

## **Identity Negotiation in the Arab Spring Discourse: the Egyptian Case**

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### **Abstract**

In both Eastern and Western traditions, political discourse and its relation to identity have been studied. The focus of this paper is the construction of identity and self-presentation strategies in the discourse of Mubarak of Egypt during the time known as "the Arab Spring". This study aims to answer questions about how Mubarak constructs the various identities evident in his discourse, what kinds of resources are brought into effect, and how the multiple identities contribute to the aims of political discourse in general. While Mubarak recruited the considerable coercive power at his disposal, at the same time, he sought the power of discourse to construct and defend his legacy. Furthermore, he used the power of discourse to project his account of the external interference in domestic affairs and to recruit shared identities (based on nationalism).

### **Keywords**

Arab Spring, Identity, Mubarak, Egypt, Tahrir Square, Discourse analysis, Power

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## Introduction

On the 18th of December 2010, a Tunisian street hawker from a very modest social background, named Mohammed Bouazizi, self-immolated in public. The motivating reason was that the Tunisian police had confiscated his food cart and physically assaulted him when he tried to get it back. At that time, this modest regular man did not know that by his excruciating death, he would give birth to a series of protests that would be described as the most radical revolution in late modern Middle Eastern history. After Bouazizi burnt himself to death, the streets of Tunisia were flooded with people pressuring the regime of President Ben Ali to step down and put an end to his long rein, which had lasted almost 30 years. The fever of revolution spread quickly into Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. Consequently, the term “Arab Spring” returned to popular discourse after having been used in the past to refer to different events, especially in reference to a short-lived flowering of Middle Eastern democracy movements back in 2005 (Keating, 2011).

During the Arab Spring, many speeches were delivered by the presidents and the leaders of the affected countries. Their purpose was to attempt to quell the uprisings, which threatened their power. Many studies have tackled the notion of the Arab Spring from various points of view. There have been studies concerned with the Arab Spring from a legal point of view, such as the study done by Panara and Wilson (2013). In their book, they present the notion of Arab Spring to the world by discussing critical issues from different angles within the international law domain, such as the right to democracy, the recognition of newly installed governments, human rights and international troops involvement for humanitarian purposes. Further studies of the Arab Spring have focused on issues such as democracy, security, gender, colonialism, international relations, communication and media.

However, studies tackling the issue from a linguistic angle have been very few. The speeches delivered by the heads of state in the Arab Spring countries have been neglected by Western studies and also by Arabic studies. Almost all the studies of speeches delivered by the presidents in the countries of Arab Spring have considered speech extracts in contexts unrelated to linguistics. One of the studies that gives a partial linguistic account to some of the speeches delivered during the Arab Spring is Laremont (2013).

The main aim of this paper is to bridge the gap by analyzing two of Mubarak’s speeches following the norms of linguistics and CDA. This paper is going to particularly target how identity is constructed and defended and its significance to Mubarak’s aims and image.

The two speeches of this study were delivered by Mubarak of Egypt. The first one was delivered on the 28th of January 2011 and the second one, which was given just one day before he left the presidency, was on the 10th February 2011. Mubarak gave three speeches during the uprisings before he left authority and the ones we picked here are the first and the last..

### 1. Questions of Interest

Through applying the mixed-method approach, discussed in a later section, the following questions are looked at and discussed:

- 1- Through quantitative measures, what are the most used pronouns by Mubarak to construct identity?

- 2- What type of identity categories are drawn upon by Mubarak to present himself when constructing arguments?
- 3- Did Mubarak succeed in attracting people's attention and consent by 'googling' different types of identities?

The three questions above are the frame that is going to govern the study and limit it. The answer to the first two questions are needed to answer the third question, which needs quantitative data and an understanding of the society in which the texts were produced.

## **2. What Do we Already Know?**

It is suggested that identity is the way in which different people realize their relationship to the space around them and how that relationship is positioned across time and space (Norton, 1997). The definition just presented is broad and revolves around the individual and his or her perception of self in the whole outer around. The second definition that we are going to look at comes from the Social Identity Theory. According to this theory, identity or social identity is defined as a person's self-concept that they enjoy or are entitled to because of their affiliation with or because of their position in a specific social group (Turner & Oakes, 1986). In this definition, there is a clear link between the self-perception and the rights that the self can have or enjoy within a society because of certain structures within the society. The just presented definition gives us a hint that a satisfactory definition of identity is problematic as the term fits in and covers a wide range of phenomena such as group affiliations, nations socio-historical belief systems and subject position (Schwartz, Luyckx, & Vignoles, 2011). Due to the dynamic and flexible nature of the term identity, this article will narrow down to how a member of a given society perceive him/herself within the society and the manifestations of that perception in the language.

