Legitimation strategies in Egyptian political discourse: The case of presidential speeches

Hala Mohammed Said

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds

Recommended Citation

APA Citation
Said, H. (2017).*Legitimation strategies in Egyptian political discourse: The case of presidential speeches* [Master's Thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.
https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/674

MLA Citation
Said, Hala Mohammed. *Legitimation strategies in Egyptian political discourse: The case of presidential speeches*. 2017. American University in Cairo, Master's Thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.
https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/674

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Legitimation strategies in Egyptian political discourse: The case of presidential speeches

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts

By

Hala Said

Under the supervision of Dr. Amira Agameya

May 2017

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Legitimation strategies in Egyptian political discourse:
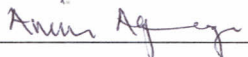The case of presidential speeches**

A Thesis Submitted by

Hala Mohammed Said

Submitted to The Department of Applied Linguistics

May 2017
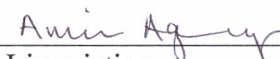
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

has been approved by

Dr. Amira Agameya _____
Thesis Supervisor
Affiliation: The American University in Cairo
Date _____ May 3, 2017

Dr. Marilyn Plumlee _____
Thesis first Reader
Affiliation: The American University in Cairo
Date _May 3, 2017_

Dr. Reem Bassiouney _____
Thesis Second Reader
Affiliation: The American University in Cairo
Date _May 3, 217_

Dr. Amira Agameya _____
Chair, Department of Applied Linguistics
Date ___May 3, 2017_

Dr. Nathanial Bowditch_____
Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Date _____ **1 5 MAY 20 17**

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Amira Agameya, for her continuous support, motivation, and immense knowledge. Her guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. Without her guidance and dedicated involvement in every step throughout the process, this paper would have never been what it is. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Marilyn Plumlee as the second reader of this thesis, and I am gratefully indebted to her for her very valuable comments. The door to Dr. Plumlee's office was always open whenever I had a question about my research or writing. I thank you very much for your support and understanding over these past three years. I would also like to show gratitude to Dr. Reem Bassiouney, not only her for insightful comments and encouragement, but also for her hard questions which motivated me to widen my research from various perspectives.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Ayat Nuweir and Soha Elwekeel for their assistance with translation work.

Most importantly, none of this could have happened without my family. To my parents, my brother and my sister– it would be an understatement to say that, as a family, we have experienced some ups and downs in the past three years. Every time I was ready to quit, you did not let me and I am forever grateful. This thesis stands as a testament to your unconditional love and encouragement.

This is dedicated to you, daddy. I hope you are in peace and that you are proud of your little girl.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to explore the use of language in one of the ways in which it manifests symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2001) in discourse and society. This study investigated the semantic-functional (van Leeuwen, 1995, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) strategies used by Egyptian political actors to legitimize controversial events within their public discourse. By adopting a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective and utilizing van Leeuwen's legitimation framework (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008), the analysis was performed on two Egyptian political speeches delivered by President Al Sisi. The first speech addressed the Egyptian government's decision to sign a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia announcing that the islands of Tiran and Sanafir are considered Saudi territories; a political issue. The second speech addressed the government's decision to cut the subsidies on utility bills; an economic issue. The results indicate that the legitimation strategies used to justify the electricity cuts were: rationalization (argument built on general moral motives and the utility of the decision), and moral evaluations (arguments built on moral values such as unity, or fairness). Whereas, the strategies that were used to legitimize the politically sensitive issue of the islands were: authorizations (arguments built on the authority of official bodies and documents), rationalizations (arguments built on truth), and moral evaluations (arguments built on moral values of fairness, public safety.). The results indicate that Egyptian political actors tend to present controversial decisions to the public in a way where said decisions are acceptable within the religious, cultural, or nationalistic values and norms while using minimal arguments that address the public's rational and objective judgement.

Keywords: legitimation, legitimization, legitimacy, critical discourse analysis, political discourse, Egyptian presidents.

Table of Content

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

DA   Discourse Analysis

LS   Legitimation Strategy

LSs   Legitimation Strategies

LF   Legitimation Framework

Speech A   Speech discussing the Tiran and Sanafir islands issue

Issue A1   The maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia

Issue A2   Reasons behind not announcing the maritime border agreement to the public until it was signed

Speech B   Speech discussing the electricity subsidy cuts

Issue B1   The utility subsidy cuts

Issue B2   The Egyptian economy is in very dire straits

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1   Background of the Study

Legitimation refers to the process by which speakers justify, endorse or sanction an action or a behavior to an audience. Typically, legitimation is achieved through argumentation. That is, a speaker would provide an argument to explain a social behavior, decision, thought or declaration that they assume the interlocutor does not agree with or endorse. A speaker attempts to justify their actions or behavior, in most cases, in an endeavor to regain their interlocutor's acceptance or support. Every individual attempts to justify or legitimize an action, decision or opinion at least once a day. Language is the means relied on the most for achieving these attempts. In fact, Berger and Luckmann have proposed that all of language is a means of legitimation (1966).

Legitimation is carried out by different types of linguistic arguments, from factual and objective information to personal experiences. The nature of the discourse could affect the types of legitimation used. For example, it is expected that scientific discourse would justify a procedure or theory based on rational, objective and factual information to establish the truth. Accordingly, it might not be accepted if personal experiences were used for justification in scientific discourse. However, in their daily social interactions people might justify an idea based on personal beliefs and experiences.

This study is interested in political discourse because the genre of political discourse utilizes an array of legitimation strategies, especially in public speeches. Political actors deliver public speeches aiming to garner endorsement and acceptance of their actions and political agendas. Furthermore, politicians attempt to project controversial events or policies as

beneficial for the whole society or by presenting their action as the appropriate or the right thing to do (Reyes, 2011).

Thus, political discourse is fundamentally planned persuasive speech that attempts to legitimize political goals (Cap, 2008). Researchers have argued that political discourse is inherently planned (Ochs, 1979) or pre-planned discourse (Capone, 2010). To ensure that their communicative message is understood properly by their audience, politicians deliberately plan their speeches. Political actors, either alone or with the help of an advisory team, attempt to orchestrate a speech that would achieve a purpose. Therefore, scheduled speeches are usually premediated, if not word by word, then at least the key main ideas. When the purpose of a speech is to legitimize a controversial decision, politicians must pre-plan a speech that would facilitate achieving said purpose. It is expected that with the help of their advisory team a speech would be carefully planned so that it addresses their target audience and would result in the needed consequences.

Van Leeuwen proposed that any entity tends to legitimize actions, ideas, ideologies, or events according to four "Legitimation Strategies" (van Leeuwen, 1995). That is, four semantic-functional strategies in which language is used to cast legitimacy or illegitimacy to actions or social practices. The four main categories are: authorization (by reference to an authority of positions, expertise, law, tradition or custom), rationalization (by reference to the utility of said social practice), moral evaluation (by reference to moral values), mythopoesis (legitimation conveyed through storytelling).

This study is interested in analyzing the discursive strategies used in two public speeches given by an Egyptian president (Al Sisi) to justify political decisions that were not received well by Egyptian citizens. Since Egypt has been facing political and economic

instability since the 2011 Revolution, it is expected that the current regime utilizes ample and varied legitimation strategies to justify its decisions.

1.2   Statement of Research Problem

The discursive strategies speakers use to linguistically justify or legitimize their actions differ according to the speaker, discourse genre and level of speaker's power over their interlocutor. It is worth noting also that when presidential speeches are used to justify political actions or agendas, they might change the direction of a whole nation. Thus, this study attempts to add to the research through studying the LSs in a specific political context: mainly the strategies Al Sisi, a president who governs during a time when Egypt lives through a period of political and economic instability, utilizes to justify two controversial decisions to the Egyptian public. This study, further, believes that analyzing two speeches addressing different controversial political issues produced by the same political figure would lead to interesting results for the functions of LSs in political discourse, regardless of whether these LSs were successful in persuading the public to agree with the president's decisions.

Towards that end, the study also attempts to analyze the semantic linguistic features that the legitimation strategies are achieved by within the Arabic language.

1.3   Research Questions

This study aims to examine the discursive strategies used by an Egyptian president to justify controversial actions in his speeches addressing the Egyptian public. The following are the research questions:

1. What are the discursive legitimation strategies used in speeches by President Al Sisi to justify controversial decisions?

2. What is the effect of the nature of the controversial issues being justified on the choice of legitimation strategies used in presidential speeches?

1.4   Delimitations

The study investigates the LSs that President Al Sisi utilized to justify his decisions regarding two controversial issues that some of the public and political figures agreed with while others did not. However, the study did not expand on the political ideologies of the presidential regime, nor did it elaborate on the distinctive discursive style of Al Sisi. The study's focus is on the legitimation strategies used within the speeches.

This study examines the speeches delivered by the President and the sociopolitical context they happened in, yet the study did not take into account the role of the speechwriters in producing the text of the speeches. There is no available data regarding the speechwriters of Al Sisi's speeches and the literature lacks information about the speech production phases; therefore, the discourse production process is not considered in this study. Finally, the scope of this study is limited to identifying the semantic legitimation/delegitimation strategies in the speeches of the Egyptian President whatever code the speech is delivered through. Neither the code choice nor the register were considered in the analysis.

1.5   Definitions of terms:

1.5.1   Theoretical definitions of constructs:

Legitimation

Legitimation refers to the process by which speakers justify a behavior to garner support and approval. Reyes (2011) explains that the process of legitimation happens through argumentation. That is, speakers form arguments that explain their actions, opinions, or ideas to achieve the goal of receiving their interlocutor's acceptance and support.

Political legitimation happens when a powerful group (the government, or the rulers) seeks approval for its policies, agendas, decisions, or actions (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). The group

4

usually does so through varied legitimation strategies that add credibility and authority to their talk.

Delegitimation

Acts of legitimation and delegitimation usually happen simultaneously. Delegitimation is the process a speaker/actor goes through to disqualify and discredit other sources of information (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). According to van Dijk (1998), a speaker might attempt to delegitimize the authority of the opposing source of information or the information provided.

(De)legitimation Strategies

According to studies by van Leeuwen (1995; 2007; 2008) and van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999), (de)legitimation strategies are portrayed in four main categories: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis. The categories are used for both acts of legitimation and delegitimation; however, the perspective is what changes. In other words, speakers might rely on authorization to justify their actions and attack the authority of other sources (deauthorize them) to marginalize any opposition.

1.5.2   Operational definitions of constructs:

Legitimation

Legitimation in this study denotes the speech act of justifying actions in political speeches. It can be detected through the pragmatic functions and the lexical choices a speaker makes to represent the events as true facts.

Delegitimation

Speakers attempt to delegitimize other sources of information in conjunction with legitimizing their actions. Delegitimation can be detected through the pragmatic functions and the lexical choices a speaker makes to marginalize opposing voices.

(De)legitimation Strategies

The study categorizes the data according to four main semantic (de)legitimation categories: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis.

(De)legitimation Strategies

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Scholars have investigated legitimation acts in different disciplines. Philosophers, sociologists and linguists have studied the nature of legitimacy and the means individuals use to justify their actions. Recently, scholars have shifted from the sociological and philosophical views of legitimation to approaches that define and shape legitimation within a linguistic frame. This linguistic frame is built and constructed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies.

This chapter discusses the key studies and concepts from the perspective of two fields: sociology and linguistics, since they are the most prominent fields that have shaped and contributed to legitimation studies. The chapter then focuses on the three dimensions of legitimation as discussed by linguists. Following that, the different definitions that legitimation has acquired are explored and the definition adopted in this study is clarified. Next, the theoretical frameworks and discursive theories utilized in performing the analysis are presented. In addition, the chapter examines legitimation in organizational, educational and political discourses. Finally, the chapter reviews the literature available on linguistic legitimation in the Middle Eastern context.

2.2 Sociological Approaches to Legitimation

Historically, legitimation studies primarily adopted sociological approaches that sought to investigate the role of power in society. Sociologists see legitimation as a tool used by more powerful members of society (oppressors) on the dominated group (oppressed) to either initiate social and political change or to preserve the status quo (Habermas, 1976; Weber, 1947).

One of the most influential researchers utilizing the social approach to study legitimation is Max Weber. Weber (1947) believed that all humans are involved in relationships of rule, where a powerful person exerts dominance, rule or authority over those

less powerful. Weber (1947) proposed that the legitimacy of an authoritative institution is a social motivation for obedience. Legitimacy was seen to be the cause people accept to be ruled. The dominant group's constant belief in the legitimacy of the ruling authority is what gives the authority its power; the lack of said belief would be interpreted as coercion (Weber, 1947). Traditional sociological approaches have explored legitimation as a means for the enactment and enforcement of power.

Sociologists have also investigated what constitutes legitimation and legitimacy. According to Weber (1947) there are three types of authoritative legitimacy: rational, traditional and charismatic. According to Weber's (1947) classification, political and social actors could justify any controversial action through rational legitimacy by proclaiming it is within the framework of the law. Political actors could legitimize an action or a social practice on the assumption that the social practice has been performed either by an agent that has previous experience doing it or it has been performed many times before (as in rituals and traditions). Thirdly, political actors or rulers might legitimize their actions purely through charisma or having positive social attributes that draw people's devotion. This third category is distinctive from the others in that power is seen to be emerging from the individual, rather than the institution to which that individual belongs.

Weber's classification has been criticized for assuming there is a causal relationship between belief and legitimacy. Weber (1947) stated that "the legitimacy of a system of authority may be treated sociologically only as the probability that to a relevant degree the appropriate attitudes will exist, and the corresponding practical conduct ensue" (1947, p. 326). Accordingly, an action's legitimacy might be confirmed by simply believing that it is legitimate and has always been. The role of language in the cultivation and maintenance of legitimacy is thus very much muted in favor of belief patterns.

On the other hand, David Beetham, a political and social scientist, noted that "a given power relationship is not legitimate because people believe in its legitimacy, but because it can be *justified* in terms of their beliefs" (Beetham, 2013, p. 11 emphasis in original). Beetham's emphasis on the role of justification in the legitimation process asserts the significant role of discourse within power relations. Beetham's statement proposes that legitimacy is not based merely on a belief system, but rather on something which is brought into being through language.

The term *legitimation* has distinct meanings according to different fields of study. Beetham (1991) found that for legal experts the concept of "legitimacy" is equated with "legality". Legal scholars view "legitimation" as the way in which actions comply with the society's laws and rules. As for philosophers, the term is based on the notion of universal truths and is equated to the notion of "morality". Philosophers presume an act is legitimate if it is justified through rational moral principles. Finally, social scientists examine how legitimation is manifested in behavior which could be interpreted as "evidence for consent". That is, sociologists study how what we do (or do not do) in a specific context bestows legitimacy on an institution or institutionalized practice (Beetham, 1991).

It is worth noting that Beetham did not account for the role of a discourse analyst. Therefore, reflecting on Beetham's views, one can say that the moral and legal rules which govern each society are evidently the domain of legal scholars and philosophers, whereas social scientists focus on the behavioral act of legitimation in a specific context. The critical discourse analyst is, therefore, interested in the way legal and moral *rules* of lawyers and philosophers alike are invoked linguistically as a justification for the maintenance of power inequalities. This does not mean that justification is only achieved through legality and morality; rather there is a range of strategies that can be drawn upon to legitimate an institution or action connected to that institution.

9

In conclusion, any legitimation act attempting to counteract an accusation might be built on legal grounds (legality), moral grounds (morality), rational grounds (rationality) or even on the ground of traditions. Moreover, social scientists have had different views on what constitutes legitimacy. For Weber (1947), legitimation is fundamentally an exercise in belief, for other sociologists such as Beetham (1991) it is grounded in the recurrent negotiation of justifications. That is, legitimation is mainly achieved through language.

2.3   Legitimation and Linguistic Studies

Researchers have noted that legitimation is a social practice that operates on two levels. At the "micro level", it is construed as "a complex social act that is typically exercised by talk and text" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 260). At the "macro level" legitimation is "a complex, ongoing discursive practice involving a set of interrelated discourses" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 225). Moreover, legitimation acts are based on a shared system of norms and values within a society. At the micro level, language provides the means to share and negotiate these norms and values with others. Therefore, when used within a political context language acts as the medium that underlines the power relations within a given society. This point is discussed in Rojo and van Dijk's (1997) study, where they elaborated on the properties and dimensions of legitimation. They stated that "since acts of legitimation are virtually always discursive, it is theoretically rather limited to talk about legitimation without considering its linguistic, discursive, communicative or interactional characteristics" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, pp. 527–528). Thus, this section examines the properties of legitimation, its definitions and its importance within texts and discourse from the linguistic view.

2.3.1   Dimensions of legitimation

The act of legitimation has several dimensions that have been discussed in research. Some of the dimensions that are closely connected to the linguistic representation of legitimation are

the pragmatic, semantic and socio-political dimensions (Cap, 2008; Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 1998).

The *pragmatic* dimension is concerned with what the speaker is trying to accomplish. According to van Dijk, legitimation is associated with the speech act of defending oneself against accusations (1998). A speaker usually tries to accomplish that endeavor by providing acceptable reasons and motivations for having taken a controversial action that could be criticized by others. It is important to note that the act of legitimation could be achieved through speech acts, such as assertions, counter accusations, reproaches or questions (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). Rojo and van Dijk argue that legitimation is pragmatically related to the speech act of denial, "in which the speaker either asserts not to have done A, or at least not to have done or intended A in the way described in the accusation" (1997, p. 531). Therefore, one can say that legitimation is a multifaceted process that pragmatically allows a speaker to defend themselves against accusations, and to persuade others of the rightfulness of the actions that are under criticism. However, in situations where the speaker has authoritative power, social or political, the act of legitimation could be done aiming for achieving compliance. In fact, Cap defines legitimation as the "linguistic enactment of the speaker's right to be obeyed" (2008, p .22). This statement suggests that in Cap's conceptualization of legitimation the speaker/agent is of a significant institutional authority. Moreover, that an authoritative speaker defends a questionable action, decision or policy, and attempts to persuade the audience of its rightfulness and into compliance with the questionable policy or decision.

The *semantic* dimension is the linguistic medium through which the act of legitimation is discursively achieved. It is "the subjective or partisan [discursive] description or representation or version of that action and its actors as truthful and reliable" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, p. 524). Speakers defending a decision attempt to project their version of said decision as appropriate and justified while eliminating and neutralizing any other opposing versions,

which in turn requires complex arguments and certain lexical formulations. The speaker must use the appropriate stylistic (semantic and rhetorical) mechanisms to be seen to speak the truth. To legitimate a social practice, decision or action a speaker is expected to use "arguments that express opinions of the speaker/actor about why the action, as described by him or her, is/was not wrong" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, p. 532). The semantic choices speakers use to represent their version of the truth to justify a controversial action can be put into categories that are defined as *legitimation strategies* that are in turn used to reinforce and validate the speaker's claims (Cap, 2008; Oddo, 2011; Reyes, 2011; Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 1995, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Van Dijk (1998) noted that any legitimation discourse initiated by an authoritative speaker attempts to justify a controversial decision as appropriate within the community's shared norms, beliefs, values or laws. Van Dijk (1998) contended that legitimation discourses assume a shared system of norms and beliefs in the community in which it is produced in. An institution would "implicitly or explicitly state that some course of action, decision, or policy is 'just' within the given legal or political system, or more broadly within the prevalent moral order of society." (van Dijk, 1998, p. 256, emphasis in original). Van Dijk's statement suggests that legitimation acts are mainly produced within political contexts. Furthermore, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) argue that "the justification involved in legitimations seems to have one peculiarity, namely to invoke publicly shared and publicly justifiable… institutional systems of beliefs, values and norms, in virtue of which the action proposed is considered legitimate" (p. 109, emphasis in original). The representatives of an institution must therefore prove its legitimacy using these shared and justifiable evaluative criteria.

The *socio-political* dimension is concerned with the social and political context required to facilitate the pragmatic and semantic aspects of legitimation. It refers to the fact

that a speaker should have the authority and power to represent a specific institution while trying to provide credible justifications for a social practice in a formal context.

The socio-political dimension has been an area of controversy in academic research. According to van Leeuwen (2007), the act of legitimation is carried out whenever a speaker/actor attempts to justify their action, and it is abundant in everyday communications. Moreover, the speaker does not have to be representing a formal institution, but could be speaking from an authoritative position, whether social or political. Van Leeuwen's (2007) characterization of the legitimation act, particularly his position regarding the political or social role of the speaker opposes several researchers. Rojo and van Dijk (1997) as well as van Dijk (1998) argue that the difference between the act of justification or explanation and legitimation is the formality of the context and the authority of the speaker. Van Dijk (1998) argues that the speaker must be representing an authoritative institution and as such legitimation could be linked to institutional justification. In fact, van Dijk (1998) argues that

> speakers are usually described as engaging in legitimation as
> members of an institution, and especially as occupying a special
> role or position. Legitimation in that case is a discourse that
> justifies 'official' action in terms of the rights and duties,
> politically, socially or legally associated with that role or
> position. (1998, p. 256).

Having discussed all the parameters of legitimation from the perspectives of varied linguistic researchers, it is important to define what legitimation is, given all these linguistic views.

2.3.2   Defining legitimation

As discussed in the previous sections, the meaning of the term legitimation differs considerably according to disciplines and contexts. Typically, the term legitimation is associated with legal contexts, as in making something legal or legalized. It is often used in political texts along with the term legitimacy to indicate that certain institutions constantly attempt to reinforce the lawfulness of their regime. In fact, Max Weber (1947) argued that "every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy" (p. 325). However, the term is also used outside the legal context. In linguistic studies it refers to the semantics and discursive strategies used for justification. People in their daily lives justify their actions using varied arguments, similarly political actors employ various strategies to legitimize actions, social practices or decisions in more formal settings.

The term legitimation has different meanings and connotations even within linguistic research. Reyes, for example, explains it as "the discursive strategies social actors employ in discourse to legitimize their ideological positioning and actions" (2011, p. 788). Hart also states that "legitimising strategies…are manifested in text through grammatical cohesion and certain semantic categories, especially evidentiality and epistemic modality" (2010, p. 90). It is also worth noting that the terms "legitimation" and 'legitimization' are also seemingly interchangeable. Thus, while most studies use "legitimation" (van Dijk, 1998; Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, van Leeuwen, 2007) the term "legitimization" is used as well (Reyes, 2011) to mean the same act.

Previous sections of the literature have shown that legitimation may be defined along various parameters depending on the subject discipline or theoretical school. Furthermore, linguists have had varied views as to what constitutes as legitimation. Thus reflecting on the definitions and parameters given by pragmatists, semanticists and discourse analysts one can

say that legitimation is **the process by which a social practice or an action is justified by a representative of an official institution using some form of socially shared evaluative criteria.**

These criteria could be shared moral values, or norms between the person seeking legitimation and their audience (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; van Leeuwen 2007, 2008; Reyes, 2011). However, the evaluative criteria are not restricted to moral orders only, as they may also invoke forms of knowledge. Political actors could justify an action by referring to its utility and its expected benefits (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; van Leeuwen 2007, 2008).

2.3.3   Summary

In conclusion, for a social practice to qualify as an act of legitimation all three dimensions should be available: the pragmatic, semantic and socio-political. Pragmatically, legitimation has been linked to the speech acts of denial (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997) and defending oneself against accusations (van Dijk, 1998). Yet, Cap (2008) argues that when performed by an authoritative actor/agent legitimation acts seek obedience and compliance as well. In fact, legitimation has proven to be a complex pragmatic process evoking varied semantic strategies to be accomplished. A speaker, in case of defending a decision, would utilize a range of linguistic strategies to justify the decision and persuade the hearer of the decision's rightfulness. The last dimension involved within any act of legitimation is the socio-political dimension. Researchers have defined the socio-political dimension in different ways. Van Dijk (1998) as well as Rojo and van Dijk (1997) contend that the fundamental difference between acts of legitimation and justification is the authority of the actor/speaker. According to the two studies a speaker should be representing an institutional authority for an act to qualify as a legitimation. Conversely, van Leeuwen (2007) proposes that acts of legitimation are produced

by any individual within everyday communication. This study adopts van Dijk's conceptualization of legitimation, in the essence that it has to be carried out by a representative of an institution within a formal context.

In the presence of the three dimensions, the enactment of legitimation means a speaker who possesses a particular authority, due to a social or political role, formally justifies and explains the rightfulness of a (controversial) action relying on common values, beliefs or norms shared within a culture. It is worth noting then that norms, beliefs and values are not fixed, but are rather culturally sensitive. Therefore, the semantic legitimation strategies speakers use might differ according to context and culture.

Now that the linguistic views of legitimation have been explored, it is important to mention that legitimation studies have almost always been done through Critical Discourse Analysis. Thus, I will now turn to the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to examine the studies which investigate discursive constructions of legitimation.

2.4   Theoretical Frameworks

2.4.1   Critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theory that "focuses on how language as a cultural tool mediates relationships of power and privilege in social interactions, institutions, and bodies of knowledge" (Joseph, 2005, p. 367). CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to language that focuses on the intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture to examine the nature of social power and dominance (van Dijk, 1995).

