school exams". In this regard, Benghabrit tried to clarify the current situation as regards cheating that took place in Algeria in 2013. She also stated that the responsibility for this cheating was caused by ‘traitors’ who wanted to destroy Algerian education, but she indirectly charged the government by saying "this behavior of cheating can appear that there is a waiver of power" (See appendix I or II. 5). The situation was an issue deeply felt by teachers, inspectors, and even parents who were listening to the discourse at that time.

As one of the ministers of Algeria’s government, Benghabrit had a huge power to control schools, education institutions, and the Ministry of Education. This power is pointed out by providing direction to the relevant responsible to take action in accordance with his or her authority including teachers, students, and all those who work in the Ministry of Education.

"Our country should be changed through changing the first-generation reforms which were intense and useful" (See appendix, I or II. 4). This citation clarified that Benghabrit desired to open Algerian people's minds to the fact that Algerians should rise up together to build a new system of education.

Benghabrit delivered her discourse after becoming a minister. She desired to enhance Algerian teachers and students working and learning conditions. "I will do anything to work, to try, and to fix all deficiencies that were in this sector ... the first-generation reforms which were useful and intense" (See appendix I. 4.7). This citation clarified that all prior reforms in Algerian education will be eliminated and Algerian schools will become stronger in the future. Benghabrit only mentioned the issues that have occurred in her sector. She delivered her discourse more strongly and enthusiastically to give a certain motivation to her audience.

### **DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

As a novice researcher, I can say that Norman Fairclough's (1989) framework for the analysis of political speech has helped me to understand Benghabrit's use of rhetorical techniques and ideological strategies. However, it is paramount for us to determine some limitations. Hopefully, our analysis of Benghabrit's ideological strategies and rhetorical techniques might help us to suggest some "alleyways" for further research.

According to the results of words' frequencies in the first stage, Algerian people can tell more about the user of these words through phraseology, terminology, word choice, frequency, and collocations. Certainly, the identification of how a politician talks and what words they commonly use is difficult, but not impossible.

In addition, despite the fact that several political inconsistencies are found in Benghabrit's speech, they have names in CDA, namely persuasion' techniques. This could be shown, for instance, in cases when Benghabrit promised the Algerian people to reform the

educational system, Algerian people - and others - believed the speaker and hold to her words. They rather believed in them, and this is the effect of using rhetorical features in Benghabrit's speech. Moreover, Benghabrit inclined to provide her aims and ideas through using techniques of recurrence, the persuading way of contradictions and a number of other political tools.

The relationship between Benghabrit and the Algerian people exists in all dimensions of analysis. The pronouns "I" and "you" are used by Benghabrit to determine the other party. Benghabrit framed "you as students" as a source of hope to build a new Algerian educational system. Intriguingly, the ideological dissimilarity is extremely obvious in Benghabrit's speech. Her ideology is ramblingly exercised through this way of "blackening" the picture of the old educational system and "whitening" hers and the second-generation reforms. Actually, rhetorical devices are essential, here, so to succeed in sustaining what is scheduled.

As a minister, Benghabrit worked on comparing and contrasting between the ideology of first-generation reforms and the other one. All of these comparisons and contrasts are found in the discourse and through the analysis. A significant example is when Benghabrit spoke about the weakness of the educational system and its shortcomings versus her reforms. Thus, she commended her ideology and complained about the ideology of former ministers (See App, I. 6).

All in all, Benghabrit defended her ideology implicitly and explicitly across her speeches. Her discursive power appeared extremely conspicuous. She always defends her ideology, decisions, and strengthens a better vision for a future Algeria. The findings linked to Algerian people's opinion towards Benghabrit's language and ideology, confirm the hypotheses of our study and sustain its findings when while underlining the fact that Benghabrit's had an ideology that was transmitted by her language. Eventually, some of our informants made it clear

that if Benghabrit worked on improving her linguistic competence, she would not have faced an analogous attack and loss of trust.

Fairclough's framework emphasizes on two essential levels of language and society. Therefore, it is applicable to Benghabrit's speeches which comprise a wide array of political and social issues presented by a superabundance of linguistic tools. Thereby, there is considerable coherence between Norman Fairclough's model and its materials, i.e "Benghabrit's speeches".