However, there is also need to determined how the self or identity is constructed in discourse in general and in political discourse in particular. It is suggested that when people talk, they either consciously or unconsciously put forward who they are through evaluating an object or positioning the self between or among other subjects. Furthermore, when people talk, they align with others and affiliate with them (Johnstone, 2009). When people speak to position the self, they express their emotions, attitudes and opinions and take a stance (Johnstone, 2009). Stance is suggested to be one of the linguistics strategies of building and constructing identity (Bucholtz, 2010). Stance is a public act by a social individual achieved through the evaluation of an object or positioning the self with other subjects respectful to any salient features in the sociocultural field (Du Bois, 2007). Thus, identity could be put forward by means of taking a stance, which is one of the linguist strategies of expressing the self. Furthermore, we generally know what identity is and what it revolves around. Following are some ideas, insights and studies about identity in general and identity and political discourse.

As discussed above, identity has been studied in relation to discourse within the Western context for different purposes. However, it could be noticed that the studies about identity within social sciences fall into three main categories. The first category is the sociological studies or the studies that tackle identity from a sociological point of view. In these studies, identity is questioned and discussed in relation to race, social class, gender and ethnicity. One of the most recent studies that tackles the

question of identity is the study by Masood and Khan (2018). In this study, the researchers, among other factors, discuss how the marginalization of certain sections of the society because of their shared identity or endangering their identity could lead to the rise of negative emotions in groups against other groups, which in the end will create an avoidance-oriented mindset. This study is mentioned here to show how the question of identity can be discussed in many different contexts. . Within the same study, we find a discussion about Pakistani society, the background of the society and also a discussion of the socio-historic and economic aspects of the society. Why do we find discussions about all of these aspects in a study on identity? The answer is that identity is a changing aspect of humanity. Identity is never stable. It interacts with the surroundings all the time as suggested by Wodak, De Cillia, and Reisigl (2009). Thus, to fully understand the notion of identity, there is need to study identity within a certain context holistically, something that is not easy to do. Otherwise, we need to study it with certain societal angles in mind, which is an option all studies about identity have taken.

The second category under which we can find studies of identity within social science is psychology. Identity has been a hot topic for psychologists as suggested by Stets and Burke (2000). This interest in identity by psychologists emerges from the eagerness of scholars in this field to understand individuals and how they interact with individuals of the same society by taking into consideration the societal constraints (Stets & Burke, 2000). The psychological literature about identity is vast and therefore it is difficult to discuss its nature and categorization here. One study will be presented and discussed to give an idea about how identity was tackled within psychology. This study was conducted by Vanheule and Verhaeghe (2009). In this published study, the writers discussed and examined how identity can be built and developed. Further, they discussed how the idea of the self is influenced by the interchange of forces inside the mind and the body. This study adopted three approaches. These approaches are Freud’s topological views<sup>12</sup> on the mental apparatus; Lacan’s theory on the mirror stage<sup>13</sup>, his optical model of the ideals of the subject, and his theory on the object *a*; and the theory of Fonagy and colleagues<sup>14</sup> on how the self develops and how affect regulation happens in the context of attachment relationships. The authors mainly outline similarities and differences in how identity is looked at within the perspectives of Freud, Fonagy and Lacan. Further, they discuss clinical implications in light of these approaches or theories that looked at identity. By reading this study, we can support the initial suggestion that identity is a vast topic to the degree that we have three psychological theories within one study that tackles identity.

The third category under which we can find studies of identity within social science is discursive studies or discourse analysis studies. The studies that raise the question of identity within discourse are many. However, there are not many studies that raise the question of identity when it comes to the Arab Spring in general and the political speeches of Arab Spring leaders in particular. There is even a dearth in the studies that studied the political speeches of the Arab Spring, let alone the topic of identity. The lack of studies could be explained through three points. The first point is that it is only in recent years that academic attention has been given to critical discourse analysis of political

<sup>12</sup> For further discussion and presentation of Freud's topological views, please refer to the work of Dalzell (2018).

<sup>13</sup> For further discussion and presentation of Lacan’s theory on the mirror stage please refer to the work of Jacques Lacan (1953)(Miller, Vandome, &McBrewster, 2011). For further discussion on the work of Lacan and his different theories please refer to J. Lacan (2018) and Harari (2004).

<sup>14</sup> For some discussion on the work of Fonagy and his colleagues, please refer to the work of Fonagy and Target (2000) and (Target & Fonagy, 1996)

speeches in the Arabic context (Mazid, 2015). The second point is the authoritative and controlling power of the security apparatus in these countries, where all media and communication means are controlled. For example, in Egypt, there is the 2915 presidential decree. This decree dictates that researchers should satisfy certain conditions before they can conduct research in social sciences (Yakoot, 2017).