One of the main aims of CDA is to examine how language is exploited within texts to construct specific ideological positions that encompass unequal relations of power. Within CDA, language is not neutral and "all texts are critical sites for the negotiation of power and

ideology" (Burns, 2001, p. 138). CDA exposes any hidden machinations an author might adopt to package specific representations of the world within discourse, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Essentially, CDA does not consist of a single approach, rather a variety of interdisciplinary approaches. The current study applies the CDA approach constructed by Fairclough (1989), and the specific semantic-functional approach to identifying legitimation suggested by van Leeuwen (1995, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

2.4.1.1 *Fairclough's approach*

Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) identifies CDA as an approach that attempts to methodically explore the intricate "opaque relationship of causality" between three main levels: (i) text, (ii) discourse practice, and (iii) the social-political context they exist in.

The first main level is the text, which is the discourse itself (e.g. the presidential speeches). The second level is the discourse practice. This level explores the text production process (such as the role of speechwriters). The socio-political level is the social and cultural circumstances, context and structures which a communicative event happens within (Fairclough, 1992). The three levels discussed by Fairclough are shown in Figure 1
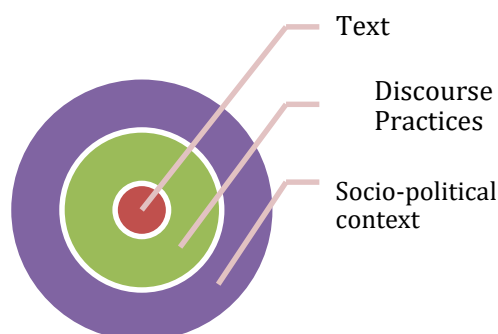
Figure 1. Faiclough's CDA approach

According to Fairclough not all studies require the examination of the three levels; rather the research question and the scope of the study mandate which levels need to be explored. Thus, this study excludes the level of discourse practices. Data regarding the production of presidential speeches is not easily available in Egypt. Moreover, limited research has been carried out to examine presidential speech production in Egypt. Finally, this study is concerned with identifying legitimation strategies in the speeches of the Egyptian President rather than investigating the discourse production process.

In the current study, Fairclough's approach of CDA is used as a general framework for analyzing the presidential speeches within their wider socio-political context. However, van Leeuwen's legitimation framework was used to examine the semantic representation of legitimacy in discourse.

2.4.2   Legitimation frameworks

Few studies have clearly reviewed how legitimation strategies are formed linguistically. A system for analyzing and categorizing legitimation strategies was founded by van Leeuwen (1995) and consolidated and validated by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999). The van Leeuwen semantic-functional legitimation strategies framework has been the basis for almost all legitimation studies. Researchers utilizing van Leeuwen's (2007; 2008) framework have altered or added to it to accommodate the context of their studies. For example, Reyes (2011), has utilized the framework and suggested three extra categories to the framework based on the nature of his data.

2.4.2.1   *Van Leeuwen's (de)legitimation strategies framework*

Legitimation is conveyed semantically through a variety of discursive methods called legitimation strategies. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) proposed that any entity tends to legitimize actions, ideas, ideologies, or events according to four "Legitimation Strategies".

That is, four semantic-functional strategies in which language is used to cast legitimacy or illegitimacy on actions. The four main legitimation strategies proposed by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) are authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis. In addition, there are a number of sub-categories within each type of the legitimation strategies.

Table 1. Van Leeuwen's Legitimation Categories

Category	Sub-Category	"Why should I do this in this way?"
Authorization	Personal Authority	* because I say so * because so-and-so says so
	Expert Authority	* because experts say so * because Professor X says so
	Role Model Authority	* because experienced people say so * because wise people say so
	Impersonal Authority	* because the law says so * because the guidelines say so
	The Authority of Tradition	* because this is what we have always done * because this is what we always do
	The Authority of Conformity	* because that's what everybody else does * because that's what most people do
Moral Evaluation	Evaluation	* because it is right * because it is natural * because it is perfectly normal
	Abstraction	* because it has X (moralized) desirable quality
	Analogies	* because it is like another activity which is associated with positive values
Rationalization	Instrumental Rationalization	* because it is a (moralized) means to an end
	Theoretical Rationalization	* because it is the way things are * because doing things this way is appropriate to the nature of these actors
Mythopoesis	Moral Tales	* because look at the reward(s) this person achieved for doing it
	Cautionary Tales	* because look at the consequences this person suffered for not doing it

Note: adapted from van Leeuwen's studies (2007, 2008)

Van Leeuwen (2007) explained that to identify and classify the strategies within his framework he looked for the answer to the question "Why should I do this in this way?" in varied texts. The answers to that question were the basis on which the categories in the framework were developed. The categories of answers could be viewed in Table 1 above.

Table 1 outlines the criteria for identifying different types of legitimation in all types of discourse. Authorization is enacted whenever a speaker legitimizes their discourse by referring to the authority of tradition, custom and law, or of people who have some kind of institutional authority. Rationalization, on the other hand, is legitimation by referring to the goals, uses and the utility of the action in question. Moral evaluation is, in turn, legitimation by reference to specific value systems that provide the moral basis for the decision made. Finally, mythopoesis is enacted whenever narratives are utilized to legitimize actions; that is, a speaker gives a narrative that highlights what good or bad might occur if one does (not) do what is expected. It is worth noting that legitimation strategies are usually interwoven within a specific text; they are rarely used discretely. Moreover, actors commonly incorporate various strategies in texts to obtain the best results.

Table 2 . Patterns of legitimation and delegitimation

Strategy/ Orientation	Authorization	Moral Evaluation	Rationalization	other
Legitimation	Positive authorization (self, expert, tradition..)	Positive evaluation of action	Highlighting the rationality and utility of action	Positive representation of self
Delegitimation	Deauthorization (other, group, expert)	Negative evaluation of other's action	highlighting the irrationality and futility of action	Negative representation of other

According to van Leeuwen (2007; 2008) the same categories are used for acts of delegitimation, the perspective or the orientation of the speaker is the major difference. Table 2, above, shows the different orientations for legitimation and delegitimation acts. For example, a speaker/actor tends to raise and validate his/her authority (personal authority) or refer to a

well acknowledged authoritative figure (expert authority) as a means to justify a decision or action; yet that same speaker might still use the strategy (authorization) to marginalize opposing voices. The goal for the speaker in this instance is to deauthorize the opposition. The speaker, then, will undermine the authority of an opposing voice or undermine the validity or the expertise of a source of information. In addition, the actor might choose to delegitimize opposition by negative evaluations, claiming the opposition's irrationality or by attacking the norms and values of the opposition.

2.4.2.2   *Other semantic legitimation frameworks*

Reyes recently conducted a study examining argumentation for the purpose of legitimation (2011). Reyes (2011) compared two speeches given by two American presidents and reported that even though the presidents had different discursive styles they both used similar "legitimization strategies" to justify their actions. Reyes studied the discourse of the speeches given by George Bush and Barack Obama to justify their decisions to send more military troops to two different war zones, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009). Reyes reported that his study is situated within the broader domain of a Critical Discourse Analysis (2011, p. 785). In addition, to analyze the data provided within the two speeches Reyes (2011) reported that he utilized Systemic Functional Linguistics as well as the framework suggested by van Leeuwen (1999). Reyes stated that his results expand on van Leeuwen's framework and proposes new strategies. Reyes identifies five "legitimization strategies" which comprise (i) Appeal to Emotions, (ii) Invoking a Hypothetical Future, (iii) Claiming Rationality, (iv) Resorting to Voices of Expertise, and (v) Claiming Altruistic Motivations (2011, pp. 784-787).

Reyes (2011) proposed two legitimation strategies "Claiming Rationality" and "Resorting to Voices of Expertise", which are similar to van Leeuwen's "Rationalization" and "Expert Authorization". Reyes also proposed three new categories in his analysis: emotions, particularly fear (linguistic choices to draw on positive self-presentation versus the negative

other-presentation), a hypothetical future (posing a future threat that needs immediate action) and altruism (positioning an action as for the common good of a particular community). It is worth noting that the categories for legitimation identified by Reyes resulted from the "War on Terror" rhetoric of American presidents; therefore, the three new categories might be represented in other contexts or they might not. Yet, one might consider that the study is the most recent and perhaps also representative of the new trends in political rhetoric.

Altruism, according to Reyes (2011), is used when a country (or a speaker) takes the role of the Good Samaritan that is driven to take action for the greater good of humanity. It is explained by Reyes that speakers build their arguments on a set of shared values and ideals. Consider the explanation given by Obama for sending army troops to Iraq. Obama stated (as cited by Reyes) that thanks to the American soldier's "courage, grit and perseverance, we have given Iraqis a chance to shape their future, and we are successfully leaving Iraq to its people." (Reyes, 2011, p. 802). The argument in Obama's quote is built on the value system that all people need equality and freedom of expression, and it is America's actions that helped those who do not have these rights to get them. Therefore, that type of rhetoric might appeal to countries with similar value systems. However, it was not considered in the analysis in the present study for two reasons. First, it overlaps with van Leeuwen's moral evaluation strategy since political leaders rely on ideals and values to justify decisions. Second, the sample data consists mainly of decisions that are discussed from a domestic perspective, most of the arguments in the sample addressed the direct consequences of the decisions on Egypt and Egyptians. Even when other entities were invoked (Saudi Arabia) the arguments were always constructed whereby Egypt was the one that is affected. Therefore, altruistic goals were not expected in this sample.

The category "Invoking a Hypothetical Future" within Reyes' framework (2011) can be recognized as a subset of van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) "Mythopoesis" category. Van

Leeuwen (2007) explains that mythopoesis is legitimation achieved by narratives, which are often small stories or fragments of narrative structures about the past or future. The narratives usually aim to accentuate the rewards of following the action under question and hyperbolize the setbacks that could result from dismissing said action. Reyes (2011) indicated that when social actors utilize the hypothetical future strategy they project the image that unless an action (that is being legitimized) is taken in the present, the future will be negatively affected. The actors establish a mental process wherein if the suggested action is applied, the future will be bright, but if the action is suspended, the future will be dreary and the audience will be harmed. Moreover, Reyes' hypothetical future category could also resemble van Leeuwen's moral evaluation. This is because Reyes (2011) explained that political actors tend to draw a mental image whereby if the decision they are proposing is applied, the public will continue to enjoy familiar values such as: happiness, freedom, and security. However, if the proposed decision is ignored those values will be lost and threatened ((2011, p. 793). Since these arguments draw upon moral values for legitimation, it could also be considered a moral evaluation. Therefore, Reyes' hypothetical future category was not considered in the analysis since it overlaps two of van Leeuwen's classifications.

The third category identified by Reyes (2011) is "Appealing to Emotion". Reyes suggests that the two presidents referred to the events of 9/11 to evoke feelings of despair, fear and urgency to legitimize the action of sending more troops. He explained that presidents tended to demonize the other and draw clear "Us" versus "Them" analogies to evoke fear. President Obama said that "On September 11 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3,000 people" (as cited in Reyes, 2011, p. 789). Reyes (2011) explained that the sentence said by President Obama did not add any new content to the hearers, yet it was used for evoking emotions and excluding the other.

The category "Appealing to Emotion", is used when speakers create two sides of a given story/event, in which speaker and audience are in the 'us-group' and the social actors depicted negatively constitute the 'them-group'. Politicians accomplish this linguistically through "utterances which constitute a 'we' group and a 'they' group through particular acts of reference" (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999, p. 92). However, Wodak explained that social and political actors tend to use "moral stances and exemplary reformulated historical narratives (myths) to legitimize *Othering*" (2015, p. 6 emphasis in original). That means that othering could happen through evaluation and mythopoesis. One can argue that Reyes' appealing to emotion category is more rhetorical than semantic.

When comparing van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) and Reyes' (2011) categories, it becomes apparent that the two frameworks are not addressing legitimation from the same perspective. Reyes' (2011) strategies seem to be more rhetorical, while van Leeuwen examined how legitimation is constructed in discourse through semantic-functional categories. Thus, for the purpose of this study, the primary analysis tool was van Leeuwen's framework (2007).

Now that the framework has been introduced, it is important to see how it was used in legitimation studies within different contexts. It is important to note, though, that the framework suggested by van Leeuwen is a general framework that has contributed to the analysis of discursive legitimations in different contexts and foci. Researchers have used the framework to examine legitimation strategies within organizational discourse (discourse legitimating organizational restructuring, venturous economical decisions, or decisions that could negatively affect employees), educational contexts (discourse legitimating colonial and territorial ideologies within school textbooks), and political contexts (war on terror as well as anti-immigration rhetoric in speeches, newspapers and media) (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2000; Oddo, 2011; Peled-Elhanan, 2010; Reyes, 2011; Vaara, 2014, 2014; Vaara & Tienar, 2008;

van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 2007; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).These studies are reviewed in the next sections to address the contextual effect on legitimation.

2.5 CDA and Semantic Legitimation Strategies

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a coherent field of linguistic inquiry in the early 1990s (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). Its stated goals are to investigate problem-oriented usages of language, deconstruct the ideologies of societal elites, and to "focus on dominance relations by elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249).

Therefore, CDA is concerned with "studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological approach" (Wodak & Meyer 2009, p. 2). Within this approach, ideologies are the means social actors use to achieve legitimacy for the themselves, the institutions involved, as well as their norms and values. These norms and values are culturally sensitive, in the sense that not all cultures share the same preconceived notion of what is an appropriate justification to legitimate with. That is, different contexts at different points in time or space, will result in different legitimations, there is no guarantee that a legitimation in one culture will have the same semantic status as it will in another.

The following sections explore the CDA study of legitimations within organizational, educational and political discourse.

2.5.1 Organizational discourse

Scholars have examined how legitimation was used to validate organizations' actions. Studies have examined how corporations legitimize decisions or actions such as mergers, acquisitions, takeovers, corporate restructuring, or shutdowns (Erkama & Vaara, 2010; Vaara, 2014; Vaara & Tienar, 2008; Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006). Work has also been done on how legitimation

is used to reinforce and sustain cooperation between the organization itself and the stakeholders or the employees (Breeze, 2012; Salge & Barrett, 2011).

Moreover, scholars have investigated the rhetorical arguments organizations utilize to legitimize decisions made when they are involved in takeovers or shutdowns (Erkama & Vaara, 2010). Erkama and Vaara (2010) examined the rhetorical strategies organizations use to form persuasive argumentations in times of rapid change. They found that there are five types of rhetorical strategies utilized. Organizations use rhetorical strategies that are built on rational arguments (logos), emotional or moral arguments (pathos), on the power of authority (ethos), narratives that refer to institutional strategies (autopoiesis), or cosmological constructions (cosmos) (Erkama & Vaara 2010, pp. 813- 817). These strategies differ from the semantic-functional categories of van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) by focusing on patterns of argumentation rather than on the representation of social actors and institutions.

Vaara (2014) also examined the discursive legitimation struggles in the institutional Eurozone crisis. The study focused on how media texts in Finland dealt with the Eurozone crisis (economic problems in Greece and other member countries of the European Union). The study utilized van Leeuwen's (2008) legitimation strategies framework to analyze the data. Varaa found that the media usually used position-based authorizations (personal authorization), knowledge-based authorizations (expert authorization), rational economic arguments (rationalization), narratives that expand on economic arguments (mythopoesis), stressing inevitability through cosmological constructions (cosmos) and delegitimation through moral evaluations that refer to unfairness (2014).

2.5.2   Educational discourse

Instances of legitimation play perhaps an even more significant role in the formation of the child's world-view than in the justification of organizational goals and actions. Several

26

scholars have argued that textbooks in particular often contain "legitimation work that goes into making acceptable what could otherwise be condemned" (Verschueren, 2012, p. 192). Following Foucault's concept of "Power/Knowledge" (1980), whereby the discourses we are exposed to early in life can influence or shape our understanding of the world around us, it is argued that legitimations are the most effective in educational texts.

Verschueren (2012) and Peled-Elhanan (2010) investigated the use of legitimation in school textbooks to validate morally questionable actions in two different studies. While Peled-Elhanan (2010) took an approach to the analysis of legitimations in educational contexts that is similar to van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008), Verschueren (2012) used descriptive methods to examine the premises authors use to support and authorize their statements. For example, Verschueren (2012) analyzed a collection of late nineteenth-century/early twentieth century school history textbooks from Britain and France. The books described events, actions and aspects regarding the British and French colonial history. In them he found several recurring strategies for legitimating British or French colonial occupation of several Asian countries. For example, the books would invoke the murder and maltreatment of missionaries to validate military expeditions into those countries (2012, p. 193).

Peled-Elhanan looked at eight contemporary history textbooks used in Israeli schools, and how they legitimate three massacres of Palestinian civilians as a means to achieve a secure Jewish state (2010). The textbooks investigated were published between 1998 and 2009. The study utilized legitimation strategies frameworks introduced within classic critical discourse analysis studies (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2007; 2008). Peled-Elhanan (2010) found that the main legitimation strategies used were, mythopoesis, effect-oriented legitimation (rationalization), conformity to universal norms (authorization), and naturalization (evaluation). The implicit argument projected through the

textbooks is *"the massacres were beneficial, and other nations and armies would have done the same under similar circumstances"* (Peled-Elhanan, 2010, p. 399, emphasis in original).

It is worth noting that the study reported that the most prevalent strategy was emphasizing the utility of the massacres through effect-oriented and mythopoesis legitimation strategies. Peled-Elhanan (2010) reported that the reasons behind the massacres were not presented within the textbooks; however, the effects were foregrounded, serving as justification. For instance, the following is an excerpt found in all eight textbooks as reported by Peled-Elhanan (2010, p. 383)

> 'In the months after that (= Dir Yassin massacre) the Jewish
> community was privileged with many military successes.'

According to Peled-Elhanan, the word 'privileged' is the same as 'rewarded' or 'won a prize' in Hebrew (2010, p. 383). Therefore, Peled-Elhanan argues that the textbooks implicitly evaluate the massacre as a positive action, since they described the consequences of the massacre as favorable and fortunate. The utility of the massacres was also asserted through narratives (mythopoesis). Stories of the massacres were constructed in a way that showcased the rewards and positive consequences of the events, "consequences such as victory or rescue, and the conflict between evil and good results in the victory of good, namely in positive consequences for Israel" (Peled-Elhanan, 2010, p. 382)

The study shows that although the books denounce the actual manner of killing, all the books use discursive strategies to project claims that justify the massacres' outcomes. Most of these claims stem from Zionist-Israeli ideology which "propelled by the myth of a pure nation state inherently harbors the possibility of ethnic cleansing in situations of mixed geography" (Yiftachel, 2006, cited in Peled-Elhanan, 2010, p. 380)

Scholars have pointed out the pertinence of educational discourse in the formation of the young person's world view, and consequently their implicit acceptance of legitimation strategies. The assumption here is that since discourse shapes ideologies and identities (van Dijk, 1997**),** it is expected that the exposure to the legitimation discourse in the Israeli textbooks would result in youth that share the same Zionist ideologies. The youth would in time be good soldiers that would carry on the custom of killing Palestinians to reach the required goals/benefits.

2.5.3   Political discourse

Political discourse analysis is "the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective, a perspective which focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 17). Critical discourse analysts have investigated how legitimation is often used to reach controversial political ends. Legitimation studies in political contexts have almost always been carried out within a CDA approach. However, one study by Jaworski and Galasinski (2000) investigated legitimation strategies within a sociolinguistic framework. The study examined how "strategic uses of forms of address by participants in political debates [were used] in order to gain legitimacy for their ideologies" (2000, p. 35). This study is almost unique in legitimation studies in that it attempts to correlate legitimation discourse functions with certain grammatical forms.

The majority of legitimation studies, as indicated before, are situated within the CDA approach. One of those studies was conducted by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), where they analyzed seven rejection notes issued by Austrian immigration authorities refusing family reunion applications of immigrant workers. The study utilized the CDA legitimation framework developed by van Leeuwen (1995) to examine the arguments the authorities wrote in the notes to justify their refusal of applicants.

The analysis resulted in 103 incidents of legitimization, the most common type of which, accounting for 41%, is abstract moralization followed in frequency by authorization with 28%. The study revealed that out of the 36 cases of authorized legitimation, 23 were mainly impersonal authorizations built on legal references. The immigration refusal notices would directly refer to the laws under which the application had to be refuted (e.g. in view of Paragraph 3 section 5 Residency Law). Moreover, housing rules and regulations were also cited within the notices. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) found that other forms of authorizations were much less frequent. One example of conformity legitimation was indicated in the notices. One notice refused the applicant because the size of the apartment the applicant indicated she would share with her family was less than 10 m^2 in area. It is typical for Austrian families to live in apartments that are larger than 10 m^2; in fact, only 3.4% of native Austrians who live in Vienna have apartments that are less than 10 m^2. It was found by the study that the typical conformity of the living situations (apartments bigger than 10 m^2) was taken as a standard for accepting applications and the lack thereof was taken as a reason for refusing an applicant's request to immigrate to Austria (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) observed that the most prevalent legitimation strategy within the notices was abstract moralization. It is worth noting that abstract moralization is the least explicit of the strategies, as it lacks concrete reasons for refusal. The researchers define abstract moralization as "an activity [that] is referred to by means of an expression that distils from it a quality which links it to a discourse (which 'moralizes' it)" (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 108). There were five Austrian values that were moralized within the notices: values of scientific objectivity and precision, values of leadership, values of health and hygiene, economic values, and values of 'public interest' (pp. 108-109, emphasis in original). I will now discuss two of the values moralized: values of leadership and economic values. Metaphors of governments steering the ship were invoked within the refusal notices as a means of justifying

the rejection of applicants. In fact, one of the notices used the phrase 'to steer the influx of migrants' (p. 108) within the rejection notices. The strategy here points to the moralized value of being capable leaders that would successfully lead people to the best outcome. Another value that was used within the notices was the economic value. Phrases such as 'to move economic growth forward' and 'to consider the economic interest of the country' were used in the notices to profess the importance of a healthy economy. One can say that the argument made is that the value of having a healthy economy was moralized in comparison to that of accommodating immigrants (those in need).

While the most dominant moralization strategy in van Leeuwen and Wodak's study is abstract moralization, abstract moralization was totally absent in a study done by Rojo and van Dijk (1997). In 1996, the Spanish Secretary of Interior had to defend himself in the Committee of Justice and the Spanish parliament after the government expelled a group of 'illegal' African immigrants from Melilla, the Spanish enclave in Morocco (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). The incident had created an outcry especially since the immigrants were kept quiet with drugged water aboard the military planes used for the expulsion. One aspect the study by Rojo and van Dijk (1997) analyzed was the legitimation strategies the Secretary of Interior used in his speech to explain and justify the expulsion and the inhumane procedures that were taken to achieve it. The study utilized the legitimation framework developed by van Leeuwen (1995) to analyze the discursive strategies of legitimation.

The findings of Rojo and van Dijk's (1997) study were similar to those of van Leewuen and Wodak's (1999) in the sense that impersonal authorization was a main strategy that was utilized in both data samples. Nevertheless, impersonal authorization was the most frequent legitimation strategy used in the Rojo and van Dijk (1997) study, whereas it was the second in the van Leeweun and Wodak (1999) study. The Secretary chose to justify the expulsion in his speech relying on personal (referring to his authority due to his position and integrity) and

impersonal authorization, as well as the authority of law and custom. The Secretary referred to laws (cited paragraphs from relevant laws) and legal procedures as well as emphasizing the careful execution of these procedures (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997).

Interestingly, unlike the case of the Austrian refusal of immigration notices (van Leewuen & Wodak, 1999), the Spanish Secretary of Interior did not use any abstract moralization strategies; rather, he used evaluations and comparisons (subsets of moral evaluation). The evaluation of normalization was used frequently within the Secretary's speech. The findings of the study acknowledge that the speech asserted that the actions taken by "the authorities are not only legal, but also standard procedures for the expulsion of illegal migrants" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, p. 537). The Secretary then described the treatment of the immigrants while being expelled (being drugged) as "habitual" and "usual". These strategies aimed to project the impression that the action of expelling migrants and the treatment they received while deported (drugged) were normal, and hence legitimate.

In another study, Reyes (2011) studied the discourse of the speeches given by George Bush and Barack Obama to justify their decisions to send more military troops to two different war zones, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009). Reyes reported that the presidents used two legitimation strategies: rationalization and expert authorization. Reyes also stated that the findings suggest three new categories in his analysis: emotions particularly fear (linguistic choices to draw on positive self-presentation versus the negative other-presentation), a hypothetical future (posing a future threat that needs immediate action) and altruism (positioning an action as for the common good of a particular community).

