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# **Language, Discourse & Society**

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# Language, Discourse & Society

## Contents

**Volume 11, Number 1  
June 2023**

Message from the Editor-in-Chief.....4

### Original articles

**Social Actor Representation in Media Discourse: How Neutral Linguistic Cues Get Endowed with Meaning that Signifies Ethnicity,**  
Sandra Simonsen .....9

**Language discourse in curriculum development - comparative perspective from Romania, Poland and Croatia,**  
Ana Žnidarec Čučković, Monika Czyżewska, Ciprian Simuț, Ewa Dąbrowa .....27

**Linguistic Strategies According to Gender as Reflected in the Kenya National Assembly,**  
Boswell Omondi Owuor, Beth Njeri Ngugi.....47

**Assessing Indonesian college students' reading stamina in reading different text formats,**  
Refanja Rahmatillah, Firman Parlindungan .....65

**Twittérature : autopoïèse, allopoïèse et générations de Twitterbot littéraire,**  
Yohanna Joseph Waliya.....81

**Speech Act Theory: An Inter/Intra-cultural Study of Apology in Communication between Spouses,**  
Sousan Sattar Boroujeni, Sara Mansouri .....103

**A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of 2018 Iraqi Parliamentary Electoral Posters,**  
Khalid Shamkhi Sharhan, Mohammed Hussein Mahawi, Haidar Kareem Al-Ābedi .....121

**The Manifestation of Ideology in the Metaphors used by Kenyan Politician Raila Odinga**  
Linda Mang'eni, Helga Schroeder .....143

**The Role of Cohesion in Text Creation,**  
Abdulmalek Hammed Jassim.....159

## **Book reviews**

### **Book review of *School Journey as a Third Place; Theories, Methods and Experiences Around the World***

Katarzyna Soszyńska.....175

**Language & Society  
Research Committee 25 of the  
International Sociological Association**

## Message from the Editor

Anna Odrowąż-Coates<sup>1</sup>

Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the June 2023 edition of *Language Discourse and Society*. This issue is non-thematic and comprises of 9 original articles and 1 book review. It may be of interest that the Authors represent several continents and the following countries listed in alphabetical order: Croatia, Denmark, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Poland and Romania. Articles pertain to language and discourse, contain semantic analysis and critical discourse methodology. Some of the articles may appear political as they address important social struggles or engage with analysis of political discourses. Bearing this in mind, please note that the content of the articles does not reflect opinions or beliefs of ISA and the RC 25 but Authors' alone.

The rejection rate was rather high in the recent year, due to the vast volume of submissions non-compliant with our template, outside the scope of the journal, in early draft format or rejected by external expert reviewers for significant shortages. This is regretful, since we highly appreciate the choice of our journal as the avenue for publication of academic work.

The acceptance rate for this issue was 14% and, in this light, I would like to congratulate all the Authors who made it to the issue. We really appreciate working with you and thank you for sharing your high-quality research outcomes with our journal and for cooperating with the reviewers and the editors.

I would also like to thank our reviewers for holding on to the high standards, we wish to maintain. We do appreciate the unpaid work that reviewers share with the Scientific Board and the Editors. It is amazing that we can continue this important contribution to the community and to our RC. To ensure anonymity the list of names will be published traditionally in December's issue.

There are some challenges that we are confronted with but with so many disturbing news around us nowadays I will not discuss it and focus on the celebration of our joint efforts.

I express my sincere gratitude especially to the co-editors, Doctor Gatitu Kiguru and Doctor Phyllis W. Mwangi, from Kenyatta University in Kenya for the ongoing commitment to the journal.

Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates

Editor in Chief

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# **Original Articles**



## **Social Actor Representation in Media Discourse: How Neutral Linguistic Cues Get Endowed with Meaning that Signifies Ethnicity**

Sandra Simonsen<sup>2</sup>

### **Abstract**

In media discourse, journalists often need to navigate two professional values when covering migration topics: providing accurate and relevant information to audiences while simultaneously being committed to social justice. To understand how discursive practices have developed in response to this dilemma, I compare migration news discourse from two national environments—Sweden and Denmark—that represent opposite sociopolitical responses to migration. By analyzing the representations of identities of social actors inspired by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2018), the paper shows how migrant’s ethnic identities are sometimes omitted and suppressed in news content, and it identifies a range of lexical devices journalists utilize to represent actors in ways that still signify ethnicity while remaining ostensibly neutral. For example, in Denmark, ethnic labels such as “migrant”, “migrant gang” and “ghetto” constitute a common pattern, whereas in Sweden, conversely, such terms are substituted by expressions such as “new Swede”, “youth gang” and “vulnerable neighborhood”. I term this phenomenon semantic ethnification and define it as a process where ethnic identities of social actors are expressed through strategies that rely on implicit and covert connotations that denote ethnicity rather than explicit ethnic cues.

### **Keywords**

Migration, news discourse, “other” representation, social actors, ethnicity.

*First submission: 18<sup>th</sup> February 2023; Revised: April 2023; Accepted: April 2023*

## Introduction

In the field of discourse studies, the topic of migration has received an immense amount of attention, and have been examined from a wide range of perspectives (e.g., racist, xenophobic, legal, political, administrative, media) and with a diverse set of analytical tools (e.g. linguistic approaches, Conversation Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and ethnographic approaches. (Fairclough, 1989 & 1995; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak and Richardson, 2012; Wodak and Meyer, 2015, and for an overview see van Dijk, 2018). In the present study, I focus on the representation of identities (Van Leeuwen, 1996 & 2008) of migrants in media discourse, as that topic has increasingly become a site of intense ideological struggle. Specifically, media institutions covering migration topics are often the targets of public criticism by both politicians and activists from opposing political camps, who either accuse the news discourses of aggravating ethnic resentment or inversely of shying away from addressing important societal issues (Hinde, 2017). Responding to such concerns, journalists have in many societies complemented their commitment to accuracy and objectivity with values such as social responsibility and justice and embraced them as important ideals central to their professional identities<sup>3</sup> (Syvertsen et al., 2014; Ahva et al., 2017). However, the simultaneous endorsement of these values gives rise to ideological tensions, especially concerning the coverage of migration and its social and economic consequences. One key concern that is intensely discussed in both the scholarly literature and public debate is how the identities of migrant actors are represented in the news (Eberl et al., 2018). On the one hand, identifying actors in virtue of their ethnicity is problematized by reference to the potential group stigma and the discrimination that often follow (Boomgaarden, 2007). On the other hand, omitting such references is oftentimes interpreted as depriving the public of relevant information, inviting concerns about the reliability and accuracy of the news. By examining media discourse on migration, and involved social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008; Koller, 2012), this paper sheds light on those discursive practices that enable journalists and editors to navigate and balance these opposing demands. Based on a conceptual outline that integrates elements from cultural studies of how context models (van Dijk, 2008) enable audiences to interpret news texts (Barthes, 1966, 1972; Hall, 1980), I compare media discourse from two national environments—Sweden and Denmark—that represent opposite political responses to migration. In Denmark, ethnic information is a key part of public discourse on migration, whereas in Sweden, discussing ethnicity in the context of migration is relatively less pronounced (Hovden, 2020). By analysing and comparing these two environments, I find that journalists and editors continue to denote ethnic and cultural otherness through various “neutral” linguistic devices, even when relying on ethnic identification is less socially acceptable. I identify such linguistic devices utilized to represent social actors, their actions, and geographical locations, that are seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity but nevertheless express semantic meaning that signifies ethnicity. This practice can be captured by the concept *semantic ethnification*, which I define as a process whereby ethnic identities of social actors have gained salience and are expressed through strategies that rely on implicit and covert lexical connotations rather than explicit cues that denote ethnicity. Semantic ethnification occurs, I argue, when information on the identity of actors is removed from news texts through social conventions but remains relevant as part of the domestic public debate. In such cases, ethnic identities of actors do not disappear or become irrelevant, as might have been intended.

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<sup>3</sup> This tension between social responsibility and objectivity was originally articulated by Siebert, Peterson, Peterson, & Schramm in 1956.

Rather, linguistic devices, seemingly neutral with regards to the expression of ethnicity, become endowed with ethnic information that audiences can utilize to draw inferences from.

## **1. Theoretical Framework**

### **1.1 Migration Discourse in Media**

Before delving into the main findings from the empirical literature on migration discourse in the media, it is worth outlining some of the inherent media-dynamics that contribute to the characteristics of media discourse on migration. The first is that while journalists commit to professional ideals of objectivity, they must simultaneously respond to the demands of their audience (Boudana, 2011), and audiences, it has been shown, are comparably more interested in and responsive to negative information (Vliegthart et al., 2011). For that reason, negative media content consistently attracts more readers (Soroka et al., 2019), and so due to the business models of media institutions, this condition is reflected in the type of stories that are prioritized and, ultimately, feature in media discourse overall. Secondly, audiences tend to prefer media content that assumes the perspective of the ethnocentric in-group (Trimithiotis, 2020). Following this negativity- and in-group bias (Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2017), journalists in national news institutions are more likely to produce discourse that centers around national issues and events and their potential negative consequences for the national in-group (Billig, 1995).

At the same time, however, journalists are members of a professional community united by a shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events (Zelizer, 1993). Journalists' professional identities are constantly evolving in response to political developments (Tumber and Zelizer, 2019). In migrant recipient countries, particularly in Northern Europe, normative values regarding migration advocacy and advancing social justice, for example by facilitating diversity in society (Masini et al., 2017) – have in recent years become a new form of professional ideology amongst journalists (Syvertsen et al., 2014; Ahva et al., 2017). Several studies have shown that mobilizing the public is an important value amongst journalists in Scandinavia (E.g. Skovsgaard et al., 2012), thereby pointing to the importance of the *critical change agent* role that wants to influence public opinion and advocate for social change. These new professional values, similarly, contribute to certain discursive patterns found in media content on migration, such as humanitarian-based discourse, that can constitute a rhetorical tool to resist discrimination.

The humanitarian-based discourse in the context of migration in the news, however, is not the most pronounced pattern, judging by the main trends in the empirical literature. on the contrary, it appears that journalists have generally been more influenced by a combination of the negativity and in-group bias in the production of migration discourse. Hence, migration media discourse is predominantly negative and migrants are represented as a threat to native populations (Balch and Balabanova, 2016). Comparing media discourse in 16 Western democracies, Esser and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that 'immigration and integration' was the third most negative topic in political news following governmental dysfunction and crime. Focusing on Swedish news, Strömbäck, Andersson and Nedlund found that the most common discursive pattern is that immigration threatens social cohesion, followed by the representation that immigration is a threat to security and the Swedish economy (Strömbäck et al., 2017).

## 1.2 Constructing the immigrant “other”

An influential topic in the study of migration discourse involves examining how members of host communities discursively construct the immigrant “other.” Not surprisingly, migrant groups that are culturally close are represented more favorably than those that are culturally remote (Eberl et al., 2018). One key aspect of discursive other-representation is linguistic choices (Pan and Kosicki, 1993), and several studies have confirmed that a common tendency is for journalists to portray groups of migrants as ‘masses’ or ‘hordes’, and sometimes by the use of water themed metaphors (El Refaie, 2001) and terms referencing natural disasters (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). Such constructions are understood as intrinsically connected to attitudes and beliefs. Thus, they bring in important links between migration discourse and ideology-informed constructs such as racism, nationalism, multiculturalism, or diversity (Guillem, 2015).

Studies in this area have contributed to illuminating instances of “everyday racism” (van Dijk, 1987), where a range of discursive strategies are utilized by speakers as a way of validating prejudiced claims, (e.g. “I’m not racist, but ...”). Such expressions are seen as a strategy of producing and reproducing negative attitudes toward racial and ethnic “others.” In Critical Discourse Analysis, *topos* (that is, the elements of an argument that are an obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premise, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 74-75)) of responsibility is identified as a scheme of argumentation aiming to justify the positive or negative attributions of certain actors and thus to reproduce positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Within this type of discourse, a similar recurrent strategy involves membership categorization that is utilized to classify the qualities of migrants into, for instance, “good” or “bad,” or asylum seekers into “bogus” or “bona fide,” and the migrant experience into a “personal choice” versus a “lack of choice.” Through such categorization processes, migrants who are perceived as contributing to the host country are constructed as desirable, and those who do not contribute, as a threat (Boomgarden, 2007). Essentialist appropriations of terms like “culture” and “cultural values” are often articulated, thereby contributing to an overall explanation for the existence of inequalities that minimizes its face-threatening potential (Guillem, 2015, p. 5).

In the context of constructing the migrant “other”, a phenomenon that has received very little scholarly attention, is how identities of migrant actors are downplayed in news reports by the use of discursive and linguistic strategies. One noticeable example is Horsti (2013) who analyzed how Finish journalists in a mediatized pro-asylum activist campaign un-marked asylum seekers difference through de-ethnicizing and de-muslimizing them by refraining from explicitly mentioning and overall downplayed religious and ethnic markers and visible signs of difference. Horsti argues that media actors unmarked asylum seekers ethnic differences in order to discursively shift the figure of the ‘Muslim other’ to the realm of ‘us’ by dissolving and unmarking their Muslim identities. Besides downplaying religious and ethnic markers, there are a number of discursive strategies for representing and/or erasing ethnic (including religious and cultural) identities of social actors in news content, and those will be outlined in the following section.

## 1.3 Actor identity representation

Social actors are represented in the news through a number of linguistic (and visual) devices, most commonly through classifications that identify them in terms of geographical location or origin, gender, age, religion or ethnicity (Van Leeuwen, 1996). With regards to migrants, ethnic



cues are commonly used. That is, textual representations of social actors' ethnicity (Sirin et al., 2016, p. 1667), where ethnicity broadly refers to a set of characteristics that individuals and groups identify with and which distinguishes them from other groups such as a collective set of traditions, language, culture, religion and ancestry (Chandra, 2013). Concretely, there are many different ways of marking ethnic otherness. Sometimes overt ethnic labels are used to mark ethnic difference (e.g., Muslim, Arab). In other cases, emphasis is on the movement from one geographical area to another (e.g., migrant, refugee, stranger) that is sometimes passed down the generations (e.g., migrant background, second generation migrant, descendants of migrants). Common to all of the above, however, is that otherness is construed on the basis of archetypical strangeness in the context of domestic society. The distinct otherness of the person's ethnic background is explicated and indicates the phenomenon of not belonging to the local group and not sharing its identity (Wieland-Burston, 2019).

In comparison to other forms of social differentiation (e.g., class, gender) the distance of the stranger has to do with his "origins". Since not sharing collective identity is a prerequisite for identifying and classifying the stranger as such, the importance of collective identity stands out. Centrally, this position is "determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself." (Simmel 1908, p. X). Thus, exhibiting qualities that have originated elsewhere is the core of these constructions of strangeness. Identification as migrant or as member of certain ethnicities is thus politicized due to the underlying group mechanisms at work in such classifications (Boomgaarden, 2007). Such classifications have exclusionary potential in that they emphasize fundamental differences between peoples and groups. Furthermore, characteristics associated with the abstract group might be transferred onto a concrete individual, and so he is reduced to a mere group member without individual agency (Simonsen, 2020 & 2022). Lastly, by mentioning ethnicity or migrant status in media discourse, significance and relevance is ascribed to ethnicity. Particularly in cases of crime committed by migrants, ethnic identity is sometimes utilized as a relevant explanatory factor. Cases of rape, for example, are oftentimes presented in media discourse as a cultural clash between sexist Middle Eastern and more egalitarian Western norms (Andreassen, 2005).

In this light, journalists may include or exclude information regarding the identity of social actors from media discourse (Koller, 2012) for a number of reasons. In some cases, information is left out from news reports because audiences are assumed to know the information already and providing more details would be over-communicative. In other cases, and in line with the above observation, omitting ethnic cues can be a journalistic means to regard the ethnicity of an actor irrelevant to a news story. Likewise, as argued by Horsti (2013), leaving out ethnic information may function as a means in pro-asylum activism campaigns. Indeed, Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 41) argues, that in some cases preventing access to information on actor identity may be normatively motivated, since it is assumed that such information might spark unwanted consequences. In this light, leaving out signifying cues can be seen as concrete manifestations of the newly emerged professional norm of journalists in migrant recipient countries. An example of absence of cues is, for example, when the signifier "Islamist" is left out when referring to violent attacks against civilians committed by self-declared Islamic groups and individuals (Jackson, 2007), which political leaders, e.g. Barack Obama (Diaz, 2016), societal institutions, e.g. the British police force (Kennedy, 2020), and some media institutions have publicly declared the cease of.

However, aside from omitting ethnic cues (Horsti, 2013), there are a number of other discursive strategies that directly or indirectly downplay or erase social actors in news reports. The strategy of passive agent deletion, or *passivization*, is when a news article reports that "rocks were thrown" but not *who* threw them, hence, the social actor is completely erased from the text. Through the strategy of *backgrounding* (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 39), actors are de-

emphasized and pushed into the background by the omission of identifying information rather than completely erased. The social actor is present in the text but only by vague and generalizing linguistic classifications, that nevertheless functions as semantic traces, which enables readers to form questions about actors and events, or to deduce information or links between information, by a process of inference. In order to understand how audiences are enabled to perform such generalizing inference, I will now outline how signifiers that do not overtly signify ethnicity can also be interpreted as connoting such ethnic meaning in media discourse.

#### **1.4 Interpreting the semantic meaning of linguistic cues**

In communicative situations, participants must know how to speak, write and *interpret* text appropriately, and they can only do so by relying on their knowledge on *what is currently relevant in given a situation*, i.e. their personal context model (van Dijk, 2018, p. 233). This context models influence the production of discourse and ensure it is appropriate in the particular situation. News texts, specifically, functions within a set of systematic rules that regulates and differentiates between intended and interpreted meanings (Hall, 1980). By providing audiences with specific linguistic cues, news texts present certain ideas and encourage certain kinds of interpretations (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 55—56). Inclusion in journalistic text entails significance so if significance isn't obvious, it calls for interpretation – which may draw upon denotational, connotational, etymological, and other resources to interpret the meaning of the cue. It is, as such, by virtue of context knowledge and a normative belief system shared by author and audience, that audiences are enabled to interpret those linguistic signs the author has utilized in constructing the text (Barthes, 1966 & 1972).