Further, there is the Egyptian Universities Law, which was issued in 1979. This law gives presidents of universities unprecedented and unjustified control on the students' academic and political activities (Yakoot, 2017). It is not surprising to know that even the first Arabic studies in the field were done and conducted after the deliverers of the speeches left power or passed away, as suggested by Qabani, 2017b in the review of his study. The third point relates to the Arabic culture, where criticism is not always welcome because it correlates with the idea of deconstructing rather than constructing in general (Mazid, 2015). The word "criticism" in Arabic is always linked to harsh words and attracts backlash (Mazid, 2014). There also could be other factors and reasons for the lack of critical discourse analysis of political speeches, which may be cultural and societal. More research is needed to determine these reasons and factors. It could be seen that all of the studies, whether sociological, psychological or discourse regarding identity, tackle the same thing and that is the identity of the individuals and their interaction with the surroundings. However, these studies differ in two things. The first thing is the methods of enquiry and the second the results or the conclusions.

Since identity, as stated in the study of Wodak et al. (2009), is never stable and interacts with the context and the environment around it, the methodologies that are used to analyze it are also different and follow different theories, whether societal or linguistic, to get results and answers. In general, the questions of the research dictates the methods as in the following studies.

Van De Mieroop (2008) study revolves around the way speakers construct their identities as representatives of their companies (institutional identity construction) in relation to the way they "project" an identity onto their audiences. In the methodology of the paper, an integrative analysis of different elements that contribute to identity construction is deemed necessary because of the nature of identity and the questions raised. The researcher used the three-level analysis suggested by (De Fina, 2003). After the application of the three levels of analysis, it has been found out that the institutional we-form is used quite consistently in the speech and a further connotation is attributed to it by means of the speaker's categorization of his company as an older player in the field. This entails a category entitlement, which obviates the need to ask how the person knows; instead, simply being a member of some category. It could be concluded here that pronouns are deciders of the identity and conclusions about identity and face could be reached by analyzing pronouns and linking them to society and market following different theories.

In the study of El Saj (2012) the researcher analyzed the pronoun system of the interview of Opra Winfrey with queen Rania of Jordan. The main aim of the paper was to explore the use of subjects in Oprah Winfrey hosting Queen Rania of Jordan. Subjects were examined following the Hallidiayn analysis approach, focusing on speech function (Michael Halliday, 1978). The transcript of the episode was analyzed to investigate the personal pronouns used by Oprah and her guest throughout the conversation. The results suggest that by using pronouns, Oprah Winfrey manages to represent herself and others, proving that the choice of words, specifically pronouns, is one of the main factors in maintaining a good interchange in a conversation activity. In this study, in addition to

the Halliday approach, the researcher had to use another cross-cultural approach proposed by Hofstede or Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions (Hofstede & Hofstede, 1991). To give an example of the findings in this paper, it could be seen that when a quantitative analysis of the pronoun *we* was provided, the researcher applied the cultural dimension Hofstede on the raw data and reached the conclusion that the Queen (who is an Arab), used *we* 25 times. According to Hofstede & Hofstede (1991) the Queen belongs to the high collectivist culture, where people use the group as the unit of analysis, and they think of themselves as interdependent with their in-group (family, co-workers, tribe, country). As the Queen, therefore, Rania gives priority to her family, her people and country by giving priority to educated women in her country and empowering them. Two things could be of significance to this study. The first one is that the raw data or the quantitative data may not have so much to say in regard to identity. The second thing is we need a social theory to make the connection between the raw linguistic data and the community in which the speech or data was collected or delivered. By utilizing the tools of linguistics and the tools of social theories we may be able to decide on identity and identity juggling in different societies.

It is stated above that to get some answers when it comes to identity, we need to look at it from certain societal angles. In this study, we are going to look at identity and political discourse in terms of their relation to each other. In the field of politics or within the political domain, language plays a significant role in expressing political ideologies, beliefs and the heavily interrelated construction of identity and group relations (Schaffner, 1996). Schaffner (1996) further suggests that every action in the political domain is prepared, guided controlled, and influenced by language. So, to understand the suggestions of Schaffner (1996) clearly, we can say that identity and how it is constructed is embedded within language and to understand it in the political context, we need to analyze language with a link to society.

### 3. Methodology

In this paper two speeches delivered by Mubarak during the unrest in Egypt in 2011 will be analyzed. The two speeches were collected and transcribed from the televised speeches. The speeches were aired live on the national TV of Egypt on the 28th of January 2011 and the second one, which was given just one day before Mubarak left the presidency, was aired on the 10<sup>th</sup> February 2011.