It is important to note that Reyes (2011) established that there were exclusion and inclusion tendencies throughout the speeches, a clear distinction was made between the "us" and "them" groups. The other was demonized through expressions such as "terrorists" and

"killed innocents". Reyes argues that through negatively representing the others (Iraqis or Afghans) the action of war was legitimized. While the negative representation of the other is not a category of van Leewuen's semantic-functional categories, it is a feature of CDA studies. In fact, Rojo and van Dijk (1997) contend that the Secretary's speech polarized the other (immigrants). They established that such arguments not only put "emphasis on the alleged negative properties of the Others, but also stresses that We are essentially good" (p. 539). Rojo and van Dijk report that the migrants were descried as 'illegal', 'identifiable' and 'violent' (1997, p. 539). Polarizing the other might not legitimate an act directly, but it indirectly does so since it delegitimizes the opposition to the act.

Finally, the review of the previous studies shows that same basic legitimation strategies are apparently used within educational, organizational and political discourses. The previously mentioned studies mainly had cases that relied on either authorizations, rationalizations, moralization or mythopoesis. However, the existence and frequency of each category differed according to the discourse type and the context of the study.

2.6   Legitimation Studies in the Middle Eastern Context

A study by Ali et al. (2016) examined the LSs used in an English newspaper published in Iraq. The study's aim was to investigate how the U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq was legitimized within the newspaper. The study analyzed two news articles using the LSs framework provided by van Leeuwen. The researchers found that the strategies used within the news articles were authorization (personal, expert and conformity), rationalization (theoretical), and moral evaluation (abstraction). For example, consider the following excerpt of an article as cited in Ali et al.

> The flag of American military forces in Iraq was lowered in Baghdad
> during an official ceremony, bringing nearly nine years of U.S.
> military operations in Iraq to a formal end. At its peak, U.S. troops

> numbered 170,000; now, only 4,000 remain for another two weeks.
> With the U.S. troop withdrawal, a new chapter begins in Iraq. (2016,
> p. 80)

The U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized through abstract moral evaluation. The use of phrases such as "bringing nearly nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq to a formal end" and "With the U.S. troop withdrawal, a new chapter begins in Iraq" associates the forces' withdrawal with positive values. The writer refers to the result of U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq as the formal end of nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq, which leads to the beginning of a new chapter in the history between U.S. and Iraq. Accordingly, the event of U.S. forces withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized since it ends the military operations and results in a new phase in Iraq.

Another study examined how two news agencies with different ideologies depicted the 2011 Egyptian revolution (Sadeghi, Hassani, & Jalali, 2014). The study examined 20 pieces of news from an American news agency (VOA), and 20 from an Iranian news agency (Fars News). The study investigated how the protestors were legitimized and Hosni Mubarak's regime was delegitimized by both news agencies. Sadeghi, Hassani and Jalali (2014) found that authorization was used more than the three other strategies and it was used for both legitimation and delegitimation purposes. For example, the media referred to Mohamed ElBaradei, former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, an intergovernmental organization that is part of the United Nations system, as a means to legitimize the revolution by emphasizing his support to the protestors; this is a personal authority strategy. On the other hand, expert authorization was used to delegitimize Hosni Mubarak's regime. The media would quote experts who would describe the way the regime ruled Egypt as tyranny and autarchy.

What was interesting about the findings in the study carried out by Sadeghi, Hassani and Jalali (2014) is the frequency of legitimations and delegitimation in each news agency. The study shows that VOA focused on delegitimizing Mubarak's regime, whereas Fars News put more emphasis on legitimizing the Egyptian revolution than delegitimizing Hosni Mubarak's regime.

2.7   Summary of the Chapter

The literature review has shown that legitimation acts are built on culturally sensitive shared systems of values, beliefs and norms. Moreover, the identification and categorization of legitimations is wholly context-dependent, as proven in the above sections. Legitimation studies that analyze semantic-functional discursive strategies of legitimacy have rarely been conducted on Arabic samples of data. In addition, any controversial act might be legitimated by varied strategies within the same community according to the context of the act (time, place and the act being legitimatized).

Furthermore, as discussed in the literature, studies done on legitimation in political public speeches have focused on legitimations used to justify one incident (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997) or by two speakers in similar contexts (Reyes, 2011). Further limitations lie in the restricted scope of the analysis. Legitimation studies done on political discourse have examined legitimation strategies used by American presidents to justify war (Oddo, 2011; Reyes, 2011) or on anti-immigration discourse (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999), so the findings of these studies cannot be generalized for all political contexts.

To this end, this study aims to add to the literature regarding the discursive strategies used for justifying decisions in Egyptian political discourse by analyzing two speeches by the current Egyptian President (Al Sisi).

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Research design

This study aims to perform a linguistic analysis in order to examine the structures and strategies of legitimation in Egyptian political discourse, in particular their role in presidential speeches. The study utilized the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to answer the research questions. The study linguistically analyzed the discourse produced by President Al Sisi during two of his speeches to examine the semantic choices and the linguistic functions used to construct legitimation of actions.

It is believed that a close linguistic analysis of a representative sample of data answers the research questions and would provide data that represents the genre to a great extent. This study investigated how the act of legitimation is accomplished linguistically within political speeches through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis "allows one to shift attention from established legitimacy to the discursive sense making processes through which legitimacy is established (Vaara & Monin, 2010, p. 5). Furthermore, methods of CDA and DA highlight the role of discourse within social phenomena, and how discourse can take part in the construction of said social phenomena (Fairclough, 1992), which is the aim of this study. Critical discourse analysis facilitates providing answers to areas of research that examine a specific context, population or genre; it does not attempt to generalize findings. In fact, critical discourse analysis provides "a new meaningful understanding of the phenomena it seeks to investigate" (Howarth, 2000, p. 131).

3.2 Source of Data

Two of Al Sisi's presidential speeches that were delivered after public uproars in 2016 were examined in this study delivered on April 13 and August 13. The study analyzed the speeches given by the President justifying two controversial issues; the transfer of ownership

of the islands Tiran and Sanafir to Saudi Arabia, and the utility bills subsidy cuts. Those two speeches were chosen due to the fervor with which the President's decisions were met by the general public.

On April 4, 2016, Egypt signed a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia announcing that the islands of Tiran and Sanafir were henceforth to be considered Saudi territories based on surveys by the National Committee for Egyptian Maritime Border Demarcation (Abdullah, 2016). That event caused an uproar and was heavily criticized on social media, in newspapers and on the streets of Egypt. Bassem Youssef, the former host of the first political satire show in Egypt "Al Bernamig", was one of the leaders of the criticism on social media. He described the event as a "sale" and the Egyptian President as "cheap" (Abdullah, 2016). Meanwhile on the Egyptian streets, demonstrations started to happen protesting the decision regarding the two islands. The protestors chanted slogans against Al Sisi, such as "The people want to overthrow the regime" "Just go" and "Awad sold his land" (an old folkloric chant that emerged back in the days when selling agricultural land was a disgraceful act and farmers who did it were ridiculed in public using this chant) (Abdullah, 2016).

Thus in 2016 on April 13, Al Sisi met with the intelligence chief, the defense minister, heads of parliamentary committees and heads of professional associations to discuss the issues surrounding the two islands. The meeting was videotaped and aired on national Egyptian television for the public to watch. During the meeting President Al Sisi gave elaborate reasons to justify the decision made by the government regarding the islands' transfer of ownership. One strategy of legitimation the President used was stressing the legality of the decision, authorizing the decision with reference to legal procedures. The President stressed that Egypt did not yield any territory but simply gave Saudi Arabia what rightfully belonged to it according to lawful agreements (Abdullah, 2016).

Another speech that this study is interested in examining addresses the pricing of utility bills. Utility rates in Egypt have been increasing since July 2015 (Charbel, 2016), with the prices increasing dramatically in April 2016. Government subsidies were cut and taxes were raised on fuel, electricity, gas and water. The utility prices have been a controversial topic that incensed many in the Egyptian public. A hashtag that was created and tweeted several times is "Emsek Fatoura" meaning 'catch a bill'. The hashtag resembles a famous Egyptian phrase 'catch a thief', implying that people think they are being ripped off. In fact, many of the tweets showcased that the people were unable to pay their bills or unwilling to pay them until the authorities explain the reasons for the increases (Charbel, 2016). The issue was also getting attention from TV reporters. A talk show host Gaber al-Karmouty said "I'm not instigating action against the state, nor am I trying to take advantage of the situation. But there is a problem in terms of the most recent electricity bills". Karmouty further said that "we feel electrocuted [by] our electricity bills, muddied over our water bills and flaming over our gas bills" (Charbel, 2016).

Hence, on August 13 in 2016, Al Sisi gave a speech that focused on the electricity crisis, the billing system and explained in detail the rationale behind cutting the subsidy in order to justify the pricing to the public. The speech was 40 minutes long and was mainly concerned with defending the current pricing system. In this speech, the President elaborated on the rationale behind taking said decisions. The President explained, using statistics and numbers, the financial burden that the subsidies place on the Egyptian economy and the future results of the minimal cuts.

This study attempted to examine some of the discursive properties in the previously mentioned two speeches, particularly the legitimation strategies (LS) used to justify the actions that were not publicly accepted.

The speeches given by Al Sisi were chosen as the sample because of several contributing factors. It is the belief of this study that the two speeches would provide abundant and sufficient data for analyzing legitimation discourse in presidential speeches. The speeches provide two different contexts of legitimation, yet, they have different levels of implications if legitimacy is not restored; the regime's legitimacy being questioned in street demonstrations and the President's popularity affected negatively on social media. Moreover, political ideology is excluded as an extraneous factor, since both speeches are provided by the same speaker and with only three-months difference in timing.

Secondly, the two speeches "Tiran and Sanafir Islands" and the "Electricity Subsidy Cut" were chosen because they occurred after incidents that affected the President's popularity and it was noticeable that the speeches were carried out to regain the public's approval by explaining and justifying the events.

3.3   Data Collection and Analysis

The transcripts of the two speeches were examined for incidents of legitimation and each incident was coded. Examples mentioned in Chapter Four were translated into English through the help of a professional translator.

I tried to obtain the transcripts for the speeches through the official State Information Website[1]. There was an entry on the website for the speech addressing the subsidy cuts[2]; however, when checked it was found that the entry on the website is not compatible with what the President actually said in the speech. It seems that the entry available on the website is the draft that was written for the President before he gave the speech; however, the video of the speech shows that the President did not follow the written draft (available on the website) word

---

[1] http://www.sis.gov.eg/?lang=en-US

[2] http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/126197?lang=ar

for word while delivering the speech. In fact, the differences between the draft available on the official State Information Website and what the President actually said were considerable enough that the researcher had to transcribe the speech without relying on the website's entry. Therefore, I transcribed the speech from the video available on the official State Information Website. On the other hand, there was no entry on the official State Information Website for the Tiran and Sanafir speech; therefore, a YouTube video[3] of the speech was used to transcribe the speech.

It is important to mention that the President tends to discuss two to three topics in a speech; therefore, to focus on the pertinent issues for the present study, I transcribed the segments that were addressing the issues this study is concerned with only. The speech addressing the Tiran and Sanafir islands was transcribed from the time stamp 39:20 to 60:05 (see Appendix A), while the speech addressing the subsidy cuts was transcribed from the time stamp 00:10 to 24:30 (see Appendix B).

The transcripts of the speeches were divided into segments to facilitate locating cases of legitimation. The segments were examined using the following parameters that ensure the incidents found are cases of legitimation.

(1) Does the segment include a proposition that attempts to justify a social practice or action?

(2) Does the proposition include reference to social practices, social institutions, or activities that are associated with either or both?

(3) Are practices or institutions evaluated?

(4) Is the evaluation positive?

(5) What is the propositional nature of the evaluation?

---

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVxJl3zrZKo

If the data met the requirements for parameters one and two, then actions that represent individuals' inclinations were excluded and the examined data represented actions that are carried out by people in their capacity to represent a social institution, which is the distinction between the act of legitimation and explanation as defined by van Dijk (1998) .

Furthermore, if a proposition was not evaluated then it is used to merely state facts. When a proposition is evaluated positively then it is being justified, and thus legitimated. On the other hand, a proposition could be delegitimized if it is negatively evaluated. Parameters three and four are the ones discussing evaluations of actions and social practices. It is worth noting that social practices can be evaluated be various ways. A social practice might be evaluated positively because it is legal, moral, normal, or useful; furthermore, different evaluative methods could be invoked to legitimate a social practice simultaneously. That variation in the evaluation is the variable under study in this research.

Van Leeuwen (1995) proposed that any entity tends to legitimize actions, ideas, ideologies, or events according to four "Legitimation Strategies", that is, four semantic-functional strategies in which language is used for the construction of legitimacy or illegitimacy of actions. The four main categories are: authorization (by reference to an authority of tradition, custom, law or expertise), rationalization (by reference to the utility of the action), moral evaluation (by reference to norms), mythopoesis (legitimation conveyed through narrative). These categories were used to identify legitimation acts in the transcripts of both speeches.

Rojo and van Dijk (1997) suggest that cases of legitimation tend to correlate with specific grammatical and structural elements, such as *so* and *to* purposive constructions, modal verbs (should, need to, have to…), deontic adjectives (necessary, imperative, vital), and subordinating conjunctions (because). These constructions guided the identification of legitimation acts, in addition to the parameters of qualification mentioned above.

In addition to using van Leeuwen's framework, the context of each speech as well as the analyst's knowledge of the Egyptian culture were drawn upon while performing the analysis. To ensure that context and cultural linguistic influences were incorporated, discursive strategies such as intertextuality, dialogicality, foregrounding and backgrounding were used to supplement the main legitimation framework used. Intertextuality is the presence of elements from other texts within a text, either through quotations or implication. Intertextuality highlights how any text integrates, draws upon, and dialogues with other texts (Fairclough, 2003). Bakhtin proposed that "any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances" with which it enters into one kind of relation or another (1986, p. 69). Bakhtin explains that the relation of an utterance to others may be a matter of "building on" them, "polemicizing with" them, or simply "presuming that they are already known to the listener" (1986, p. 69). Dialogicality is a process in which a text is in continual dialogue with other texts; it is informed by previous texts and informs future texts (Bakhtin, 1991). Both intertextuality and dialogicality build on other discourses and assume the interlocutors' previous knowledge of the text or dialogue referred to. According to Huckin (1997), foregrounding emphasizes certain concepts or issues in a given text while backgrounding plays down other issues. Structural resources were also utilized to facilitate the analysis. Pronouns, tense, as well as rhetorical questions were relied on. Pronouns and tense were identified to be one of the structural tools speakers use to project their utterances as factual and credible.

To reiterate, the study is concerned with the following research questions:

1. What are the discursive legitimation strategies used in speeches by President Al Sisi to justify controversial decisions?

2. What is the effect of the nature of the controversial issues being justified on the choice of legitimation strategies used in presidential speeches?

To answer the first question, the speeches were examined to look at how justification was achieved linguistically. The purpose was to see how language was used while reasons and justifications were given to legitimize a controversial action. The data were coded and interpreted according to van Leeuwen's (2007) legitimation framework. The data were tabulated and frequencies were calculated. Furthermore, discursive analysis was carried out to represent how each category was achieved semantically within the speeches and showcase the linguistic features used.

To answer the second question, the data from the two speeches were compared to each other. The two speeches were produced from the same speaker (President Al Sisi) and occurred within three months of each other, thus eliminating political ideologies and time as extraneous factors that might affect the speeches. One can then argue that differences in the type of strategies used is probably stemming from the nature of the actions being justified themselves. One of the speeches attempts to justify an action that would result in harsh economic effects on Egyptians, while the other speech attempts to justify a decision that could change the borders of the country. This research examined whether a decision that affects the economy might be justified differently than a decision that affects the identity of the country. Thus, the data resulting from both speeches were compared to determine whether certain legitimation strategies correlate more with one of the issues justified. Frequency of the LSs used in both speeches were the means for the primary comparison between the two speeches, in addition to examples that showcase any differences, if found.

Chapter Four: Results

4.1 Introduction

This study carried out a linguistic analysis on two Egyptian political speeches delivered by President Al Sisi to examine the discursive strategies used by the President to legitimize controversial events. The two speeches were chosen because they represent different contexts: one speech discussed a legal and political issue while the other discussed an issue that is mainly economic. The first speech addressed the government's decision to sign a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia during which the President announced that the islands of Tiran and Sanafir are considered Saudi territories. The second speech covers the government's decision to cut the subsidies on utility bills. Both decisions were not received favorably by the public; therefore, the President explicitly legitimized and justified them in his speeches. The aim of this study was to identify the legitimation strategies used in the two speeches, in addition to examining the role of context in the choice of legitimation strategy.

A CDA approach along with van Leeuwen's legitimation framework (2007) were utilized to analyze the transcripts of the two speeches. In addition to using van Leeuwen's framework, the analyst drew on her knowledge of culture and the context of each speech. To ensure that context and cultural linguistic influences were incorporated, discursive strategies as intertextuality, dialogically, foregrounding and backgrounding were used to supplement the main legitimation framework used.

The results are arranged according to the research questions posed in the present study. The first part discusses the discursive strategies used by the President and gives examples for each. It is worth noting that the examples have the segment representing the legitimation strategy underlined and that examples from both speeches are integrated in the first part to indicate how the strategy was used in both contexts. Whenever cultural context is seen to be of

value to understand the examples it is mentioned and explained. The second part of this chapter holistically compares between legitimation strategies (LSs) utilized by the President in both speeches to examine how the nature of the controversial issue affected the choice of strategy. Henceforth, the speech discussing the Tiran and Sanafir islands issue is referred to as *Speech A* and the speech that discusses the utility subsidy cuts issue is referred to as *Speech B* to eliminate unnecessary repetition.

4.2   Legitimation Strategies in Political Speeches

Van Leeuwen suggests that legitimation strategies can be identified as the answer to the question "Why should we do this?" or "Why should we do this in this way?" (2007, p. 93). I, therefore, used variations of the suggested questions to identify cases of legitimation within the data. To facilitate locating legitimations in Speech A, answers to the questions *Why should the maritime borders with Saudi Arabia be changed?* and *Why should they be changed this way?* were spotted. Similarly, for Speech B the posed questions were: *Why should the utility subsidies be cut?*, *Why should they be cut in this way?*, and *Why should the citizens pay more money for electricity?*

The data analysis provided LSs that fit in the major categories of legitimation: authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis. Nevertheless, the context of the speeches also provided a rhetorical strategy that is vital to understanding legitimations in the speeches. The rhetorical move done by the President is discussed first, then the chapter discusses the four LSs mentioned before.

4.2.1   Expanding the focus of the speech

The President employed the same rhetorical strategies in both speeches, which is shifting or expanding the focus of the speech by introducing a second problem. That is, the President usually indicated that he would start discussing a certain issue, maritime border agreement in

case of Speech A and the utility subsidy cuts in Speech B, then he broadened the focus of his

speech to include a different point of discussion that is related to the main issue.

(1)- Speech A	هكلمكم عن الموضوع اللي انتوا كلكم عايزين تسمعوا عنه، اللي هو موضوع تعيين الحدود البحرية مع السعودية... طب نتكلم بتفاصيل شوية؟ هتكلم بتفاصيل... إن الإشكالية اللي بتقابلنا في الموضوع ده كشعب وكرأي عام إن انتم فيه مسافة بين نسق الدولة، سياق الدولة وبين السياق الفردي في تناول الموضوع. هقولها تاني وأرجو إنها تبقى واضحة. الإشكالية اللي موجودة عندنا إن انتم فيه مسافة كبيرة جدًا بين تعامل الدولة مع قضاياها ومع علاقاتها وبين التعامل الفردي اللي انتوا بتتكلموا بيه عن هذه القضية، آدي واحدة.. نمرة ٢: هذا الموضوع لم يتم تداوله قبل كده

'I am going to talk to you about the topic you've been all waiting to hear about, namely the delimitation of maritime boundaries between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. First, the problem we're facing in this regard is that there's a discrepancy between the State approach and the individual approach towards this issue. I'll repeat this point, hoping it becomes clearer now: the problem lies in the huge discrepancy between the way the State handles its different issues and relations, and the way you, as individuals, tackle them. Second, this issue has never been discussed in public before.'

As can be seen in example (1), the President started by indicating that he would discuss

the issue of the maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia, but a few seconds after he shifted

the focus of the speech to issues pertaining to the role of the state as opposed to the role of the

individual. The President explicitly said that the main issue was not the maritime border

agreement itself, but rather how the public and the media have reacted to the agreement. As

indicated in Chapter Three, the transfer of the islands to Saudi Arabia was not received well by

the public. People criticized the government, Saudi Arabia and particularly President Al Sisi

on Twitter and on news outlets. Some have even protested in the streets of Cairo, which

showcases the extent of the public's anger since there was a law that was passed by government

in 2013 that bans and restricts street demonstrations in Egypt. So, the President changed the

issue under discussion by indicating that the agreement is not the problem that the nation is

facing, the problem is that the Egyptians are looking at the issue from a narrow personal

perspective, indicating that there is a superiority of the state over the individual.

After that, the President noted that the source of the problem (the negative public reaction) was that news of the agreement was not announced to the public before it was actually signed. By doing so, there were two issues to discuss, the first was the maritime border agreement itself and the second was the reasons to not announce the deal to the public. This move is very telling because the President after introducing a secondary problem (not announcing the deal to the public), used several legitimation strategies to justify this secondary problem. Those legitimations focused on delegitimizing the protesters' actions and invoking a sense of fear. Both issues invoked in the speech, the maritime border agreement and not announcing the agreement to the public until it was signed, were legitimized by using varied legitimation strategies that will be discussed in the coming sections.

The President used the same rhetorical strategy in Speech B, as illustrated in example (2). After indicating that he would start by discussing the issue of the utility subsidy cuts and the increase in the electricity bills, he changed the topic of discussion to Egypt's economy over the last 60 years. Again, the President introduced a new point for discussion, the extent of the challenges facing the Egyptian economy. Now, just as in the first speech, there were two points to legitimize, the subsidy cuts and the disastrous condition of the Egyptian economy. The President then legitimized the hypothesis that the economy is unhealthy through varied legitimation strategies and indirectly used those to legitimize the decision to cut the utility subsidies.

(2)- Speech B	الحقيقة أنا هتكلم معاكوا النهارده بالمناسبة ديّة عشان خلال الـ.. الأسابيع القليلة اللي فاتت كان في موضوعين أفتكر إن إحنا كلنا كنا مهتمين بيهم. الموضوع الأولاني كان الزيادة اللي.. تم إقرارها بواسطة وزارة الكهربا على شرايح الكهربا المختلفة، ثم التفاوض مع صندوق النقد الدولي... اسمحولي إن أنا هتكلم معاكم عن الموقف الاقتصادي لمصر على مدى ٦٠ سنة، وهتكلم عليه باختصار وأقول يا ترى قدراتنا الاقتصادية كدولة مصرية إيه اللي حصلّها خلال السنين اللي فاتت ولغاية دلوقتي عشان نقول يا ترى إحنا محتاجين نعمل لمواجهتها إيه...لأن إحنا لما أنا اتكلمت في الموضوع ده خلال فترة الترشح قلت إن أنا في موضوع اقتصادي صعب جدًا جدًا

> 'On this occasion, I'm going to talk to you about two issues that were of much interest to all of us in the past few weeks: first, the increase approved by the Ministry of Electricity on the different electricity consumption categories; second, the negotiations with International Monetary Fund. <u>Allow me to talk briefly about the economic situation in Egypt over the past 60 years, raising questions about what happened to our economic capabilities during the past years till now</u>, so that we can find out what we need in order to face such a situation. When I talked about this issue during my candidacy, <u>I said there was an extremely tough economic situation.</u>'

In each speech there were two issues legitimized, and to avoid unnecessary repetition they will be coded. In speech A, the first issue was the maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia (*Issue A1*), the second was concerned with the reasons behind not announcing the deal to the public until it was signed (*Issue A2*). As for speech B, the first issue was the utility subsidy cuts (*Issue B1*), the second issue was the hypothesis that the Egyptian economy is in very dire straits (*Issue B2*).

Table 3. Number of Legitimations in Both Speeches

Speech	Issue	Legitimations	Total
A	A1	43	56
	A2	13	
B	B1	31	45
	B2	14	

Note: the tabulation did not include cases of mythopoesis.

It is important to study the legitimation strategies that addressed related supporting issues (A2 and B2) because there was a purpose to adding and legitimizing these issues. Moreover, these legitimations represent a significant portion of the total legitimations used in the speeches. As illustrated in Table 3, there were a total of 56 legitimations in Speech A, 43 of them were used to legitimize Issue A1 (the maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia) and 13 were used to legitimize Issue A2 (the reasons behind not announcing the deal to the

public until it was signed). Meanwhile, there were 45 legitimations in total in speech B, 31 were used to legitimize Issue B1 (the utility subsidy cuts) and 14 were used to legitimize Issue B2 (the struggling Egyptian economy). The President used varied legitimation strategies to legitimize these four issues, which will be discussed in the coming sections. The chapter discusses the LSs of Authorization, Rationalization, Moral Evaluation and Mythopoesis and the subcategories found within each strategy.