An example from the US is the term "inner city" that became popularized through the writings of liberal, White Protestants after World War II, often by contrasting it with the growing affluent suburbs. The sign denoted a bounded geographic construct but came to connote a set of cultural pathologies associated with urban black communities (Cramer, 2016; Ansfield, 2018). Referring to “inner city gangs”, thus, comes with a set of racial, cultural connotations from which audiences are able to draw additional inferences – notably, by recognizing how actualizing specific connotations adds explanatory power to the present use of this signifier (Wilson and Sperber, 2012). In spite of the lack of overt ethnic cues in news texts, audiences are still able to draw general inferences regarding the reported events and actors. Such inferential readings between the lines of the news are particularly salient where key bits of information are lacking, or believed lacking, in the original coverage. Whether additional information is still unavailable (e.g., for breaking news), withheld by sources (e.g., for pending investigations) or omitted by the journalist (e.g. because such information is still unverified), deemed irrelevant or considered normatively undesirable to avoid stigmatization or other adverse public responses – subtle cues still satisfy audiences' desires for information and explanation. After having outlined the main ways in which migrants are construed as “The Other” in media discourse, the potential media-immanent factors for what might be the case, and several discursive strategies by which ethnic identities of social actors can be emphasized and downplayed, the following section presents the reasons for analysing and comparing discursive strategies for representing migrant actors in media discourse from Sweden and Denmark.

## **2. Cases and context**

The concept of migration can be broadly defined as the movement of people from one place to another, and those involved in this kind of movement are generally referred to as migrants (United Nations, n.d.). With regards to migration trends, Denmark and Sweden are in many ways representative for those social changes that have taken place in the many European countries over the past three decades. Sweden and Denmark share many cultural, social, political and historical characteristics, and were affected by growing migration in similar ways. This holds also for both countries' overall journalistic culture: the formal ethical guidelines for the mentioning of actors' ethnicity in news reports, for example, are similar in both countries<sup>4</sup>. In both media environments, ethnic backgrounds of actors are mentioned when ethnicity is deemed relevant to the particular story. Relevance is determined ad hoc and from case to case through discussion between journalists and editors. Editors from the studied news outlets clarified this through email correspondences. As such, decisions on the relevance of ethnicity for a news story are based on guidelines that are interpreted and not on a fixed set of explicit rules.

That being said, there are key differences in the way in which migration is made sense of and correspondingly dealt with in Sweden and Denmark, especially in political-normative terms. While both countries originally defined their national identity in cultural and ethnic terms, Swedish political discourse has pushed toward an understanding of national identity that rests on citizenship and residency, thus permitting migrants and their descendants to be defined as Swedes. That is reflected in ideas such as deeming Sweden "exceptionalist" (Dahlstedt and Neergaard, 2019) and Sweden moral superpower due to its generous residency and citizenship policies (Dahl, 2006). Hence, in Sweden, classifying individuals through "us and them" categories is comparably less socially accepted than in Denmark, particularly if the classification is based on ethnicity. In Denmark, by contrast, more traditional conceptions persist to the effect that formal citizenship is still seen to fall short of a full membership in the national social group, and it is associated with less stigma to recognize ethnic differences and express those perceptions verbally. In Denmark, migration has been a deeply contested topic for more than three decades. The debate has been characterized by overt anti-Muslim rhetoric where Danish values have been presented as being threatened (Bødker and Ngomba, 2018). As such, these two countries represent two opposite extremes with regard to migration policies and social responses (Hovden, 2020). That, in turn, enables this case design to study social actor representation under similar conditions but with variation in regards to cultural norms and official state ideologies related to the acceptance of migrants.

## **3. Data and method**

To examine a wide range of strategies for representing social actors in media discourse (news, analysis, background, editorials, and letters to the editor) data was collected over an entire decade from October 2009 to October 2019, a period that was characterized by numerous, and very different migration-related events and phases. Opinion-driven discourse was included in the selection as, particularly, the editorial is a distinctive format where the opinions of a paper as an organization are explicitly represented and play a critical role in constructing political

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<sup>4</sup> See the ethical principles of the Swedish media ombudsman here: <https://medieombudsmannen.se/publicitetsregler/>, and of the Danish Press Council here: <https://www.pressenaevnet.dk/press-ethical-rules/>

debate in the public sphere as they are utilized to influence politics either indirectly, through reaching public opinion, or directly, by targeting politicians (Firmstone, 2019). Since the aim is to capture a broad spectrum of actor representations, print content is chosen as articles are typically longer and provide more background and analysis.

By utilizing a dictionary-based approach designed for capturing “migration”-related content, the data was extracted from the three most distributed Swedish and Danish newspapers stored in the databases Retriever and Infomedia. The Swedish ones are Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, and Aftonbladet while the Danish ones Berlingske, Politiken, and Ekstra Bladet. This selection comprises tabloids as well as liberal and conservative broadsheet newspapers (Nohrstedt et al., 2000; Allern and Blach-Ørsten, 2011). The dictionary search yielded 14,873 hits in Swedish newspapers and 20,683 in Danish newspapers, making a total of 35,556 newspaper items. The two country-specific search strings were validated by calculating accuracy (DK = 0.88 and SV = 0.90). Relevant items were finally chosen by constructing artificial news weeks, and so a stratified sample of 200 articles (100 from each country, and 33 articles from each newspaper) was selected for in-depth analysis<sup>5</sup>.

The first analytical step was to identify social actors (Koller, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 1996) based on the presence of ethnic cues and general linguistic devices suitable to evoke a specific interpretation signaling cultural, religious or ethnic “otherness”. The different strategies for actor representation were then divided into two categories corresponding to the two main foci of the study: the use of overt ethnic cues and ethnic identity omission and backgrounding. In cases of identity omission, I elucidated the implicit inference process necessary for parsing the text based on seminal theories of linguistic interpretation (Barthes, 1966 & 1972; Hall, 1980). Lastly, the findings were compared and, on that basis, the implications for actor representation in migration news content were interpreted. The examples provided in the following section are chosen based on representational relevance. As we shall see, the Danish and Swedish sample varied substantially with regards to the presence and prominence of linguistic references to ethnicity. In the Danish sample, they were considerably more prominent, whereas they were generally absent from the Swedish one. Here it is important to note that since the current literature on migrant representation already has outlined extensively how migrants are represented by negative “other” representation by relying on essentialist, ethnic and cultural stereotypes, the following section that presents findings from Denmark will, consequently, provide relatively fewer examples in order to allocate more focus to the Swedish case.

## **4. Findings: Actor representation and the use of ethnic cues**

### **4.1 Denmark**

#### **The use of explicit ethnic cues**

The Danish sample made ample use of ethnic cues<sup>6</sup> while representing social actors with a migrant background and topics related to migration in general. Social actors with a migrant background residing in Denmark are predominantly referred to by virtue of their origins, (e.g. “a migrant”, “a Syrian-Danish man”, “a man with a Syrian background”, “Syrian”) or of their

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<sup>6</sup> The present study adopts a broad definition of “ethnicity” as it appears on p. 7.

religion, (e.g. “Danish Muslim”, “Muslim”), as in the following example:

In recent years, there have been a number of serious terrorist plans in Denmark, which were prevented at the last minute. In the mid-1990s, three Muslims apparently had terrorist plans, [...] In the so-called Vollsmose case in 2006, young Muslims inspired by radical imams had terrorist plans in the wake of Jyllands-Posten's cartoons. Nine were arrested. In 2007, Danish police arrested four Muslims on suspicion of planning terrorism in Denmark. [...] And in 2008, a number of young Muslims with links to al-Qaeda were arrested in the so-called Glasvej case. In addition to these serious cases, there have been other attempts at terror and assassinations, such as the murder plan against Jyllands-Posten's cartoonist Kurt Westergaard” (Blüdnikow, 2009).

References to ethnicity were prominent, persistent and overt in representations of social actors, and consequently, ethnicity is ascribed significance. In the above example, the ethnic cue comes to function as a framing device: it is provided as a causal explanation for terrorist attacks. In this following example, similarly, the ethnic cue “Muslims” functions as a linguistic device that suffice in framing demographic developments caused by migration as a threat: there is no need for further elaboration on the part of the author on perceived problems associated with Muslims cultural otherness, is an intrinsic threat:

“How many Muslims will there be in Danish society in two and three generations - and not just in 2060, which is the time horizon on the forecasts? Statistics Denmark does not calculate figures for religious affiliation, but if you want to have an assessment of Islam's influence in Denmark in 75 and 100 years, one must necessarily have an idea of the number of Muslims at that time. [...] If forecasts suggest that the ethnic Danish population is at risk of becoming a minority at some point in the future, it is now time to act” (Berlingske, 2019).

With regard to groups, similarly, the Danish sample represented groups through overt ethnic references (e.g. “migrants”, “Muslims migrants”, “refugee”, “descendants of migrants”, “second generation migrants”). Particularly during the autumn of 2015, groups of people arriving in Europe in order to settle, terms such as “migrants”, “asylum seekers”, and “refugees” were all utilized to represent such social actors (Danish: “indvandrere”, “asylansøgere”, “flygtninge”). Contrary to “refugee”, a “migrant” connotes active agency (i.e. actively moving from one place to another). Hence, the term “migrant” casts individuals as agents of their migration who bear responsibility and hence possibly culpability for reported problems.

Geographical areas where individuals born abroad have become the majority of residents and the native population a minority were in the Danish sample presented predominantly by the term “ghetto”<sup>7</sup>. Originally used to refer to the Jewish area of Venice, the term “ghetto” eventually came to signify urban quarters of other minority groups, and has as such overt ethnic connotations (Ravid, 2017)<sup>8</sup>. Groups of social actors residing in such geographical areas who throw rocks at the police, set cars on fire, deal drugs and participate in shootings and other violent crime were in the Danish sample referred to primarily by the term “migrant boys” and “migrant gangs” (Danish: “indvandrerdreng”, “indvandrerbander”). Relying on the prefix “migrant”, these terms categorized such groups by reference to the

<sup>7</sup> The term ghetto is the officially used term in Danish political discourse. E.g. “the Ghetto List” that refers to a list over geographical areas with a high concentration of migrants and descendants, high unemployment and crime rates. (In Danish: “ghettolisten”).

<sup>8</sup> The Danish sample did also contain a term stripped from ethnic connotations (i.e. “udsat område”). The term will be analysed under findings from the Swedish sample in which it was used far more consistently.

cultural otherness of their group identity, signaling that it exhibits characteristics that originally have emerged elsewhere, and implying that such characteristics are an underlying cause of their behavior

## 4.2 Sweden:

### 4.2.1 Suppressing identities

In the Swedish sample, on the other hand, information on the identity of social actors were suppressed (Van Leeuwen, 2008), as in the following example:

“Like a sophisticated serial killer, they trigger other killers—who do not even have to admit to belonging to *any particular ideology*—by explaining in detail how to do it. [...] Just two weeks ago, *a man* drove into a crowd at the Westminster Bridge in London. *Four people died* and about *fifty were injured*. At the Christmas market in Berlin, *12 people were killed* and more than 56 injured a few months ago. And last summer, more than *87 people were killed* in Nice, France, when *a truck plowed through* the promenade. Four hundred were injured. And now Sweden, in the middle of Stockholm.” [my emphasis] (Nordberg, 2017).

In this quote, representation of social actors happens through a gendered categorization, i.e. “a man”. References to any symbolic category of the social actor, e.g. “ideology” is deliberately left out and explicitly rejected as irrelevant. Passive verbs contribute to suppressing information of social actors, such as “people were killed”, thereby leaving out an active agent responsible for the killing. In the second last line, “a truck”, that is, a physical object with no will and, consequently, responsibility, replaces the social actor. However, attentive readers were arguably still able to infer the likely identity and motive of the attack based on contextual knowledge. As the example illustrates, journalists explicitly linked the other car attacks in Berlin, London and Nice - which were presumably known by the audience to have been Islamist in motivation - and that contributed to the association to Islamic terrorism.

At the same time, since some media outlets and political leaders have officially decided to refrain from utilizing the term “Islamic terrorism”, another clue to audiences is the complete absence of references to motives – which would normally be mentioned if attacks were perpetrated by Neo-Nazi extremists or Christian vigilantes. From the symbolic perspective, because the actors involved in these attacks are typically legitimizing violence by reference to ideological and religious values that have originated elsewhere, (i.e. outside of Sweden, Denmark and Europe as such) such types of attacks have come to connote cultural otherness.

### 4.2.2 Age, Gender, Residency Status, and Socio-economic Identifications

In the Swedish sample, when identities of social actors were present in news content, they were predominantly based on classifications such as age, gender, socio economic status and residency status. Ethnic labels were hardly used, if at all. Yet, the coverage still subtly marks the foreign origin of actors: For instance, a number of news reports eschewed the shorter and simpler term “a Swede”, which is commonly used in reference to ethnic Swedes, referring instead to “a Swedish citizen” or “a man with Swedish citizenship” or “residency” – thereby enabling audiences to infer that the social actor holds a Swedish citizenship but may not be ethnically Swedish, as the following examples illustrates:

“Six of the vehicles seized by German police, suspected of having been used for refugee smuggling, are registered in Sweden. [...] - We know that eight people "with residence<sup>9</sup> in Sweden" are in custody in Germany in connection with human trafficking, says Kent Öberg at the Foreign Ministry's press office.” [Scare quotes in the original] (Ahlborg, 2015)

In April 2017, a rejected asylum seeker drove a truck into a crowd of people on the shopping street Drottninggatan in the Swedish capital Stockholm, killing five and injuring 15. Illustrating a case of *backgrounding* (Van Leeuwen, 2008) the perpetrator was referred to as a “man” and the “hijacker” (Nilsson, 2017) (of a truck)” thereby leaving out further information on the identity or the motive for the terrorist attack that could have provided Swedish audiences with additional background information of the event and the perpetrator. Social actors were replaced with physical objects, thereby toning down human agency and thus responsibility: “*The truck accelerates and continues in high speed down Drottninggatan*” (Nilsson, 2017).

In the Swedish sample, the only overt labels of ethnicity that survive are those that are passive. In the representation of groups, for example, the Swedish sample contained terms drawing on (local) geographical and socio-economic classifications. (e.g. “inhabitants of vulnerable suburbs”), with only relatively weak cues that could connote cultural otherness (e.g. “new Swedes). Being “new” somewhere or to some group usually grants apologetic gestures from established members. Moreover, instead of using the shorter term “Swede”, the journalists added “new” to the classification, which not only resulted in a bulkier way of characterizing the actor but it also provided information on and attached meaning to the fact that the individual had origins elsewhere. Moreover, this characterization is not conventionally applied to, for example, Fins, Norwegians or Danes who have migrated and settled in Sweden but exclusively refers to non-Western migrants.

In those cases where ethnic otherness could be explicitly identified in the representation of social actors, this was persistently by the reference “refugee”. While both “refugee” and “migrant”, that was the predominant term utilized in the Danish sample, signal ethnic otherness and, thus, attach meaning to that the represented group has origins elsewhere, “refugee” connotes vulnerability and passiveness and establish the actor as victimized and, consequently, except the actor from responsibility.

### 4.2.3 Geographical Areas: Vulnerable Suburbs and No-go Zones

Geographical areas where individuals born abroad have become the majority of residents and the native population a minority were in the Swedish sample presented predominantly by references to socio-economic and socio-geographic characteristics, such as , “suburb”, “exposed suburb<sup>10</sup>”, “socially exposed area”, “outer suburb” (In Swedish: *förorten, utsatta förorten, social utsatta områden, ytterförorter*), as in the following example:

“Terrorism experts believe that the fight against terrorism is being determined in Europe's suburbs. We must win the support of young people for democracy and against extremism. An inclusive society is fundamental to counteracting radicalization. Good opportunities for self-sufficiency and safe environments where people meet are important prerequisites.” (Norlén et al., 2015)

While denoting a (socio-economically deprived) geographical area, the labels, “exposed suburb”, “socially exposed area”, “outer suburb”, are regularly associated with “radicalization”, “religious extremism” in reports from those areas as exemplified in the quote above. Another term specific to the Swedish sample is “no-go zone”:

<sup>9</sup> (In Swedish: “*hemvist*”)

<sup>10</sup> The Swedish term “*utsatta*” can also be translated into “vulnerable”.

“55 "no go"-zones in Sweden. [...] areas where "unattended police cars are attacked", where police officers are "attacked" and where it is "common for police officers to be exposed to violence and threats". [...] in some areas the residents feel that "the ordinary legal system is to some extent suspended", while the police note that "a large part of the inhabitants turns to the criminal environment for justice". The residents believe "that it is the criminals who govern the areas.” (Gudmundson, 2014)

Originally a term used by the US military in reference to areas controlled by rebels, “no-go zone” refers to space in an urban area that some violent group, such as a paramilitary or criminal network, have taken control over, so that the area is no longer controlled by the state authorities (police, military etc.) As such, it denotes an area under insurgency where the state has lost its monopoly on violence and thus its sovereignty (Wadley, 2008). Being linguistically stripped from any reference to ethnicity, the label “no-go zone” is still associated with “radicalization” and “extremism” and has to some extent become popularized as the number of foreign-born residents in the country increased and settled in segregated communities. Linguistic devices such as “exposed suburb”, “socially exposed area”, “outer suburb” and “no-go zone” are, thus, constructed as liminal spaces at the edge of Swedish society and so still connote cultural otherness indirectly.