The thrust of this paper is the concept of register as seen by the theory of SFL. The component of tenor as described in SFL will be particularly utilized in this paper to discuss identity and how it is presented in the discourse of Mubarak. Tenor is a term used in SFL to refer to the participants in the discourse and their relationship to each other. Tenor refers to *“who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their status and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relations of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relations in which they are involved”* (Halliday 1985: 12). Another definition suggests that tenor is *“the negotiation of social relationship among participants”* (Martin, 1992, p. 523). The relationship between the interactants as represented in the language of the situation could be identified with different roles depending on what roles are available in the society such as father / son, teacher / student and customer / salesperson. (Eggs, 2004). The dimensions of tenor include, not only the relationship between the interactants, but also their degree



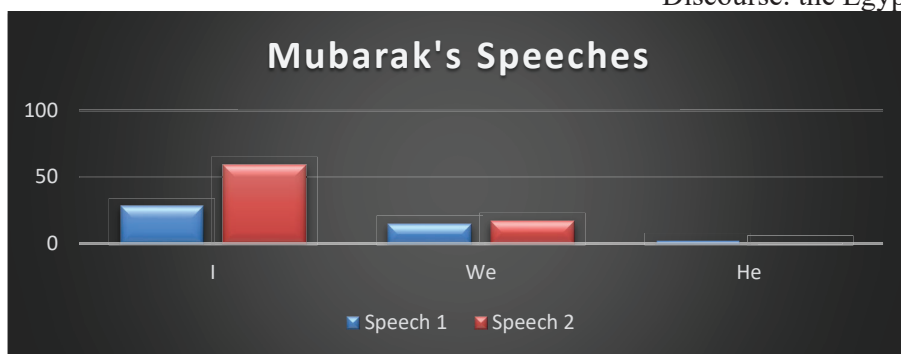
of “social distance” (Hasan 1985), that is, whether there is a shared history between them or not (Michale Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, since social roles have a cultural context, it seems obvious to suggest that role relationships are sensitive to cultural environment. For example, to take the relationship between a student and a teacher in Western cultures, it is very common for students, especially at higher education level, to address their teacher by his/her first name or “Mr.-Mrs. + Last name”, and that would be a common or unmarked indication of how language is used when analyzing tenor in language situations that include a student and his/her teacher. In other words, in this context in Western societies the use of the vocative is reciprocal. However, in Eastern cultures, especially Asia and parts of Africa, vocative use is non-reciprocal between a student and his teacher. It is very unusual to find a student call his/her teacher by his/her first name. I am not suggesting here that the continuum of power does not exist or is totally equal between a student and his teacher in western culture, but what is suggested here is that the distance between a student and his teacher in an eastern culture is higher and more formal. By applying the norms of tenor on the discourse in hand here, we will be more likely to understand how Mubarak constructed his identity and the way he wanted others to perceive him in terms of identity.

Before going into the analysis of the discourse, some quantitative data will be presented. This data will show the frequency of appearance of the pronouns that refer to identity in the speeches, after that the data will be discussed and linked to the society in which it was originated. The link of discourse to the society in which it was originated in will be done through the work of Max Weber (1958) and M. Weber, Owen, Strong, and Livingstone (2004). Max Weber (1958) suggests that there are three types of authority in any society and these types are the traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal- rational authority. For example, Followers accept the power of charismatic authority because they are drawn to the leader’s personal qualities. The appeal of a charismatic leader can be extraordinary, and can inspire followers to make unusual sacrifices or to persevere in the midst of great hardship and persecution. Mubarak through identifying himself s a leader in his speeches appealed to this type of authority as we will see in the discussion.

## **4. Discussion**

### **4.1. Quantitative Analysis**

It can be seen from Figure 1 below that Mubarak represented himself or identified himself in different ways in his speeches. He used different types of pronouns to manipulate how people would look at him and his actions.



**Figure 1-Mubarak use of subjective personal pronouns**

In the first speech Mubarak used the singular first person pronoun “I” to refer to himself 28 times. The occurrence of the singular first person pronoun “I” increased in the second speech. Mubarak used the singular first person pronoun “I” 59 times in the second speech. This is an increase of almost 100 % from the first speech. It is suggested that the singular first person pronoun “I” is primarily used in speaking and writing to represent the self or the person delivering speaking or writing.