It is important to remember that legitimation strategies are not mutually exclusive. Many of the legitimations identified in the data contained two or even three legitimation strategies. Attempting to decrease the potential of inflation in the tabulations, cases of mythopoesis were not considered in the total tabulations, since they involve many strategies in the same narrative. Therefore, the total numbers indicated in Table 3 only include Authorizations, Moral Evaluations and Rationalizations.

4.2.2 Authorization

Authorization is achieved through referring to the authority of law, custom, or of a person in "whom institutional authority of some kind is vested" (van Leeuwen, 2007). This data resulted in legitimations that relied on the authority of official bodies and legal documents. As can be seen in Table 4, the use of authority as a means of legitimation was exclusively used in speech A. Speech A had 16 cases of legitimations of authority (out of 56), while speech B had none (out of 43).

The strategy of authorization was mainly used to legitimize the main issue in speech A. That is, it was used to legitimize issue A1 (the transfer of Tiran and Sanafir to the Saudis' sovereignty). Authorization was not used as a strategy to legitimize any secondary issues that were introduced by the President (A2 and B2).

Table 4. Frequency of Using Authorization for Legitimation

	Official Body	Legal Documents	Total
Speech A	11 (19.64%)	5 (8.93%)	16 (28.57%)
Speech B	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

4.2.2.1 *Official body authorization*

There were 11 legitimations that relied on the authority of official bodies in both speeches. Interestingly, the President tended to refer to an entire entity to legitimize his decision rather than a specific person who occupies an institutional position. For example, the President would not refer to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to legitimize a decision he would refer to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Those entities could be referred to because of their official and legal position, or because they are assumed to be knowledgeable about the issue.

4.2.2.1.1 *Official entity authorization*

Speech A had seven instances of legitimation that relied on official entities to legitimize the decision to transfer the territory of the Tiran and Sanafir islands to Saudi Arabia. The majority of these legitimations combined two legitimation strategies together by referring to official documents that are issued by official entities; examples of these will be discussed later on in this chapter. However, there were a few cases where references to entities solely were integrated in the speech to add legitimacy. For instance, the President made the argument that he consulted people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the General Intelligence Directorate before assenting to sign the agreement, as illustrated in example (3). By invoking these entities, the President legitimizes the decision.

(3)- **Speech A**	طيب من المنظور الفني بقى، طوال المدة دي بالكامل لكل مؤسسات الدولة، وأنا بتكلم مؤسسات الدولة دي يعني <u>وزارة الخارجية</u> بأرشيفها السري على مدى تاريخ وزارة الخارجية، <u>وزارة الدفاع</u> من المنظور... الأرشيف السري لوزارة الدفاع، <u>المخابرات العامة</u> من منظور المخابرات العامة بأرشيفها السري الذي لا يطّلع عليه أحد... شوفوا الموضوع وردوا، هل لديكم شيء؟ لأ

'And from a technical prescriptive, I've addressed all state institutions (such as <u>the Ministry of Foreign Affairs</u>, the <u>Ministry of Defense</u>, and the <u>General Intelligence Directorate</u>) and I asked them to consult their secret archives to see whether they've an alternative solution or not , and the answer was no'

In other cases, the President mentioned the involvement of official entities without much detail on the qualifications or the members that constitute that entity. He operated under the assumption that these entities are knowledgeable and equipped with expertise in the subject matter to assist the government in taking the correct decision, without explaining their exact expertise.

4.2.2.1.2 Specialized entities authorization

The President indicated early in the speech that there was a Saudi-Egyptian joint coordination committee formed to investigate the issue, as shown in example (4). The President mentioned that this specialized committee had looked into the matter and had decided that the ownership rights of the two islands should be given to Saudi Arabia.

(4)- **Speech A**	إحنا قلنا إن في <u>اللجنة المشتركة</u>.. <u>التنسيقية المشتركة</u> بين مصر والسعودية هيتم فيها تعيين الحدود البحرية بين البلدين

'We've mentioned before that the delimitation of the maritime boundaries between Egypt and Saudi Arabia will be concluded through the <u>Joint Coordination Committee</u> between the two countries.'

(5)- **Speech A**	وبعد <u>الأبحاث اللي تمت في الموضوع بواسطة الأجهزة المختصة واللجان</u> هو ده اللي هنمشي عليه.

'We are going to adhere to the findings of the research conducted by the competent <u>specialized bodies and committees</u> on this issue.'

Throughout the speech there were four cases where the President mentioned the committee and the work it had done as the reason why the decision is legitimate. The President indicated that the report that was issued by the committee resolves the debate of whether the islands belong to the Egyptians or not, and accordingly the islands are officially Saudi sovereign territories. The implication here is that with such a vital issue, the committee members must be qualified for the task. The qualifications of said committee members were not mentioned in the speech; however, the committee was consistently referred to as the specialized committee, as in example (5).

4.2.2.2   Legal document authorization

As indicated in Table 4, there were five legitimations in speech A that relied on the authority of legal documents. The President mentioned that the decision to transfer the islands was in accordance with Presidential Decree Number 27 that was issued under the former Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and the reports submitted by the specialized Saudi-Egyptian joint coordination committee mentioned earlier in the section.

(6)- Speech A	في تعيين الحدود، إحنا لم نخرج عن <u>القرار الجمهوري</u> اللي صدر من ٢٦ سنة واللي <u>تم إيداعه الأمم المتحدة</u>.
	'When delimiting the maritime boundaries, we have not deviated from <u>the Presidential Decree</u> issued and <u>deposited with the UN</u> 26 years ago.'

(7)- Speech A	<u>كل البيانات وكل الوثايق</u> متدينيش غير إن أنا أقول الحق ده بتاعهم...<u>اللجان، اللجان دي لجان فنية متخصصة</u>، مش أي حد يتكلم فيها وعملت ١١ [لجنة]
	'All the <u>data and documents</u> leave me with nothing but to state that this is their right. This data was collected by <u>11 specialized, technical committees</u>, composed of experts, not ordinary people.'

The results illustrate that the President tended to combine both legal document and official body authorization within the same legitimation. In example (6), the President referred

to the presidential decree that was issued 26 years ago and consolidated the statement by saying that the United Nations was notified of the agreement. The same technique was again used in example (7). It is important to highlight though that whenever the President mentioned the presidential decree, there was a time period in the sentence. That is, in example (6), he mentioned that the government made that decision according to the decree that was issued 26 years ago. There was a second time that the decree was mentioned and the President said that the decision was in accordance with 'the presidential degree that was issued in the year [19]90'. Associating the presidential decree with a time period adds legitimacy to the decision by alluding to the fact that other leaders endorsed this border agreement. The time periods mentioned in these utterances suggest that the former President Hosni Mubarak supported this agreement, a strategy that further adds legitimacy to President Al Sisi's decision.

Table 5 summarizes the frequency of using authorizations in both speeches. As previously mentioned, there were no authorizations in speech B.

Table 5. Frequency of Using All Types of Authorization for Legitimation

	Official Entity	Specialized Entity	Legal Documents	Total
Speech A	7 (12.50%)	4 (7.14%)	5 (8.93%)	16 (28.57%)
Speech B	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

4.2.3 Rationalization

According to van Leeuwen (2007), rationalization is legitimation by reference to either the utility of a social practice (instrumental rationalization), or to the "facts of life" (theoretical rationalization). The two strategies were identified in the data and are discussed below.

4.2.3.1 *Instrumental rationalization*

Instrumental rationalization is used to justify decisions by reference to the functions they serve, the needs they fill, or the positive effect they will result in. All the examples contain the same three basic elements: a reference to the decision, a purpose link and the purpose itself. In the data, the purpose clause was preceded by purpose linking words such as: (عشان، حتي) 'in order to' or 'so that', or transitive action verbs in the future tense such as: (هيعمل، بيعمل) 'will lead to', and (هيجيب) 'will get us'.

Table 6. Frequency of Using Instrumental Rationalization for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Number	Percentage
A	A1	0	0%
	A2	3	5.36%
B	B1	5	11.11%
	B2	0	0%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations
for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

There was a total of eight legitimations through instrumental rationalization in both speeches, as depicted in Table 6. This strategy was used to explain the core issue in speech B (the utility subsidy cuts) and the supporting issue that was introduced in speech A (the reasons behind not announcing the islands transfer agreement to the public).

At first glance legitimations utilizing instrumental rationalization seem to be straightforward rational justification of practices or parts of practices by reference to their utility. On closer inspection, however, the purpose clauses take the form of generalized motives or "moralized activities" (van Leeuwen, 2007). Van Leeuwen and Wodak define moralized activities as "activities represented by means of abstract terms that distil from them a quality that triggers reference to positive or negative values, to moral concepts" (van Leeuwen &

54

Wodak, 1999, p. 105). In example (8), the President explains that the government chose to not notify the public of the procedures that were taken to resolve the debate over the ownership of the Tiran and Sanafir islands so as not to cause public distress in either country (Saudi Arabia or Egypt) and to avoid harming the relations between the two countries. It is important to note that this justification is based on the moral value of maintaining public calm and security, rather than the objective utility of said decision.

(8)- Speech A	المراسلات والمكاتبات اللي كانت بتعني هذا الموضوع مكانتش بتتطرح بتتطرح <u>حتى لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدين، حتى لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدين.</u>

'The correspondences on this issue were not circulated <u>so that</u> the <u>public in both countries are not offended</u>.'

Instrumental rationalization was used in speech B too. The President used it to legitimize cutting the utility subsidies. Just as the earlier example, in example (9), the purpose clause referred to a moralized action: giving the subsidies to those who deserve it. While this argument might refer to the benefit that said decision would garner, it was relying on very general motives that are directly related to the cultural value of being just and fair. This section will not discuss the nature of other moral value legitimations, as these will be discussed in the section regarding moral evaluations.

(9)- Speech B	بمنتهى الوضوح كده، للدعم بتاعنا، ضبطه <u>عشان نديّه للمستحق.</u>

'And I'm clearly stating this: we need to control subsidy <u>so that it would be provided for only those who deserve it</u>.'

(10)- Speech B	الـ.. الكهربا اللي هي خدت منك قروش وجنيهات صغيرة دي <u>هتعمل للآخر، لـ.. لقطاع الكهربا ٢٠ مليار جنيه،</u> يعني إيه الكلام دوَّت؟ يعني عايزة أقول إن.. إن الرقم اللي بيتاخد لما بيتجمّع على المستوى الكبير أوي <u>ده بيعمل مبلغ كبير</u>، متستقلّش بيه،

'The few pounds you pay for <u>electricity would eventually provide the electricity sector with EGP 20 billion.</u> This means that you shouldn't

> belittle the small amounts of money you pay because combined, they add up to a large sum.'

There were two cases of legitimations whose purposefulness was established by referring to objective justifications related to the main issue. The two cases are represented in example (10). The President pointed out that the small increment in the electricity bills would supply the Electricity Service with 20 billion pound, which would help develop the service. These were the only two legitimations that relied on objective instrumental authorization.

4.2.3.2   Theoretical rationalization

In the case of theoretical rationalization, legitimation is grounded on some kind of truth, on "the way things are" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 103). All the examples were presented as common-sense facts that were identified either by the use of the past tense or pronouns.

Table 7. Frequency of Using Theoretical Rationalization for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Number	Percentage
A	A1	4	7.14%
	A2	0	0%
B	B1	0	0%
	B2	11	24.44%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations
for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

There was a total of 15 theoretical rationalization legitimations in both speeches, as can be seen in Table 7 above. In speech A, it was used to legitimize the main issue, issue A1 (the transfer of the two islands). While in speech B this strategy was used to explain the supplementary issue that was introduced by the President early in the speech, issue B2 (the hypothesis that the Egyptian economy is in dire straits).

(11)-
Speech
A

ادينا حق الناس لهم

'We gave people [the Saudis] their right'

(12)-
Speech
A

هنديها أرضها

'We're giving [Saudi Arabia] <u>its land</u>'

In examples (11) and (12), the message interpreted is that the ownership rights of the Tiran and Sanafir islands was transferred to the Saudi Arabia, because the land is rightfully theirs, that is a fact of life. The use of the word "حق" 'right' in example (11) as well as the third person pronoun in "أرضها" 'its land' projects the sentences as common-sense, irrefutable facts. All four cases of theoretical legitimation in speech A transmitted the same message and were variations of the utterances depicted in examples (11) and (12).

Theoretical rationalization was used 11 times in speech B to support the hypothesis that the Egyptian economy is facing the hardest challenge it had ever faced in 60 years. A pattern was identified in all legitimation cases, it was *X situation has harmed the Egyptian economy*, *X situation has cost the government Y amount of money and that has harmed the Egyptian economy,* or *X situation has cost the government Y amount of money, which in turn has increased the internal/external debt to/by Z.* There were several mentions of numerical values and amounts of money within the speech to legitimize the argument. Yet, there were also cases whereby utterances were projected without any numerical justifications to enumerate the economic challenges the country has faced. In fact, in example (13), the argument that was presented is that terrorist attacks and corruption have harmed the economic capacity of the country. The same strategy is used in example (14).

(13)-
Speech
B

الإرهاب والفساد كانوا عاملين إضافيين في إضعاف القدرة الاقتصادية لينا .

'Terrorism and corruption <u>were two additional factors that contributed to weakening our economic capabilities</u>.'

(14)-
Speech
B

..لما بنتكلم على إن إحنا في أعقاب ثورة ٢٥ يناير وحتى الآن، فيه حصل ضغوط كتيرة جدًا
<u>كان ليها تأثير سلبي ع الاقتصاد المصري،</u>

'In the wake of the 25th of January Revolution, and till now, <u>there was so much pressure that had a negative impact on the Egyptian economy</u>'

In speech B, the main issue under discussion was the increase in the utility bills, yet the discussion was shifted to the dire straits the Egyptian economy is in. The following are the facts that were given in the speech to support the hypothesis that the Egyptian economic situation is at its worst in 60 years:

i. Egypt has been through four major wars (in 1956, 1962, 1967,1973), which had put the economy under strain and are still affecting the economy until today.

ii. Egypt has faced many terrorist attacks that have negatively affected the tourism industry.

iii. Egypt is facing corruption.

iv. Egypt is facing many financial repercussions that resulted from the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

v. The internal and external debts have significantly risen in the past few years.

Two of those facts were also supported with numerical figures and large amounts of money. The two facts, Egypt is facing financial repercussions that resulted from the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the internal and external debts have significantly risen in the past few years, were argued to be major contributors to the economy's weakness. As depicted in examples (15) and (16) the arguments were supported by mentioning large sums of money and percentages; however, those figure were not cited for accuracy but for dramatic intent. In fact, the necessity of cutting the subsidies was linked to settling the internal debts; nevertheless, it seems that the exact amount of the debt is not essential for the argument to be effective because

58

it could amount for 97% or 98% of the gross domestic product, yet the fact that the debt is

massive was the important aspect of the argument (example16).

(15)-Speech B	وأنا هقول الواقع اللي إحنا فيه: إحنا في خلال الأربع سنين اللي فاتوا فقط لصالح مرتبات اللي أنا اتكلمت عليها ديَّة، اللي زادت ١٥٠ مليار جنيه نتيجة الضغط اللي كان موجود في ٢٠١١ و١٢ ده عمل.. عمل بروز في الدين الداخلي ٦٠٠ مليار.. ٦٠٠ مليار جنيه، الدين الداخلي تعاظم من ٨٠٠ مليار جنيه، ....، ٨٠٠ مليار جنيه قبل ٢٠١١ لـ ٢,٣ تريليون جنيه دلوقتي، وصل لـ ٩٧% من الناتج المحلي

'I'm stating facts: as a result of the EGP 150 billion increases in pays that was due to the immense pressure we faced in 2011 and 2012, there was a EGP 600-billion-pound increase in our internal debt during the past four years. This debt was EGP 800 billion before 2011, and now it reached EGP 2.3 trillion, that is 97% of our Gross Domestic Production!'

(16)-Speech B	في منتهى الأهمية إن نقول وصول الدين لـ ٩٧% أو ٩٨% ده أمر لا يمكن إن إحنا نستمر فيه،

'It's highly important to mention that we cannot go on like this with a 97% or 98% debt.'

Theoretical rationalizations on the surface represent explicit and reasonable arguments,

but invariably embody moral values. They could invoke the values of being just and fair, such

as in examples (11) and (12), or they might get linked to the value of being united as a nation.

The nature of theses morals will be discussed in the following section.

Table 8 summarizes the frequency of using instrumental and theoretical legitimations

in both speeches.

Table 8. Frequency of Using Rationalization for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Instrumental		Theoretical	
		n	%	n	%
A	A1	0	0%	4	7.14%
	A2	3	5.36%	0	0%
B	B1	5	11.11%	0	0%
	B2	0	0%	11	24.44%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations for
speech A, and 45 for speech B.

4.2.4 Moral Evaluation

Legitimation by moral evaluation is based on moral values. In some cases, the moral value is simply asserted by the use of adjectives to evaluate a social practice as legitimate. They could also be invoked by comparing a social practice to another that is associated with positive connotations to legitimize or negative connotations to delegitimize it. Moral values can also be detached from typical justifications by nationalistic phrases and metaphors as well as repetition and rhetorical questions.

4.2.4.1 Evaluation

There were 11 cases in both speeches of direct evaluations through the use of modification. In Arabic, modification can be realized using a variety of structures as the following discussion shows. As can be seen in Table 9, there was a total of five cases in speech A, most of which were used to legitimize Issue A2. Evaluations were used equally in speech B; there were three cases legitimizing issue B1 and three as well for legitimizing issue B2.

Table 9. Frequency of Using Evaluation for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Number	Percentage
A	A1	1	1.79%
	A2	4	7.14%
B	B1	3	6.67%
	B2	3	6.67%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

In speech A, the President used negative phrases to evaluate the way the public and the media have reacted to the Tiran and Sanafir deal with Saudi Arabia. In example (17) a negated verbal phrase was used to evaluate protestors; they were projected to be *unaware* of the harm they are causing the country by reacting in such a negative way to the islands issue. The use of the term *unware* could indicate that the protestors are not conscious about the consequences of

their actions, or it may refer to an assumption that the protestors are ignorant of the complexity of the situation.

(17)- Speech A

دي يا مصريين <u>مش عارفين</u> قد إيه الإيذاء اللي إحنا بنتأذي بيه نتيجة التداول اللي هو <u>بلا حدود في أي موضوع</u>

'You, Egyptians, <u>are not aware</u> of how much harm the <u>unrestricted circulation</u> of any issue causes us'

(18)- Speech A

التداول اللي <u>هو بلا حدود ويلا ضوابط</u>

'I mean the kind of circulation that knows <u>no restrictions or regulations</u>'

The President also emphasized that the public is discussing and disclosing everything regarding the islands issue in a way that does not follow any restrictions or regulations (examples 17 and 18); the evaluation here carries a negative cultural connotation. In Egyptian culture, the phrase 'بلا حدود ولا ضوابط' 'that knows no restrictions or regulations' is used to describe people who do not follow the moral code familiar to the culture, or are seen to be *loose*. Islamic extremists, loose women and western cultures (as viewed by Islamic extremists) have been associated with the phrase, so attaching it to actions of protestors holds a very negative connotation. It is important to note that by negatively evaluating the actions of the people who have been opposing the decision online and in protests, the President delegitimized their actions and their opposition.

The President delegitimized those protesting the decision by negatively evaluating the way they reacted to the news on social media as well as negatively evaluating the people themselves. The President emphasized that it is just not normal to be suspicious and skeptical of the country's official bodies such as the unions, the parliament and the government. He then said that it is not normal to be suspicious of our own self, as depicted in examples (19) and (20). It is worth noting that the term "مش معقول" (which is a negated active participle) can be

translated literally to 'it does not stand to reason'; however, in colloquial Arabic it is usually used to refer to something being 'not normal'. From the tone of the speech, it is believed that the President meant the natural connotation, however, if not, then the negative evaluation still exists since he would have been negatively evaluating the protestor's logic.

(19)-
Speech
A

مش معقول يبقى إحنا ممتشككين في أجهزتنا،

'it's <u>unbelievable</u> that we are <u>skeptical</u> about our own agencies.'

(20)-
Speech
A

مش معقول يبقى إحنا متشككين في نفسنا،

'it's <u>unbelievable</u> that we are <u>skeptical</u> about ourselves'

On the other hand, in speech B, evaluations were used to put emphasis on the dire economic situation Egypt is facing (Issue B1), as can be seen in examples (21), (22) and (23). There were two evaluative adjectives 'very difficult' and 'very huge' (examples 22 and 23), and a verb in the perfect tense; 'exhausted' (example 23) were used to evaluate the Egyptian economic situation. One can argue that these examples could be considered as rational justifications to increasing the electricity bills. The answer to the question *why should the people pay more?* could be because the economic situation in 'Egypt is very difficult'. However, it is worth noting that the elements that signify these examples as acts of legitimation are the evaluative features used to support the hypothesis that the economic situation is very weak; there was not a complete rational, logical argument in any of these utterances (i.e. there were no purpose clauses).

(21)-
Speech
B

قلت إن أنا فيه موضوع اقتصادي صعب جدًا جدًا

'I said there was an <u>extremely tough economic situation</u>'

62

(22)-Speech B

...على إن الواقع الاقتصادي... في مصر تحدي ضخم جدًا وإحنا مش واخدين بالنا منه

'…that the economic situation in Egypt is highly challenging, and we're not aware of that.'

(23)-Speech B

القدرات الاقتصادية لمصر اسْتُنزِفَت

'Egypt's economic capabilities have been exhausted.'

(24)-Speech B

الـ.. الكهربا اللي هي خدت منك قروش وجنيهات صغيرة دي هتعمل للآخر، لـ.. لقطاع الكهربا ٢٠ مليار جنيه، يعني إيه الكلام دؤَت؟ يعني عايزة أقول إن.. إن الرقم اللي بيتاخد لما بيتجمَّع على المستوى الكبير أوي ده بيعمل مبلغ كبير، متستقلِّش بيه،

'The few pounds you pay for electricity would eventually provide the electricity sector with EGP 20 billion. This means that you shouldn't belittle the small amounts of money you pay because combined, they add up to a large sum.'

(25)-Speech B

لغاية ١٠٠٠ كيلو بيُقدَّم له دعم متدرج، بيُقدَّم له دعم متدرج، يعني بيقل الدعم بتاعه لغاية ١٠٠٠ كيلو في الشهر، اللي بعد كده ممكن يكون شِلنا الدعم من عليه. الكلام ده، الـ.. لما نيجي نشوف الاستثمارات بتاعة وزارة الكهربا

'Subsidy will be gradually reduced for those whose electricity consumption is up to 1000 kilowatt per month, but for the consumption category that is over 1000 kw, subsidy will be lifted. And when you check the investments of the Ministry of Electricity, you'll find…'

To address the main issue in speech B: reducing the electricity subsidies (B1), the President used adjectives that are on the opposite spectrum of the ones he used to evaluate the economic situation. The President used adjectives that indicate that cuts would have a minimal effect on the individual citizen and a considerable one on the economy. For instance, in example (24), the President said that the cuts would result in increasing the bills a 'few pennies and pounds' that would collectively produce a 'large amount of money' for the Ministry of Electricity. While in example (25), the President explained that the cuts were not applied at once they were rather applied in a 'gradual manner'.

4.2.4.2   Comparison

The President also used direct comparisons and analogies to legitimize the issues involved in both speeches. There was a total of three cases of comparison in speech A and B, as in Table 10.

Table 10. Frequency of Using Comparisons for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Number	Percentage
A	A1	2	3.57%
	A2	1	1.79%
B	B1	3	6.67%
	B2	0	0%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations
for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

To discuss issue A2, the President evaluated the way the public had discussed the Tiran and Sanafir issue on social media, emphasizing that it was uncontrolled and unharnessed as discussed before.

(26)- Speech A
إوعوا تكونوا فاكرين إن تعاملكم مع مسألة سد النهضة كان في مصلحتنا، أبدًا أبدًا أبدًا

'Do not think that the way you dealt with Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance Dam served our interests; it certainly didn't.'

He then compares the public's reaction to the islands issue to that of the 'Renaissance Dam', as seen in example (26). The Renaissance Dam is a dam that is being built by Ethiopia on the River Nile. It is worth noting that the media reported that the dam can decrease the amount of water that would pass through Egypt to the point of the possibility of the country facing droughts. The media also pointed out that the decrease in the water supply could negatively affect the agriculture industry in Egypt. All in all, the issue of the 'Renaissance Dam' is a source of panic for the Egyptian public, where people are worried about utter ruin

after it is built (Hassan, 2016; Khater, 2016). Therefore, the comparison between the two issues

is very significant. The President used this comparison to further delegitimize the actions of

protestors.