By virtue of second-hand associations and to some extent prior knowledge, audiences are able to infer ethnicity from these linguistic devices. Social actors residing in such geographical areas who throw rocks at the police, set cars on fire, deal drugs and participate in shootings and other violent crime were in the Swedish sample represented by reference to geographical location, age or group structure e.g. “residents of exposed suburbs”, “youth”, “gangs” (In Swedish: “invånare i utsatta förorten”, “ungdomar”, “gäng”)<sup>11</sup>. Describing actors committing crime by reference to their geographical location, audiences are provided with a clue that enables them to speculate, generalize and ultimately draw inferences about the perpetrator based on the characteristics of that geographical location. Thus, since “exposed suburb” has become semantically ethnified, so has the term “youth gang” (Swedish: “ungdomsgäng”) when combined with the latter. Table 1 summarizes the key differences in the observed uses of ethnic cues.

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<sup>11</sup> Recently, in the Autumn of 2020, this practice has started to change in the Swedish news landscape after a representative of the Swedish police publicly spoke out about the problems with organized crime committed by clans. Given that the term “clan” has overt ethnic connotations, that immediately sparked public discussion as to whether the term “family based criminal networks” (Swedish: *kriminella släktnätverk*) was more appropriate since that term is de-ethnified.



**Table 1.** The use of linguistic devices in Danish and Swedish news 2009-2019

linguistic device	Denmark	Sweden
<b>social actor</b>	<p style="text-align: center;">Danish Muslim Muslim man Migrant man with Muslim background Syrian man / Danish-Syrian man man with Syrian background man with another ethnic background than Danish</p> <p style="text-align: center;">migrant asylum-seeker “+ {descendants of migrants second generation migrants third generations migrants</p> <p style="text-align: center;">migrant boys migrant gang</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Muslim terrorist Islamist terrorist</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">man Swedish citizen man with Swedish citizenship 36-year-old new Swede</p> <p style="text-align: center;">refugee(s)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">youth youth gang inhabitants of vulnerable suburbs inhabitants of exposed suburbs</p> <p style="text-align: center;">a 36-year-old a man a truck</p>

## Conclusion

This paper has analysed discursive strategies for representing the various identities of the migrant “other” by comparing news discourse from two countries with opposite responses to migration. It found two context specific patterns in discursive strategies for representing social actors with a migrant background. In Denmark, overt ethnic cues were utilized to represent the identities of migrant actors. The opposite was the case in Sweden, where media institutions—abiding with social norms that restrict the use of ethnic categorization—refrained from representing actors by explicit references to ethnicity. As such, ethnic otherness was either directly marked (e.g. “ghetto”) or expressed within the constraints presented by norms for socially inclusive speech that prohibited reference to ethnicity (e.g. “vulnerable suburb”). As demonstrated, however, specific linguistic devices were nevertheless present in the content, which enabled audiences to infer that certain social actors had ethnic identities other than Swedish. When journalists covered a crime and omitted information on the identity of the perpetrator but mentioned that the police raided a specific neighborhood in response to the crime, audiences were provided with a clue that enabled them to speculate about the perpetrator based on the characteristics of that neighborhood and its inhabitants. Hence, journalists and editors drew on a range of discursive strategies, and provided subtle cues that enabled audience to “read between the lines” by drawing on an accumulated stock of knowledge in a process of inference (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

Linguistic devices seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity were infused with ethnic information. Signifiers such as “new Swede”, “man with Swedish residency”, “no-go zone”, “youth gang”, constituted cues from which ethnic information of actor identity could be inferred. The denotations of those linguistic devices were seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity. However, their connotations involved ethnic otherness. Thus, omitting ethnic identity cues, I argue, resulted in shifts of semantic meaning: a process I term *semantic ethnification*. Commonly understood as the substitution of an offensive expression with an inoffensive one or a euphemisms (Simonsen, 2022), were central to this representation strategy as in the case of the term “inner city” (Cramer, 2016; Ansfield, 2018). In Sweden, arguably, the term “suburb” has become similar to “inner city” in the sense that the expression has come to denote a geographical area inhabited by ethnic and racial minorities, that are different from the majority population. The findings imply that even in the most progressive media environments (represented by the case of Sweden) the relevance of ethnicity still creeps in. In spite of social norms that restrict ethnic labels, ethnic meaning persists, as it is transferred onto other linguistic devices in order to comply with social norms. Hence, semantic ethnification is a discursive practice that enables the omission of overt ethnic labels, thereby conforming to social norms, while still marking ethnic differences between peoples as relevant factors for understanding social developments, and events, thus avoiding social sanctions. These findings contribute to the existing literature by, first, expanding on the strategies by which migrants are “de-ethnified” and “de-muslimized” in media discourses, as first pointed out by Horsti (2013), and second, by offering a concept by which we can identify and understand shifts in the semantic meanings of linguistic devices (e.g. from “migrant gang” to youth gang”) in the context of discursive “other” representation (Van Leeuwen, 1996 & 2008; Koller, 2012).

In being a qualitative study and examining only a tiny fragment of the highly diverse practices of migrant “other” representation in media discourse, this study is subject to limitations. First, in focusing exclusively on linguistic practices of actor representation, the role played by images and layout in media discourse is a limitation of the study. A multi modal analysis, could effectively compliment the findings of this study. Second, due to the qualitative approach, providing longitudinal insights into the potential changes in discursive actor representation across time was unfeasible. As the paper confines itself to studying media discourse content, more research that takes audiences' processing of text is needed to both substantiate and explicate the semantic ethnification of linguistic devices. Furthermore, the selected Western European news cultures, as well as the focus on national, broadsheet, and tabloid print media, hardly exhaust the spectrum of semantic ethnification processes. Yet, already in this limited, purposive sample, the recurrence of distinctive patterns documents the relevance of the inquiry into the process by which ethnic connotations are transferred onto linguistic devices with denotations that are ethnically neutral. Future research could, integrate the identified strategies into a quantitative research design and investigate the prevalence of these patterns both within and beyond the Swedish context to corroborate processes of semantic ethnification and/or study them in different contexts, e.g. online news discourse, or political discourse, to name a few.

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## **Language discourse in curriculum development - comparative perspective from Romania, Poland and Croatia<sup>12</sup>**

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### **Abstract**

The article analyzes the language of legislation relating to the core curriculum in 3 countries: Croatia, Poland and Romania, which, freed from socialism, since the 1990s have been building their education systems in an evolutionary way. In particular, the factors of effective teaching are considered. Some other selected aspects of the education system, relevant to the implementation of the curriculum assumptions and contents will also be discussed. The research questions we posed were ‘what language is used in educational legislation for indicators for effective teaching and what is the role of the language?’ For analysis curriculum discourse language was used in comparative perspective. The research indicates the differences in the core curriculum and the language in all three countries. Understanding the context for teaching and understanding the needs of teachers and learners seem to be leading in Croatia. In Romania there is a gap between the language of the official texts and the classroom realities. The need for change of the practical aspects of teaching in the classroom becomes fundamental. While in Poland the language of the curriculum becomes more formal and subordinated to exam requirements, which not so much limits its understanding, but rather stiffens the teaching and learning process.

27

### **Keywords**

Curriculum development, national core/school curriculum, school curriculum in comparative perspective, curriculum in school systems, curriculum discourse language in comparative perspective

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## Introduction

Curriculum discourse analysis strives to observe a curriculum into its component parts (e.g. learning, teaching, knowledge, society, resources); evaluates how the parts fit together, say in terms of focus and coherence; checks underlying beliefs and assumptions; and seeks justification for curriculum assumptions and choices. Identifying relevant features of the written curriculum language can help reveal potential and actual problems and provide possible solutions, along with recommendations for future support in achieving the previously outlined objectives. Furthermore, comparative analysis coherently identifies biases, perspectives and blindspots with examination of assumptions underlying the curriculum validity and defensibility. It is necessary to take into consideration policy level designs on micro/macro and internal basis in order to gain understanding of program goals, purposes and expected results. Teasing out the assumptions underlying a curriculum is not a straightforward process. Often, we are not aware of the assumptions which influence the curriculum. Uncovering assumptions requires probing beneath the surface of the document, reading between the lines, and making inferences. The curriculum and teaching methods should encourage independent and critical thought, the capacity to question, enquire and reason, to weigh evidence and form judgments, to achieve understanding, and to recognise the provisional and incomplete nature of most human knowledge.

The research question addressed in this study was: what language is used in educational legislation for indicators for effective teaching, such as understanding the context for teaching, understanding the needs of teachers and learners, the quality (careful) planning of courses and materials with the monitoring/evaluation of teaching and learning? Is it a language that explains the intricacies of the education system and acts as a guideline, or is it rather a language of formal requirements? We included a generalized outcome measurement system that can be used to evaluate the effects of mastering subskills on progress towards long-range goals (Fuchs & Deno, 1991). A well-established body of literature supports the effectiveness of one such generalized outcome system referred to as curriculum-based measurement. In curriculum based measurement, the teacher monitors student progress toward long-range goals by using critical indicators of performance (Deno, 1985; Deno & Fuchs, 1987; Fuchs & Deno, 1991; Shinn, 1989). These indicators are reliable and valid with respect to student academic performance and, therefore, are useful for teacher planning and decision-making. The advantage of using critical indicators is that they are easy to use, take little training, and are not specific to a particular curriculum. In addition, they can be used to evaluate whether mastery of selected preskills is helping the student to progress toward the desired long-range goal (Deno, 1985; Deno & Fuchs, 1987; Fuchs & Deno, 1991, 1992; Shinn, 1989).

## 1. Literature review

Van den Akker (2007) presents his view on curriculum design, starting from the basic concept of what curriculum is, namely an educational trajectory or an educational plan. An educational curriculum is built on various activities, such as policymaking, design and development, evaluation and implementation. The educational curriculum may have various levels, such as the international/comparative (supra level), system/society/nation/state (macro level – which also refers to core objectives and national syllabi), school/institution (meso level), classroom (micro level) and individual/personal (nano level). Van den Akker also explains how each level is represented. The international curriculum is mainly the result of international debates on various educational aims and quality. This has generic content. However, the site-specific curricula are applicable in school environments and at the level of classrooms. Curriculum development can have a specific content, for a narrow application, or general content, designed for long term use, in an ongoing process. It shows the flexible character of curriculum development, that needs to rely on various societal



changes. In order to develop such an educational product, stakeholders and participants are involved, motives and needs are debated with the specific purpose of changing the curriculum in accordance with various parameters, and ideas and efforts are mentioned and integrated into programs that have a practical application. Van den Akker also described the three forms of the curriculum: intended, implemented, and attained. The first is ideal and formal, the second is perceived and operational, while the third is experiential and learned. This classification is important because it relies on what kind of discourse is made manifest in the curricular contents that end up in the implementation phase. It is here where the learning experience of the students is analyzed and the educational outcomes are taken into account.

In Europe there have been developments in the field of education, which focused on implementing educational strategies in European schools, defined as educational establishments controlled jointly by the governments of the Member States of the European Union. These institutions are labeled as public institutions (Office of the Secretary-General of the European Schools). The mission of such schools is to offer multilingual and multicultural education, which presupposes the enactment of a specific kind of curriculum language. The schooling system, for primary education, consists of five years. Primary schools focus on disciplines such as mother tongue, mathematics, the first foreign language, art, music, and physical education. Of particular importance are classes that focus on religion and ethics, and where students from mixed nationalities meet for various activities. It is significant that the focus on happy, healthy, responsible and successful life, the development of abilities and the personality, learning potential support, building the respect for others and the environment, together with others' cultural and social identity and their values, are mentioned only in early education/nursery, not in primary education (Office of the Secretary-General of the European Schools).

The fundamental principle on which the European Schools are built relies on the argument that children discover the world and learn in multiple integrated and interconnected ways. The various ways used by the children to communicate and express themselves seems to be part of what is considered fundamental for their development. From a curricular perspective, the basic tenets of early education curriculum are structured around concepts such as: Me and my body, Me as a person, Me and the others, and Me and the world. This approach favours positive physical, psychological, social, cognitive, and emotional development, doubled by individualised support. Transition into primary education would require meetings, formal and informal, together with information sharing, but teachers should consider the differences between children. Assessment is recommended to be regular and transparent, individualised, helpful, and made in consideration to the child's own self-assessment (Schola Europaea, 2022).

The European Schools can be used as an example of the conceptual basis of curriculum and their practical implementation. However, it should be emphasized that the concept of the school curriculum should refer to universal ideas and priorities adopted in Europe and in the world (e.g. building the European Education Area) and take into account theoretical concepts. Furthermore, in Europe the EU Member States were left responsible for the content of teaching and the organization of the education system, respecting traditions and linguistic diversity.

The issue of educational curriculum presents itself as a challenge between theory and practice, namely, how to develop curricular content, so that students may be able to develop skills, abilities, and competences useful for their life. In 1969, Joseph Schwab presented the issue of curriculum development, in terms of the language used to define its contents. He begins his argumentation by warning that the curriculum strategy needs a new approach, with more effective principles and methods. His second point is that the curriculum needs a new focus on how theory and practice are designed, because either there is too much reliance on theory, or the theory does not lead to the desired outcomes, as presented in the curriculum itself. His third point is that curriculum design needs to focus on the practical aspects. The way he defines the practical aspects is relevant for any age of curriculum design because he refers to a complex discipline, aimed at analyzing choice and action, besides the theoretical aspects, which focus mainly on knowledge. Schwab uses the term "language"

only three times in his article, referring to the perpetual use of old knowledge, but under the guise of new language, which adds nothing to the old meanings, therefore there is no perceivable progress in knowledge (Schwab, 1969).

Schwab's ideas were picked up almost a decade later by Dwayne Huebner (1977), who argues that Schwab presented a thorough evaluation of what the dangers are for the curriculum, namely the incoherence of the curriculum, the failures within schooling, and the disparities within the proper subject field. Huebner also acknowledges the view of B. O. Smith, who argues that concepts such as freedom, openness, activity, self-expression, and creativity, highly theoretical and somewhat unclear and abstract terms, have generated curricular innovation and a wider space for ideological maneuvering, in what Smith calls the ideological and slogan function of curricular discourse. Huebner also agrees that the curriculum development strategies are affected by the lack of curriculum specialists and the experts who should promote national education at a higher political level. Huebner's point is that the issue with curriculum language and discourse is not its theoretical foundation, but that this foundation has little bearing and use in everyday life for the students. In other words, the theoretical aspects of the curriculum have no or little value in the social world. In this context, he mentions that there is a clear-cut separation between the language and the practice in the curriculum design. In this sense, educational practice is disconnected from the “legitimizing and descriptive powers of language”, whereas educational discourse cannot relate to educational practice. Pinar introduced the notion that ‘curriculum’ is a discursive product of a particular era. The curriculum is shaped by political and cultural forces that are dominant at a certain time. This move automatically questions the curriculum understood as a natural artefact. For the ‘Understanding Curriculum’ were used two metaphors: 'text' and 'discourse'. It was much more important for him to understand the curriculum than to develop it. (Pinar, 2006)

Based on the Tyler Rationale (Wraga, 2017), which revolves around four questions that any curriculum development strategy should incorporate, Herbert M. Klieboard presents a decanted version of them in a four-step process: stating objectives, selecting experiences, organizing experiences, and evaluating. Of these, the objectives are most important, since all the other steps depend on how the objectives are formulated. Of special interest are the needs of the learners in connection to their practice and in connection to the objectives. As Klieboard (1970) argues, education is about changing the behavior pattern of students, in order to develop various skills and abilities that would be practical in everyday challenges. Education is not, however, about indoctrination, brainwashing, or sensitivity training, among other things. Students are met where they are in their development, followed by a comparison to a set of prerequisites that would allow the development of a strategy to aid the student to gain as much from the educational process as possible.

On a recent perspective of what curriculum discourse is, Harb (2017) is presenting the view which is at the confluence of curriculum reconceptualization and discourse analysis, meaning that one deals with the need of understanding the curriculum, while the other focuses on language as a socially situated construct, that cannot be neutral. However, the content of the curriculum is expressed and debated in the official educational documents, within the classroom, within educational institutions, and within various social formal or informal gatherings. Such contexts reverberate back to personal teacher-student experiences, where students are encouraged to reflect on their educational experiences and describe them, teachers aid the students in expressing themselves in a genuine manner, and students expand their experiences into a wider collective reflection, with added social explanations.

In essence, curriculum experts design correct theoretical guidance for the practicing teachers, but according to Henderson (1992), this is fantasy, because it is the result of a technocratic impossibility where technically trained experts, would tower over non-experts, by virtue of their specialized training and knowledge, gaining higher positions in politics and various institutions. The issue is that if curriculum studies are reconceptualized to have educational experience as the understanding of scholarly and disciplined understanding, they cannot avoid the theory-practice conundrum. It means that there is a point where experts in curriculum design cannot translate their

educational thoughtfulness to empower others to become educationally thoughtful. Student empowerment occurs when teachers can combine reflective problem solving with dialogical inquiry, in the classroom. Students are encouraged to inquire into issues such as values, problem solving, curriculum leadership, and classroom community leadership. Henderson points out that students can take a deeper path that aims at cooperative learning, complex learning through guided reflective exercises, leading them into the subject of professional empowerment.

Besides the theoretical and practical aspects of curriculum design and discourse, issues such as the health and the wellbeing of students have become educational policy priorities. As Hardley, Gray, and McQuinllan (2021) have argued that decreased mental health and academic outcomes have forced the debate and implementation of the Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland. However, they warn that unclear definitions of wellbeing may become hindrances for implementing a coherent curriculum. If health and wellbeing are reduced to either teaching for achievement, in relation to a predefined learning outcome, or as teaching for a character development, the pedagogic autonomy of teachers will be reduced, thus the curriculum will be affected, specifically because students will be affected first. Frances Christie (1995) tackles the issue of pedagogical discourse in primary school, and connects this specific type of discourse to a set of principles that allows for people to work and function in a way that is valued in a certain culture. The pedagogical discourse is organized around two sets of language choices. The first language choice is based on regulative registers, dealing with goals, purposes, and focus on the teaching-learning activity, while the second language choice deals with the content that is taught and learned. The way these two language choices are bound in the classroom will determine the understanding of what is common knowledge on the part of students, even in primary education.