The first person plural pronoun “we” was used in the first speech by Mubarak 15 times and in the second speech it was used 17 times. As can be seen from the numbers, there is almost no difference between the first and the second speeches with regard to the use of the first person plural pronoun “we”,. “We” is used as the subject of a verb. A speaker or writer uses “we” to refer both to himself or herself and to one or more other people as a group. Further, in many discourse analysis studies on identity, inclusivity, hegemony and manipulation an analysis of the pronoun “we” is always present as its use in the discourse can invoke different meanings and different perceptions of different topics. For example, with regard the role of the pronoun “we” in the syntax of hegemony it was noted:

*“We’ is an important feature of the syntax of hegemony, for it can provide a handy rhetorical device for presenting sectional interests as if they were universal ones. ‘We’, the sectional interest, invoke an ‘all of us’, for whom ‘we’ claim to speak. Hegemonic discourse is marked by such elisions of ‘we’s. [...] Political speakers routinely elide first person plurals: we the speaker and audience, we the party, we the government, we the nation, we the right-thinking people, we the Western world, we the universal audience – they all slide together. The boundaries between one ‘we’ and another one are routinely and rhetorically entangled, as speakers skillfully portray a harmonious world, in which all ‘we’s speak with one voice – the speaker’s own voice”.* (Billig, 1995: 166).

The last pronoun of interest in this study is the pronoun “he” or the third person singular pronoun “he”. It was used only once in the first speech by Mubarak. Even though this pronoun is used to refer to a singular male entity, Mubarak employed it to serve the purpose of self-identification as we will be seen in the coming discussion.

## 4.2. Pronouns and Identity Analysis

Before going into the analysis of identity or how Mubarak identified himself, we will discuss the first and the second speeches Mubarak delivered in terms of topics. Knowing the topics and the concerns Mubarak raised in his speeches will help in the discussion of the identities and will help in linking identities to the context.



The first speech of Mubarak during the protests revolved around three topics and those topics are the protests, the efficiency of the government and its resignation and lastly political reforms. Mubarak started his first speech by stating that Egypt was going through critical times that were testing Egypt and its people which could sweep them into the unknown. Mubarak further stated that the country was passing through difficult times and tough experiences which began with noble youths and citizens who practice their rights to peaceful demonstrations and protests, expressing their concerns and aspirations but they were quickly exploited by those who sought to spread chaos and violence, confrontation and to violate the constitutional legitimacy and to attack it.

Mubarak stressed on the necessity of irreversible reforms. He stressed that new steps that affirm and respect the independence of the judiciary system, democracy and freedoms would be taken. Further, he said that new steps to tackle unemployment and improve the standard of living and services would be taken and new steps to support the poor and those with limited income would also take place. Mubarak claimed that these choices and goals would determine the fate and future of Egypt and Egyptians.

In the closing statements of his speech, Mubarak made it clear that he had asked the government to step down and tender their resignation to the president. Mubarak inferred that by doing so, he had abdicated his responsibility and duty of keeping Egypt and the citizen safe. He also gave the people a time frame of when the new government would be formed and when it would attend to its duties.

The second speech of Mubarak revolves around three main topics and these topics are the protests, his service to the country and the actions that needed to be taken so that Egypt stays a peaceful united country. Mubarak started his speech by saluting those who are protesting in Tahrir square and everywhere in Egypt. He moved on after that to assure people that those who were killed during the unrest would be avenged and assured people that he would not relent in harshly punishing those responsible. He further said that he would hold those who persecuted the youth accountable with the maximum deterrent sentences.

Mubarak clarified that the mistakes can be made in any political system and in any state. But, the most important is to recognize them and correct them as soon as possible and bring to account those who have committed them. He told people that as a president he found no shame in listening to the people and interacting with them and that the big shame and embarrassment, would be listening to foreign dictatorship whatever may be the source or pretext.

Mubarak stressed that he and his government started building a constructive national dialogue, including the Egyptian youths who led the calls for change, and all political forces. This dialogue has resulted in a tentative agreement of opinions and positions, putting our feet at the start of the right track to get out of the crisis and must continue to take it from the broad lines on what has been agreed upon to a clear road map and with a fixed agenda. Mubarak also gave details on some amendments which aim to ease the conditions for presidential nominations, and the fixing of limited terms of presidency to ensure the rotation of power, and the strengthening of the regulations of elections oversight to guarantee their freedom and fairness.

Mubarak reminded people that he was once a soldier who served Egypt in all of its wars. He stressed that he was there in times of victory and in times of defeat. He was there during the sacred war of October and he was there when the Egyptian flag flew proudly on Sini. He moved then to express his sorrow that his people were being ungrateful for all of his sacrifices and asking him to leave his position as a president of the country. Mubarak said that he understood the ground upon which his people were asking him to leave power and said that Egypt was above all and he would leave power because of Egypt, which would remain immortal with its dignified people with their heads held high.

As can be seen from the discussion above on the two speeches , the topics are to a large extent the same in both of the speeches and what concerned Mubarak during the unrest did not change much in the time between the two speeches. Mubarak’s main concerns were the protests, the shape of his government and his picture or image in front of the people as suggested in the beginning of the discussion of the topics of the two speeches. Now we move on to the discussion of how Mubarak manipulated different identities in his two speeches and the reasons behind this manipulation.