“Benghabrit's speeches,” which are delivered on different occasions, occasionally become complicated according to the media. But from Norman Fairclough's model, we tried to analyze her speeches at three stages namely description, interpretation, and explanation to reveal the hidden ideologies, rhetorical techniques, and the main linguistics features. At the first stage, Benghabrit used nationalism words to prove that she is one of the citizens of Algerian people. She also used pronouns, conjunctions, modality to frame her speech in an effective way as we had explained previously (in the description stage, p.29). For tenses, Benghabrit mostly used both simple present and simple past to refute the old generation system and stick to her new reforms. Cohesion and text structure are reached in the text by using such cohesive devices which are held together to give an understandable meaning.

At the interpretation stage, we have shown the force of Benghabrit's utterances and their effect on the Algerian people. Then, Benghabrit used deixis: anaphora to point out the ideas she needs to convey, and cataphora to refer to something more specific. Thus, these techniques or what is called coherence aims to make Benghabrit's speeches semantically meaningful. Therefore, Benghabrit used many rhetorical techniques to persuade her audience despite criticism.

At the last stage, we have pointed out the hidden power and ideology in Benghabrit's speeches.

### **Conclusion**

In this practical chapter, we have applied a critical discourse analysis using Norman Fairclough's (1989) model to analyse our corpus from the word level until the social practice. First, we have analyzed a text in terms of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and structure. Second, an analysis of the second stage has taken place. The latter involved three significant points namely the coherence of texts, the force of utterances, and rhetorical techniques. Third, the last stage tackled what could be interpreted as hidden ideologies manifested in Benghabrit's speech. Finally, this chapter ended with some discussions of the findings, recommendations and suggestions, and eventually limitations. It is to be hoped that further research would maximize the corpus at hand to reach a more comprehensive analysis.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this research, we have tried to critically analyze Nouria Benghabrit's speeches. It was also an attempt at shedding light on the discursive structures in her speech using Norman Fairclough's (1989) model. In this regard, we called for this model that helped us confirm our prior postulates: namely that the language used by Benghabrit is not ideologically free. The findings have shown that the linguistic features used in her political discourse have diverted the Algerian people to focus on her linguistic mistakes more than ideology itself.

The findings also carried certain underlying components of Benghabrit's speech to the fore. Moreover, it has become perceivable that Benghabrit, to a substantial extent, relied on discursive structures, and frames of persuasion to pass on her ideology. Thus, her discourse has not been extremely constructed and that is why she was criticized and blamed by some of Algerian people for not being able to produce one correct complete utterance.

The model of analysis relied on three main parts: the word level, the text, and the discursive practices. The investigation of the latter comprises the three stages of description, explanation, and interpretation that Fairclough (1989) proposed in his model. Besides, it is of intellectual honesty to say that the applied framework has been easy to follow due to its lucidity and clear technical terms. However, each model or theory might be exposed to shortcomings and criticism. This is precisely why researchers are asked to test various models and approaches in their analyses for adequate improvements.

CDA offers us with opportunities to find out more about realities. Although discourse has fundamental roles in language studies, several ways of answering linguistic questions have been enhanced, and the critical way remains one of the most enriching, I believe. By virtue of those models, several studies can be conducted in different genres other than politics.

## RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

My work is an approach at Critical Discourse Analysis that might help in developing new insights into this field of research among which:

- Looking for another framework that can be applied to analyse Benghabrit's ideological strategies and rhetorical techniques and compare it to the one of Norman Fairclough's (1989) in terms of applicability, validity, and strength of results.
- Other researchers can use Norman Fairclough's (1989) model to conduct comparative research between Benghabrit's ideology and other ministers' ideologies.
- Future researchers can use two models of other scholars such as Van Dijk's (2004) and Wodak's (2005) ones that can be applied to analyse Benghabrit's ideological strategies and rhetorical techniques.

To sum up, the suggestions cited above are just simple ideas that we provide to help students who want to conduct subsequent research in CDA.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

No research study is entirely flawless or inclusive of all possible views. Here, I am going to list some difficulties during conducting my research topic.