The curriculum is not limited to the educational environment, but it extends beyond the teacher-student dynamic, into the family. Reinhardt (2018) argues in favour of a curriculum redesign that would allow the power dynamics of teacher-student-family relationships to be built around a flow of information and values. However, the power dynamic will not yield positive results, unless the teacher-student relationship is not reshaped in a more communicative manner. The communication, using adequate language content and structure, works both ways, between teachers and students, and then extending into the family context. If this is so, Manyukhina (2022) argues that there needs to be a children's agency that is put into place, and that agency refers to the ability of an individual to act. The curriculum should facilitate a personal sense of agency, and the structural opportunities to exercise it.

In this study, we sought to apply the concept of generalized curriculum outcome measurement to the evaluation in primary education. More specifically, the study investigated the language discourse of curricula based on validity of selected critical indicators for purposes of identifying effective and ineffective occurrences for monitoring progress toward the long-range goal of competent teaching with the student-centered holistic approach. The research question addressed in this study was: *What language is used in educational legislation for indicators for effective teaching, such as understanding the context for teaching, understanding the needs of teachers and learners, the quality (careful) planning of courses and materials or the monitoring/evaluation of teaching and learning? Is it a language that explains the intricacies of the education system and acts as a guideline, or is it rather a language of formal requirements?*

## **2. Method**

### **2.1. Procedures**

For the purpose of this paper we used desk research methodology which is basically involved in collecting data from existing resources that are known in each country. Desk research is very effective and can be conducted in the starting phase of research as it is quite quick and thural and most of the

basic information could be easily fetched which can be used as a benchmark in the research process. We started with internal desk research that involves internal and existing organizational resources to organize the collected data in such a way that it is not only efficient but also usable. Furthermore, we used external desk research, reaching out from government documents boundaries and collecting relevant information. In order to grasp all necessary data we used online desk research and government published data for the depth of our research process. Research design consists of comparative studies that can be used to increase understanding between cultures and societies and create a foundation for compromise and collaboration. Qualitative, or nonexperimental research is characterized by observation and recording outcomes without manipulation. In comparative research, data are collected primarily by observation, and the goal is to determine similarities and differences that are related to the particular situation or environment of the two or more groups. These similarities and differences are identified through qualitative observation methods. Desk research served as the background to the comparative analysis that was subsequently carried out. It drew on a comprehensive overview of contemporary research in primary education, in particular in relation to the language and competences needed by teachers in order to support specific values written in curricula, EU policy and legislative documents and national documents. It thus provided input to the development of country missions and to the qualitative element of the research.

### **3. Results**

#### **3.1. Romania**

The Romanian educational system (Eurydice, 2023) is centrally organized, which means it is administered at a national level by the Ministry of Education, at a central level by collaboration with other ministries, such as the Ministry of Finance, and other institutional structures, in direct subordination to the Ministry of Education. There is also a local level of administration, through each county's School Inspectorate. The Ministry of Education coordinates and organizes all matters of the national educational system, the educational and scientific research, the technological and innovation development, in collaboration with various educational structures. The educational system relies first on the Constitution (chapter 2, art. 32), the Law of National Education, and various laws and Government ordinances.

The educational system is both open and pluralistic. It allows student mobility, by transferring from one school to another, also from one class to another, but also from one field of study to the other. It also provides schooling methods in the official state language, but also in the languages of various national minorities. Since it is considered of national priority, education is multifaceted, organized in both public and private institutions, together with confessional education units. The educational system ensures equal rights to education to all levels and forms, without discrimination. The school buildings are under the administration of the mayor's office.

Public school education is free in Romania and only the diplomas acknowledged by the Romanian state are recognized within it. This means that there is a system of recognizing diplomas emitted by institutions outside Romania. The national education system has 13 grades, which include primary, lower and upper secondary education. The forms of pre-university education are frequency (which is mandatory) and reduced frequency. As for the stages of education, they are creche or nursery (0-3 years), pre-school (3-6 or 7 years), primary education (preparatory grade and grades 1-4), lower secondary (grades 5-8 or gymnasium), upper secondary (grades 9-12/13). At the end of the 8th grade there is a national evaluation examination, which determines the distribution in the upper secondary system. High-school or upper secondary is organized in theoretical, aptitude-based or vocational and technological education. There is also an alternative 3-year professional education, which ends with the certification examination of the professional qualification.

## **The Romanian Curriculum**

In 2020, the Ministry of Education published an important document (Eng. - Fundamental aspects regarding the design, actualization, and assessment of the national curriculum) that focuses on the development, the update and the evaluation of the national curriculum (Palade, 2020). The document is the result of the Europe 2020 Strategy, co-funded through the Human Capital Operational Program 2014-2020. It is a document in full accord with the national strategies for the development of education. The new curricular proposal was elaborated by considering global challenges, the deep changes in Romanian society, and as a renewal of the document emitted in 1998. The new approach considers the curriculum as extending into the continuous development of teachers, school management, educational evaluation, financing the educational system, and elaborating the educational textbooks. The document addresses decision makers within the Ministry Education, curriculum experts and developers, assessment specialists, school inspectors, school principals, teachers, and textbook authors and publishers.

Among other things, the national curriculum supports unitary concepts through all educational stages (pre-primary to high-school, professional, and technical stages), a systemic perspective, an integrated approach, and the creation of an efficient learning environment, which promotes student and teacher wellbeing. Two of the most important elements of the document are the principle of student centered education and the competency centered education. The first aims at learning and its results, which influence the implementation and evaluation of the curriculum, whereas the second aims at organizing the curriculum documents.

The document also takes into account global tendencies, such as globalization, the growing interdependence among states, the technological progress, digitization, demographic challenges, and diversity. At a national level, the document addresses the issue of education for all and for each, life-long education, competency development, decentralization, flexible curriculum, and assessment based on standards. The implemented curriculum should allow students to become autonomous in the learning process, confident in one's abilities, accountable, successful and excellency oriented, and informed, active and proactive.

The fundamental values promoted by the national curriculum are respect for one-self, for others, for diversity, and the environment; accountable for one's own actions in any circumstance; equity oriented; integrity based; innovative and creative; and active citizenship, based on solidarity and participation for the common good. In this context, the educational finalities for primary education revolve around the free, integral, and harmonious development of the child's personality, in full accord with his/her rhythm, and the development of various competencies: literacy, numeracy, multilinguism, science, technology, digital competencies, personal and social skills, and the ability to teach others. These are coupled with civic competencies, entrepreneurial competencies, and cultural sensitivity. At its core, the national curriculum aims at developing knowledge, abilities, and aptitudes.

One of the most used curricular documents is the so-called Program, which describes the identity of a discipline, together with the preparation methods for teaching it. It also offers a framework for classroom teaching, and it is the starting point of lesson planning. It is structured into: General presentation (of the discipline), General competencies, Specific competencies, Learning activities, Learning content, and Methodological suggestions. The general competencies refer to acquisitions made by the students, as they study a certain discipline, whereas, the specific competencies refer to specific stages in student learning acquisitions. For any discipline, there can be between 3 and 6 general competencies, each having 2 to 4 specific competencies.

## **The language of the curriculum**

The language used in most official Romanian educational documents paints a vivid picture of high value goals. The technical terms are in line with European terminology, and the papers reflect the same objectives, that argue for the harmonious and optimistic development of children,

throughout their schooling periods. However, there is a constant criticism that is found throughout online and the published media, and some of the criticism stems from the activity of teachers, claiming that there is disparity, or chasm, between the written documents and the educational process reality. The criticism argues that there is too little practical application in real educational scenarios, despite the optimistic descriptions of competences and educational objectives. One of the latest issues regarding the Romanian educational assessment process describes how the evaluation items at the national exam, in the 8th grade, for Romanian language, were made in accordance with the old version of the curriculum, testing quantity, not competences. The criticism, therefore, aims at showing that the language used in the official documents, has little to no bearing at the classroom level.

### 3.2. Poland

#### The curriculum within framework of Polish National Educational System

The system of education in Poland has several levels and consists of preschool education, primary education (starting no later than at 6 years of age, including one year of preparation to school, early school education, i.e. the so-called integrated education (as all the content is basically taught without division into individual subjects) for the first 3 years and the second educational stage - 5 subsequent years) and secondary education (3-5 years). Primary education ends with an external exam, and after passing it, students can continue in a secondary school, i.e. a high school, technical school or a trade school. In Poland, schools are public - financed by the state and from local government funds, and non-public - run by individuals and legal persons (companies and non-governmental organizations). There are also international schools working with students in a foreign language/languages.

The aim of education in primary school is to be the solid foundation of a child's education. The current ordinance states that *"The task of the school is to gently introduce the child to the world of knowledge, prepare them to perform the duties of a student and introduce them to self-development. The school provides safe conditions and a friendly atmosphere for learning, taking into account the individual educational capabilities and needs of the student. The most important goal of education in primary school is to care for the integral biological, cognitive, emotional, social and moral development of the student"* (The Ministry of Education Curriculum Ordinance, 2017).

While the reform of the educational system was being implemented in Poland in 1999, the Minister of National Education introduced an executive act: “The Ordinance on the Core Curriculum of General Education of February 15, 1999” (hereinafter: "Curriculum 1999"), which was the first regulation in Poland after the outburst of political-economic-social changes in 1989 that defined the general goals, tasks and content of education for various educational stages, from primary to high school. This regulation was the core curriculum for general education schools for nearly a decade, before it was replaced by the newer “Ordinance of the Minister of National Education on the Core Curriculum for Pre-school Education and General Education of December 23, 2008” (hereinafter: "Curriculum 2008"). Together with the next reform of education system introduced by the new, conservative government in 2016, “The Ordinance of the Minister of National Education on the Core Curriculum for Pre-school Education and the Core Curriculum for General Education for Primary School of February 14, 2017” (hereinafter: "Curriculum 2017") was introduced. A comparison of all three of the above-mentioned regulations in terms of the effectiveness of teaching and the language used in them (in relation to general requirements) provides information on changes in the education system in Poland over the last quarter of a century.

The "1999 Curriculum" was the shortest (from all three forthcoming regulations of the same topic) and rather more general (than the newer versions of the curricula). Authors of the document focused mostly on defining the goals and content of education for individual educational stages. General indicators of learning outcomes, including students' knowledge, skills and attitudes, were provided. These indicators concerned individual subjects, but also pupils' general skills and attitudes, such as the ability to cooperate or the willingness to cultivate readiness for lifelong learning.

In the “Curriculum 2008” there were used language expressions that suggested higher requirements for schools and teachers than in the previous act relatively more often (such words as "should", "be responsible", "requires" served as indicators). As for the requirements towards school management, the role of the headteacher as the person responsible for the effectiveness of teaching was also articulated with greater strength than before. This 2008 regulation can be summed up as the one which introduced more detailed requirements regarding the content of teaching for particular grades of primary school than the 1999 act. Teaching effectiveness indicators focused e.g. on the level of knowledge, skills and attitudes of students, as well as on the teachers' skills and attitudes and school headteachers.

### **The language use in the subsequent curricula**

The “Curriculum 2017” introduces significant changes compared to the “Curriculum 2008”. Looking at the vocabulary, although phrases such as “duty”, "should", "have to", "need to", "requires" and "responsibility lies with" (and their alterations) are relatively more numerous in the “Curriculum 2008” than in the relatively longer text of the “Curriculum 2017”, wording and expressions actually results consequently in even greater requirements for schools and teachers, than those introduced in 2008. The current law on the core curriculum does not directly define the indicators of effective teaching (as it will be detailed later, these requirements are included in the act "Ordinance on requirements for schools and educational institutions), but contains general and specific objectives for teaching in particular educational areas. On the basis of and in accordance with the above “Curriculum 2017” the following aspects can be monitored and assessed:

- the implementation of educational goals set for specific educational areas,
- students' progress in learning,
- students' knowledge and skills in specific educational areas,
- the development of students' social and emotional skills,
- the degree of students' involvement in the teaching process,
- effectiveness of the methods and forms of the teacher's work,
- effectiveness of individualization of the teaching process in relation to the needs and abilities of students,
- effectiveness of the use of various forms and sources of information and technology in the teaching process.

"Curriculum 2017" introduces not only the above-mentioned aspects but also changes in the content of teaching. Learning performance indicators refer to students' skills and attitudes, such as creative thinking, problem solving, teamwork and digital skills. These indicators also take into account students' individual needs and ensure equality in the face of cultural and linguistic differences.

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In two curricula (from 2008 and 2017) a reader can trace an emphasis on the individualization of the teaching process and even more precise consideration of students' needs and equality in the face of cultural and linguistic differences (than in the curriculum of 1999).

It is difficult to clearly decide whether the language formulations contained in these legal acts mean that schools, headpersons or teachers are now subject to greater or lesser requirements (than before, when the previous document was in force). However, it should be noted that in the 2017 act, adapting the teaching process to the needs of pupils and providing them with the best conditions for development, seems to be particularly important.

Going into detail, compared to the previous regulation (2008), the new regulation (2017) introduced more precise goals and requirements for the observation and support of the child's development in primary school (and earlier, in pre-school), which allows for a more accurate assessment of teaching effectiveness. It should also be added that a more thorough examination of the child's developmental situation may lead to and imply more restrictive (and thus stressful) working conditions for teachers. For the purposes of this article, we analyzed Polish legal acts regarding the core curriculum and curricula, with particular emphasis on the supervision and teaching effectiveness indicators.

**Pedagogical supervision** has a direct source in the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. Article 70(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland explicitly provides for pedagogical supervision over schools and educational institutions, and their detailed regulation has been ordered at the statutory level.

Supervision is exercised by the competent Minister of Education and Science through the superintendent offices operating in voivodeships (regions). It was regulated by the School Education Act of 7 September 1991. The act allowed decentralization of supervision – supervision was to be exercised by the SIO, and at a lower level by directors or managerial staff. Other provisions were general; details were made in the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 10 December 1991 on the detailed rules for pedagogical supervision.

Supervision was defined precisely in the regulations in 2009. The rules of supervision were indicated therein, in the four forms: evaluation, control, support and monitoring. The inspection of practices used as part of pedagogical supervision carried out before 2009 (Supreme Audit Office, 2002, 2008) indicated a number of shortcomings of the then system:

- unclear division of competences between supervisors;
- the ambiguous role of the inspector, who simultaneously performed three functions at the same time - assessing the quality of schools, checking compliance with legal provisions and dealing with support and guidance for schools;
- excessive focus on controlling school's compliance with legal regulations (instead of improving the quality of education);
- lack of an efficient school support system, e.g. in vocational education. Due to the asymmetric relationship between schools and school inspectors, teacher self-assessment as a quality assurance mechanism has declined in popularity.

Nowadays - in accordance with the Education Law, Art. 55 - pedagogical supervision is used to analyze the process of education and the effectiveness of the work of educational institutions; assessment of the statutory activity of the institution and the conditions; providing support to institutions and teachers. However the legislator emphasized that it should be oriented towards inspiring teachers to apply new solutions at work. The catalogue of goals differs significantly from those indicated in 1991, both in terms of their construction (earlier ones are diagnostic, supportive and informative).

Supervised are mainly documents (qualifications of teachers, implementation of the core curriculum and plans; compliance with the rules regarding assessment, promotion of students to the next grade and conduct of exams, respect for the provisions contained in the statute, compliance with the statute of the school or institution; ensuring safe conditions for students, but also observance of children's rights and dissemination of knowledge about them). In addition, the basis for assessing the situation is the observation and measurement of the effectiveness of the work of the school and other institutions.

Two forms of supervision were indicated in the regulations of 1991: observations and visits. Due to the reform in 2009, the list of forms was expanded in importance. These were: evaluation, monitoring, supporting and controlling. The changes introduced during the last reform led to the reduction of supervision to support and control, the last form being the most extensively described.



Controlling applies to the implementation of statutory objectives, effectiveness, as well as compliance with applicable law, which creates conditions for penalizing practices undertaken in schools. Pre-school and school facilities will not receive support allowing for development resulting from the real needs of children/pupils and local social needs.

The approach puts teachers in the position of an official implementing the regulations. In addition, it strengthens the control activities of curators. Despite the critical perspective presented, it can be assumed that reducing supervision will potentially lead to a reduction in the frequency of supervision and reducing the bureaucratic burden on teachers. The key condition is to limit the provisions on documenting the work of schools and other institutions.

The Ordinance of the Minister of National Education on the requirements for schools and institutions of August 6, 2015 entered into Polish legislation, which after two years was changed into the The Ordinance of the Minister of National Education on the Requirements for Schools and Educational Institutions of August 11, 2017 - these legal acts described separately and in detail the specific requirements that schools and educational institutions should implement. The requirements for schools and institutions are differentiated for levels (separately for pre-school education as well for primary and secondary schools) and types of educational institutions (schools, educational centers, teacher training institutions and others). The analysis of executive acts from 2015-2017 (as amended) allows us to see similarities in some areas required and in the characteristics of the areas. At the same time, the number of the requirements of areas was reduced (from 12 to 9); the division of requirements characteristics into basic and high level was abandoned (currently only general characteristic of requirements is applied); the requirements were simplified and formalized. The analysis of the content of the requirements leads to some conclusions. The introduced changes result in: limitations of the teacher's agency and innovation; slightly strengthening the role of a student in the education process; marginalizing the use of local environmental resources for educational goals; limiting the conditions for improving schools and educational institutions based on innovation.