(27) – Speech A	هقولكوا يتيح لنا إيه... طوال السنين اللي فاتت كلها لا نستطيع إن إحنا نعمل تنقيب عن الثروات اللي موجودة في البحار في مياهنا الاقتصادية، ميمكِنش. لغاية دلوقتي، متقدرش تطلع أبدًا طبقًا للقواعد وطبقًا للمعاهدات الدولية إنك تطلع للمياه الاقتصادية المصرية، إنك تقوم بالتنقيب عن البترول أو أي حاجة تاني. التعيين من أقصى الجنوب، أقصى جنوب مصر، حتى أقصى الشمال والشرق. يعني كل الحدود البحرية بيننا وبين السعودية، كلها. مش الحتة دي بس، آدي١. نمرة ٢ مهم أوي إنكوا انتوا تعرفوه، إن إحنا لما عيننا الحدود مع قبرص أتاح لنا، أتاح لنا إن إحنا نعمل تنقيب في المياه الاقتصادية بتاعتنا، فطلع الغاز أو حقل "ظُهْر" ده

'As for what's in it for us, I'm telling you that first, unless our maritime boundaries are delimitated according to international conventions, it would be impossible for us to excavate our exclusive economic zone along our south-to-north, as well as our eastern coasts (that is to say all our maritime boundaries with Saudi Arabia) for natural resources, like oil. This has always been, and still is, the case. Second, it is highly important for you to realize that it was only when we delimited our maritime boundaries with Cyprus that we were allowed to excavate our exclusive economic zone, and consequently we discovered "Zohr" gas field'

Meanwhile, the President evaluated the maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia

by comparing it to another maritime border agreement with Cyprus that has resulted in finding

a natural gas field; the field is called 'Zohr'. Again the comparison here indicates that the two

situations are somewhat similar, alluding to a possibility of economic growth as an unintended

result of the agreement.

(28)- Speech B	إن إحنا عجز الموازنة بيتم مواجهته بالاقتراض. نسيت حاجة أقولهالكوا مهمة بسجلها هنا، كان دايمًا مصر ظروفها الاقتصادية صعبة، والناس اللي متابعة للأحداث افتكروا ٩٠ و٩١، وحجم الأموال اللي كانت متراكمة كديون في الوقت دة دَّت. أنا بقولكم إن في ٩١ حجم الأموال التي أُسقِطَت عن مصر ٤٣ مليار دولار.. هقولها تاني: ده رقم أنا مسؤول عنه، حجم الأموال التي أُسقِطَت عن مصر بين نادي باريس والقروض الأخرى ثم الدعم اللي قُدِّم كان ٤٣ مليار دولار.. ٤٣ مليار دولار وده أعطى.. أعطى للاقتصاد المصري فرصة... هي الحكاية كده، هي الحكاية كده... إحنا.. بنحاول نقل الفجوة بين الموارد وبين المصروفات عشان العجز ميبقاش بالضخامة اللي موجود بيها ديّة

'We face our budget deficit with loans. I forgot to mention that Egypt has always been through tough economic circumstances,

and those who are following the development of our economic conditions would remember how much accumulated debts we had in 1990 and 1991. $43 billion were dropped off that debt in 1991 by the Paris Club and others, and I'm confirming this number... $43 billion. This debt relief gave the Egyptian economy an opportunity to catch its breath. So, we're trying to bridge the gap between our revenues and expenditures so that the deficit wouldn't be as huge as it is now.'

On the other hand, in speech B comparisons were used to legitimize the increase in the electricity bills. In example (28), the President said that in 1990 and 1991 Egypt was pardoned of a total of 43 billion dollars of external debts, which in turn gave the Egyptian economy a chance to flourish. He then explained that the subsidy cuts decision was very similar since it was taken to help the government bridge the gap between the country's expenses and financial resources. The President explained that the increase in the utility bills was an alternative to the typical manner the government dealt with economic strains; that is borrowing from other countries and incurring more debt.

(29)- Speech B	هي مصر، هي أسرة كبيرة، يعني مصر هي أسرتنا الكبيرة وأي أسرة بتصرف بيشوف الموارد بتاعته اللي بتخش له ثم بيشوف مصروفاته، لو الاتنين قد بعض ماشي، طب لو كانت المصروفات أكتر من الموارد؟ هيستلف، وكل ما يستلف أكتر كل ما يبقى عايز الـ.. فاتورة الدين تزيد.. فاتورة الدين تزيد. لو إحنا

'Egypt is our family; and families usually review their revenues and their expenditures; if both ends met, life would be stable, but if the expenditures exceeded the revenues, then loans would be the solution. The more the loans you get, the deeper you are in debt.'

The President reinforced the message that the increase in the bills is a means to increase the government's funds so as not to borrow money from other countries through an analogy that was repeated verbatim twice during speech B. It is telling that the President drew a comparison between how the country runs its economy and how a typical family runs it finances, as in example (29). The President explained that if a family's expenses were more than its income then it would be inevitable for it to be indebted to others. This analogy was repeated one more time in the speech.

4.2.4.3   Moral Abstraction

Moral abstractions occur when practices are referred to in "abstract ways that moralize them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 99). When using moral abstraction speakers tend to align arguments with positive cultural values and norms for legitimation or with negative values when delegitimizing. According to van Leeuwen, moral abstraction is one of the least explicit forms of legitimation. It appears be a straightforward description of what is going on rather than an explicitly formulated argument. Speakers tend to foreground certain aspects and background others or they may resort to nationalistic discourse to justify social practices (van Leeuwen, 2007; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Table 11. Frequency of Using Moral Abstraction for Legitimation

Speech	Issue	Number	Percentage
A	A1	20	35.71%
	A2	5	8.93 %
B	B1	20	44.44%
	B2	0	0%

Note: percentages are calculated from a total of 56 legitimations
for speech A, and 45 for speech B.

Legitimations using moral abstractions were the most frequent in both speeches. Speech A had 25 cases of moral abstraction, whereas speech B had 20, as depicted in Table 11. In speech A, 20 legitimations using moral abstraction were used to justify the main issue A1, while five were used to justify issue A2. In speech B, all cases of moral abstraction were used to legitimize the main issue B1. It is important to note that cases of moral abstraction are so general and vague that they could apply to the supplementary issue (B2) as well.

In the present study, cases of moral abstraction were identified by means of foregrounding and backgrounding, linguistic choices as well as repetition. The discourse could

resonate with the public's nationalistic, religious or social values. The following are the values identified in speech A when addressing issue A1 (the transfer of sovereignty of the islands):

i. Values of *justice and fairness (god fearing)*. This is a value that was invoked repeatedly in the speech. The word "حق" 'right/rightful/righteousness' and its plural 'rights' were repeated 14 times in the speech. In fact, the President emphasized that his mother had taught him, when he was a child, to be fair and to never covet what does not belong to him. The President did so through an anecdote he narrated in the beginning of the speech; the story will be discussed in detail in the following section about mythopoesis. Other cases involved saying that the government insisted on abiding by the exact agreement terms that were agreed upon by the previous government. The following examples (30) and (31) show case the use of this value.

(30)- Speech A	إذا كنت انت بتحب الحق صحيح، لما تيجي تتعامل مع الناس في حقوقها، اعطيها حقها، كده.

'If you really believe in <u>righteousness</u>, then you should give people their <u>due</u>'

(31)- Speech A	وبالمناسبة إحنا أصرينا على عدم تغيير أي نقطة، زي ما طلع القرار الجمهوري سنة ٩٠

'And by the way, <u>we insisted on not modifying any section in the 1990 Presidential Decree</u>'

ii. Values of *ownership over land*. Part of the Egyptian rural ideology is being proud of the ownership of your land. In fact, it is a shameful act to sell your land in rural Egypt. So, there were instances that values of being possessive and prideful of your land was invoked, as in examples (32) and (33). It is important to note that were cases where the wording of the phrase would invoke the value of being *just* as well.

(32)-
Speech
A

مصر لم تفرط أبدًا في ذرة رمل من حقوقها

'[The Egyptian government] <u>did not relinquish a grain of sand</u> from Egypt's lands'

(33)-
Speech
A

انت <u>مبتديش أرضك لحد</u>

'You are not <u>giving away</u> your lands'

iii. Values of *stability and public safety*. This value was invoked in the speech more frequently than others. The President used phrases to indicate that unless the agreement to transfer the ownership of the islands was signed, the country might face losing an ally, getting into an international dispute, or face political upheavals/chaos (example 36). The message was: *For the sake of safety, this agreement had to pass.* In other words, by signing this agreement, the government was serving in the public's interest.

(34)-
Speech
A

يعني <u>هنخش في مشاحنات وكده</u>... زي ما كل الناس... القضايا اللي بتشوفوها في العالم كله. لأ إحنا مش هنخش في .....

'This means <u>we are going to get involved in some hassles and disputes,</u> like all the rest around the world. No, we are not going to do that'

(35)-
Speech
A

هو إحنا <u>هندير أزمة</u> مع السعودية ولا هنديها أرضها؟ مش كده ولا إيه؟ هنديها أرضها ولا <u>هندير أزمة</u>؟ أزمة يعني إيه؟ يعني <u>هنخش في مشاحنات وكده</u>... زي ما كل الناس... القضايا اللي بتشوفوها في العالم كله

'The options we have are to either <u>manage a crisis</u> with Saudi Arabia or give them their land. But do you realize <u>what a crisis would mean</u>? It would mean that we get involved in <u>disputes and hassles</u>, like all the rest of the world.'

(36)-
Speech
A

الكيان العربي اللي <u>مجروح في العراق</u>، الكيان العربي اللي مجروح في سوريا، الكيان العربي اللي <u>مجروح في اليمن</u>، الكيان العربي اللي <u>مجروح في ليبيا</u>، نكمل عليه بقى... <u>نكمل عليه</u>؟!

'Do you want to <u>inflict more injury</u> on the Arab Entity that is already <u>injured in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Libya</u>? Is that what you want?

The strategy of moral abstraction was used to delegitimize the actions of protestors as well. The strategy was used to attach values to the actions of those who discussed the issue online and protested in mass street protests. Predictably, all the values were negative.

i. Values of *causing public and self-insecurity and harm*. Those who reacted negatively to the news of the islands transfer to the Saudi's sovereignty were associated with public and self-harm as well as degradation, as in examples (37), (38) and (39). Those who opposed the decision online or in protests were described as causing harm to themselves and the country (example 37 and 39).

(37)- Speech A	انتوا بتأذوا نفسكم وبتأذوا بلدكم والله والله والله.
	'I solemnly swear that <u>you're harming yourselves as well as your country</u>'
(38)- Speech A	من فضلكوا، أرجو إن الموضوع ده، أرجو الموضوع ده منتكلمش فيه تاني. أرجو إن إحنا منتكلمش فيه تاني. <u>انتم بتسيئوا لنفسكم</u>
	'I implore you not to open that issue for discussion again. <u>You're wronging yourselves</u> this way'
(39)- Speech A	طريقتنا في تداول الموضوع والتعامل معاه <u>بتؤذينا وبتضعف موقفنا</u>
	'The way you [individuals] deal with the <u>issue harms us and weakens our position.</u>'

In addition, an argument was made whereby people (protestors) should stop discussing the islands issue because they are wronging themselves. It is important to remember the earlier comparison whereby the public's reaction to issue of the Renaissance Dam was invoked. Thus, from examples 37, 38, 39 as well as 26, one

can argue that opposing the government's decision was associated with causing harm not only to individuals but also to the country as a whole.

Moral Abstractions were used in speech B as well. The majority were answers to the question *why should people pay more money for electricity?* but there were some that answered the question *why should the electricity cuts be done this way?* The following are the values invoked:

i. Values of *justice and fairness.* Similar to speech A, in speech B the word "حق" 'right' was used to indicate that the changes in the subsidies were done to support those who actually deserve the subsidy. This value is represented in examples (40) and (41).

(40)- Speech B	قلت إن إحنا هيبقى فيه ترشيد للدعم، لكن الدعم يروح لمستحقيه، يروح لمين؟ لمستحـ.. للي هو الإنسان اللي محتاج بالفعل
	'I've said that subsidy would be regulated and reduced, but only in order to grant it to those who <u>deserve it, namely those who really need it</u>'

(41)- Speech B	ضبط للاقتصاد بتاعنا، ضبط لـ.. ، بمنتهى الوضوح كده، للدعم بتاعنا، ضبطه عشان نديّه للمستحق.
	'We need to control our economy, and I'm clearly stating this: we need to control subsidy so it would be provided for only those <u>who deserve it</u>.'

ii. Values of *unity and solidarity.* The picture was drawn where the cooperation and unity of the Egyptian public is the thing that would help revive the economy. Therefore, for the sake of unity pay more for the electricity bills. The phrase *all of us together* was used five times throughout the speech. Examples (42), (43), (44) and (45) showcase this strategy. Interestingly, unlike speech A, the state's affairs were not separated from the individual's in speech B; contrarily the individual was

depicted to be an integral agent that is responsible for the country's fate and future

along with the government (examples 44 and 45).

(42)-Speech B قلت إن أنا فيه موضوع اقتصادي صعب جدًا جدًا   أنا مش هقدر أواجهه لوحدي هواجهه أو هنواجهه كلنا مع بعض

'I said there was an extremely tough economic situation that I can't face on my own; we have to face it all of us together'

(43)-Speech B يعني الدولة لوحدها مش هتقدر تنجح فيه إلا إذا كان فيه تعاون وإجماع من الشعب المصري الكامل لمواجهة هذا

'The State alone cannot do that; there has to be some collaboration and consensus on the part of the entire Egyptian people in order to face it (this economic situation).'

(44)-Speech B هي بلد بتاعتنا كلنا، مش بتاعتي أنا بس ولا بتاعة الحكومة ولا بتاع المسؤولين، دي بتاعتنا كلنا، ومش هتكبر ولا تنهض إلا بيينا كلنا.

'It's OUR country, not mine only, not the Government's, and not the officials'... it belongs to all of us, and it will never grow or rise without us all'

(45)-Speech B وطن بالكامل واقف جنب بعضه عشان بيعمل مستقبله، بيعمل مستقبله.

'A nation whose people are all supporting one another in order to build their future.'

iii. Economic values. References to being debt free and not needing to borrow from others were invoked throughout the speech. The word *debt* was repeated 10 times. Take for instance the comparison mentioned before where the President compares between the country's economy and family finances, this indicates that the negative value associated with being indebted was drawn and invoked within the speech. Egyptians have very bad connotations to being indebted to others. In fact, culturally,

Egyptians believe that debt humbles people. Moreover, religiously, Muslim Egyptians believe that those who die without settling their debts will be questioned about them in the afterlife. There was an emphasis on the need to start settling the country's debts, and the need to reduce deficits that push the government to borrow money (examples 46 and 47). Thus, cutting the subsidies would facilitate reducing not only budget deficits, but also external and internal debts.

(46)- Speech B	لا يمكن إن إحنا نستمر فيه، يعني إحنا لازم نبتدي نسدد.. <u>نسدد في هذا الدين ونقلله..</u> <u>نسدد في هذا الدين ونقلله،</u>
	'We cannot go on this way; <u>we have to start paying off this debt and try to reduce it</u>.'

(47)- Speech B	<u>بالتالي العجز معناه سلف على طول أو اقتراض،</u> لو عندنا عجز ٣٠٠ مليار يبقى هنستلف ٣٠٠ مليار، عندنا عجز ٢٥٠ هنقترض ٢٥٠، <u>كل ما هنقلل عجزنا كل ما هيقلل من الاقتراض بتاعنا،</u> كويس
	'The deficit consequently means non-stop loans. So if we have a 300 billion in deficit, it means we're going to request a 300 billion loan. <u>The less the deficit, the less the loan.</u>'

iv.   Values of *being grateful*. There were cases when the value of being grateful to those who were good to you before was invoked. There were instances where the argument was: the country has given you so much, so give some back because it deserves it (and you should be grateful). Examples (48) and (49) represent this value.

(48)- Speech B	كل ما الحكومة تقول تدي الجنيهات دي يقولك إيه؟ ده قليل. طيب، لما نيجي نزود إحنا جنيهات صغيرة كده في الكهربا ولا في المترو ولا في ده يقولك: لأ لو سمحت ده كتير! يعني الجنيهات بتاعتنا إحنا ‹laughing› الجنيهات بتاعتنا إحنا ملهاش قيمة وجنيهاتكوا انتوا ليها قيمة؟
	'Whenever the government pays such small amounts of money, people object that it's too little, but when it charges the same amounts on people, whether in the form of electricity bills, subway tickets or the like, people object that it's too much! Does

this mean that our money is <laughing> worthless, and yours is worthy?'

(49)-
Speech
B

وأنا عايز أقولكوا على حاجة، يعني... وانتوا هتقفوا جنبي، مش عشاني أنا، عشانها هي، مش عشان أنا.. مش عشان أنا مكاني هنا، لأ، <u>عشان هي تستحق منكم مصر الـ.. أيوة مصر. مصر تستحق منكم اللي ادتكم على مدى آلاف السنين ما أنتم فيه تستحق منكم إن انتم تدوها وتقفوا جنبها ولا تتخلوا عنها أبدًا</u>

'And I want to tell you something, and I know you'll support me in it, not for my own sake, <u>but for Egypt's sake, because Egypt does deserve your infinite support and loyalty in return for all what it granted you over thousands of years.</u>'

4.2.5 Mythopoesis

Legitimation can also be achieved through storytelling. In moral tales, protagonists are rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices, or restoring the legitimate order (van Leeuwen, 2007). There was one case that was narrated as a moral story that was also used to invoke the moral value of being just and fair as discussed before. It was used in speech A, before the President started to address the Tiran and Sanafir issue. The following is an example of this strategy.

(50)-
Speech
A

في ظروفنا الاقتصادية الصعبة دي كان ممكن نفكر أفكار شريرة... أفكار شريرة، أو أفكار حتى كتير من السياسيين بيفكروا فيها والقيادات بتاعة الدول بتفكر فيها. يقوم يقفز على بلد ياخد خيرها، يفقر على بلد ياخد إيه؟؟ خيرها. كان ممكن أوي والظروف كلها كانت سامحة وما زالت إن إحنا نقوم نعتدي على دولة أو نثأر بقى لقتلانا وشهدائنا في سيرة الـ ٢١ مصري اللي دُبح دول، خلاص بقى تهديد للأمن القومي، وده... إرهاب وهو ما زال إرهاب، وداعش موجودة حتى الآن، لكن إحنا بنقول أبدًا، لا يمكن نعتدي ونخش على أشقائنا هناك ونستبيح أرضهم ناخد حاجة من هناك. كان ممكن ده يحصل، لكن إحنا قلنا... واللي علمتني دي والدتي، قالتلي: "متطمعش في اللي في إيد الناس، حتى لو كان اللي في إيد الناس ده والدك، متطمعش، متبصش فيه، ودايمًا اطمع في اللي بيدي للناس" اللي علمتني اللي أنا بقولكوا عليه ده إني مطمعش في حد والدتي الله يرحمها، قالتلي: "إوعى! إوعى" أنا بقولكوا كلام حقيقي، هي عند ربنا، هو اللي هيجازي، قالتلي: "إوعى تبص للي في إيد الناس، ولا تاخده أبدًا. اللي عطى الناس يعطيك، واللي يرزق الناس يرزقك".". آدي الحكاية. وإحنا... أنا بديت البداية دية بس عشان إحنا لا بنبيع أرضنا... لحد، بس خلي بالكوا، وكمان مبناخدش أرض حد، مهمة أوي الحكاية دية

'Given the tough economic circumstances we're going through, we could have devised evil plots that many world politicians and leaders would usually adopt, like pouncing on the riches of other countries and usurping them… we could have done that. We had, and still have, the opportunity to assault other countries under the pretext of avenging our martyrs, taking advantage of the recent killings of 21 Egyptians, of such

> terrorist acts, and of the existence of ISIS as a threat on our national security. But we would never do that; we would never invade the land of a brother to seize what he has. I was taught this by my deceased mother, who told me not to covet that which is another's. I'm telling you this because it is very important that you know we neither sell our land, nor usurp others' land.'

In example (50), the President told a story in which the government and the army (led by the President) were the noble protagonist that chose not to appropriate the resources of other lands (resources that are not rightfully theirs) because these actions would go against the values the President's mother had taught him when he was young. The President emphasized that his mother had taught him not to be greedy and to never covet what belongs to others. The moral of the story was: *be just and fair*.

4.3   The Role of Context in Legitimations

The chapter has gone over how each of the main four strategies authorization, rationalization, moral evaluations and mythopoesis was utilized within the two speeches in the data set. The second part of the results compares between the choice of strategies within each speech.

This study looked at legitimation strategies in two speeches. The first speech (speech A) addressed a political and legal matter, which is the transfer of the Tiran and Sanafir islands to Saudi's sovereignty. A decision that has incited a large segment of the Egyptian people and has affected the popularity of President Al Sisi. The second speech (speech B) addressed the government's decision to cut utility subsidies, which is an economic matter. A decision that affects the finances of the Egyptian public negatively. The study found that there was a total of 56 legitimation acts in speech A, whereas there were 45 in speech B, as in Table 12. It seems that either the nature of speech A (a political and legal issue), or its context (being a high stake issue) demanded more legitimation acts in the speech.

Table 12. Counts of Legitimations in Data

Speech	Issue	Legitimations		Total
		n	%	
A	A1	43	76.79%	
	A2	13	23.21%	56
B	B1	31	68.89%	
	B2	14	31.11%	45

Note: the tabulation did not include cases of mythopoesis.

As indicated before, the President shifted the focus of each speech. In speech A, the President addressed two issues: the maritime agreement with Saudi Arabia (Issue A1), and the decision not to inform the public of the negotiations that preceded the agreement until it was signed (Issue A2). The President did the same in speech B, the two issues were: the electricity subsidy cuts and the resulting increase in the electricity bills (B1), as well as the hypothesis that the Egyptian economy is in the worst it has been in 60 years (B2).

As can be seen in Table 12, in speech A, there were 43 legitimations addressing the main issue (A1) which amounts to 76.79% of all the legitimations in the speech; whereas, there were 13 acts of legitimation addressing the supplementary issue (A2) amounting for 23.21% of legitimations. On the other hand, in speech B, 68.89% of the legitimations were addressing the main issue (B1) and 31.11 % addressed the supplementary issue (B2).

Table 13. Frequency of Legitimation Strategies in Both Speeches

	Speech A		Speech B	
	n	%	n	%
Authorization	16	28.57%	0	0%
Rationalization	7	12.50%	16	35.56%
Moral Evaluation	33	58.93%	29	64.44%
Total	56		45	

Moral Evaluations were the most frequent legitimations in both speeches, with 58.93% in speech A and 64.44% in speech B. In Table 13, it is apparent that while authorizations were the second most frequent strategies used in speech A with 16 counts (28.57%), there were zero cases of authority-based legitimation in speech B. On the other hand, in speech B, the second most frequent strategy was rationalization (35.56%). It seems that while legitimations were divided among the three main strategies in speech A and included one case of mythopoesis, they were divided on rationalization and moral evaluations only in speech B.

Table 14. Distribution of LSs in Speech A

	Issue A1		Issue A2		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Authorization						
Official entity	7	12.50%	0	0%	7	12.50%
Specialized entity	4	7.14%	0	0%	4	7.14%
Legal document	5	8.93%	0	0%	5	8.93%
Rationalization						
Instrumental	0	0%	3	5.36 %	3	5.36%
Theoretical	4	7.14%	0	0%	4	7.14%
Moral Evaluation						
Evaluation	1	1.79%	4	7.14%	5	8.93%
Comparison	2	3.57%	1	1.79%	3	5.36%
Moral Abstraction	20	35.71%	5	8.93%	25	44.64%

Tables 14 and 15 show that out of all the subcategories moral abstraction was the highest in frequency in both speeches, with 44.64% in speech A, 35.71% to legitimize issue A1, and 8.93% addressing issue A2. In speech B there were 20 cases of moral abstraction all addressing the main issue (B1) amounting for 44.44%. In speech A, moral abstraction was

followed by official entity authorizations (12.50%) and legal document authorizations (8.93%).

While in speech B, moral abstractions were followed by theoretical rationalizations (24.44%)

and evaluations (13.33%).

Table 15. Distribution of LSs in Speech B

	Issue B1		Issue B2		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Rationalization						
Instrumental	5	11.11%	0	0 %	5	11.11%
Theoretical	0	0%	11	24.44%	11	24.44%
Moral Evaluation						
Evaluation	3	6.67%	3	6.67%	6	13.33%
Comparison	3	6.67%	0	0%	3	6.67%
Moral Abstraction	20	44.44%	0	0%	20	44.44%

Chapter Five: Discussion

Legitimation refers to the process by which speakers justify, accredit or license an action or a behavior to an audience. Typically, legitimation is achieved through argumentation; that is, a speaker would provide an argument to explain a social behavior, decision, thought or declaration that they assume the interlocutor does not agree with or endorse. A speaker attempts to justify their action or behavior, in most cases, in an endeavor to regain their interlocutor's acceptance or support. Legitimation is carried out by different types of arguments, from factual and objective information to relying on authoritative measures. The nature of the discourse or the issue being addressed could affect the types of legitimation used.