- I have noticed that there is a lack of CDA books in our library which pushed me to find them elsewhere.
- Since our research is based on the analysis of all speeches / texts in Arabic, translation becomes an issue that should be taken into consideration. The most important matter is how we can keep the same original context from the source language to the target language.
- Methods, instruments, techniques used to collect data is another issue. I was looking to meet the former minister Nouria Benghabrit to use face to face method. However, I found many obstacles in this regard, as I was refused entry

to the Institute of Anthropology, where she currently works. This is what pushed me to opt only for videos from YouTube and analyze them using observation only.

- To the best of my knowledge no one has already conduct research on CDA about former minister Nouria Benghabrit or any Algerian politician. Thus, I did not have a sample to follow.
- Due to the current pandemic that has affected the whole world, and the lockup we are experiencing, I confess that the number of informants is really meagre.
- But these limitations pushed me to work harder and carry on my investigation to make my research readable and valid.

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## APPENDICES:

### Appendix. I) Nouria Benghabrit's Speeches (Arabic Version)

1. شكرا على الاستضافة ... هذا غلط جدا أنا جزائرية و أنا فتحات يعني بقوه كيفاه خرجوا عليا و قالوا عليا يهودية سي فو أنا جزائرية وأنا نجم نقول انو يمكن انا قلت حتى انا نحوس نفهم انا قلت عم بالي هو كان مؤسس مسجد باريس كان في فترة لادوزيام قاغ منوديال يعني عاون و ساعد يهود و رجعوا ليا و قالوا بلي يهودية شوف عائلة بن غبريط معروفة تاريخيا انا نعرضهم باه يقرو شوية في التاريخ
2. نتمنى لبناء سلوك سليم حتى نكون حصنا منيعا ضد الرداءة التي تسبب بقدر كبير الغش في الامتحانات المدرسية لازم علينا جميع بتحقيق مدرسة الجودة ويجب علينا نتجند جميعا أبنائي لحفاظ على مستقبلنا و مستقبلكم و مستقبل الجزائر هذه الأرض متشعبة بدماء الشهداء أنتم أمل الغد و أنتم قادرين على تحقيق نتائج أفضل لهذا أتمنى لكم النجاح
3. انكم كثير مضرورين من جهة مدرستوش لمدة و من جهة أخرى راكم تلاحضو أنكم تأخرتو في الدروس في وقت واه ولكن بعض زملائكم لي عندهم قدرة بيتابعو الدروس الخصوصية من الواضح بالنسبة لينا لا يمكنهم دفع مزيادات نقابية لا تحترم قوانين جمهورية اطمئنا نحن حاسين بيكم و سمعنا بلي قلق لي عبرتو عليه نطلب منكم أن تعملوا و تابعو دروسكم و حنا من جهتنا نوفر ليكم كل التايطير اللازم و تأكدو بلي رانا عارفين الاعتبار الوضعية المعقدة لي فرضوها عليكم اليوم جيب نطمئنكم أن كل التدابير تم اتخاذها باش نطمئنكم و حكم دستوري في تعليم مع أخذ بعين الاعتبار مبدأ الانصاف و تكافؤ الفرص.
4. شوف انا لي الشرف باه نكون معاكم ... أنا نظن بلي حانة الوقت باه نطبقو هدي الاصلاحات و بلادنا لازمها تتغيير من خلال تغيير النظام الجيل الأول لي لاحظنا كان مكثف و بلا فائدة و بصح حبيت نقول بلي كون نطبقو هادو الاصلاحات لازم هادو الاصلاحات التربوية يتطبقو في 48 ولاية مشي غي العاصمة عندنا برك
5. بناتي و أبناتي نأمل أن توصل الجهد و المثابرة لتحقيق أمانتي والديكم حانة الوقت باه نطبقو هذه الاصلاحات فتجنت خاص واحد كي شغل يقولو يقيس نفسو على لأن في هذه مادة *ce qu'on appelle une moyenne générale* الفلسفة أنا نظن بلي مكانوش بلاك متواضعين باش تكون عندهم اسئلة تركيبية هذا السلوك تاع الغش يمكن يظهر انو كاين نوع من تخفض من السلطة.
6. شكرا على الاستضافة ... نعم أنا معندي وقت حنا باه نروح لوهران و مالقري السكن الأصلي ديالي في وهران دائم و عندي غي واحد و هو في وهران و لي شافني و لا دا تصويرة تاعي و لا يتقدم و يجيب الدليل انا نتكلم بكل شفافية و انا معنديش حتى حاجة نخيبها و للأسف صبحت اليوم الاشاعة هي لي أخذت مكانة الاعلام ... ههه راك من نيتك ياو مزالني وزيرة و مغديش نخرج كون متأكد ... بصح أنا موظفة أنا باحثة أنا أستاذة و اجرة تاع استاذ باحث راه معروف .... اذن انا تتحدي لي عندو و لي شافني و لي عندو برهان في هذا الميدان ... أنا منعرف حتى جنرال عسكري .. نتا نتبالك ساهلة باه تعرف هدي الشخصيات لأنك عايش في العاصمة بصح انا كنت نساكن في وهران لأنني كنت مديرة غاديك و لم تكون في منصب عالي اذن معندكش وقت باه تعمل شبكة العلاقات و مام دروك راه مقر ديالي في العاصمة و دايمين في المرادية معندي وقت لهادو الاشاعات.. أنا نجم نقولك هدي فرعون راهي زميلة لكن قبل ما ندخلو في الحكومة ... أنا نظن بلي رحنا في مشي في عدد الاشاعات و انا عندي في الجزائر غي فيلا وحدة و مشي تاعي تاع مسيو تاني واه انا معنديش دراهم ... يلا نتوما تعتبروه كرجال عندو خبرة علاه لا بصح على حساب معيار تاعكم مشي تاعي ... واه أنا منتفاهمش مع الطريقة لي يخدم بيها