### **3.3. Croatia**

#### **The Croatian Curriculum**

Primary education in Croatia begins with enrollment in the first grade of primary school. It is mandatory for all children, as a rule, it lasts from six to fifteen years of age, and for students with multiple developmental difficulties, it lasts until the age of 21 at the longest. Elementary school lasts eight years and runs regular and special programs. Through primary education, the student acquires knowledge and skills for continuing education (Articles 11 and 12, Law on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools - Official Gazette No.: 87/2008, 86/2009, 92/2010, corr. -105 /2010, 90/2011, 16/2012, 86/2012 - refined text and 94/2013, 152/2014, 7/2017 and 68/2018). For persons older than 15 years who have not completed the legally required primary school, there is the possibility of inclusion in the primary education program for adults. In the primary and secondary education segment, special attention is given to the possibilities for education of students of national minorities in their mother tongue. Primary and lower secondary education is organized as a single structure system and delivered by the network of elementary schools. In the school year 2022./2023. a total of 309 426 (48,48% female and 51,42% male) students were included in the primary education system. The total number of students with developmental disabilities included in primary education amounts to 26 355.

Education in primary and secondary schools is based on the national curriculum, plan, and program. National curricula are adopted for individual levels and types of education in accordance with the framework of the national curriculum document, which determines the elements of the education system for all levels and types of primary and secondary education at the general level. National curricula and the framework are adopted by the minister responsible for education by decision. The curriculum of teaching subjects determines the purpose and goals of learning and

teaching subjects, the structure of an individual subject in the entire educational vertical, the educational outcome and/or contents, the associated elaboration and descriptions of the levels of adoption of the outcome, learning and teaching, and evaluation in an individual teaching subject, together with the list of the necessary qualifications of teachers for the implementation of the curriculum can be determined. The curriculum determines the form of curriculum implementation (compulsory, optional, optional, cross-subject and/or interdisciplinary), the annual number of teaching hours, and their arrangement by class. The curriculum can be common for the level or type at a particular level of education, and exceptionally, it can be adopted along with the curriculum of a specific subject. The minister responsible for education by decision adopts the curriculum of teaching subjects and teaching plans. Pre primary, compulsory primary, and secondary education are provided by public, private, and church educational institutions, public schools, and other educational institutions. The majority of the minority groups in Croatia run their own educational institutions, classes or programmes. Most of these programmes are at preschool level, but a significant number are offered at primary and secondary school level. All of these programmes are approved by MoSES, since they are an integral part of the national school system. At the primary school level three models of minority education are implemented which can be distinguished by: a) the national minority language; b) bilingual teaching; c) nurturing mother tongue and culture (MoSES, 2009a). All children are assessed before they enter primary school. If a child is not deemed to be school ready, entry can be delayed by a year. Assessments are carried out by an expert commission (medical doctor, school psychologist, school pedagogue, classroom teacher) and can be followed by a period of pedagogical observation to determine any special needs the child may have. Parents can appeal the decisions. Education for children with special needs is conducted in regular schools and special schools. Within regular schools, full or partial integration is possible.

The principle underlying Croatian legislation is that integration/inclusion is always best for a child and that only in more severe cases should a student be placed in either partial integration or separate special education classes or schools. Hospital and home teaching are provided by teachers from the nearest primary school. Even special institutions follow the regular programme as much as possible, adapting to the various degrees of disability and offering vocational and employment skills to those who are capable, varying from sheltered workshops to open employment. However, most schools (70%) operate in shifts, and very few schools in Croatia have been adapted to provide wheelchair access. Regulations now require that new school buildings must include access for students with physical disabilities; in some cases, lifts have been installed in existing buildings with the help of community fundraising (OECD, 2007).

Being the main agent of creativity, organization and moderation of the teaching process, a teacher is the cornerstone of the comprehensive education process. The merits of the work of the teachers are rooted in their competencies related to subject knowledge and knowledge of teaching (Alimuddin et. al, 2020, 428; Neopriyeni et. al, 2019, 530). One of the most important documents, affecting each member state of the EU, is Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications adopted by the European Commission and which defines the three areas of teachers' competencies. According to this document, teachers should be able to cooperate with others in the sense of being inclusive, encouraging and willing to cooperate; use knowledge, technology and information so that they can transfer different knowledge, use technology effectively and have professional information, i.e. have the skills to prepare students for life as European citizens who think globally (EU, 2005). In its 2003 document entitled *Teacher professional development: an international review of the literature*, UNESCO emphasizes that teacher competencies are those that include: general pedagogical knowledge, professional knowledge, teaching prowess, the skill of connecting theory and practice, the skill of creating a positive learning environment, knowledge and skills of teaching children coming from varying cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds, skills to adapt the teaching process to specific social and political circumstances, knowledge and skills of implementing technology in the teaching and learning process (Villegas-Reimers, 2003). In the Republic of Croatia, scientists have written about teacher competencies and the area of their

implications. The results of a survey conducted in 2005 highlight as teacher competencies - professional knowledge, application of teaching methods in skills, application of information and communication technology in teaching, application of practical skills, methods of monitoring and evaluating students' knowledge, teaching planning, classroom management, communication and cooperation with parents, developing students' self-awareness and self-esteem, encouraging open communication and collaborative relationships among students, working with students with learning difficulties, working with gifted students, encouraging critical thinking and creativity in students, developing independent learning skills, developing ethical reasoning and behaviour in students, readiness for self-evaluation, etc. (Vizek Vidović et al., 2005).

### **Language impact**

When it comes to understanding and determining possible language impacts of teachers in legal context, we must mention the National Curriculum Framework, from 2017. The National Curriculum Framework is a basic educational document of the Republic of Croatia which, *inter alia*, prescribes the goals of educational activities or competencies that children and young people should develop regardless of the type and level of education. This document lists generic competencies grouped in three major sections – forms of thinking (problem solving, decision making, metacognition, critical thinking, creativity and innovation); forms of work and use of tools (communication, cooperation, information literacy, digital literacy and use of technology) and personal and social development (selfmanagement, personal and social development management, connecting with others, active citizenship) (MZO 2017, 15 – 18). In addition, considering this document, one can surmise that there are additional competencies that the teachers need to possess. Thus, for example, it is clear that teachers must be trained to conduct teaching on the topics that span multiple disciplines, which, due to their complexity and since they are novel concepts in the educational system, require special competencies. These are - Entrepreneurship; Learn how to learn; Personal and social development; Information and communication technology (ICT); Health, safety and environmental protection; Civil education. In addition, separate set of legislative documents emphasize the importance of teachers' development of competencies to require for work with children with special educational needs (students with disabilities and gifted students); competencies related to the evaluation of student achievement and competencies that concern process of self-evaluation of educational work (MZO 2017). This is from one point, Croatian written contribution to alignment with EU policies to obtain work on human capital development that offers a solid foundation for the improvement of living conditions, strengthening of democracy and active citizen participation, encouraging respect for human rights and cultural diversity.

## **4. Discussion**

### **4.1. Romania**

Romania has had a troubled post-communism transition period, also in the field of education. Talks of educational reform have always been of great interest in social media. System and systematic changes in education have occurred, especially by re-evaluating and changing the existing National Law of Education (the latest version was put into practice in 2011, with various changes ever since). Being part of the European Union challenged Romanian authorities to be in accordance with European laws and trends. The result was a series of projects and legislative initiatives, that described in positive terms the purpose of education, its outcomes, the assessment process, and the way educational content and teaching methods would allow students to develop skills and competencies, that would allow them to become competent and active citizens, as well as trained professionals in their field of expertise. This is the point where there is a chasm between the language of the official texts and the classroom realities, the failures of the system, and the discrepancy in quality education

between rural and urban schools. Social and mass media have presented the issues that stem from what is written in the official papers and the failures of the system in the classroom. Teachers should have the freedom to choose their educational content and the teaching methods, but are forced to constantly filter the contents for the final national exams, which are not in line with the official documents. Even though the language in the official curriculum is positive, the high percentage of functional illiteracy, especially in rural schools, proves change is needed regarding the practical aspects of classroom teaching, not in the language used in the official educational documents. Despite the orientation towards competence assessment, there is still a high degree of memorization and quantity assessment that does not fall in line with the content of the curriculum. The debate on decentralization has no end in sight.

## 4.2. Poland

In the last two decades, numerous changes have been made to the curriculum assumptions. Their purpose was to adapt to the requirements of subsequent reforms. It was based on the assumption that the role of the state is to define the curriculum framework. This framework is the point for constructing curriculums for particular subjects of a standardised or more autonomous nature (authorial, innovative and experimental). The Polish curriculum is written in the language of effects relating to three areas of competence: knowledge, skills, social competence. The analysis of changes in legal acts allows us to observe tendencies to expand the content of the curriculum, which is currently the subject of critical dispute. Firstly, it does not bring teachers the opportunity to broaden the issues pursuant to the students' interests and social/technological challenges. Secondly, it discourages teaching staff from creating new curriculums (after 2017, the interest in creating new curriculums decreased - most of them were adapted; and original curriculums). The dynamics of changes in the Polish system makes it difficult to evaluate the curriculum - the curriculum is changed during the education cycle. The evaluation itself needs to be oriented on the effects as well as on an overall and individual value.

Over the last two decades the role of the teacher in shaping students' attitudes and the need to create proper conditions for the implementation of tasks related to education and upbringing provided by the system of education was increasingly emphasised in legal acts. At the same time, with each subsequent legal act in the educational area, school head persons were made more and more responsible for the implementation of tasks resulting from the school curriculum and other legal acts, although this does not happen *expressis verbis*, but is rather concluded from the usage of the language.

## 4.3. Croatia

It could be said that the importance of a curriculum is realised by the means or structure it provides, to achieve pre-established goals in education. Curricula may be standardised or include a high degree of autonomy - but all share a purpose to meet set aims successfully. The effectiveness of a school curriculum is determined by a wide range of factors and among them are ones for effective teaching: understanding the context for teaching, the needs of teachers and learners, the careful planning of courses and materials and the monitoring of teaching and learning. The Croatian curriculum is competency-based to prepare students for a global context of uncertainty, as part of an overall aim to enable education equity, but this is not fully realised. The national curriculum for primary education is the starting document of compulsory education in the Republic of Croatia, which enables the development of basic competence essential for the realisation of personal potential, continuing education and throughout life learning, which is also the basis of active and responsible participation in society. It is based on developmental educational tendencies in Europe and the world and the Croatian educational tradition in educational documents of the Republic of Croatia. He appreciates the work of all experts who worked on the improvement of the Croatian educational system in recent years and takes over certain good solutions from already started valuable attempts

and initiatives. The Strategy of Education, Science and Technology (2014) is the starting point of the Complete Curriculum reforms, including the creation of the National Curriculum for primary school education. The fundamental principles of the entire curriculum reform are described in the National Curriculum Framework which harmonises the national curricula for all levels of upbringing and education as well as the subject curricula. The national curriculum for primary school education is also harmonised and linked to the Framework for evaluating learning processes and outcomes in primary and secondary schools of the Republic of Croatia, Framework for encouraging and adapting learning experiences and evaluation achievements of children and students with disabilities and the Framework for encouraging learning experiences and evaluation achievements of gifted children and students. It is also harmonised with the National Curriculum for Early Years preschool education and with national curricula for secondary school education and with them it forms a coherent whole. So written language of curricula is formally correct with great emphasis on knowledge of profession and legal EU and country laws. But some of the basic legislative documents do not have a horizontal connections so for eg. within the subject curricula, teachers do not include issues of culture, linguistic diversity, poverty and social justice, society diversity, critical reflection. Future studies should include indicators for holistic based approach within the educational system in order to obtain less hypocritical messages that are beyond informed instructional choices and provide students and teachers with more opportunities to acquire competencies needed for diverse learner needs in the global world.

## **Conclusion**

While there are similarities in the curricula of Romania, Poland and Croatia, each country has unique characteristics that distinguish its approach to education. All three countries have centralized education systems, with a national curriculum and standardized tests. Romanian documents show the national education puts a strong emphasis on vocational education and training in upper secondary education, while in Poland the priority is the development of key competences, and in Croatia the emphasis is on teacher competences, language learning and the inclusion of students with special needs. These differences reflect each country's unique approach to preparing students for a successful professional future, whether entering the labor market directly after completing education or continuing into higher education. A more thorough analysis would require not only a detailed examination of each country's curriculum and other legal acts, but also pedagogy and assessment practices, to name just a few.

In order to create an educational system, which allows for the highest possible number of students to develop knowledge, skills, and abilities, that one might use in everyday life, together with preparing students to become fully functioning citizens, not only of their own countries, but of Europe and the world, the debates between Ministries of Education, educational experts, law and policy makers, curriculum designers, school principals and managers, teachers, and students, needs to be put into accord. How to accomplish such a feat is debatable, but it seems that the biggest and most debated issues are related to the faulty or erroneous manner in which the curriculum content is adapted and put into practice in the classroom, but also whether the assessment process reflects the education content in the curriculum or it is quantity based. The PISA assessment results reflect the status of an educational system, and for Romania, functional illiteracy is found in almost half the student population, most of whom are in the rural schools. Unless there is an honest and consistent process of system evaluation, redesign, and proper implementation, it is the student population that will have most to lose, while emigration from poorer countries towards richer ones will deplete the workforce.

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## **Linguistic Strategies According to Gender as Reflected in the Kenya National Assembly**

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### **Abstract**

Gender is ever present in our conversation. It is used to explain everything and is embedded in our institutions, our actions, thoughts and beliefs. In this research, we set out to establish the linguistic strategies employed by the male and female members of the Kenya National Assembly to drive their agenda and to achieve successful communication. This research sets out to establish assembly members' manner of speaking and general adherence to speaking norms on the assembly floor. Under such a background, the study examined language and gender in the Kenya National Assembly. The research questions were: what are the linguistic strategies employed by speakers on the assembly floor based on their gender? How do members react to the gendered linguistic strategies? The study employed the Politeness Theory. The data was collected from four randomly selected sessions in the 12th Parliament- also referred to as National Assembly. The analysis of data adopted a quantitative and qualitative approach. Audio-visual recordings from the National Assembly were transcribed for analysis. In this process, selective transcription was used for the purpose of the research. Analysis of the linguistic items was done. The study established that members of the National Assembly used the following linguistic strategies: being direct, being assertive, use of metaphors, were ironic among others. It was observed that most of the members reacted in the following ways: cooperation, showing understanding, among others.

47

### **Keywords**

Language, gender, strategies, politeness, National Assembly

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## Introduction

This study sets out to establish language strategies that are employed according to gender in the Kenya National Assembly. Research has it that women’s speech differs from men’s speech in a number of ways. Women and men are known to use language differently with regard to style, register and the manner of using language during interaction (Shazu,, 2014). Further, Eckert & McDonnell-Ginet (2003) also established that culture has an influence over the nature in which gender impacts on linguistic choices and attitudes including politeness and stereotypes. They continue to argue that there is a close relationship between gender and language; and that gender is a social construct that has been brought about using language. Additionally, men’s and women’s style of speaking are deeply rooted in power structure (Eliasoph, 1987, Odrowaz-Coates 2018, 2019). However, in the parliamentary context, they do not necessarily always engage in power contests; the prime goal of linguistic choices and strategies is communication-to pass across their concerns and as such the Politeness Theory becomes significant for this study.

### 1. Research objectives

The following are the objectives of this study:

- i. To identify and describe the linguistic strategies employed by speakers on the assembly floor based on their gender.
- ii. To discuss how members react to the gendered linguistic strategies.

### 2. Assembly speaking norms

The general rules and regulations which set out how debate takes place in the National Assembly are set out in its *Standing Orders*. Members are expected to address each other in the third person as “Honorable [surname]” and should not directly address each other as *you*. Despite the existence of such rules a few members still do not adhere to them and sometimes participants fail to address each other through the chair. When the rules of engagement in assembly debate are violated, it is not accidental; most times it is a strategy employed to get at another participant. The current study will consider this dimension in the analysis of linguistic strategies employed in the assembly with particular attention to gender and the manner in which interaction occurs with regard to politeness or otherwise. Standing Orders are applied in debate to ensure equality of speaking time to all individuals so that no single MP has monopoly of debate in the chamber. Only one speaker is authorized to speak and be heard at a time. This rule is often defied by political contestants especially to demonstrate or challenge for power and attention. There is, however, a formal function for a member to give way. During debate, some members will make use of notes, prepared scripts or some even without extemporizing. To some extent, speeches or contributions may be prepared since members are usually aware in advance of the topic of debate.

### 3. Literature Review

#### 3.1 Parliamentary Debate: the Institutionalized Context

The language of parliamentary debate is described by Bayley (2004) as the most formal and institutionalized variety of political language. Bayley further notes that formal parliamentary talk can take place in the chamber, where talk can tend to be adversarial, or in committee, where it may

be more cooperative. The focus of this study is in the language used in the assembly debate chamber.

Wodak (2000:361) states that parliamentary debates are distinct forms of discourse because of their functions of ‘law making, legitimization and control.’ Debates in many countries’ assemblies are accessible to the public because they are televised: therefore members of the public have access to legislative procedures, policy making and political conflicts and controversies. This also is the case with the Kenya National Assembly where the public can access the debate chamber and also get both audio recordings and written transcripts from the Hansard which is the official written record of everything that is said in the chamber.

### **3.2 Gender: Social Constructionist View**

In this study, *gender* in comparison to *sex* is viewed as something not biological but socially constructed and constitutive of identity. This study does not intend to view women as a homogeneous sociolinguistic block neither does it consider divisions of male and female speech styles. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) emphasize that despite research moving from essentialised notions of gender, gender as a social category is still highly prevalent, essentialised and stereotypical gender categories still exist and are oriented in conversation.

Swann (2009:19) states that gender is no longer viewed as a ‘prior category that affects how people speak; rather, it is now more widely accepted that a person’s actions produce their gender (and therefore their identity).’ Butler (1990) sees gender as ‘repeated stylization’ of the body, but to many linguists it seemed that language using too offered a good example of ‘repeated stylization’.

Cameron (2005) observes that previous research had focused on how women and girls were silenced and dominated in public contexts, or denied access to languages, literacy and speech styles that were needed to enter public institutions on equal terms, or undervalued because of stereotypes and prejudices about their ways of speaking (and writing).