In the first speech, Mubarak identified himself using the pronoun “I” 28 times and 59 times in the second speech. The pronoun “I” characteristically excludes the addressee. When a speaker uses the pronoun “I” an indication is given that the speaker or the addresser is responsible for the action or the talk that is being delivered. It is suggested that the pronoun “I” is used in political discourse by speakers also to show the authority of the speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and to narrate a story (Bramley, 2001). Further, the pronoun “I” is used in political discourse to express opinion as it makes the speech more subjective. However, because of the issue of subjectivity it makes this pronoun an avoidable one sometimes by politicians as suggested by Pennycook (1994). When used in political discourse the pronoun “I “ is suggested to have other uses such as giving a sense of here and now, suggesting that “I” comprehending the here and now. “I” can also be used to create a relationship with the addressees, because using “I” makes the speech seem as if it is on a more personal level. “I” might also be used to show commitment to the addressees and personal involvement in issues of concerns. “I” gives the speaker a personal voice that distances him from others. This means that it cannot always be expected that the other members of his government, for example, agree with the opinion of the speaker when the pronoun “I” is used (Bramley, 2001). Personal involvement is shown when the pronoun “I” is used, which is especially useful when positive news is delivered. The disadvantage is that it is obvious who is to be blamed when something goes wrong. It can also be seen as a try of the speaker to place himself above or outside the shared responsibility of his government of colleagues (Beard, 2000).

As per the discussion above, Mubarak in general excluded the addressees and put himself in a higher exclusive position. He inferred that he is responsible for and aware of his actions and the talk he was delivering 28 times in the first speech and 59 times in the second speech. He inferred that he is responsible for his actions as a president and that he is taking actions that are self-dictated as can be seen from the examples below 1, 2 and 3 below:

Example 1	<p style="text-align: right;">لَقَدْ تَابَعْتُ أَوْلَىٰ بِأَوَّلِ التَّنَظُّهَاتِ</p> <p>I have been closely monitoring the demonstrations</p>
Example 2	<p style="text-align: right;">ثُمَّ تَابَعْتُ مُحَاوَلَاتِ الْبَعْضِ</p>

	I then followed the attempts by some
Example 3	إنني كرئيس للجمهورية I am the President of Egypt

In his first speech, Mubarak excluded himself from his audience and wanted to be identified as the president of Egypt. That is why the use of the pronoun “I” is higher in number than any other pronoun. By using the pronoun ‘I’ Mubarak appealed to the legal base of power. Legal base of power or legal base of authority as per Weber (2014) is derived from law and is based on the belief in the legitimacy of a society’s laws and rules and in the right of leaders to act under these rules to make decisions and set policy. This form of authority is a symbol of modern democracies, where power is given to people elected by eligible voters, and the rules for using that power are usually set forth in a constitution, an agreement, or another written document. By using the pronoun “I” Mubarak wanted to further say that I am the president and that I am able to act through my position as a president and that all of the actions are mandated by my legitimate position as a president. Through his speech, Mubarak also showed that he was involved in the daily matters of the people’s lives and wanted to be identified as such as seen from examples 4, 5 and 6.

Example 4	وإنني إذ انحازت كل الانحياز لحرية المواطنين، في إبداء آرائهم، أتمسك بذات القدر When I truly take the side of citizens' freedoms , when they express their views, I similarly stand firm
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Example 5	إنني أعي هذه التطالعات المشروعة للشعب I am fully aware of these lawful aspirations of the Egyptian people
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Example 6	وسوف أظل للفقراء من أبناء الشعب على الدوام and I will always be on the side of the poor of the sons of the people
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The three examples above show clearly that Mubarak wanted to be identified as the concerned , the close one and the one who is companionate. He used the right tool for that which is the pronoun “I”. The use of the pronoun “I” also served the purpose of identifying himself as the one who is supported by a legacy of his own making and as one who is not an ordinary man as could be seen from examples 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Example 7	اني لا اتحدثت لكم كرئيس للجمهورية فحسب وإنما كمصري شاءت الأقدار ان يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الوطن وأمضي حياته من أجله، حرباً وسلاماً I address you today, not only as the president of the republic, but also as an Egyptian whoses destiny dictates that he shoulders the responsibility of this country and who has spent his life for it in times of war and peace.
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Example 8	لقد كنتُ شاباً مثل شباب مصر الآن عندما تعلمتُ شرف العسكرية المصرية والولاء للوطن والتضحية من أجله
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	I was exactly like the Egyptian youth today, when I got taught the Egyptian military code ,loyalty to the country and making sacrifices for it.
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Example 9	أَفْتَيْتُ عُمْرِي دِفَاعاً عَنِ أَرْضِهِ وَسَيَادَتِهِ
	I have given away my life safeguarding its land and sovereignty

Example 10	شَهِدْتُ حُرُوبَهُ بِهَزَائِمِهَا وَإِنْتِصَارَاتِهَا
	I witnessed its wars, victories and defeats

Mubarak used the pronoun “I” to serve the purpose of identifying himself as the one who is supported by a legacy of his own making and as one who is not an ordinary man. He does this in the second speech more than in the first one, which shows how much he was hurt by the unrelenting and sustained protests. Mubarak clearly states this (Example 11) exactly after 13 instances of using the pronoun “I” to clear his name and remind people of his legacy.