This study analyzed two speeches delivered by Egyptian President Al Sisi. The first speech was given after the Egyptian government had signed a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia transferring the islands of Tiran and Sanafir to Saudi sovereignty. The other speech was given after the government had decided to cut the subsidies they used to provide on the electricity service. Both speeches were delivered because the general public reacted negatively to the news of either decision. The President used varied strategies to legitimize these decisions in his speeches. Using means of CDA and utilizing van Leeuwen's legitimation framework (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) this study identified the legitimation strategies in both speeches.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

Having discussed each strategy in detail in Chapter Four, this chapter looks at how these strategies were used within each speech and how the context of the speech has played into the President's choice of legitimations. To help draw conclusions and facilitate making interpretations, the legitimation cases of each speech are looked at collectively. Then a comparison is drawn between the two speeches.

5.1.1 Legitimation Strategies in Political Speeches

5.1.1.1 *Legitimating a legal and political issue: The maritime border agreement*

Van Leeuwen stated that acts of legitimation could be achieved through authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, or mythopoesis (2007; 2008). Authorization could be achieved through relying on the authority of individuals who have institutional power invested in them, experts, or laws and regulations. The data of this study revealed that the second most frequent strategy utilized in speech A was authorization (28.57%). The President relied on impersonal authorities (legal documents) and personal authorities (official entities and specialized entities) to legitimize the decision to transfer the islands to Saudi sovereign territory. Legitimations based on legal documents were the least frequent among the three authorization means with (8.93%), while legitimations based on the authority of specialized entities were more frequent (7.14%) and official entities authorizations were the most apparent in the speech (12.50%).

Interestingly, personal authorizations in this data were different from several previous studies of legitimation (Ali et al., 2016; Reyes, 2011; Sadeghi et al., 2014; Vaara, 2014; van Leeuwen, 2007). The President tended to refer to official entities rather than personal names or official positions. That is, the President referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the General Intelligence Directorate, the Joint Coordination Committee rather than specific positions in any of these entities. This act seems to have been done to allude to the involvement of several official entities in the decision; thus, adding credibility and legality to the decision. The entities were invoked not for their sound and rational arguments, but rather to indicate that the decision was taken after they were consulted. This result is in contrast with many studies (Ali et al., 2016; Reyes, 2011; Sadeghi et al., 2014; van Leeuwen, 2007) that found that authoritative figures were referred to either by names or positions. However, this finding is similar to Rojo and van Dijk's (1997) study, where they found that the Spanish

Secretary referred to governmental agencies (lawyers, military, police officers) as a means to add legitimacy to the act of expelling Moroccan immigrants by referring to the involvement of all these official agencies.

There is another difference in the way personal authorizations were used in this data set. Ali et al. (2016) found that authoritative figures were quoted within newspapers to legitimize the act of withdrawing army forces from Iraq. Varaa (2014) also found cases were arguments were reported because they were uttered by an expert or an authoritative figure, these utterances were often preceded by the expression "according to". Studies have reported that usually utterances or actions of authoritative figures would be quoted or referenced to legitimize a social practice (Reyes, 2011; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). Yet, in this data set official and specialized entities were never quoted, they were never the agents or the doers in the utterances. As discussed earlier, these entities were probably invoked to indicate that they were consulted before the government (i.e. the President) took the decision to sign the agreement. Moreover, it might be that these references were used to indicate that this is a well thought out and deliberated decision that was not taken lightly.

Legitimations based on the authority of legal documents could have been used for the same reasons as personal authorizations. Referring to legal documents or reports produced by the joint coordination committee would add legality to the decision, yet referring to these documents might also indicate that the issues at hand were taken seriously, especially since the content of these documents was never mentioned. The President would state that the reports ensured that the islands rightfully belong to the Saudis, yet the data in these reports was never mentioned. Therefore, it stands to reason that the purpose behind all the legitimations through authorization (personal and impersonal) was to make it sound like the decision was taken after long deliberations, as indicated in Figure 2.
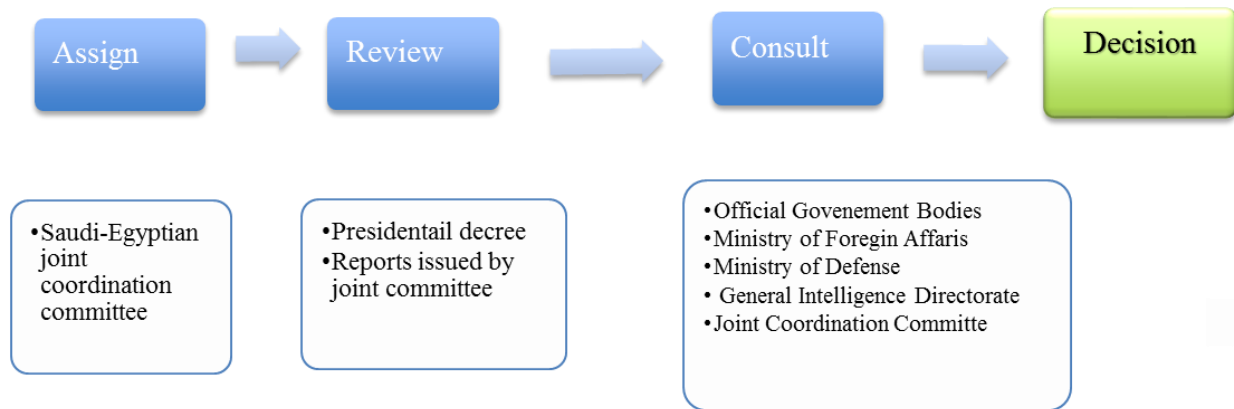
Figure 2. Decision-making Process

It is important to note that legitimations that referred to the Presidential Decree always referred to a specific time period as well. For example, the President said once that the decision was in accordance to 'the presidential decree issued 26 years ago' and another time he indicated that the government insisted on honoring 'the presidential decree issued in [19]90'. I discussed before that the choice of referring to the decree probably added a sense of legality to the decision. Yet, the choice to always associate the decree with a time period when Al Sisi was not the President could have been done to indirectly assert that the root of the problem was not the doing of the current government, rather it is the doing of the former president, Hosni Mubarak.

On another note, the least frequent legitimation strategy used in speech A was rationalization (12.5%). In fact, theoretical rationalizations were only (7.14%) in the speech A. This finding is similar to that of van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) since they reported that theoretical rationalizations were among the least frequently used strategies in their study (7%). In their sample of Austrian notices refusing applicants' requests to immigrate to Austria, van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) found that the strategy of theoretical rationalization was one of the least common means of legitimation. Ali et al. (2016) indicated as well that rational arguments were among the least frequent legitimations in their data set. Similarly, Rojo and

van Dijk (1997) reported that there were very few cases that the Spanish Secretary relied solely on the truth value of an argument without any evaluative aspects.

Van Leeuwen explained that theoretical rationalization is grounded on "the way things are" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 103), i.e. on the truth value. The President used this strategy three time during the speech, the cases were used to indicate that the islands were *rightfully* and originally Saudi territory. The President explained that the islands had always belonged to the Saudi's (the islands are *rightfully* theirs). The argument interpreted from these utterances is that since the lands were never owned by Egyptians, then it stands to reason that that the public should not react so negatively to the news. These *factual* statements may also draw on the deep-rooted Egyptian moral value of being fair.

Moral abstraction was the highest legitimation strategy used in speech B (35.71%). As indicated in the previous chapter the President invoked three moral values: values of fairness, ownership over land, and stability and security. The recurrent arguments invoked in the speech had the subtexts of giving people their rights and that land is of utter importance. These values were probably invoked to legitimize the decision by indirectly indicting that this decision aligns with the Egyptian's cultural and religious values. It can be argued that the message in the speech was that this decision is right because it adheres to Egyptians norms and values. Moral values were additionally invoked in the anecdote the President used. The President narrated a story that highlighted how the Egyptian army chose not to appropriate the resources of other countries, taking what is not rightfully theirs, because they are moral and noble. The story ends by highlighting that the person who taught Al Sisi not to wish for what is not his (not being greedy) is his mother. It can be argued that all these moral legitimations would not only align the decision with the normative Egyptian values, but they could also provoke the nationalistic or religious ideologies of the right winged segment of the public and stir emotional reactions in the general public.

One of the values that were relied on in the speech is the value of stability and security. The argument made is that for the sake of stability and security the maritime border agreement had to pass. It was notated that lexical words used in some of the arguments to suggest that if this agreement did not pass the country would face serious political repercussions, similar to what is happening in Syria, Libya, Iraq, or Yemen. Lexical items such as 'crisis' and 'dispute' were also used to indicate that if the agreement was not signed the country would be facing dire consequences. This finding is similar to a strategy that was apparent in a study conducted by Reyes (2011). Reyes (2011) reported that American presidents project an image that unless the action that is being legitimized is taken in the present, the future will be negatively affected (repeated terrorist attacks).

On the other hand, it is possible that comparisons were used in the speech to hint that the agreement might ultimately benefit the country. The President elaborated in the speech that the maritime border agreement with Cyprus has resulted in finding the 'Zohr' natural gas field. What was interesting about this comparison is that without directly saying that these situations are similar and that it is expected that economic benefits might result from the Saudi maritime border agreement, the President indirectly hinted that the Saudi agreement might result in unplanned economic benefits as well.

The President indicated through legitimations by instrumental rationalization that the government did not announce to the public the procedures behind the decision to sign the agreement until the agreement was signed in order to avoid creating public disputes between the two countries. The President then using the strategies of evaluation, comparisons and moral abstraction delegitimized the actions of the Egyptians who had protested against the transfer of the islands to Saudi sovereignty. Protestors were projected in the speech to be harming the security of their country, a value that does not align with the Egyptian culture, they were also associated with lexical constructions that are more commonly used to refer to immoral acts (the

use of the construction *knows no restrictions or regulations*) and events that inspire utter panic in the President's supporters (the Grand Renaissance Dam). Using discursive strategies to delegitimize the protesters might have been used to indicate to the public that these protests need to stop for the sake of security and stability, while at the same time managing to exclude these protestors and marginalize them.
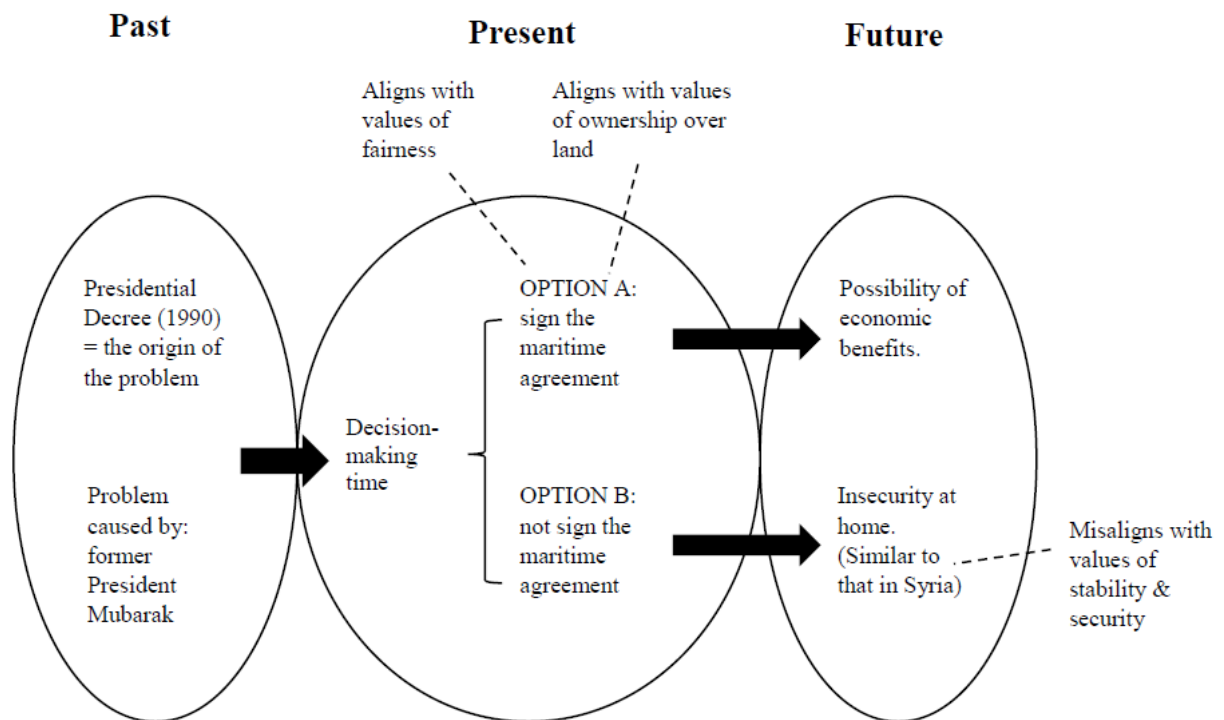

Figure 3. Timeline Achieved Through Varied LSs in Speech A

All in all, it seems that the varied legitimations used in the speech draw the mental image of a timeline as indicated in Figure 3. This timeline indicates that the problem the current government is facing originated in the past (26 years ago) and was created by a former government. Yet, in the present time the current government, led by President Al Sisi, had to take a decision. The government decided to sign the maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia, returning the Tiran and Sanafir islands to their rightful owners. This decision is the right one to take because it aligns with values of fairness and ownership over land. Moreover, if this agreement passes, Egypt might benefit economically in the future. On the other hand, if

the country did not sign the maritime border agreement, then the country might face political insecurity and instability, which misaligns with the Egyptian value of wanting to be secure. It is important to remember that since this is a high stakes political issue there were different strategies used to assert that the decision to sign the agreement was not taken lightly.

5.1.1.2   *Legitimating an economical issue: The electricity subsidy cuts*

The results revealed that when legitimizing an economic issue, the President utilized only strategies of rationalization (35.56%) and moral evaluation (64.44%). There were no cases of legitimation through authorization or mythopoesis. This finding is in contrast with other studies that found that position-based and expert authorities were utilized when legitimizing economic issues (Vaara, 2014; Vaara & Monin, 2010). The lack of authority-based legitimations might indicate that the economic nature of the speech invokes more rational sounding arguments. The lack of authorizations could also be interpreted that unlike the other speech in this sample, there was no need to indicate that the decision was taken after a long process. There were no utterances used to refer to acts of consultation. It is important to note that compared to the islands issue this is a low stakes problem, so long deliberations were probably not needed.

On the other hand, legitimations through rationalization constituted 35.56% of the legitimation cases in the speech. What is interesting is that most of these rational arguments were addressing the secondary issue introduced by the President early in the speech. The President said that the Egyptian economy was in dire straits in the beginning of the speech and most of the rational arguments (24.44%) made in the speech were used to support that statement. The President used legitimations through theoretical rationalization to indicate that the Egyptian economy was in its worst state in 60 years. It was stated that wars, corruption, terrorism, and consequences of the 2011 Egyptian revolution have negatively affected the economy and have resulted in an increase in the internal and external debt; large sums of money and figures were used to support these arguments. In fact, at one point the President said that

the internal debt accounts for 97% or 98% of the gross domestic product. It is possible that these legitimations were used to impress on the public the necessity of cutting the subsidies. The argument here was that the economic situation is in such a desperate state that any measures to salvage the economy should be accepted and welcomed by the public. It is worth noting that these legitimations through theoretical rationalization also indicate that the problem the country is facing in the present was not the product of any misdoings of the current government, rather the problem started 60 years ago and hence was inherited.

Similar to the speech addressing the issue of the Tiran and Sanafir islands, legitimations through moral abstractions were the highest in frequency (44.44%) in the speech legitimizing the electricity subsidy cuts. This finding is similar to other studies that have found that the most frequently used strategy used to legitimize controversial decisions is moral abstraction (van Leeuwen, 2007; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Through varied utterances the President indicated that the decision to cut the subsidies was the right decision to take because it would align with the Egyptian values of justice and fairness, unity and solidarity, being grateful to those who have been good to you, and not wanting to be indebted to others. These legitimations could help add to the credibility of the decision; they also result in emotional connections with or positive reactions in the public. As indicated before, invoking such values addresses some of the nationalistic and religious ideologies of a large segment of the public.

One of the values that was invoked in the speech was hating to be indebted to others. The President indicated that unless the country increased its resources it would have to borrow more money from foreign countries, an act that would make the country more indebted to others. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Egyptians have negative connotations to being indebted to others. Egyptians believe that debt humbles you to those you owe. In fact, linguistically in Arabic the word "دين" 'debt' is associated with submission and humiliation (Saalih al-Munajjid, n.d.). Moreover, Muslim Egyptians have a religious belief that if a man dies his family inherits

his debts and he/she is detained in the afterlife until his family settles the debts. Therefore, it is important to note that legitimations that appealed to the Egyptian values of wanting to be debt free probably encourage the public to accept the decision and its subsequent effect of increasing the electricity bills. It seems that the President used analogies to reinforce this message as well. The President made a comparison between the country's economy and a typical family's finances emphasizing that if a family spends more than it makes it would need to borrow and borrow until it is deeply in debt. Again this analogy reinforces the emotional reaction in the public of wanting to be debt free.

In contrast, the President stated that if the subsidies were cut there might be a chance for the economy to improve. There were two cases of legitimation through instrumental rationalization whereby the President stated that the cuts would result in a 20 billion increase in electricity service income. The President also indicated that this increase in the income might give the economy the chance it had needed to flourish. The subsidy cuts would result in an economic boom that is similar to what happened in 1990 when Egypt was pardoned of 43 billion dollars of external debts. It could be argued that these legitimations create a mental image of a "hypothetical future" (Reyes, 2011) where if the decision being legitimized, the subsidy cuts, is enacted the future will be brighter (less debt), but if it is ignored then the future would be gloomy (more debt).

All in all, it seems that the varied legitimations used in the speech draw a similar mental image to that achieved in the speech addressing the islands issue, as indicated in Figure 4. That is a timeline where the problem the current government is facing originated in the past (60 years ago) and was created by factors out of the current governments control. Yet, in the present time the current government, led by President Al Sisi, has to take a decision to cut the electricity subsidies to attempt to salvage the situation. The government argued that this decision would improve the situation since it would result in an increase of 20 billion pounds in income.
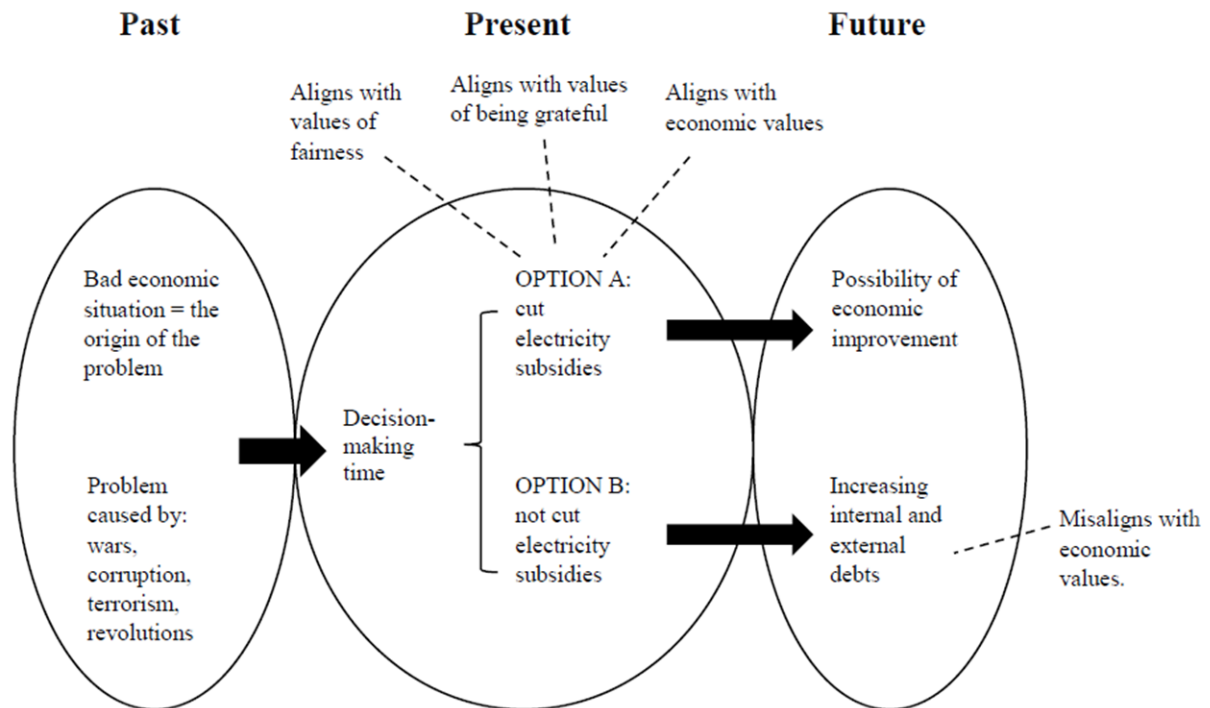
Figure 4. Timeline Achieved Through Varied LSs in Speech B

Moreover, this decision is the right one to take because it aligns with values of justice and fairness, unity and solidarity, and being grateful to those who have been good to you. In addition, the income that would result from cutting the subsidies might benefit the economy in the future. On the other hand, if the country did not cut the subsidies, then the country might need to be more indebted to other countries, which misaligns with the Egyptian value of wanting to be debt free.

5.1.2   The Role of Context in Legitimation

This study examined how President Al Sisi legitimized two controversial decisions of different natures in two speeches. The first speech (speech A) was addressing a high stakes political and legal issue. The President was addressing the government's decision to sign a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia that transfers the islands of Tiran and Sanafir to Saudi

sovereignty. News of the agreement resulted in very negative reactions from the public. Egyptians heavily criticized the President on social media outlets, reporters attacked the President in newspapers and a large number of people were protesting in the streets of Cairo. The President's popularity was negatively affected and the protestors demanded that he step down. Protestors were using the chant "the people want the fall of the regime", which is the same chant that was popular during the 2011 revolution against former President Hosni Mubarak (Abdullah, 2016; Black, 2016; Fahim, 2016).

The second speech (speech B) was delivered to justify an economical decision. The government had cut the electricity subsidies, an act that had resulted in a significant increase in people's utility bills, a low stakes issue in comparison with the islands. While people reacted negatively to this decision as well, most of the negative reaction happened online. There was a campaign on Twitter under the hashtag "Emsek Fatoura" meaning 'catch a bill'. The hashtag resembles a famous Egyptian phrase 'catch a thief', implying that people think they are being ripped off. Although certain media outlets suggest that the decision to cut the subsidies had lowered the President's popularity, people fought it through social media without any public protestations (Charbel, 2016; Howeidy, 2016), which might explain the absence of delegitimations in the speech. There were no attempts made in the speech to delegitimize any activists.

The results of the analysis revealed that the President utilized more legitimations in speech A (56) than speech B (45). This indicates that political issues require more cases of legitimation. It could also be interpreted that since the islands issue was of higher stakes it required more legitimations.

The findings of this study revealed that the President relied on legitimations through moral abstractions more than other strategies for both speeches. Moral abstraction constituted

44.64% of legitimations found in speech A, and 44.44% in speech B. This result is different from studies conducted on Middle Eastern contexts (Ali et al., 2016; Sadeghi et al., 2014). Ali et al. (2016) found that Iraqi newspapers utilized authorization, rationalization and evaluation to legitimize the withdrawal of American soldiers from Iraq. Moreover, Persian news agencies were found to rely most frequently on personal authorities to legitimize the 2011 Egyptian revolution (Sadeghi et al., 2014). However, this finding is similar to a study conducted by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999). Austrian immigration control officials were found to rely on moral abstraction most frequently to legitimize refusing applicants' requests to immigrate to the country to join their families (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

What was interesting about the use of moral abstraction in the two speeches is that while speech A and speech B invoked mostly different values, the President appealed to the Egyptian values of fairness and justice in both speeches. The fact that this value was invoked in both speeches outlines the importance and significance of such a value in the Egyptian culture.

Legitimations through mythopoesis were very scarce in the data sample. There was only one case in speech A and it was used to invoke social values. It seems that extended narratives to legitimize decisions through storytelling is not preferred by the President. This finding is different from Peled-Elhanan's (2010) study. Peled-Elhanan found that Israeli textbooks relied mainly on mythopoesis and instrumental rationalization to legitimize their acts (2010).

There were key differences between legitimations in both speeches. As could be predicted, legal issues (speech A) were legitimized through authority-based arguments more than economic issues (speech B). However, what was surprising was the fact that there were zero cases of legitimation through authorization in speech B. As indicated in the previous segment, authorizations might have been used to signify that the decision was taken after a

long, thorough process; therefore, it could be argued that economic issues do not require alluding to a long decision-making process.