Inoue (2006), in a study from modern Japan reveals that there is a close bind between language, gender and the political economy by locating the origins of Japanese ‘women’s language’ in the process of nation building. Women’s language is thus never purely about gender, this is also cited by Barret (1995) in an analysis of a stereo-typed women’s language by American drag queens.

Georgieva (2014) states that men’s and women’s speaking styles are not monolithic. Gender is embedded in our actions, our beliefs and our attitudes that it looks so natural Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995) assert that speakers are constantly doing “gender”. The different ways men and women speak results from the gender-marked social contexts in which they operate (e.g. bread-winner, child-nurturer, caretaker, manager, etc.).

In the National Assembly, gender is still a visual factor with the paucity of elected women MPs; however, party membership and political experience may also affect the dynamics of linguistic interaction. Since women constitute a minority in the assembly at having only about 10% elected- and nomination raising their representation to about 30%, this study has considered whether the minority status of women affects the dynamics of debate in the assembly.

### 3.3 Theorizing Gender in the Context of Public Debate

Literature on women engaging in public discourse argues that there are often contradictory expectations of how women can and should engage in public discourse. Holmes (2006) refers to the existence of a ‘double bind’ where women who conform to and adopt stereotypically “masculine” forms of speech are often viewed negatively for doing so. These constraints are also true for women in positions of power in corporate settings. Holmes (2005) also found out that women business leaders have to manage expectations on the ways in which they should behave in discourse.

Mills (2003) draws upon the notion of *habitus* and notes that since one has to be initiated to the discourse of debate in public life, especially in the domain of politics, people are not immune to the codes and rituals of their linguistic environment; thus if the situation is one in which masculine speech norms have been prevalent over a period of time, it is likely that women who work in such an environment will adopt these norms if they are to be seen as professional.

Walsh (2001) notes that the folk-linguistic supposition that more women in parliamentary debates would have a ‘civilizing’ effect on debates is a burden on women parliamentarians because apart from adopting ritualized norms in a CoP, they are moreover expected to “civilize male-gendered species.”

Shaw (2000) set out to investigate whether the influx of women MPs into the British Parliament following the landslide Labor victory of 1997 had changed the extremely adversarial style of debate that was institutionalized in the House of Commons. Like Walsh’s women priests, many women MPs experienced contradictory pressures (from themselves as well as others): on one hand to perform their jobs competently by the existing standards of the institution, but on the other hand to use their supposed difference from men to “civilize” what was widely seen as an aggressive and boorish style of debate.

One way the women MPs solved this contradiction was to punctiliously abide by the official rules of engagement in the House of Commons. They were as competent as their male peers in the highly competent and self-assertive style of speaking that is required for keeping the floor; but what they did not do, which many men did routinely, was to seek to gain additional advantage illegitimately by interrupting, heckling, filibustering or joking. Some MPs disapproved of this rule breaking as ‘puerile’ and hoped women’s presence in greater numbers would eventually make it less acceptable; others feared rule-breaking by a woman would attract more notice and more severe sanctions than the same behavior among men- thus undermining women’s professional credibility. Consequently, women’s contributions occupied only two thirds as much time in proportion to their numbers as men’s (ibid).

Mey (2009) states that while no specific communication style is demanded of men in the political arena, women do not have an appropriate style available. However, within research on language and gender, certain linguistic choices have been identified as masculine in style: being more assertive in one’s expression and exercising of power and being direct and confrontational with adversaries in the political debate. These traits are however not found among all male politicians in parliamentary debates. Such masculine stereotyped forms are increasingly rejected by women. Within the Labor Party in Britain, Harriet Harman has rejected what she terms as the “militaristic” and “macho” language of the laddish coterie who surround Blair, claiming that talk of “big guns”, “big hitters” and “big beasts” is not how women refer to one another ( *The Guardian*, 1999).

Researchers have also attempted to define the traits characterizing a feminine style. Blankenship and Robin (1995), using a study of corpus of political discourse in the United States between 1990 and 1994 identified the following five traits that characterize women's language in parliamentary debate:

- They base political judgments on concrete, lived experience
- Valuing inclusivity and relational nature of being
- Conceptualizing the power of public office as “capacity to get things done” and empower others
- Approaching policy formulation holistically
- Moving women's issues to the forefront of public arena.

Puwar (1997), Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) and Walsh (2001) have noted that women find a confrontational style, ranging beyond parliamentary debate, to be alienating and inhibiting. Sedgemore (1995:54) indicated that in parliament, when differences are small, they must be magnified and when they do not exist at all, they must be fabricated. In many parliaments, interventions include: stamping, interjections, noise and all types of comments demonstrating support or disapproval of the speaker. Shaw (2000) illustrates that most legal and illegal interruptions are made by men. By not availing themselves for these interventions, women therefore limit their access to the floor and thus relinquish their power in the debates. However, cultural differences can be observed in how this confrontation is managed- this latter part also forms a key component of this study especially with the manner in which such issues are handled with regards to gender and politeness strategies used.

Women are reported to have attained socialization in less competitive areas, like politics in regional parliaments for instance in the autonomous governments in Spain and the UK because less power is wielded there. As a result of the association of power and masculinity, when women reach high positions, they may be regarded as deviant examples virilized women and such reportedly include Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher. The political arena is as such a highly gendered social space. This study will among other things seek to establish whether the above assertions.

Georgieva (2014) notes the following among differences in the speech styles of men and women:

- Women tend to use more standard forms than men
- Women tend to use rising intonation instatements not meant as questions which tend to be interpreted as markers of hesitancy and lack of confidence
- Women tend to shift their speech style to suit the situation
- Men tend to use more vernacular forms and swear words than women as an index of self confidence
- Men tend to raise more topics in a conversation and show preference for less polite communication strategies
- Men tend to interrupt their conversational partners more often, especially if they are women.

Eckert (2000) in investigating reasons for politeness among Mayan villagers considered three contexts: women to women, women to men and men to men. It was recorded that polite language was functional for women, saying that different levels of politeness functioned as strategies to deal with different levels of power. Politeness was chosen as a disarming strategy. Eliasoph (1985) notes that in expressing friendliness, women form their expressive bonds while getting things done.

Brown (1980:93) also said that women had to be polite because they lacked power. It was also noted that women are more sensitive to potential face threateningness and therefore modify their speech accordingly. Women who try to exhibit discursive power are usually judged unfavorably. Further, women have less power in men’s domain i.e. politics since they do not usually interrupt. Interruption equals power.

From these studies it is difficult or impossible to apply the common sense idea that the way people speak just expresses their inner essence of who they are, or the identity they acquired when they were young children. These therefore challenge the notion of a single prototype for masculinity or femininity by calling attention to the multiplicity of gender and sexual identities it is possible to perform. However, Cameron (2005) still emphasizes that English teachers value the symbolically ‘masculine’ ability to ‘take command’ in a group discussion, their professional ideology also gives them a strong commitment to symbolically ‘masculine’ values of collaboration and sensitive listening.

It upon such premises that language and gender will be studied. This study also seeks to consider some or all of the above features such as how women adopt to a male dominated domain of politics as practiced and lived in the Kenya National Assembly. It will further consider whether the assumption that women MPs can have a civilizing effect on the National Assembly debate especially when they are a minority in the traditionally male dominated assembly with regard to politeness or otherwise. Further, Baxter’s (2012) assertion that women in positions of leadership can use language as a *resource* rather than a role is relevant to the current study in terms of examining whether gender is invoked in language use in the National Assembly.

Holmes (2005) and Baxter (2012) discuss the ways in which gender interacts with power in corporate boardroom settings. Baxter’s aim was to identify evidence of “linguistic traces” of how gendered resources were used in a male dominated senior management boardroom. Baxter (2012) found out that women leaders used gendered resources to shift their style of speaking, and concluded that such shifts were ways of challenging and contesting hegemonic practices. Holmes (2005) found out that women in positions of power operated in ways similar to their male colleagues and would sometimes adopt a strategy that tested the boundaries of what was appropriately gendered behavior in their work place. These two studies emphasize the fact that despite greater equality of gender in these corporate settings, gender is still a factor that can direct interaction.

Walsh (2001) proposes that women participants in institutional contexts make use of different linguistic speech models and shift between these. Women use a number of possible strategies for traditionally male dominated fields and consider risks and advantages in terms of individual career interests of women and achieving gender equality. One of these includes a ‘performative model’ where a protagonist shifts between masculine and feminine styles of speaking. This therefore presupposes that gender can be deployed strategically (ibid).

Edelsky (1981) found out in a study that in a collaborative versus formal floor women were more comfortable talking precisely those times in which more than one person commanded the floor. Women spoke more frequently, joked more and spoke less hesitantly at times in which talk was more of a collaborative venture where two or more people either took part in a free-for-all or jointly built one idea, operating on the same wavelength. People acted as friends as well as colleagues then.

Trudgill (1983) notes that women are known to use more polite forms than men, this is in line with their need to be valued by the society; it is a way of protecting their face.



“The deficiencies in women’s language is not due to the fact that they were incapable of vital communication: rather men took up the upper hand in conversation, enacting social dimorphism (differences) in echo of physical (sexual) dimorphism. Thus power was seen as a central figure, where men pushed women to smaller and less significant spaces on the linguistic floor by several means: by interruptions and overlaps; by failing to take up women’s conversational gambits or by using derogatory remarks,” (Fishman 1983).

Sadiqi (2009) in a study conducted in Morocco considered the complex interaction between language, gender and power centers especially in religion and politics. She states that women are learning the power of language and that they, according to their differentiated resources, manipulate it to their advantage. By manipulating language, women’s issues become state issues. By manipulating the language resource, Moroccan women have confronted patriarchy- a challenge to the male dominated society. This aspect is also of concern to this study. Have the women MPs made women’s issues state issues and if so, how have they managed to do this?

Holmes (1992) states that there is no incentive for adult males to give up highly valued talking time in public contexts. Indeed, Walsh notes that increasing numbers of women in some institutions can serve to ‘strengthen fraternal networks’ among men. Yoder (1991) describes this as the ‘intrusiveness effect’ whereby highly masculinised occupations become more, not less, resistant to rapidly increasing numbers of women.

In this study, we also show whether women MPs use various strategies to challenge male authority and dominance in the assembly during debate or whether as Fishman (1983) says, they accept to be pushed to the linguistic floor- as the culture requires of ‘good’ women.

#### **4. Theoretical framework**

The study has been founded on the Politeness Theory. This theory was first advanced by Brown and Levinson (1978). In the theoretical part of their work, they introduce the notion ‘face’ in order to illustrate ‘politeness’ in a broad sense. The politeness theory is premised on the philosophy of Grice and Searle (1975) who introduced politeness through the four maxims of the cooperative principles in ‘logic and politeness.’ These four maxims are: *maxim of quantity*-information should be brief or long enough so that no part of the information is left out; *maxim of quality*- truthfulness and with evidence; *maxim of relevance*- one should always be relevant and *Maxim of manner*- always strive to be clear, orderly, avoid obscurity and ambiguity. The cooperative principle assumes that human interaction is generally cooperative in terms of showing polite manners. The signals of politeness can be observed by the interlocutors in conversation. The speech acts are therefore significant since each act is meaningful. Searle (1969) stresses the indirectness of speech act as ‘the chief motivation- though not the only motivation- for using these indirect forms of politeness.’

Brown and Levinson suggest four politeness strategies that can become the speaker’s choice as follows: positive politeness; negative politeness; by going off record and by not doing a face threatening act (FTA).

Positive politeness strategies involve the following:

- Notice, attend to the hearer
- Exaggerate
- Intensify interest to speaker/ hearer
- Use in-group identity marker
- Seek agreement
- Assert common ground
- Joke
- Assert or presuppose speaker’s knowledge and show concern for him/ her
- Offer, promise
- Be optimistic
- Include speaker/ hearer in the activity
- Give (ask for) reasons
- Reciprocate
  - Give gifts (be sympathetic, cooperative and be understanding) Negative politeness is used when a person wants to have his freedom of action unobstructed and his/ her attention unrestricted. It is usually aimed at the addressee. Such strategies include some of the following
- Use of metaphors
- Apologizing
- Being direct
- Impersonalizing speaker/ hearer
- Use of metaphors
- Use of rhetorical questions
- Vagueness
- Being ambiguous
- Making presuppositions The fourth strategy which is called *opting out* refers to when the person decides not to do any of the face threatening acts. The benefit of this is that the person does not become engaged in any possible interaction. The speaker would therefore be unlikely to get any effect at all. However, not all interaction strives for politeness. Brown and Levinson’s theory assumes that the end goal as cooperation of participants in dialogue, but in the context of the assembly chamber, interaction is not necessarily cooperative, and FTAs are almost actively encouraged (Bayley 2004: Harris 2001). Bargiel-Chiappini (2006) argues that emotions, when accounted for, are also a means of face protection. Therefore in analyzing the audio recordings of the National Assembly the above cited features will be considered in light of the manner in which gender differences in language come out with regard to politeness or impoliteness as strategies of communication.

## 5. Methodology

This study randomly identified four sessions from the 12<sup>th</sup> parliament of the Kenya National Assembly as recorded and uploaded on You-tube by the communications department in the National Assembly. The researcher purposefully identified those periods when the National Assembly is busy especially during the period discussing the proposed changes to the election law and when there are important bills to be discussed. This is because the source of data is adequate to study the phenomena in question; this, Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1997) refer to as “Time sampling.” In order to narrow down the corpus to allow for a systematic and organized manner, the linguistic exchanges and interactions between MPs were broken down into smaller units of analysis. In this study, only linguistic exchanges and interactions between MPs that directly refer to or allude to gender were considered for analysis. The video recordings were played and replayed until common themes and ideas became apparent. The data is presented qualitatively. All members of the National Assembly

therefore are potential subjects of study without any biases or discrimination. The findings have been presented in a thematic manner.

## **6. Findings**

The findings from the data analyzed are presented and discussed below.

### **6.1 Cooperation**

During debate on the President's address to parliament, a session that was chaired by a female MP. It was observed that the Chair spoke to members reassuringly- in a very friendly tone and did not put off any member who took to the floor during debate even when such a member's time was up. The Chair frequently thanked and appreciated MPs and even cited their achievements outside Parliament. Male MPs frequently referred to the chair in their speech. This was done in a respectable manner:

**"Thank you Madam Chair...."**

Also, male MPs frequently interrupted when another member took to the floor.

In a session that debated the NHIF and Trustees Bill, MPs- both male and female- were generally cooperative. The *maxim of quantity* was observed throughout. The *maxim of manner*- speaking with clarity so that the matter was exhaustively explained was also noted. All speakers were also relevant. Turn taking was done well and respectfully. They observed decorum, generally agreed on most of the issues raised; perhaps this was because the Bill touches on all Kenyan workers' interests. The Minority leader, in appreciating cooperation from a member of the opposing side became informal and showed exaggerated friendliness. This is what the latter said:

**"...this favors the youth and persons with disabilities and I am sure Sankok will be happy with this."**

### **6.2 Friendliness**

With regards to the above, it should be noted that Hon. Sankok is an MP living with disability. By referring to Hon. Sankok simply as "Sankok", the member is seeking to be friendly despite not conforming to the Standing Orders that require a formal reference to another member of the house. This does not elicit any sanctions from the Speaker of the session.

### **6.3 Directness**

The female Chair was however authoritative and fair in distribution of speaking time to members. At one time the Chair firmly reminded a member:

**"Honorable Ichungwa, do not guide me. You cannot guide me."**

She also frequently repeated herself for emphasis and guidance.

The effect of this strategy is that it gives her power and as such members are forced to conform in order for the house to continue transacting its business in an orderly manner.

### **6.4 Negative politeness/ damaging face**

When a male was on the chair, was speaker or acted as such, there was a sharp deviation from the instance when a female was in charge. The chair was cooperative but at times showed negative politeness and even chastised the MPs as in the cases shown below:

**Is that member walking or standing still?**

**It is good to behave as if you know where you have entered...when walking in here you know you are in a hallowed place.**

The male chair or Speaker was also observed to offer appropriate guidance to the MPs whenever they seemed to stray from the objectives set out.

Through such a strategy, the speaker damages the face of the members so referred to and as such, they avoid the public eye; they are in essence embarrassed and do not make any attempts to be seen or heard of.

### 6.5 Use of loaded/ emotive words

Male MPs spoke authoritatively and used modals such as *must*, *important*, *ensure*, etc.; they also used emotive words such as *treason*, *brutality*, etc. The male MPs sounded knowledgeable and used to speaking in floor of the house. Most speakers were male.

In a discussion on insecurity, both male and female MPs took to the floor, they were articulate, emotive and sometimes chided each other. A few exchanges are provided below:

**Hon. Rasso (Male):** Those who are killers have no shame. They have no morals. I want to warn the Jubilee government...Marsabit is not Ukur Yataani...Ukur Yataani is not Marsabit.

**Hon Jaldessa (Female):** I want to differ with Honorable Rasso. The report is shallow, vague. The report is very biased....

**Hon. Sankok (Male):** From rumors...cabinet has not met for the last 8 months. Now only God can protect Kenya...Honorable Matiangi was lying. He must apologize...he is lying in the streets. How can I be quiet..and our president who I am loyal to is mute on this one?

In a heated talk on insecurity in Samburu, Honorable Korere Sarah, a female MP, said the following:

**“I wondered why the member for Samburu spoke about Laikipia...the lie we are peddling here about Laikipia...leaders from Baringo, Pokot and Samburu are speaking as if they...those are reckless and useless statements from a leader. It’s quite a shame that there’s local intelligence but they cannot gather any intelligence.”**

**Hon. Kutuny (Male):** If the CS cannot hold people accountable, then Matiangi himself must be held accountable.

**Hon. Korere (Female):** The cabinet has abdicated and the president has abdicated...

**Hon. Lekuntare (Male):**I don’t think the Honorable member has interests in Laikipia. I will invite him to Laikipia. (referring to Hon. Rasso)

The use of such loaded words causes concerns to the members being referred to. Some of them lose their tempers and the Speaker has to intervene. Upon being given speaking time on the floor, such members seek to redeem themselves by countering claims leveled against them while others choose not to respond- especially when it is a female member who has made such claims.