Example 11	وَيَحْزُنُ فِي نَفْسِي مَا أَلْفَيْهِ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ بَعْضِ بَنِي وَطَنِي
	and it aches me so hard what I see, from some of the sons of my country.

Mubarak tried to be closer to the people in the second speech more than the first one. The excessive use of the pronoun “I” in the second speech suggests an appeal to the traditional authority. Max Weber (1958) suggests that traditional authority is power that is deep-rooted in traditional, or long-standing, beliefs and practices of a society. It exists and is allocated to particular individuals because of that society’s customs and traditions. Individuals enjoy traditional authority for two reasons. The first is inheritance, as certain individuals are granted traditional authority because they are the descendants of people who already exercise traditional authority. The second reason individuals enjoy traditional authority is religious. Some people in some societies believe that there are certain people within their society who are destined to lead their society. Traditional authority is common in many preindustrial societies, where tradition and custom are so important, but also in more modern monarchies, where a king, queen, or prince enjoys power because she or he is a descendant of a royale family (Sharabi, 1992).

In his speeches, especially the second one, and through incorporating the pronoun “I” Mubarak tried to let people feel ashamed and look like the ones who are opposing their father, a taboo in any Arab community (Sharabi, 1975), (Sharabi, 1992) and (Qabani, 2017). Mubarak started the second speech by saying that he was addressing his sons and daughters as could be seen in example 12. Sharabi (1992) suggests modernity (democracy, states of institutions and equal rights) contrasts with patriarchy (the form of traditional society, where the authority is in the hands of the father). The concept of neopatriarchy describes the conditions of patriarchy in Arab society that have not been displaced or comprehensively modernized. Instead, they have only been reinforced and sustained in distorted, somewhat modernized forms. The neopatriarchal state, regardless of modern institution building and legislation reflective of modern ideas, “*is in many ways no more than a modernized version of the traditional patriarchal sultanate*” (Sharabi: 7). When a head of state sees himself as a father, he

will employ certain strategies to keep control of the people and to show his feelings as well. These strategies will help to understand further the bases of legitimacy directly in relation to Arab societies. Mubarak tried in many instances in his speech to remind people that he is a father and that they are disobeying him through the use of the pronoun “I”. This process is referred to in literature as defending the asymmetry and it requires constant fortification (Qabani, 2017). Mubarak deepened the image of the father who was betrayed by his sons and daughters by using the pronoun “I” excessively as discussed.

Example 12	الأبناء شَبَابَ مِصْرَ وَشَابَاتِهَا My sons, the male and female youths of Egypt
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What follows is a discussion of another pronoun Mubarak used to identify himself which is the pronoun “we”. This pronoun was used in the first speech 15 times and 17 times in the second speech.. As can be seen from the frequency of use of the first person plural pronoun “we”, there is almost no difference between the first and the second speeches. In his speeches, Mubarak used this pronoun to be identified as one who shares responsibility with others, yet he is the powerful one in the group as seen in example 13. In example 13, he uses the pronoun “we” and does not exclude himself from the group he was addressing; rather he saw himself taking the lead in this group. We see this clearly in the topics he raised later in the speech after saying that himself and the nation faced many difficult times. Mubarak talked about some actions he took in the name of the nation such as political reform, democracy and facing unemployment. He raised all these issues without even mentioning the government even once.

Example 13	لَقَدْ اجْتَرْنَا مَعًا مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْقَاتًا صَعْبَةً، تَعَلَّبْنَا عَلَيْهَا، عِنْدَمَا وَاجَهْنَاهَا كَأُمَّةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَشَعْبٍ وَاحِدٍ We have traversed hard times; we mounted them when we stood up to them as one people, one nation.
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The second speech is not different from the first one in terms of the use of the pronoun “we”.e. Mubarak did not exclude himself from the people or the nation but saw himself as a leader or a father of the nation who should be obeyed and as one who traditionally has the right to act in the name of the nation as seen from example 14. Even though Mubarak urged all political parties and the people to negotiate and put the safety of Egypt above all, he did not want people to neglect or forget his leading role in the future of Egypt or in the political future of Egypt ( see example 15 ).