The second difference is that economic issues prompt more rational arguments: speech A had 12.50% whereas speech B had 35.56%. This could indicate that economic issues require factual information and numbers to legitimate them (Vaara, 2014). Yet, it is important to note that almost all of the legitimations through rationalization in both speeches had purpose clauses that included very general motives that align the argument with abstract morals. There were only two objective rational arguments that attempted to legitimize the nucleus of speech B (cutting the electricity subsidies). This finding could indicate that legitimations found in the President's speech tend to engage the public's emotions, norms and values more than their objective judgment. Since speeches are usually pre-planned and written carefully, one can argue that the President knows his audience and that he utilized strategies that would be accepted by a major segment of the public.

5.2   Implications and Conclusions

The discursive strategies speakers use to linguistically justify or legitimize their actions differ according to the speaker, discourse genre and level of speaker's power over their interlocutor. Most of the research that has been conducted on political discourse legitimations has focused on legitimations used to justify one incident (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997) or by two speakers in similar contexts (Reyes, 2011). This study is the first to examine legitimating discourse in two speeches addressing two different contexts that were delivered by the same speaker. The implications of the study are:

- This thesis has shown how social and discursive factors contribute to the (de)legitimation of social practices in political speeches. Political actors have linguistic and other discursive means to emphasize the legitimacy of their decisions, actions, or

opinions. To add credibility to their decisions, political actors use a variety of semantic strategies. This study has identified the following strategies: (i) authorization (official entities, specialized entities, and legal documents); (ii) rationalization (instrumental, and theoretical); (iii) moral evaluation (evaluations, comparisons, moral abstraction); (iv) mythopoesis (narratives that engage the public's norms and values).

- The context of the social practice being justified prompts political actors to rely on certain semantic legitimation strategies more than others. Legitimation through rational arguments is more prevalent when political actors are addressing economic issues, yet authorizations are more frequent in speeches addressing legal or political issues. In addition, when addressing economic issues, figures were used in rational arguments to support the legitimacy of the decision. It is important to note that even though the arguments sounded rational they usually justified the decision in accordance with very general moralized motives.

- It seems that authorizations were enacted when political actors want to present that a decision was taken after a long process. Authoritative figures were consulted or asked for confirmation; however, they were never quoted and they were not the agents in most of the utterances. The President indicated that these authoritative figures were involved or consulted in the decision making process. These authority-based arguments might have been used to either add credibility to the decision or to indicate that the decision was not taken lightly.

- The most predominant legitimation strategy in both speeches was moral abstraction. Political actors tend to present controversial decisions to the public in a way where said decisions were acceptable within the religious, cultural, or nationalistic values and norms. Decisions were aligned with normative values. While each speech engaged

different values, the values of fairness and justice was apparent in both speeches, indicating the significance of this value within the Egyptian culture.

- As with people, not all discourses are equal. Some are more legitimatized than others. It seems that the extent of the prior reaction people had to the decision being justified is associated with the number of legitimations used in a speech. As discussed before the Tiran and Sanafir islands transfer to Saudi sovereignty resulted in large street protests, while the electricity subsidy cuts decision was opposed online. It seems that the extent of people's reactions encouraged the President to use more legitimations in the speech addressing the islands issue. What was interesting is that the extent of the people's reaction also seems to correspond with acts of delegitimation. The speech addressing the islands issue did not only attempt to legitimize and persuade the public of the rightfulness of the decision, it also delegitimated the actions of those who oppose it. The President aligned the actions of protestors with values of harm, degradation and insecurity, which are values that do not align with the Egyptian's normative values and ideology. While in the speech addressing the subsidy cuts there were no acts of delegitimation at all.

- Regardless of the context, political actors tend to use legitimations to draw a mental image of a timeline. The legitimations indicate that a problem started in the past by *others*. While in the present the decision that was taken by the government was the *right* decision to take in the circumstances because it aligns with Egyptian's values. Moreover, said decision would result in a better future. However, the second option the government had in the present was to not apply the decision. An act that disagrees with Egyptian's values and would result in a dire future.

All in all, this study has examined the discursive legitimation strategies utilized in two presidential speeches delivered by President Al Sisi, thus adding to the very limited literature

on legitimation studies carried in the Middle East and to the very few studies done in LSs on Arabic data. The present study further adds to the literature by examining the role of context in the choice of legitimation strategies by investigating and analyzing LSs found in two speeches delivered by an Egyptian president. The study reviled that in the LSs utilized in speeches delivered by President Al Sisi are affected by the context to an extent; nevertheless, the president relied on moral and emotional arguments (moral abstraction) more frequently than any other legitimation type (rationalization, authorization, or mythopoesis) regardless of the context.

5.3   Limitations of the Study

Limitations of the study include being conducted on two speeches only. Moreover, the study does not represent all the legitimation cases in the speeches used in the sample. As indicated before, the President usually addresses two or three issues in the same speech. I transcribed the parts of each speech that were addressing the issues in the research questions to analyze them. Therefore, there might be other cases of legitimation or delegitimation in the extended speeches. Furthermore, there were certain instances in the speeches that were discarded from the sample because the argument was not complete or the social practice in question was not connected to the argument.

5.4   Recommendations for Future Studies

In the course of this study, some areas were identified as fertile for more future research. There is no literature that I know of that discusses the grammatical structures or patterns that each legitimation category correlates with in the Arabic language. There are studies that explore this point in the English language, but there are not any that have examined a large enough sample to discover these patterns in the Arabic language.

Moreover, studies could be conducted on legitimations in school textbooks. As indicated before, it seems that the President relied on arguments that engage Egyptians' values and emotions more than their objective rational judgement. Therefore, it might be interesting to examine textbooks to discover if perhaps Egyptians are exposed to these arguments from their youth.

References

Abdullah, A. (2016, May 1). Sisi moves into damage control following island transfer uproar. Retrieved September 15, 2016, from http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/egypt-sisi-damage-control-public-anger-island-transfer.html

Ali, M. K., Christopher, A. A., & Nordin, M. Z. F. B. (2016). Linguistic legitimation of political events in newspaper discourse. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, *7*(4), 76–83.

Bakhtin, M. (1986). *The problem of speech genres*. (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Eds., Vern W. McGee, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Beetham, D. (2013). *The Legitimation of power* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Black, I. (2016, April 11). Egypt's president under fire over Red Sea islands transfer to Saudi Arabia. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/11/egypt-saudi-arabia-tiran-sanafir-red-sea-islands-transfer

Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Language & symbolic power*. (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.) (6th ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Breeze, R. (2012). Legitimation in corporate discourse: Oil corporations after Deepwater Horizon. *Discourse & Society*, *23*(1), 3–18.

Burns, A. (2001). Analysing spoken discourse: Implications for TESOL. In C. Coffin & A. Burns (Eds.), *Analysing English in a global context: A reader* (pp. 123–148). London: Routledge.

Cap, P. (2008). Towards the proximization model of the analysis of legitimization in political discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *40*(1), 17–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.10.002

Capone, A. (2010). Barack Obama's South Carolina speech. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *42*, 2964–2977.

Charbel, J. (2016, April 20). What's behind this month's spike in utility bills? Retrieved from http://www.madamasr.com/sections/economy/whats-behind-months-spike-utility-bills

Erkama, N., & Vaara, E. (2010). Struggles over legitimacy in global organizational restructuring: A rhetorical perspective on legitimation strategies and dynamics in a shutdown case. *Organization Studies*, *31*(7), 813–839.

Fahim, K. (2016, April 15). Egyptians denounce President Sisi in biggest rally in 2 years. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/16/world/middleeast/cairo-protesters-denounce-egyptian-president-sisi.html

Fairclough, I., & Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political discourse analysis. A method for advanced students*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. (C. N. Candlin, Ed.) (Vol. 1). New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within

  discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *3*(2), 193–217.

  https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003002004

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research*. London;

  New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*.

  (C. Gordon, Ed.). London; New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Habermas, J. (1976). *Legitimation crisis*. London: Heinemann.

Hassan, S. (2016, September). Egyptian agriculture crisis worsens, mainly due to lack of

  water. Retrieved from http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2016/09/27/egyptian-

  agriculture-crisis-worsens-mainly-due-lack-water/

Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Howeidy, A. (2016, April). Protests against utility prices go online. *Ahramonline*. Retrieved

  from

  http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/198920/Egypt/Features/Protests-

  against-utility-prices-go-online.aspx

Huckin, T. N. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. Miller (Ed.), *Functional Approaches*

  to Written Text.

Jaworski, A., & Galasinski, D. (2000). Vocative address forms and ideological legitimization

  in political debates. *Discourse Studies*, *2*(1), 35–53.

Khater, M. (2016, August). Egypt faces water shortage crisis aside from GERD: Water

  Minister. Retrieved from http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2016/08/17/535955/

Ochs, E. (1979). Planned and unplanned discourse. In T. Givón (Ed.), *Discourse and Syntax.* (Vol. 12, pp. 51–80). New York: Academic Press.

Oddo, J. (2011). War legitimation discourse: Representing 'Us' and 'Them' in four US presidential addresses. *Discourse & Society*, *22*(3), 287–314. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510395442

Peled-Elhanan, N. (2010). Legitimation of massacres in Israeli school history books. *Discourse & Society*, *21*(4), 377–404. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510366195

Reyes, A. (2011). Strategies of legitimization in political discourse: From words to actions. *Discourse & Society*, *22*(6), 781–807. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926511419927

Rojo, L. M., & van Dijk, T. A. (1997). "There was a problem, and it was solved!": Legitimating the expulsion of illegal migrants in Spanish parliamentary discourse. *Discourse & Society*, *8*(4), 523–566.

Saalih al-Munajjid, M. (n.d.). Seriousness of debt. Retrieved April 14, 2017, from https://islamqa.info/en/71183

Sadeghi, B., Hassani, M. T., & Jalali, V. (2014). Towards (de-)legitimation discursive strategies in news coverage of Egyptian protest: VOA & Fars News in focus. *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *98*, 1580–1589.

Salge, T. O., & Barrett, M. (2011). *The rhetorical legitimation of organisational exploration and exploitation initiatives*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Vaara, E. (2014). Struggles over legitimacy in the Eurozone crisis: Discursive legitimation strategies and their ideological underpinnings. *Discourse & Society*, *25*(4), 500–518. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926514536962

Vaara, E., & Monin, P. (2010). A recursive perspective on discursive legitimation and organizational action in mergers and acquisitions. *Organization Science*, *21*(1), 3–22.

Vaara, E., & Tienar, J. (2008). A discursive perspective on legitimation strategies in multinational corporations. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(4), 985–993.

Vaara, E., Tienari, J., & Laurila, J. (2006). Pulp and paper fiction: On the discursive legitimation of global industrial restructuring. *Organization Studies*, *27*(6), 789–813. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840606061071

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 249–283.

van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & Society*, *6*(2), 243–289.

van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: SAGE.

van Leeuwen, T. (1995). *The grammar of legitimation*.

van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, *1*(1), 91–112. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481307071986

van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195323306.001.0001/acprof-9780195323306

van Leeuwen, T., & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing immigration control: a discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse Studies*, *1*(1), 83–118.

Verschueren, J. (2012). *Ideology in language use: Pragmatic guidelines for empirical research*. Cambridge University Press.

Weber, M. (1947). *The theory of social and economic organization*. (A. M. Henderson & T. Parsons, Trans.). New York: The Free Press.

Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. London: Sage.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Appendix A

Transcript of the Maritime Border Agreement Speech

Speech was delivered on: 13 April 2016

في ظروفنا الاقتصادية الصعبة دي كان ممكن نفكر أفكار شريرة... أفكار شريرة، أو أفكار حتى كتير من السياسيين بيفكروا فيها والقيادات بتاعة الدول بتفكر فيها. يقوم يقفز على بلد ياخد خيرها، يقفر على بلد ياخد إيه؟؟ خيرها. كان ممكن أوي والظروف كلها كانت سامحة وما زالت إن إحنا نقوم نعتدي على دولة أو نثأر بقى لقتلانا وشهدائنا في سيرة الـ ٢١ مصري اللي دُبح دول، خلاص بقى تهديد للأمن القومي، وده... إرهاب وهو ما زال إرهاب، وداعش موجودة حتى الآن، لكن إحنا بنقول أبدًا، لا يمكن نعتدي ونخش على أشقائنا هناك ونستبيح أرضهم عشان ناخد حاجة من هناك. كان ممكن ده يحصل، لكن إحنا قلنا... واللي علمتني دي والدتي، قالتلي: "متطمعش في اللي في إيد الناس، حتى لو كان اللي في إيد الناس ده والدك، متطمعش، متبصش فيه، ودايمًا اطمع في اللي بيدي للناس" أقول تاني؟ اللي علمتني اللي أنا بقولوا عليه ده إني مطمعش في حد والدتي الله يرحمها، قالتلي: "إوعى! إوعى" أنا بقولوا كلام حقيقي، هي عند ربنا، هو اللي هيجازي، قالتلي: "إوعى تبص للي في إيد الناس، ولا تاخده أبدًا. اللي عطى الناس يعطيك، واللي يرزق الناس يرزقك". آدي الحكاية. وإحنا... أنا بديت البداية دية بس عشان إحنا لا بنبيع أرضنا... لحد، بس خلي بالكوا، وكمان مبناخدش أرض حد، مهمة أوي الحكاية دية. انت مبتديش أرضك لحد، وكمان إحنا مبناخدش حق حد، مبناخدش حق حد، وده أمر لازم إحنا كلنا نتوقف قدامه، أنا المواضيع لسه هتكلم فيها بتفاصيل أكتر، لكن حبيت بس أحط إطار كلنا نبقى شايفينه مع بعض، إن إحنا بنتعامل بيه إزاي مع ... خالص.

[Pause]

هكلمكم عن الموضوع اللي انتوا كلكم عايزين تسمعوا عنه، اللي هو موضوع تعيين الحدود البحرية مع السعودية. أنا هقولكوا جملة واحدة. هقولكوا جملة واحدة. إحنا مفرطناش في حق لينا، وادينا حق الناس لهم. أقول تاني؟ جملة واحدة: مصر لم تفرط أبدًا في ذرة رمل من حقوقها وأعطتها للآخرين أو للسعودية. ده محصلش. طب نتكلم بتفاصيل شوية؟ هتكلم بتفاصيل... إن الإشكالية اللي بتقابلنا في الموضوع ده كشعب وكرأي عام إن انتم فيه مسافة بين نسق الدولة، سياق الدولة وبين السياق الفردي في تناول الموضوع. هقولها تاني وأرجو إنها تبقى واضحة. الإشكالية اللي موجودة عندنا إن انتم فيه مسافة كبيرة جدًا بين تعامل الدولة مع قضاياها ومع علاقاتها وبين التعامل الفردي اللي انتوا بتتكلموا بيه عن هذه القضية، آدي واحدة. نمرة ٢: هذا الموضوع لم يتم تداوله قبل كده، حتى المراسلات والمكاتبات اللي كانت بتعني هذا الموضوع مكانتش بتتطرح حتى لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدين، حتى لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدين. كان هناك ظروف سياسية، سواء، ظروف سياسية، سواء، وأمنية، سواء في تولي مصر مسؤولية الحفاظ على هذه الجزر من أن تسقط، في إيد حد تاني، أو بعد كده، و... تداعيات التاريخ اللي حصل واللي حصل فيها، اللي هي تداعيات حرب ٦٧ ثم السلام ثم يا ترى كان يبقى مناسب إن بعد إبرام معاهدة السلام يتم طرح القضية دية في الوقت ده وتبقى موضوع لسه الحساسيات بتاعة السلام وأمور كتير مرتبطة بيه تصلح إن يتم طرحها ولا لأ. أنا طبعًا عارف إن إحنا قبل ما نقعد القعدة دية كان زملائي بيتكلموا معاكم فيها. لكن أنا هقول للمصريين حاجة: في تعيين الحدود، إحنا لم نخرج عن القرار الجمهوري اللي صدر من ٢٦ سنة واللي تم إيداعه الأمم المتحدة. هقولها تاني للمصريين، ببساطة: الكلام ده اشتغلنا فيه، مش إحنا، اللي قبلنا، إمتى؟ سنة ٩٠، بناء على إيه؟ بناء على مطالبات من المملكة العربية السعودية بأهمية استعادة الجزر، وأنا متصور إن إحنا محتاجين دلوقت بعد الموضوع ما خلص إن إحنا... خلص كإجراءات لن يترتب عن ردود الأفعال دي تداعيات على العلاقات المصرية السعودية. أنا خدت الضربة

في صدري، لكن لو كنت أعلنت عليكوا يا مصريين الموضوع ده من ٨ شهور، كنا هنخش في السياق اللي إحنا فيه ده على مدى الـ ٨ شهور. هقولها تاني.. لو كنا أعلنّا.. إحنا قلنا إن في اللجنة المشتركة.. التنسيقية المشتركة بين مصر والسعودية هيتم فيها تعيين الحدود البحرية بين البلدين، مش كده؟ ده الإعلان. طيب ما تعيين الحدود البحرية بين البلدين قلناها، لكن لو أنا كنت قلت ساعتها اتكلموا عن الجزر واشرحوا للناس، كنتوا هتجدوا... من فضلكم ما هو اللي أنا قلته في الأول من فضلكم اربطوه باللي أنا بقوله دلوقت. طريقتنا في تداول الموضوع والتعامل معاه بتؤذينا وبتضعف موقفنا. أقولكم تاني؟ يعني افتكروا كويس أوي، إوعوا تكونوا فاكرين إن تعاملكم مع مسألة سد النهضة كان في مصلحتنا، أبدًا أبدًا أبدًا. بس انتوا إكمنكوا جوه مصر، جوه الحالة دي يا مصريين مش عارفين قد إيه الإيذاء اللي إحنا بنتأذي بيه نتيجة التداول اللي هو بلا حدود في أي موضوع، نتكلم فيه بلا حدود وبلا ضوابط. انتوا بتأذوا نفسكم وبتأذوا بلدكم والله والله والله. النهارده لو كان تم طرح الموضوع ده، كل العالم اللي بره بيعرف إن الدولة كمؤسسات بتشتغل في إطار مؤسسي كامل، يعني الإعلام يعبر عن سياسة الدولة، يعني انتوا لو عايزين تدوا رسالة لحد تطلعوها للإعلام. الناس فاهمة كده، والدنيا كده، فلما بيقروا اللي إحنا بنكتبه، يبقى انتوا بتعملوا رسالة للأثيوبيين، لما تعملوا كده، تعملوا رسالة للسعوديين، تعملوا كده، تعملوا رسالة لأي حد تاني. الموقف السياسي هو طرح الموضوع ده ساعتها ولا طرحه بعد ما ينتهي؟ في التقدير... في التقدير، في الفهم، في رؤية الموضوع ده ومعالجته إزاي، أنا بتكلم عن المنظور السياسي. المنظور السياسي في الموضوع، هو إحنا هندير أزمة مع السعودية ولا هنديها أرضها؟ مش كده ولا إيه؟ هنديها أرضها ولا هندير أزمة؟ أزمة يعني إيه؟ يعني هنخش في مشاحنات وكده... زي ما كل الناس... القضايا اللي بتشوفوها في العالم كله. لأ إحنا مش هنخش في... لأن الهدف هو العزل، عزل الدولة المصرية واستكمال حصارها فتبقى القضية دي لما تُطرَح تعمل مشكلة كبيرة لمصر مع أشقائها ويبقى الكيان العربي...

إحنا اتكلمنا عن النسيج المصري، نتكلم بقى عن الكيان العربي. الكيان العربي اللي مجروح في العراق، الكيان العربي اللي مجروح في سوريا، الكيان العربي اللي مجروح في اليمن، الكيان العربي اللي مجروح في ليبيا، نكمل عليه بقى... نكمل عليه. فكان القرار: لأ اللجنة التنسيقية تشتغل، ولجنة تعيين الحدود البحرية تشتغل. أنا معايا في الدوسيه ده [Pause] ... مذكرة كنت طلبتها في يونيو ٢٠١٤، إمتى؟ يونيو ٢٠١٤ مش كده؟ كان عن موضوع الجزر دية. إمتى؟ يونيو ٢٠١٤، لا حد كان سألنا عليها، ولا حد اتكلم فيها ولا طالب عليها خلال الفترة دي. لكن كمسؤولية المسؤول عن الدولة هنا كان لابد إن هو يبقى مجمع الموقف كويس، ميتفاجئش بحاجة. فـ... الموضوع بقى واضح. فمن المنظور السياسي إحنا هندير أزمة ولا هنـ... أنا بتكلم كلام المفروض ميتقالش على الهوا والله. بس إحنا بنقوله على الهوا عشان كل الناس اللي موجودة بره مصر وجوه مصر تسمعنا، وتعرف قد إيه إن إحنا حريصين على إن إحنا نعطي الحقوق لأصحابها وإن إحنا منتبهين أوي للي بيدور حوالين مننا. لأ طبعًا ده من المنظور السياسي. طيب من المنظور الفني بقى، طوال المدة دي بالكامل لكل مؤسسات الدولة، وأنا بتكلم مؤسسات الدولة دي يعني وزارة الخارجية بأرشيفها السري على مدى تاريخ وزارة الخارجية، وزارة الدفاع من المنظور... الأرشيف السري لوزارة الدفاع، المخابرات العامة من منظور المخابرات العامة بأرشيفها السري الذي لا يطّلع عليه أحد... شوفوا الموضوع وردوا، هل لديكم شيء؟ لأ. بعد كل اللي جالي ده والدراسات دي بتعمل كده؟ طبعًا! آه طبعًا، مفيش.

السياق اللي موجود هو اللي يتعبر عنه. السياق يعني إيه؟ يعني الكلام اللي موجود على الورق المقدم من الأجهزة بتاعة الدولة بتؤكد كده. ده سياق فني، سياق... بنتكلم على التاريخ، بنتكلم ع الوثائق. ده ملوش علاقة بالسياسة. هو أنا ألاقي زميل فاضل بيتكلم في التلفزيون من منظور سياسي ع القضية، والناس تسمع لأ، ألاقي حد تاني بيتكلم من منظور فقط قانوني، والحقيقة النسبة الغالبة منها كانت.. يعني منصفة لأن القانون دايمًا.. يعني في الأمور دي مبيحتملش حاجة تانية. أنا بشرح كتير وأرجو إن كلامي يصل لكل الناس. الـ... في حد برضه قال: طب اسألوا كل الناس، طب والله سألت كل الناس. كل الناس؟ كل الناس. ليه ؟ ده حق.. حق بلد، مقدرش آخد فيه، رغم كل.. شوفوا بقى كل اللي أنا بقول عليه ده بس مكانش ينفع يتعلن، بس أنا بقولهولكوا دلوقت عشان انتوا تبقوا مطمنين، تبقوا مطمنين على بلدكم، وحالة

القلق والتشكك اللي حصلت دي مش متحصلش تاني، لأ تبقى دايمًا نفكر كويس. أقول تاني؟ كل البيانات وكل الوثايق متدينيش غير إن أنا أقول الحق ده بتاعهم [Pause] ... اللجان، اللجان دي لجان فنية متخصصة، مش أي حد يعرف يتكلم فيها وعملت ١١، وبالمناسبة إحنا أصرينا على عدم تغيير أي نقطة، زي ما طلع القرار الجمهوري سنة ٩٠، وبعد الأبحاث اللي تمت في الموضوع بواسطة الأجهزة المختصة واللجان هو ده اللي هنمشي عليه. طب يتيح لنا بعد كده إيه؟ هقولكوا يتيح لنا إيه. طوال السنين اللي فاتت كلها لا نستطيع إن إحنا نعمل تنقيب عن الثروات اللي موجودة في البحار في مياهنا الاقتصادية، ميمكِنش. لغاية دلوقتي، متقدرش تطلع أبدًا طبقًا للقواعد وطبقًا للمعاهدات الدولية إنك تطلع للمياه الاقتصادية المصرية، إنك تقوم بالتنقيب عن البترول أو أي حاجة تاني. التعيين من أقصى الجنوب، أقصى جنوب مصر، حتى أقصى الشمال والشرق. يعني كلللل الحدود البحرية بيننا وبين السعودية، كلها. مش الحتة دي بس، آدي ١. نمرة ٢ مهم أوي إنكوا انتوا تعرفوه، إن إحنا لما عيننا الحدود مع قبرص أتاح لنا، أتاح لنا إن إحنا نعمل تنقيب في المياه الاقتصادية بتاعتنا، فطلع الغاز أو حقل "ظُهْر" ده. طب إحنا نقدر.. دلوقتي بيتم تعيين الحدود مع اليونان، مش كده؟ طب ليه؟ لأن أنا لا أستطيع إن أنا أخش على المياه الاقتصادية المصرية المشتركة بيني وبين اليونان إلا بعد ما أعين هذه الحدود، ببساطة كده... طب أنا هقولكوا على حاجة برضه، لما ... عشان تعرفوا إحنا بنتعامل إزاي. لما حقل "ظُهْر" ده تم اكتشافه، فـ.. الرئيس القبرصي اتصل بيا عشان يباركلي يعني، مش كده ؟ طيب، انتوا عارفين أنا شكرته ع التهنئة وقلتله إيه؟ قلتله يا فخامة الرئيس، لو حدود الحقل تدخل في نطاق مياهك الاقتصادية، نصيبك من الحقل هتاخده. مين اللي بيقول؟ [Pause] أنا اللي بقوله، هو الراجل مقاليش حاجة، هو مفيش حاجة يعني، خلي بالكوا مفيش حاجة بيننا وبين الـ ... القبارصة يعني، لكن أنا بشرحلكوا الدول بتُسَاق علاقتها إزاي. حد تاني يقولك إيه؟ لأ انت حَنِيثْنا وهنخش في مشكلة وأزمة وتعليق! ليه؟! إذا كنت انت بتحب الحق صحيح، لما تيجي تتعامل مع الناس في حقوقها، اعطيها حقها، كده.