### 6.6 Thematic concerns

The male MPs themes dwelled on the following: elections, state brutality, GDP, public debt, autonomy of institutions, etc. on the other hand, the female MPs topics were found to include the following: peace and fairness, COVID-19, health, women’s reproductive rights, education and agriculture. The women were also found to be speaking in a more or less pleading manner and frequently used words such as *please*.

The effect of such thematic concerns- especially those that touch on the family elicit prolonged reactions from members as they seek to clarify, support or condemn the matters at hand. The female MPs adopted stance with regard to their intonation and attitude draws the support of their male counterparts since they in essence are seeking support on the matters presented before the house.

### 6.7 Use of unparliamentary language

Apart from frequent interruptions, male MPs were found to exaggerate. For instance, one referred to another as "...a very good member." Male MPs frequently challenged authority, made demeaning comparisons and used other derogatory terms. For instance the former Majority Leader in Parliament referred to a member disrespectfully saying:

**"...Mulembe, you cannot scare me...."**

During this session, some male MPs were not only threatening but also abusive to their counterparts in the house. Honorable Duale told a male MP:

**"You can do me nothing...this is Bunge!"**

This is a direct attack on another member and is not expected in Parliament as a Community of Practice as this goes against the rules of the house.

The use of a confrontational stance is both downplayed and countered in an equal manner. The former approach is used in order to bring about reason and portray the concerned members as responsible and ready for settlement; the latter stance is used to show toughness and refusal to be intimidated. However, the Speaker reverts to the *Standing Orders* to bring about reason in the discussion.

### **6.8 Occupation of the floor**

Male MPs who took to the floor in most cases spoke beyond the allocated time and had their microphones switched off. Female MPs on the other hand spoke within the time allocated to them. For instance a first time female MP for Marsabit only read from the written script she had made and in less than two minutes she was through.

Whenever there were interruptions from other MPs seeking the Speaker's attention on a point of order or instances of heckling and cat-calls, male MPs who were on the floor of the house, notably the Minority Leader Honorable Mbadi stood his ground. This was also the case with Honorable Muturi Kigano, Honorable Kimunya and Honorable Kajwan'g. Male MPs like Honorable Sankok were reported to "consult loudly." This is against house norms.

Honorable Wamuchomba, a female MP, also stood defiantly and dared male MPs. She also directly referred to another MP- a practice that goes against house rules. Honourable Millie Odhiambo is also on record for standing her ground, however, she did not deliberately break house rules.

The length that a member uses on the floor has the effect of portraying that member as tough or weak. Members who used the time allocated to the maximum were seen as knowledgeable, experienced and able to navigate the "dangers" of an otherwise hostile house. Those members who had to be stopped frequently for guidance by the Speaker did not have the freedom to fully articulate their concerns and seemed "lost".

### **6.9 Assertiveness**

Honorable Millie Odhiambo, an experienced female MP in her third term in the house exuded confidence, spoke with authority and challenged her male counterparts on several occasions; she also frequently rose on points of order- thereby interrupting the current speaker. This was not the case with most other female MPs. She also spoke in defense of a female non-member of the house- the Honorable Martha Koome, the Chief Justice when the latter was accused of meddling in IEBC affairs despite the former not being a member of the house.

Such a stance clearly gives the member "freedom to express herself" because no member wanted to be seen to be in conflict. Further, the said member had the time to exploit language resources at her disposal as she pleased.

### **6.10 Impoliteness**

Male MPs sounded impolite: one was ironic in discussing the Pandora papers about money stashed abroad yet the leadership still went to the World Bank with begging bowls. Honorable Kosittany, a male MP said:

**“...there was zero mention on maize farming by the President.”**

In a session to discuss new election rules set out by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), both male and female MPs who spoke exhibited negative politeness. This is what a female MP said:

**“We do not bring them to the House. They were faulty...there’s no way we could have revived them...the IEBC should have conformed, should have published...the life of a parliament dies with that parliament. It was done outside the law. IEBC should have done those things and done them right...they were fatally damaged.”**

Impoliteness had the effect of drawing more impoliteness from other members. This is because at such moments, the members being referred to did not want to look intimidated. Some engaged in sarcasm as a response when they were given the floor by the Speaker.

### 6.11 Use of metaphors

A male MP, Hon. Duale said:

**“The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) decided to take this matter very casually. They put the cart before the horse...it will fall flat on the face of the law. Where was IEBC since 2017? Why did they have to wait for the 11<sup>th</sup> hour?”**

A metaphor is used here to show that things were wrong from the start and therefore unacceptable. The image, ‘fall flat in the face of the law’ reinforces the negativity. Rhetorical questions are also used. Hon. Duale proceeds:

**“...it is illegal, unprocedural, has serious embarrassing drafting errors on the part of the IEBC...we must reject the draft campaign regulations published. How can we debate issues dated 2016 in 2021?”**

Hon. Junet Mohamed, a male MP, said the following:

**“This House died a long time ago. It boils down to the competence of the IEBC in bringing documents full of irregularities and illegalities. They came here with a battery of lawyers. If the IEBC cannot get it right on small issues, I don’t know how they will get it right on bigger issues...they are preparing Kenyans for chaos and anarchy.”**

It is worth noting that the negative impoliteness exhibited by both male and female MPs in the above cases is towards an entity- the IEBC, not toward a fellow member.

MPs also sought to be seen as cooperative with regards to the above discussion on the IEBC. This is what the Majority Leader Hon. Kimunya a male MP said:

**“The House has done its job...IEBC had their time, they sat on it. This House has done its job. I sympathize with the IEBC...they have to bear the consequences. We are flogging a dead horse.”**

The use of metaphorical language by the initial speakers in the discussion about the IEBC draw more metaphors from the members who spoke afterwards. The effect of this was to portray the IEBC as inhuman, unfeeling, not deserving sympathy. As such, the institution was condemned wholesomely.

### 6.12 Accusations

The male MPs accused the regime of a plethora of vices such as: disregard for court orders, the KEMSA heist (in their own words), corruption, etc. their reference to the “Handshake” and “election losers” was also satirical. Female MPs did not seem to adopt such an attitude. Many male MPs seemed to appreciate but oppose; female MPs tended to agree and support.

The use of such a strategy had the effect of portraying the concerned persons and agencies in negative light. As a consequence, the persons and bodies being referred to had no members rising to speak on their behalf as no member wanted to be seen to be working in cahoots with them.

### 6.13 Heckling and grandstanding

Heckling and grandstanding have no linguistic value; they have a functional value. During a session to consider the President's reservations on the Finance bill, both male and female MPs joined in opposing the government's position. There was a lot of heckling led by male MPs. Female MPs also joined in this hostile atmosphere despite the chair of the Committee being female. The chair was unable to control the agitated house- at one time she felt she was losing it and her voice trembled and she stammered despite her pleas.

This brought about disorder in the house and the Speaker had to intervene. In fact, the business of the house came to a standstill and the session(s) that had these either ended prematurely or had the Speaker leaving the Chair to another member with the hope of returning to an organized group.

### 6.14 Male hegemonistic tendencies

When normalcy returned after a disruption of house business due to a stand-off between the house leadership and its members, the female MPs were given special preference by the Speaker Honorable Justine Muturi who said:

**"...there's a general concern that the female gender is always being sidelined."**

He therefore took liberty to identify female MPs to speak to the issue at hand. This is in acknowledging that the female members are fewer than their male counterparts on a ratio of 2:1- a majority of whom are nominated to bridge the gender gap.

59

### 6.15 Joking

There were also a few jokes –especially male to male MPs. for instance the Speaker asked Honorable Sankok, a member with disability, to

**"...take good care of your legs."**

This happened after another member "was seen" carrying away Hon. Sankok's walking aids.

In a discussion on family matters, Hon. Passaris, a female MP, was not only ironic but humorous when she said:

**"I wish to say the following about men: they father children but blame the women for getting pregnant...."**

In a quick rejoinder, Hon. Sankok, a male MP, said the following:

**"...sometimes when we mislead the House...I think Honorable Passaris was misleading the House. When the woman was being sent the fare, why didn't she save it?"**

Hon. Passaris': **"I would one day like to invite Honorable Sankok when we talk to widows and dispossessed women..."**

Hon. Passaris portrays herself as a "mother" and "caregiver" in this case- a gendered role culturally assigned to women.

The acting Speaker Hon. Cheboi, a male MP, responded in a light manner in the following way:

**"Don't address Honorable Sankok..I think he's getting jittery when you talked about...what did you call it? Vasectomy, I think..." ( a few members laughed.)**

The above is gendered language. It alludes to men's role and duty in fatherhood. That men must take charge of their offspring and families.

The use of jokes had the effect of presenting such serious matters very lightly. Further, the members had the chance to raise serious matters without causing embarrassment to each other. The use of jokes is a face saving strategy.

### 6.16 Negative politeness

This was exhibited by the Speaker towards a female MP Hon. Dida Jaldesa. This had the effect of damaging the face of the female member of the house. This is illustrated below:

**Hon. Jaldessa: Put the question Mr. Speaker.**

**Speaker: You cannot order the Speaker...you can only request the Speaker.**

In an instance where a male MP, Honorable Rasso, interrupted Honorable Bunyasi, a fellow male MP, the latter expressed impoliteness by referring to a member in an unacceptable way as follows:

**“Why did you do that in the middle of my statement?”**

However, after the Speaker’s clarification, Hon. Bunyasi sought cooperation by telling the House Speaker:

**“I am well guided Mr. Speaker.”**

Such strategies adopted presented the members referred to as ignorant of house *Standing Orders* that are meant to guide members ‘ contributions every step of the way.

### 6.17 Sarcasm

Hon. Sankok, a male MP, is also on record for being sarcastic towards a fellow male MP Hon. Mbadi. This is what the former said about the latter:

**“...you know he’s very intelligent, this Honourable Mbadi the Chairman of ODM ...”**

In the above statement, Hon. Sankok in effect makes presuppositions about Hon. Mbadi as scheming. Further, the Hon. Sankok broke house rules by failing to use the in-group identity marker of his referent as Leader of the Minority in the House. The use of the in-group identity marker was however adhered to by several other MPs.

Honorable Omboko, a male MP, was also found to use extreme politeness and “defeatist” language by saying:

**“...we are begging....”**

As a rejoinder, Hon. Ichungwa, a male MP said the following:

**“I really want to sympathize with the Honourable Omboko....”**

This must be seen as a joke yet purporting to show sympathy: it actually makes certain presuppositions- albeit unsaid- about the member. The former is seen as expressing sarcasm towards the latter. It portrays the said member as weak. The member referred to never responds to this

### 6.18 Use of rhetorical questions and mixed strategies

In a petition to the House on the Competency Based Curriculum (CBC) by Hon. Sossion, a male MP, there were several orderly exchanges between several interlocutors on the topic. However, the House Speaker used several repeated questions- which in retrospect should be seen as rhetorical as follows:

**“Honorable Sossion, are you sure this issue is not before the court? Are you sure?”**

In seeking cooperation with the speaker, the Majority leader Hon. Kimunya remarked:

**“Indeed my worry is to do with the matter in court....”**

Further, the Speaker said:

**“I ask for your indulgence...Honorable Sossion, I want to suggest....”**

All these are indicators of positive politeness towards the member.

On the same, the Speaker further said the following:

**“Calling Public Officers may be an exercise in futility and could be a waste of public resources...I am not going to say anything on this matter because it is in court.”**

This is negative politeness since it makes presuppositions about Hon. Sossion’s ignorance of house procedures and matters of industrial relations especially because Hon. Sossion is a reknown and seasoned trade unionist. The Speaker further says the following:



**“...you all know that Honourable Sossion has been so passionate about this matter...your petition contravenes House rules...you are an industrious man Honorable Sossion, through your industry you can get the court documents on this matter.”**

This latter part of the Speaker’s speech is not only sarcastic and casts aspersions but also makes presuppositions about the member. In discussing the above, the four male interlocutors were found to follow House rules, and were all generally very cooperative.

### **6.19 Questioning**

During a session to discuss questions posed to various committees, a number of instances that exhibit positive and negative politeness were observed. On matters of security addressed to the Chair of the Security and National Defense Committee, Hon. Mutunga, a male MP asked:

**“What steps have been taken? What measures have been taken to redress insecurity in Tigania?”**

Such a linguistic strategy is meant to undermine the persons referred to since there is no response to any of the questions. It ends up portraying such persons as irresponsible who do not deserve sympathy and therefore stand condemned.

### **6.20 Making promises/ offering gifts**

An instance of positive politeness is seen when the MP for Teso North Hon. Oku Kaunya asks:

**“Could the chairperson explain to this House what efforts have been made to revive cotton farming? Could the chairperson tell this House the financial resources committed towards BT cotton farming?”**

In response to the above questions in the manner in which they are presented, the Chairperson of the Finance Committee Hon. Wanga, a female, issued a promise- a technique that shows positive politeness and appreciation. This is what she said:

**“I think we will have a response in the next four weeks, Chair.”**

Her response conforms to the *Maxims* of cooperation. It is also very precise. This helps to continue the harmony in the house.

### **6.21 Banging tables**

**Hon. Korere (female): (bangs the table in protest)**

Hon. Korere banged the table in protest during debate on insecurity in her constituency. She felt that another member of the house was deliberately causing and perpetuating insecurity.

According to Ilie (2004), interrupting another speaker by heckling (or banging tables and such other noises) is a non- verbal strategy of disruption that plays more of a functional role than be a formal part of the exchange. Because this is done by a female member of the house, she draws sympathy and is seen as fighting for her people. She is seen as a determined mother and no member directly rises in opposition or confrontation against her.

During the discussion on insecurity, both male and female MPs from the affected areas spoke. They were found to exhibit negative politeness against their real or imagined enemies in the House. Sometimes they damaged the face of their “perceived opponents” in the house. The only different voice on this matter was Hon. Professor Jacqueline Oduol (Female) who addressed the issue devoid of emotion. She sought for cooperation and effectively observed the maxims of cooperation.

## **Conclusion**

Male MPs did not directly demean their female counterparts. Some female MPs did not show appropriate respect to a female MP who happened to chair a session- a lack of solidarity. Male MPs

showed great respect for a female who was on the Chair. Male MPs tended to disrupt more, speak more, defy house rules and even showed contempt for others.

Most engagements were impersonalized- devoid of emotion, had human warmth, were objective and unbiased. Both male and female MPs were articulate, had knowledge of house rules and generally worked together. Themes addressed by female MPs were unlike those addressed by their male counterparts- although they had common ground on matters such as education and taxation. If female MPs are not deliberately and purposefully allocated time during debate, they may never get their voices heard since male MPs seem to have taken full control of house business especially because they are a minority. Only a few seasoned female politicians seem to have the habit of regularly taking to the floor in a tussle with their male counterparts. It is also further noted that despite a majority of women parliamentarians being nominated, they have simply not become “flower girls or *bonga* points” (Kivoi, 2014), some have been noted to adopt a “combative” posture (ibid) in the oversight role they are charged with. This is good for women joining the political field.

It can generally be concluded that the information about women and men parliamentarians in other countries and settings does apply to the Kenyan situation. There is need to conduct a more in-depth analysis on the linguistic strategies employed by parliamentarians with particular reference to their gender so as to obtain a more comprehensive description of the real situation.

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## **Assessing Indonesian college students' reading stamina in reading different text formats**

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### **Abstract**

Reading stamina, a term for someone's ability to keep reading in one sit, is believed to be affected by the reading formats. Despite the crucial benefit of reading stamina for lifelong reading performance, it has not received much attention in literacy research. This study, thus, aims to find out the effect of reading formats (digital and print) on the reading stamina of college students. 70 Indonesian college students taking an English course were involved in this study. They were divided into two groups. 35 of them were asked to read a novel in digital format and the rest were asked to read a novel in print format for four-time meetings (30 minutes each). Their reading stamina was assessed through a reading behavior observation sheet. The students' perception about their reading behavior was also collected through a self-reflection questionnaire adapted from Lynch (2018). The data obtained were analyzed quantitatively. The result showed that there was an increase in the students' reading stamina for digital format from meeting one through meeting four, but a decrease in print format. Additionally, statistical analysis showed that there was a significant difference in the students' reading stamina between those who read digital and print format ( $t(68) = 5.013$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ,  $d = 1.2$ ). Regarding the students' perception about their reading behavior, 69.20% of them mentioned that reading in print format was easier than reading digital format. These findings suggest that choosing appropriate reading format is pivotal for college students since abundant reading resources are available nowadays.

### **Keywords**

Digital, print, reading format, reading stamina

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## Introduction

The remaining effects from COVID-19 has resulted to the implementation of hybrid learning, where the learning materials (especially the reading ones) are distributed in both print and digital formats. This difference of reading formats, as shown by the literature, may affect the students’ reading process, starting from their reading behavior, reading stamina, reading fluency, to finally their reading comprehension (Akbar et al., 2015; Delgado et al., 2018; Mizrachi, 2015). Specific to reading stamina, this ability is defined by Hiebert et al. (2014) as the ability to maintain attention and keep reading for a long time long. This ability is agreed upon by experts, for example by Delgado et al. (2018) and the report in the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2005), as a very important aspect in reading skill.

Despite being a fundamental feature in reading, research on reading stamina has received insufficient attention from reading researchers. Some of the researchers that embrace the topic of reading stamina in their studies include Hiebert (2015), Larson (2015), and Lynch (2018), where, in general, they discuss how important reading stamina is to survive reading in a long time as a required skill for success in the 21st century. They also examine this issue through today's digital reading habits. The results of this studies, thus, indicate the role of reading format in affecting reading stamina. Unfortunately, there is no specific study, as far as we concern, that examine the reading format impact on reading stamina.