Example 14	وَعَلَيْنَا أَنْ نُواصِلَ الْجَوَارِ الْوَطَنِيَّ الَّذِي بَدَأْنَاهُ بِرُوحِ الْفَرِيقِ وَلَيْسَ الْفُرْقَاءُ، وَبَعِيداً عَنِ الْخِلَافِ وَالتَّنَاحُرِ we have to carry on the national dialogue that we have already started with the spirit of a team and away from any sense of animosity and any sense of differences and opposition.
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Example 15	وَلَيْسَ أَمَامَنَا مِنْ سَبِيلٍ لِنَحْقِيقَهَا سِوَى بِالْوَعْيِ وَالْعَمَلِ وَالْكَفَاحِ، لِنَحَافِظَ عَلَى مَا حَقَّقْنَاهُ وَنُبْنِي عَلَيْهِ There is no way in front of us so that they get accomplished except with awareness, work and struggle, so that we preserve what we have built and we add to it.
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The last pronoun looked at in terms of identity is the pronoun “he”. Mubarak uses the pronoun “he” the least in the two speeches. Nevertheless, it played an important role in the two speeches. He identified himself by the use of the pronoun “he” once in the first speech. Mubarak identifies himself using the pronoun “he” even though he is the speaker to assert his position as a president and convey that he is down to earth and not a narcissistic president as is evident in example 16. The act of referring to oneself in the third person singular is referred to in the literature as illeism (Garner, 2016). Illeism is conceived differently in different disciplines. For example, the use of illeism is looked at differently in psychology than it is looked at in the field of linguistics. In the field of politics, illeism is not only different but also complicated as per Elledge (2017). Research suggests that politicians who are narcissist usually resort to illeism when they talk (Mpofu, 2020). However, recent research of illeism and human behavior does not find an obvious link between illeism and narcissism (Huang & Jaszczolt, 2018). It is suggested within research that people in high offices refer to themselves in the third person singular to assert their position in the office or their position on the top of the hierarchy. Further, people also talk in the third person to assert or show their social weight in the construction of the society or the family (Huang & Jaszczolt, 2018). Mubarak tried to do both by identifying himself in the third person singular. Mubarak wanted to assert his position as a president and to let people feel embarrassed and ashamed as they protested against their father or because they challenged his traditional authority as discussed earlier.

Example	وَأَمَّا كَمِصْرِي شَاءَتْ الْأَقْدَارُ أَنْ يَتَّخِذَ مَسْئُولِيَّةَ هَذَا الْوَطَنِ
16	..... but also as an Egyptian whose destiny dictates that he shoulder the responsibility of this country

## Conclusion

In general different pronouns serve different political and social purposes when it comes to political discourse as discussed in this paper. In order for us to understand the rhetorical, social or political consequences of different pronouns, we need an understanding of the social and political surroundings that made and fortified the discourse. In this paper, the use of pronouns *we* demonstrates how Mubarak wanted to be identified and be looked at. He juggled different identities depending on what he was talking about or depending on the way he wanted people to perceive him in relation to a certain topic.

It was noted in the two speeches analysed here that when Mubarak wanted to be identified as one who takes actions or when he wanted talk about topics of change, he used the pronoun “I”. However, when he wanted to be identified as one who shares with others or talks about topics in which he blames people, he used the pronoun “we” as seen in examples 17 and 18. When Mubarak expressed his sorrow and wanted to be identified as a victim, he used the pronoun “I” more, which supports the view that the pronoun “I” serves subjective purposes (Pennycook, 1994).

In his quest to stop the sweeping protest against him, Mubarak used the same tools that he had used for years to quell any objections or uprisings against him.. He did not change the way he identified himself to the people. Rather, he treated the uprising or protests like any other protest. It is suggested that after giving his last speech on the 10<sup>th</sup> February 2011, 64.4% out of 3000 people felt positive



about Mubarak stepping down (Hearst, 2011). This big number of pro-stepping down of Mubarak suggests a change in the way Egyptians think about politics and the authority of the father to use the term of (Sharabi, 1992). In another survey that targeted the opinions of the protestors in Tahrir Square after the first speech by Mubarak, 72.3% of the surveyed people said that what Mubarak said was expected (Hassan, 2015). These two last references suggest that Mubarak misread his people and relied heavily on his pre-built identities to face the new situation.

Another aspect of society Mubarak misread was the new authority in the field of uprisings and that is the media. It is suggested that media in all of its forms paves the way to the political change (el-Nawawy & Khamis, 2016). Media was used and followed by protesters in the Egyptian revolution in an unprecedented way, to the degree that some referred to it as the revolution of the media (Abdulla & Peace, 2014). By identifying himself in a classic way, Mubarak ignored totally the modern and new player in the game or maybe underestimated the power of the new comer into the field of revolutions. If Mubarak had paid attention to the media and identified himself creatively to the media, things could have turned out differently for him.

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