فأنا بقولكوا على موضوع تاني خالص بعيد عن الموضوع بتاع الجزيرتين، وأنا بيهنيني على الحقل ده قلتله: فخامة الرئيس بشكرك، ولو في حق لقبرص في مياهها بالمشاركة في هذا الحقل، إحنا... لأن الحقل امتداده بيبقى ساعات ممكن يخش في حدود مياه اقتصادية لدول أخرى. فـ.. أنا قلت كلام كتير في الموضوع دوّت وخليني أحسمه أو أنهيه يعني بإن.. من فضلكوا، أرجو إن الموضوع ده، أرجو الموضوع ده منتكلمش فيه تاني. أرجو إن إحنا منتكلمش فيه تاني. انتم بتسيئوا لنفسكم، وفي برلمان انتم اخترتوه هيناقش الموضوع، يشكل لجنة واتنين ويجيب كل اللي هو عايزه.. كل اللي هو عايزه. أرجو إن إحنا نتوقف لأن مش معقول يبقى إحنا متشككين في نفسنا، ومتشككين في أجهزتنا، متشككين في البرلمان بتاعنا، متشككين في النقابات، متشككين في كله في كله مينفعش، مينفعش كده. في برلمان، هذا البرلمان هيناقش هذه الاتفاقية، يمررها أو لا يمررها، يشكل لجان زي ما هو عايز عشان يطمئن وباطمئنانه تطمئنوا. لازم يبقى في فاصل بين ممارساتنا وأدائنا وبين ممارسات وأداء الدولة ما أمكن خلال هذه المرحلة.

Appendix B

Transcript of the Electricity Subsidy Cuts Speech

Speech was delivered on: 13 August 2016

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. أنا.. اسمحولي في البداية إن أنا أتقدم ليكم جميعًا بالتحية والتقدير، وأهني وزارة البترول بافتتاح هذا المشروع. الحقيقة أنا هتكلم معاكوا النهارده بالمناسبة ديّة عشان خلال الـ.. الأسابيع القليلة اللي فاتت كان في موضوعين أفتكر إن إحنا كلنا كنا مهتمين بيهم. الموضوع الأولاني كان الزيادة اللي.. تم إقرارها بواسطة وزارة الكهربا على شرايح الكهربا المختلفة، ثم التفاوض مع صندوق النقد الدولي... اسمحولي إن أنا هتكلم معاكم عن الموقف الاقتصادي لمصر على مدى ٦٠ سنة، وهتكلم عليه باختصار وأقول يا ترى قدراتنا الاقتصادية كدولة مصرية إيه اللي حصلّها خلال السنين اللي فاتت ولغاية دلوقتي عشان نقول يا ترى إحنا محتاجين نعمل لمواجهتها إيه.. لأن إحنا لما أنا اتكلمت في الموضوع ده خلال فترة الترشح قلت إن أنا فيه موضوع اقتصادي صعب جدًا جدًا أنا مش هقدر أواجهه لوحدي هواجهه أو هنواجهه كلنا مع بعض.. يعني الدولة لوحدها مش هتقدر تنجح فيه إلا إذا كان فيه تعاون وإجماع من الشعب المصري الكامل لمواجهة هذا.. هذه.. هذا التحدي. القدرات الاقتصادية لمصر استُنزِفَت أو أديرَت بشكل كبير جدًا في حرب ٥٦، وفي حرب اليمن، وفي حرب ٦٧، وفي حرب الاستنزاف، وحرب ٧٣. لازم نكون إحنا وإحنا.. يعني بنتكلم عن الاقتصاد في مصر نقول الاقتصاد مش عملية ممكن يبان نتايجها، سواء الإيجابية أو السلبية، في فترة زمنية قليلة، لأ.

لما بقول النهارده إن القدرات الاقتصادية لمصر أديرت بشكل كبير جدًا خلال السنوات اللي أنا بتكلم فيها دي لا أقصد بيها أي حاجة، غير إن أنا بقول واقع محتاجين كلنا كمصريين، كمسؤولين، كنخبة، إن إحنا نبقى عارفين إن الاقتصاد تضرر بشكل كبير نتيجة اللي أنا بتكلم فيه ده. الحروب ديّة، بغض النظر عن الـ.. إحنا كنا بنعمل إيه، لكن في الآخر كان ليها تأثير سلبي على اقتصادنا. وبالتالي، لما نتكلم على حرب.. بتحتاج أموال ضخمة جدًا جدًا والاقتصاد بيبقى اقتصاد حرب لسنوات طويلة، لعدة مرات، لأ ده ليه تأثير كبير، تأثير كبير أوي، ولا بد إن إحنا نعالج ده.. مش هنسى أبدًا إن إحنا عندنا قضيتين كمان لازم نحطهم في الاعتبار دايمًا، وأرجو إن انتوا تتصوروا إن الإرهاب.. الإرهاب والفساد كانوا عاملين إضافيين في إضعاف القدرة الاقتصادية لينا، لأ. الإرهاب مكانش فقط خلال السنتين تلاتة اللي فاتوا، لأ. إحنا تعرضنا للإرهاب وشوفوا وده مهم جدًا إن ده يُقدَّم للمصريين من.. من أجهزة الدولة، من النخب، من الإعلام. كام مرة تم ضرب السياحة في مصر؟ كل ما السياحة تبتدي تتحرك عشان تاخد مكانها، سنة ولا اتنين وتبص تلاقي تم توجيه ضربة ليها. ده أحد العناصر أو أحد التحديات اللي كانت دايمًا بتقابل الاقتصاد المصري: إن هو الإرهاب بيُستخْدَم كوسيلة لإيذاء الدولة المصرية وإضعافها والعمل على منع تقدمها. النقطة التالتة أو النقطة الرابعة اللي أنا بتكلم فيها اللي هي خاصة بالفساد، ولازم نعترف إن إحنا.. جادين جدًا في مواجهته لكن كان أحد المسائل اللي أضعفت الاقتصاد المصري كمان الفساد. فلما نحط مجموعة الكلام ده كله على بعض نقول إحنا فين؟ نقول طب تعالوا كده وأرجو إن محدش يفهمني خالص من اللي بيسمعني إن أنا مقصدش أبدًا والله إسقاط على أي حاجة. لكن هقولكوا على حاجة واحدة: كانوا بيتكلموا دلوقتي على البترول هنا، واتقال إن الاكتشافات توقفت لمدة سنة واتنين وتلاتة في أعقاب ٢٠١١، في أعقاب ثورة ٢٥ يناير.

زي ما الثورة ليها إيجابيات، الثورات بيبقى ليها سلبيات على مجتمعاتها، ولازم نعترف بده ونقبله ونعالجه، نعترف بيه ونقبله ونعالجه. طيب.. لما بنتكلم على إن إحنا في أعقاب ثورة ٢٥ يناير وحتى الآن، فيه حصل ضغوط كتيرة جدًا كان ليها تأثير سلبي ع الاقتصاد المصري،

وحد يسألني... لما أنا النهارده أعين ٩٠٠ ألف في القطاع الحكومي نتيجة ضغط الناس عشان يتعينوا في الوقت اللي أنا مش محتاج منهم حاجة خالص تقريبًا، ويتعينوا، وتُخَصَّص لهم مرتبات في الموازنات بتاعة الدولة، ده هيبقى تأثيره عامل إزاي؟ لما آجي أقول النهارده إن إحنا نزود مرتبات الناس من ٩٠:٨٠ مليار جنيه سنويًا إلى دلوقتي ٢٢٨ مليار جنيه سنويًا ده هيبقى تأثيره إيه؟ أرجو إن المواطن وكل من بيحب مصر ومهتم بيها يتوقف قدام الكلام اللي أنا بقوله دوَّت. بقول تاني: لما أنا النهارده أزود مرتبات فقط بحوالي ١٥٠ مليار جنيه في السنة دون أن يكون هناك زيادة في الموارد، هي مصر، هي أسرة كبيرة، يعني مصر هي أسرتنا الكبيرة وأي أسرة بتصرف بيشوف الموارد بتاعته اللي بتخش له ثم بيشوف مصروفاته، لو الاتنين قد بعض ماشي، طب لو كانت المصروفات أكتر من الموارد؟ هيستلف، وكل ما يستلف أكتر كل ما يبقى عايز الـ.. فاتورة الدين تزيد.. فاتورة الدين تزيد. لو إحنا.. يمكن مواطن يقولي يا فندم أنا من فضلك أو مواطنة: لو سمحت كلمني ع اللي بيخش جيبي، أنا مليش دعوة باللي انت بتقوله ده، هقوله مينفعش، مينفعش، لأنك انت ممكن ميكونش هيخش جيبك انت، لكن هيخش جيب ابنك وحفيدك لو إحنا جابهنا التحديات ديّة بما يلزم.. بما يلزم، إنما لو إحنا قلنا أنا مليش دعوة وغيري يقول مليش دعوة، طب وبعدين؟

طب نتايج ده هتبقى عاملة إزاي؟ إحنا مسؤولين كلنا، مش أنا بس، عن.. الاقتصاد وعن الأمان وعن الاستقرار للدولة المصرية، وده محتاج مننا كلنا كمسؤولين ومثقفين ونُخَب وأعضاء البرلمان نبقى عارفين كويس أوي المسألة اللي إحنا بنتكلم فيها وبنتناولها، وتأثيرها إيه على الـ.. على مصر، تأثيرها إيه على البلد ديّة لو إحنا خدنا القرار اللي.. مش الصائب، تأثيرها إيه؟ فـ... أنا... قلت المصروفات وقلت الموارد وده كان دايمًا بيشكل لينا في مصر تحدي، يعني أنا بقول كلام بسيط عشان يُستَوْعَب من كل اللي بيسمعني. أنا بقول مصر دي أسرة كبيرة وإحنا كلنا عارفين إزاي بنصرف في بيوتنا. اللي بيجيلي لو بصرف أكتر منه يبقى أنا بأذي نفسي وبأذي أسرتي وبأذي أولادي فيما بعد لأن مش هيبقى فيه، هستلف وهستلف وكل ما أستلف أكتر، كل ما الدين يزيد وخدمته تزيد، والمفروض إن أنا عايز أسدد، وأستلف أكتر، وأنا هقول الواقع اللي إحنا فيه: إحنا في خلال الأربع سنين اللي فاتوا فقط لصالح مرتبات اللي أنا اتكلمت عليها ديّة، اللي زادت ١٥٠ مليار جنيه نتيجة الضغط اللي كان موجود في ٢٠١١ و١٢ ده عمل.. عمل بروز في الدين الداخلي ٦٠٠ مليار.. ٦٠٠ مليار جنيه، الدين الداخلي تعاظم من ٨٠٠ مليار جنيه، ووزير التخطيط من فضلك لو أنا بقول كلام ردني، ٨٠٠ مليار جنيه قبل ٢٠١١ لـ ٢٫٣ تريليون جنيه دلوقتي، وصل لـ ٩٧% من الناتج المحلي. آدي الحكاية بتاعتنا، آدي الحكاية بتاعتنا، ده الموضوع اللي إحنا بنتكلم فيه، هو كده. منقدرش أبدًا إن إحنا نتخلى عن المواطنين المصريين ولا على مرتباتهم، لكن إحنا محتاجين نعمل ضبط.. ضبط لـ.. الاقتصاد عندنا، ضبط للاقتصاد بتاعنا، ضبط لـ.، بمنتهى الوضوح كده، للدعم بتاعنا، ضبطه عشان نديّه للمستحق. يعني.. بـ.. بـ.. في عجالة ومش هتكلم كتير في موضوع الكهربا، لما أحط للتلات شرايح الأولانيين الشريحة الأولانية بتاعتها اللي هي الخمسين كيلو أقوله إن أنا هزودك جنيه ونص.. هزودك جنيه ونص على الفاتورة للخمسين كيلو، لكن وبعد ما هزودك الجنيه ونص دول مصر هتدفعلك، أنا بقول مصر، ٢٨ جنيه زيادة على الفاتورة، يعني قيمة الفاتورة ديّة انت بتدفعه، أنا خدت منك جنيه ونص، زودت عليك جنيه ونص يا مواطن عشان عارف إن الظروف.. الفئة والشريحة دي ظروفها صعبة. لكن، على الجانب الآخر، مصر دفعت بعد كده الخمسين كيلو دول ٢٨ جنيه، وأنا كنت بتمنى إن إحنا وإحنا بنتكلم وبنقول الزيادات دي نتكلم كده، نفهّم الناس الحكاية ماشية إزاي.

لغاية ١٠٠٠ كيلو بيُقدَّم له دعم متدرج، بيُقدَّم له دعم متدرج، يعني بيقل الدعم بتاعه لغاية ١٠٠٠ كيلو في الشهر، اللي بعد كده ممكن يكون شِلنا الدعم من عليه. الكلام ده، الـ.. لما نيجي نشوف الاستثمارات بتاعة وزارة الكهربا، وزير البيئة كان بيتكلم في موضوع أرجو إن إحنا ننتبه ليه، قال: لما كانت الكهربا مش منتظمة كانت المداخل بتاعة الشركة غير.. يعني متوافقة مع البيئة وبتعمل تلوث، ده كمان إيه ده بس نتيجة التذبذب في التيار وعدم انتظامه. عشان نعمل ضبط لموضوع الكهربا في مصر، إحنا صرفنا أكتر من ٤٠٠ مليار جنيه في السنتين دول أو لغاية.. ما تخلص المحطات الخطة اللي إحنا عاملينها أكتر من ٤٠٠ مليار جنيه، ده استثمارات، دي أموال بتُدْفَع عشان الكهربا اللي بنشوفها زي ما إحنا قاعدين كده والمصانع دي تشتغل ميبقاش عندها مشكلة. الكلام ده كان ممكن أوي إنه منتكلمش فيه لو كانت ظروفنا تسمح إن إحنا.. يعني نصرف الأموال ديَّة بيكون.. من غير ما يكون في مشكلة، لكن لأ. في منتهى الأهمية إن نقول وصول الدين لـ ٩٧% أو ٩٨% ده أمر لا يمكن إن إحنا نستمر فيه، يعني إحنا لازم نبتدي نسدد.. نسدد في هذا الدين ونقلله.. نسدد في هذا الدين ونقلله، وإحنا.. هو ده اللي أنا بكلمكم عشانه بس بنتهز الفرصة في افتتاح المشروع وكلنا فرحانين، وبنتهز الفرصة وفرحانين بإن إحنا إنتاجنا من الغاز في خلال سنة سنة ونص هيبقى ٧٠٠٠ يعني أكتر، أو تقريبًا زي اللي إحنا حجم الغاز اللي إحنا محتاجينه.. هيتم.. تدبيره من عندنا هنا من مصر. وأنا بقول لوزير الكهربا وبقول لوزير البترول وبقول للحكومة وبقول لكل اللي بيسمعني: إحنا عايزين من الـ ٧٠٠٠، أنا عايز ٧.. ٧ تريليون من الغاز <laughing> عشان نحل المسألة. على كل حال، أنا حبيت أكلمكم في الموضوع دوَّت عشان.. عشان محدش يعني... اتكلموا مع الناس وفهموهم إن الناس المصريين، وأنا قلت الحكاية من قبل كده، ناس كويسين أوي ومش هيقبلوا أبدًا إن بلدهم ميبقاش.. موقعها المناسب نتيجة التحديات ديَّة، ويقدروا. وعلى كل حال، إحنا الأمانة اللي انتم حملتوني، حملتوهالي تجاه الوطن، تجاه مصر، مش بس انتوا اللي هتحاسبوني عليها، اللي هيحاسبني عليها ربنا قبلكم، ثم التاريخ، وبالتالي كل القرارات الصعبة اللي تردد كتيير على مدى سنوات طويلة الناس خافت إنها تاخدها، أنا لن أتردد ثانية إن أنا آخدها... وأنا عايز أقولكوا على حاجة، يعني.. وانتوا هتقفوا جنبي، مش عشاني أنا، عشانها هي، مش عشان أنا.. مش عشان مكاني هنا، لأ، عشان هي تستحق منكم مصر الـ.. أيوة مصر. مصر تستحق منكم اللي ادتكم على مدى آلاف السنين ما أنتم فيه تستحق منكم إن انتم تدوها وتقفوا جنبها ولا تتخلوا عنها أبدًا. طيب الكلام اللي.. اللي أنا قلته ده... يعني.. يعني انت كده بتقلقنا ولا إيه؟ لأ، أنا دايمًا أحب أقول، وبالمناسبة أنا كنت بقول الكلام ده قبل ٢٠١١، كنت بقول الكلام ده على إن الواقع الاقتصادي في مصر تحدي ضخم جدًا وإحنا مش واخدين بالنا منه، وده بيضرب في كل قطاعات الدولة. مفيش اقتصاد يبقى مفيش تعليم، مفيش اقتصاد يبقى مفيش صحة، مفيش اقتصاد يبقى مفيش.. بنية أساسية، مفيش اقتصاد يبقى مفيش مشروعات تدي فرص.. للعمل للناس، هي الحكاية كده.

[Pause]

أنا قلت إن.. إن الناس خلال السنين اللي فاتت تحسبت، و.. وزيّ ما أنا قلت كده إن أسباب الموقف الاقتصادي في مصر كان له أسباب كتير، عايز أقولكوا كمان إن أول محاولة للإصلاح الحقيقية كانت ٧٧، ولما حصل رد فعل الناس بعدم القبول لده، تراجعت الدولة عن الإصلاح وفضلت تأجل الإصلاح لغاااية دلوقتي، تراجعوا وتحسبوا من الإصلاح خوفًا من إن رد فعل الناس ميبقاش جيد، وأنا في تقديري إن لا إحنا اتعاملنا مع المصريين على إن إحنا أوصياء عليهم وده مش صحيح، انت المفروض إنك انت تشرح وتقول وتوضح بكل دقة وأنا الكلام ده كنت بقوله حتى أيام.. الوزير.. رئيس الوزرا... الدكتور هشام قنديل، كنت بقوله من فضلكم اطلعوا كلموا الناس وقولوا الموقف الاقتصادي إيه واشرحولهم لأن الناس دي مش صغيرة، مصر.. المصريين دول ناس عظام، مبتتكلموش معاهم ليه؟ أنا مقصرتش في النقطة ديَّة واتكلمت فيها كتير، وبقول أول محاولة كانت ٧٧ حصل عدم قبول من المصريين في الوقت دوَّت، كل الحكومات اللي تعاقبت بعد كده تحسبت من محاولات الإصلاح وخافت من ردود الأفعال.

وبالتالي اتأجل الـ.. اتأجل الإصلاحات، وخليني أكلمكم بأرقام صغيرة كده تعرفوا من خلالها أنا أقصد إيه، يعني.. النهارده إحنا مش بنتكلم أبدًا على تكلفة استثمارية لأي مشروع، إحنا بنتكلم على تكلفة أو.. تكلفة اقتصادية، يعني بس عايزين نخلي المشروع اللي إحنا عملناه يغطي تكاليف تشغيله ويسدد.. ويسدد الأموال التي أنفِقَت فيه، ده مبيحصلش.

آخر محاولة لرفع أسعار المترو، وأنا لما بقول الكلام ده أرجو إن محدش يؤوّل كلامي وياخده في اتجاه غير اللي أنا بقول فيه، اللي أنا بقول فيه ده هو كده! آخر.. كان من كام سنة، كان من ١٢ سنة، انتوا عارفين التكلفة الحقيقية، أنا بقول الاقتصادية وليست الاستثمارية لمترو الأنفاق يبقى التذكرة بكام؟ لا جنيه ولا اتنين ولا تلاتة ولا خمسة ولا سبعة ولا عشرة، دي الحقيقة اللي إحنا كلنا لازم نبقى واخدين بالنا منها، كلنا، من أول.. يعني من أولى أنا وأنا موجود معاكم لكل من بيسمعني، كل مصري. محدش يقول أنا هـ.. هعمل إيه، لأ! إحنا هنعمل إيه كلنا مع بعض؟! خلي بالك، تكلفة الـ.. الكهربا اللي هي خدت منك قروش وجنيهات صغيرة دي هتعمل للآخر، لـ.. لقطاع الكهربا ٢٠ مليار جنيه، يعني إيه الكلام دوّت؟ يعني عايزة أقول إن.. إن الرقم اللي بياخد لما بيتجمّع على المستوى الكبير أوي ده بيعمل مبلغ كبير، متستقلّش بيه، بس انت... في حاجة عايز أقولهالكوا كده إيه؟ لما الحكومة جت.. تدي مثلًا.. تكافل وكرامة، تدي زيادة الحد الأدنى للمرتبات، تعمل ده.. كل ما الحكومة تقول تدي الجنيهات دي يقولك إيه؟ ده قليل. طيب، لما نيجي نزود إحنا جنيهات صغيرة كده في الكهربا ولا في المترو ولا في ده يقوللك: لأ لو سمحت ده كتير! يعني الجنيهات بتاعتنا إحنا <laughing> الجنيهات بتاعتنا إحنا ملهاش قيمة وجنيهاتكوا انتوا ليها قيمة؟ لا، لا. شوفوا.. انتم.. هي بلد بتاعتنا كلنا، مش بتاعتي أنا ولا بتاعة الحكومة ولا بتاع المسؤولين، دي بتاعتنا كلنا، ومش هتكبر ولا تنهض إلا ببيينا كلنا.

[Pause]

أنا قلت إن إحنا عجز الموازنة بيتم مواجهته بالاقتراض. نسيت حاجة أقولهالكوا مهمة بسجلها هنا، كان دايمًا مصر ظروفها الاقتصادية صعبة، والناس اللي متابعة للأحداث افتكروا ٩٠ و٩١، وحجم الأموال اللي كانت متراكمة كديون في الوقت دوّت. أنا بقولكم إن في ٩١ حجم الأموال التي أُسْقِطَت عن مصر ٤٣ مليار دولار.. وهقولها تاني: ده رقم أنا مسؤول عنه، حجم الأموال التي أُسْقِطَت عن مصر بين نادي باريس والقروض الأخرى ثم الدعم اللي قُدِّم كان ٤٣ مليار دولار.. ٤٣ مليار دولار وده أعطى.. أعطى للاقتصاد المصري فرصة... هي الحكاية كده، هي الحكاية كده... إحنا.. بنحاول نقلل الفجوة بين الموارد وبين المصروفات عشان العجز ميبقاش بالضخامة اللي موجود بيها ديّة، وبالتالي العجز معناه سلف على طول أو اقتراض، لوعندنا عجز ٣٠٠ مليار يبقى هنستلف ٣٠٠ مليار، عندنا عجز ٢٥٠ هنقترض ٢٥٠، كل ما هنقلل عجزنا كل ما هيقل من الاقتراض بتاعنا، كويس. كمان كل ما هنقلل من حجم الدين الداخلي كل ما هنقلل من حجم.. خدمته الفايدة بتاعته، يعني لو قلنا النهارده ٢٫٣ تريليون الخدمة بتاعتهم يعني الفوايد بتاعتهم ٢٥٠:٣٠٠ مليار جنيه، كل ما هنكسر في المبلغ ده كل ما إحنا هنقلل من خدمة الدين. ده جهد مش جهد حكومة، ده جهد مش جهد حكومة، ده جهد شعب وحكومة، وطن بالكامل واقف جنب بعضه عشان بيعمل مستقبله، بيعمل مستقبله.

[Pause]

قلت إن إحنا هيبقى فيه ترشيد للدعم، لكن الدعم يروح لمستحقيه، يروح لمين؟ لمستح.. للي هو الإنسان اللي محتاج بالفعل، أنا مبقاش عندي عربية بالشيء الفلاني وآخد دعم عليها، لكن الدعم ده يُقَدَّم للمواطن اللي هو يستحق هذا الدعم. فـ.. أرجو إن النقطة دي وأنا لما بقول الكلام ده مش معناه برضه إن أنا بتكلم على إن أنا هزود الوقود عشان مفتهمونيش غلط، صحيح لو هنعمل حاجة قبل ما هنعملها هنقولكوا عليها عشان الناس اللي بتسمعني في الأسواق وفي كل حتة تتنبه لكده، لو إحنا هنعمل إجراء إحنا هنقف نقول إحنا هنعمل الإجراء ده زي ما عمله السيد وزير الكهربا في مؤتمر صحفي كده قبل تنفيذه، فأرجو إن إحنا ميبقاش في شائعات أو.. أو كلام يقلق الناس بدون داعي