7. شوف ملي دخلت هذ القطاع راح ندير المستحيل باه نخدم و نحاول نسقم كل النقائص التي شهدها هذا القطاع و صاي أصلا راني باغي نبدا في الاصلاحات الجيل الثاني
8. يعني امم مردود فوالا لماذا اذن بعض يعني شوف واش نقولو باش في شغل يقولو اوووه في نجاح يعني اووه التلميذ و لكن نأخذو لكن الوزارة مم تهتم اوووه انا عندي نوع اذن لكن عندي معرفة
9. حنا كقطاع مراهش خاصنا هدي هدره تاع البسمة و البلبلة لي راهي صارية و انا شفت بلي من 1962 مكانش بسمة اصلا في كتب قولولهم بلي المدرسة الجزائرية خصها المستوى و تأكدو اني كوزيرة راني ناخذ كل التدابير لي راهم يشوهو سمعة القطاع .. شوف أنا نظن هادي هدره راهم يخرجوها و ايدلوجية راهي طبقت من طرفهم بسبب هدي هدره.... واه شفت كانو بزاف لي دارو هذا عمل لا اخلاقي انا في حقيقة ندهشت مين شفت فيديوهات تاع غش لأنو كانو بزاف .. لا راك غالط الغش طبق من قبل تلاميذ في حقبة تاع وزير سابق انا جيت حتى ماي 2014
10. مزية عندنا في الجزائر ديمقراطية باه نواجهو النقابات بصح شوف باه نكونوا نيشان ديمقراطية تمد حقوق متحقرش
11. شوف حنا رانا نطبقو في هذي الاصلاحات الجيل الثاني بصح مزال جزائر باه تتطور يعني لازم وقت و شوف هدي مدة لي طولت كانت بسبب النقائص لي شهدها القطاع من قبل راك عارف
12. شوف أنا نظن بلي لازم علينا نبدلو اصلاحات الجيل الأول لكن كيما سبق و قلت لازم وقت و صبر ... هادي هيا حنا مدينا كون لقينا كلشي مليح بصح الحقيقة عكس شي راه صاري ... أنا نجم نقول و نعاودها العدو الأول هو اصلاحات الجيل الأول .... ها راه بانية شكون كان معول على خلاها من خلال الاصلاحات

## **Appendix, II) Nouria Benghabrit's Speeches (English Version “Translation”)**

1. Thank you for the invitation ... this is utterly wrong. I am Algerian and I was really surprised! How did they go out and said that I am Jewish? This is wrong! I can say that even me I would like to understand. Perhaps I said my father's uncle who was the founder of Paris Mosque during World War II, I mean, helped some Jews then they consider me a Jewish. Look Benghabrit's family is famous historically and I would like to invite them to read some history.

2. We hope to build proper conduct so that we can be a strong bulwark against mediocrity, which causes cheating in school exams. We must all achieve school quality and we should all work together for our children, to preserve our future, your future, and Algeria's future. This land is imbued with the blood of martyrs. You are tomorrow's hope and you are able to achieve better results.

3. You are affected a lot! On the one you did not study for a long time and on the other you see that you are too late with your courses, in a time where your classmates those who have the ability to follow their private lessons. It is obvious for us that students cannot pay union's decisions which did not respect the laws of a Republic. Be assured, we feel you and we heard about the anxiety you expressed. I asked you to work and to continue your lessons and for us we will provide you with all the necessary framing and be sure that we know about that complicated situation which was imposed on you. Today, I assure you that we all the procedures were taken and your constitutional right in education taking into account the principle of equity and equal opportunities.

4. Look, it is a pleasure to be here. I think it is high time we applied these reforms and our country should be changed through changing the first-generation reforms which were intense and useful. But I would like to say that if we apply these reforms, these should apply to 48 towns not only here in Algiers.

5. My daughters and sons, we hope that you will continue the effort and perseverance to achieve your parents' aspirations. It is high time we applied these reforms. I was surprised, one should evaluate himself/herself on what is called a general average. They did not expect that they would have synthetic questions in philosophy's course. This behavior of cheating can appear that there is a waiver of power.

6. Thank you for this invitation .... Yes, I do not have time even to go to Oran although its my own home, and I have only one there. Those who saw me or took pictures of me, they can come and give the proof. I speak with all transparency and I have nothing to hide. Unfortunately, the rumor becomes the central position of the media .... haha are you serious? I am still a minister

and not going to resign be sure.... But I am an employee, I am a researcher, I am a teacher, I am a minister, and researcher professor's salary is well known .... I challenge anyone who saw me or has a proof in this domain .... I do not know any military general .... It seems easy for you to know all these people because you live in the capital, but I used to live in Oran and I was a director there and you are in a high professional job so you can not arrange relationships and even now my headquarters is in Algiers and I am always in El-Mouradia so I do not have time for these rumors ... He is an intellectual man according to you and not me

7. Look, since I entered this sector, I will do anything to work, to try, and to fix all deficiencies that were in this sector, I already want to apply the second-generation reforms

8. It means hmm payoff exactly so why some, I mean to look what to say for to how say uhhh in success it means uhh student but we take but ministry hmm interested uhhh I have a kind of so but I have knowledge

9. We as a sector do not need such speech about the “basmalah”, and the confusion that is happening now, I see that since 1962 there is no basmalah in books, tell them that the Algerian school needs level only, be sure that as a minister I will take all the procedures against those who are distorting this sector. Look, I think that they are saying such speech and ideology was applied by them because of this speech .... Yes, I have seen that, there were a lot who do this unethical behaviour, in fact, I was surprised when I saw these videos of cheating because they were a lot of students .... No, you are wrong! cheating was applied by students in the former minister era, I came till May 2014.

10. Hopefully, we have democracy in Algeria to face the unions, but look, to be honest democracy gives rights and do not oppress

11. Look, we are applying these reforms which are the second generation, but Algeria needs time to develop it means we need time, and look, this delay happened because of the deficiencies that the sector witnessed before, you know

12. Look, I think we need to change the reforms of the first generation, but as I have already said, we need time and patience ... that is I would have loved to find everything good but in fact, we found the opposite ..... I can say that the first enemy is the first-generation reforms .... it is obvious who wants to ruin this sector through these reforms.