This study, thus, tries to provide the answer for whether the difference between digital and print text affects students’ reading stamina. By observing 120 university students’ behaviors when reading in each format, we specifically address the following questions:

- (1) How are the changes of students’ reading stamina between those who read through digital and print media?
- (2) Is there a difference in students' reading stamina between those who read through digital and print media?
- (3) What are the students’ opinions about the effect of reading formats on their reading stamina?

## 1. Literature review

### 1.1. Reading stamina

The term reading stamina first appeared in the mid-1960s, when it was mentioned in the Philosophy of Individualized Reading by Hunt in 1965 (Hiebert et al., 2014). Reading stamina, according to Hunt, is an important characteristic of a true reader. It was the time when the practice of sustained silent reading (SSR) became a hot topic of discussion in the field of reading and this practice is a representation of someone's reading stamina. The concept of reading stamina is mentioned again in Stanovich (1986) as an important part of a person's reading ability. A poor reader is believed to read less than others, and this affects his/her reading stamina when reading longer texts, even if they are not difficult. In short, reading stamina is defined as the ability to maintain attention and keep reading for a long time (Hiebert et al., 2014). Having a good reading stamina is agreed upon by experts, for example, Johnson et al. (2008) and the report in Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2005), as a very important aspect of reading skills. Reading stamina is also a key element to build a person's confidence in reading, especially in teenagers (Johnson et al., 2008).

According to Lynch (2018), there are several factors that affect a person's reading stamina, namely gender differences, attention span (long-maintained attention), and diverse abilities.

Many studies show that gender differences affect how a person perceives the importance of reading and this affects his motivation (Liu & Huang, 2008; Marinak & Gambrell, 2010; McGeown et al., 2011), which further also affects his reading stamina. In general, the three studies agreed that women were more motivated to read and considered reading important than men. The skill to maintain attention is also performed differently between men and women. Wozniak (2010) found that women were able to maintain their attention to reading longer than men.

In addition, it is undeniable that in one class there must be students with different abilities and this is seen by Lynch (2018) as another factor that affects their reading stamina. Kittle (2013) reports that the different reading abilities possessed by students in one class require teachers to adapt their teaching method to more individualized instruction, otherwise the students' reading stamina would not improve. Glaus (2014) suggests giving different readings to each student according to their interests will provide an opportunity for the students to read fairly and then will build their reading stamina.

There are, in fact, several suggestions conveyed to increase students' reading stamina. In general, Boushey and Moser (2017) suggest four components of the reading pedagogy, comprehension, accuracy, fluency, and vocabulary, that can be assessed as a reference in providing materials to build adolescent reading stamina. Comprehension is an important part of reading stamina since it is the determinant for persistence to occur (Lynch, 2018). The students that understand the texts they read will show some behaviors, including using prior knowledge to predict and/or reread the less comprehensible parts of the text. The students will also show good mastery of the other reading components (accuracy, fluency, and vocabulary) that indicates they comprehend the text. The indicators include recognizing high-frequency words, reading voraciously, and using word parts (G Boushey & Moser, 2017). The level of difficulty of texts that is suitable for the students should also be examined so that they will show fluency and enthusiasm to read.

The four components mentioned above can be supported with other techniques, such as silent reading, choice freedom, and volume increase, to form a person's reading stamina. According to Lynch (2018), silent reading is a core of reading stamina where the students are able to read silently and understand the text without supports from others. This reading condition should be also applied because students must read silently in real-world or even at test (Hiebert et al., 2014). Furthermore, Swanson (2013) also emphasizes the importance of preferred reading choices to increase one's reading stamina. Providing freedom of reading choices aims to get students used to read before they have to read determined and academic materials in college. In addition, Kittle (2013) suggests the importance of increasing one's reading volume so that reading stamina also increases. Independent reading, as an innovative way of teaching reading, is argued by Sanden (2012) to be able to increase the volume of students reading. Once, the students are accustomed to read a lot, their reading stamina will be itself improved.

## **2. Reading formats on reading stamina**

There are two types of reading formats used in learning activities, print and digital format. Literature shows that different reading formats can affect students' reading process, starting from their reading behavior, reading stamina, reading fluency, to finally their reading comprehension (Akbar et al., 2015; Aydemir et al., 2013; Delgado et al., 2018; Mizrachi, 2015). Mizrachi (2015) reveals that students show more positive reading behaviors, such as

highlighting and re-reviewing, in reading printed texts compared to reading digital texts. On the other hand, the difficulties in reading through devices, such as following the lines, are argued by Delgado et al. (2018) to negatively influence the students’ comprehension. In addition, Akbar et al. (2015) reports that students have better reading fluency when reading through an app compared to reading in print but at the same time possess lack of stamina when reading through the app.

The differences of reading formats are also found to have an effect for both gender of readers, and this might also affect their difference in reading stamina. Liu and Huang (2008) report that differences in reading formats (digital and print) affect reading preferences between men and women. Men show more interest in reading digitally, while women still prefer to read through print media. Thus, the different modes of reading would probably differentially affect the reading stamina between men and women. Meanwhile, Chen and Chen (2014) said that the use of digital media as a reading mode also affects the length of time to maintain one's attention where the duration of reading through digital tends to be shorter and students find it difficult to read long texts through digital media.

The ability to possess good reading stamina in both print and digital format is essential in this era. It is because students from generation Z are accustomed to encountering information conveyed through various modes of delivery and this require them to be able to maintain their reading focus (Rosen, 2010). Moreover, as shown in Parlindungan et al. (2021) that students will have preferences to read either in print or digital and these preferences would likely contribute to the students’ superiority to read in one mode over the other, it would then expected that students will have better reading stamina in one format compared to the other. The students who are accustomed to digital reading are predicted that they will have difficulty maintaining their reading stamina in reading long-printed texts (Hiebert et al., 2014). Hiebert et al. (2014) also argue that readers who have difficulty reading in the current digital era tend not to have the reading stamina to gather information from various sources or read long texts.

### **3. Previous studies on reading stamina**

While it has been discussed on how important reading stamina is and how the differences of reading format may affect the reading stamina, not many studies, as far as we concern, explore this issue. Some studies, such as Gulla (2012), Hiebert (2015), and Larson (2015), merely present strategies for increase students' reading stamina without reporting any effect of the mode differences may have. Gulla (2012), for instances, describes an ethnography study of a teacher applying independent reading program to build the students’ reading stamina. The students are encouraged to choose the book they want to read and it is reported that one student expands his reading time from two to twenty minutes. In comparison, Larson (2015) explains how to utilize the technologies to enhance digital reading stamina. He emphasizes the preparation stage and other technical factors that need to consider to improve students’ reading experience.

Other studies that examine students’ reading stamina include Lynch (2018) and Trainin et al. (2016). Trainin et al. (2016) study the reading stamina of 140 fourth graders in the western United States Middle, where students have to read 5 texts of 200 words each. The results of their research show that the students' reading stamina is quite stable, even though some are slow readers or have low reading understanding skill. Lynch (2018), on the other hand, researches reading practices in high schools in South and North Carolina, United States. The study involves five teachers and approximately 300 students and shows that students perform better stamina and reading behavior in the end of the research period. He argued that at the



beginning of the study students were not used to it to read for a long time and over time they start to enjoy reading.

While it shows that so far, no study explicitly compares the effect of reading format on reading stamina, the research subject is also mostly school students. Possessing good reading stamina is also essential for university students as argued by Springer et al. (2015) that the students will easily feel frustrated, anxious and losing enthusiasm for reading load when they do not have good reading stamina. Therefore, this study tries to explore the effects of digital and print reading format on university students' reading stamina.

## **4. Methods**

### **4.1 Participants and instruments**

This study was conducted at first-semester students of University of Teuku Umar, Indonesia, in the academic year 2022/2023. 120 students, 55 males and 65 females, from four classes of English course were involved to participate. They are around 18 to 19 years old. Each of two classes were required to read a novel in different reading formats, print and digital format. The novel *Diary La Sorbonne* (2014), telling about a journey of a scholarship awardee continuing her master degree in Paris, was chosen because it is written in Bahasa that suited the students' main language expertise.

### **4.2 Data collection**

This study uses a quantitative approach with a two-group experimental design model. The two different groups of students were asked to individually read the novel in silent and their behaviors indicating their reading stamina were observed. To assure the data triangulation, the students were also asked to fill out a Google Form stating their reading behaviors while reading the book.

The data were collected during four meetings of the classes starting from September to October 2022. The students' reading stamina were assessed by using a reading behaviors observation sheet adapted from Lynch (2018). Reading behaviors, according to Lynch (2018), can indicate how someone's reading stamina increases. Positive reading behaviors, including highlighting reading words with a pencil or finger and muttering what is read, indicate high reading stamina. Meanwhile, negative reading behaviors, including restless sitting, frequently leaving the seat, holding books too close or too far, drowsiness, and yawning, indicate low reading stamina. There were 13 behaviors included on the observation sheet and these behaviors were assessed in a Likert scale indicating the frequency of the student's behavior (Table 1). The higher score of the behavior, the better reading stamina it indicates. This observation was carried out for 30 minutes during the students reading the novel and involved two data collectors.

Table 1. Reading behaviors observation sheet (adapted from Lynch, 2018)

<b>Student Name:</b> _____	<b>Date:</b> _____
<b>Behavior</b>	<b>Score</b>

	1 (never)	2 (rarely)	3 (sometimes)	4 (often)	5 always
<b>Visual Behaviors</b>					
1. <i>Tracking with pencil/finger</i>					
2. <i>Not rubbing eyes</i>					
3. <i>Looking at book/media</i>					
4. <i>Not holding book/media to close</i>					
5. <i>Not holding book/media to far</i>					
<b>Auditory Behaviors</b>					
6. <i>Mouthing words</i>					
7. <i>Whispering words</i>					
8. <i>Reading aloud</i>					
<b>Avoidance Behaviors</b>					
9. <i>Not flipping through pages too quickly</i>					
10. <i>Not out of seat</i>					
<b>Body/Posture Behaviors</b>					
11. <i>Not heading down while reading</i>					
12. <i>Not fidgeting</i>					
13. <i>Not standing while reading</i>					

In addition to the observation, the students were also required to fill a Google Form stating their frequency of doing the behaviors. The 13 behaviors were also put on the Google Form and were also assessed in a Likert scale. This addition of students’ own response to their behaviors aimed to provide more accurate data. The behavior statements on the Google Form were also written in Bahasa to ensure the students understand the behaviors intended. Furthermore, there were four additional statements asking the students’ opinions about the effect of book formats on their reading stamina that they had to answer in the last meeting of data collection (Figure 1). Three questions were in yes/no/maybe response asking the students’ perceptions on their ability to read in long time, format that is easier to read, and the impact of format on their reading stamina. Meanwhile, the other question was in long-answer response asking other factors that may influence the students’ ability to read in long time.

### 4.3 Data analysis

The data collected were analyzed using an independent t-test. The method was chosen because there were two different experimental conditions (reading through printed books vs reading through digital media) and different participants (Field, 2009). The analysis was carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics 25.

Before carrying out the t-test, we first compare the data we collected through the observation sheet and the students’ responses in Google Form. In general, we did not find distinctive differences of the frequency of behaviors between the two sources. After determining the fixed scores of each behavior of the students, we calculated the mean scores of the 13 behaviors as the average reading stamina value of the students. Then, we inputted the data to the SPSS application to run the t-test.

Do you think you can read in long time? \*

Yes

No

Maybe

---

Do you think reading printed books is easier than reading digital books? \*

Yes

No

Maybe

---

Do you think reading formats (print vs digital) affect your reading stamina? \*

Yes

No

Maybe

---

What other factors do you think affect your ability to read in long time? \*

Your answer \_\_\_\_\_

Submit Clear form

Figure 1. Four opinion questions on Google Form (translated)

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Students' reading stamina changes

The students' reading stamina changes were measured by comparing the mean scores of the students from initial week to final week in each reading format. The overall trend of reading stamina changes can be seen from the graphs on Figure 2.

At a glance, the reading stamina for digital format increases from the initial week to the final week, while it decreases for print format. The gaps between the mean scores of week 1 and week 4 for both formats, however, is not significant which are from 3.35 to 3.53 for digital format and from 3.01 to 2.86 for print format. Moreover, the results of the t-tests comparing the two means also show insignificant changes for both formats. The t-test value for digital format was .246 and for print format was .405,  $p = .05$ .

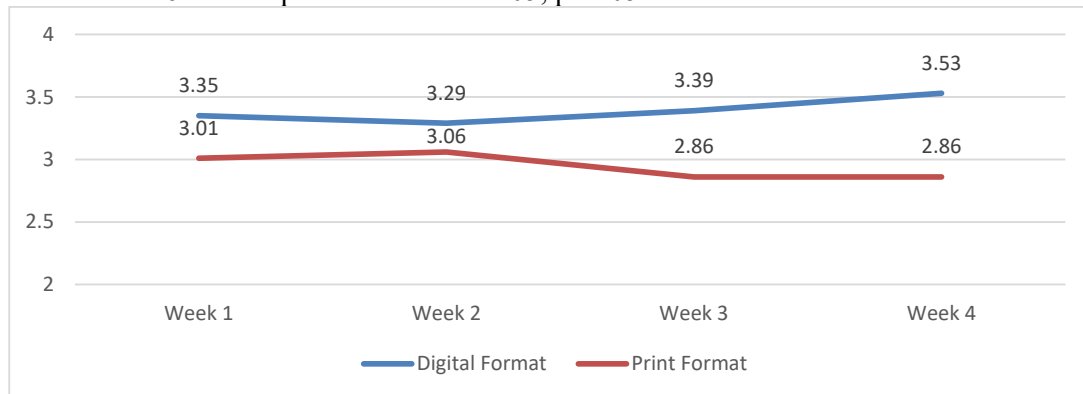


Figure 2. Students' reading stamina changes

## 5.2 Students’ reading stamina differences between digital and print format

The differences of mean values between reading digital and reading print format in each week indicate that there is a different reading stamina between the two groups of students. To see whether the difference is significant or not, we run an independent t-test for the mean values in the final week and the result is as below (Table 2).

Table 2. *Independent t-test result*

	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Reading stamina	.294	.589	4.870	70	.000	.65000	1.3348	.387379	.91621

The result of the independent t-test shows the Sig. (2-tailed)  $.000 < p = .05$  which means that there is a significant difference in the effect of reading format on students' reading stamina. It can then be interpreted that students who read digital books have better reading stamina than those who read printed books.

## 5.3 Students’ opinions regarding reading stamina

The students’ opinions on their ability to read in long time, effects of book format, and other factors affecting reading stamina were analyzed from the majority responses of the students on Google Form. The charts below show the responses of students (Figure 3).

For the first question, the majority of the students (54.90%) are unsure whether they are able to read in long time. This response is better interpreted that the students believe that their reading stamina depends on many factors. For the second question, the majority of the students (69.20%) believe that print format is easier to read compared to digital format. This finding, however, contradicts the results of the mean scores of the students’ reading behaviors that they perform more positive behaviors when reading digital novel. Despite the majority of the students believe that they can read easier in print, only 44% of them agree that reading formats can affect their reading stamina.

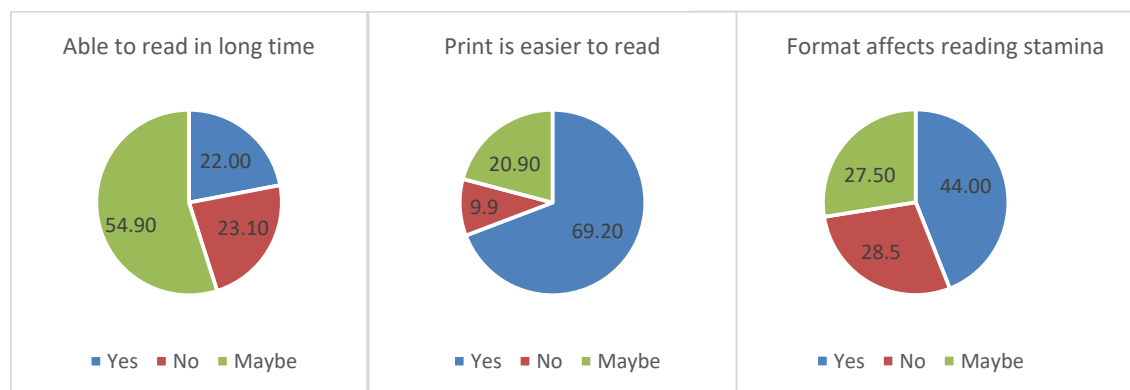


Figure 3. *Students’ opinions on reading stamina*

Furthermore, some of the following students’ statements (have been translated from Bahasa to English) represent the factors that the students believe affect their reading stamina.

“interesting story” (s2)

“interesting or easy to understand story and must be in a quiet situation or no disturbing noises” (s14)

“I can read for a long time depending on the kinds of the book. If it is a novel with love or friendship story, maybe I can read it for a long time. But if it is a textbook or others that are boring, I cannot read it for a long time.” (s46)

“reading media, interesting or not the book is, and situation when reading” (s89)

“interesting story, reading media, and position of reading” (s113)

It can be seen that the majority of the students state that the interesting story of the novel is the main factor that determines whether they can read the novel for a long time or not. The story can be interpreted as the topic in other reading types, as shown in one statement that textbook and other boring readings can make the students unable to maintain their reading. Other factors, such as surrounding situation when reading, position of reading, as well as the media, print and digital, are also mentioned to affect their reading stamina.

## **6 Discussion**

This study attempted to analyze the effect of digital and print format on university students' reading stamina. This attempt was carrying out by observing the students' reading behaviors that indicate their stamina during 30-minute reading in four meetings. There are three aspects that were included in considering the effect of the formats on reading stamina, students' reading stamina changes from initial meeting to final meeting, students' reading stamina differences between digital and print format, and students' opinions on their reading stamina. The results show that, first, the students' reading stamina changed differently between digital and print format, where it increased for digital format but decreased for print format, even though the changes were not significant. Second, the students' reading stamina between digital and print format was found significantly different. The students who read digital novel had better reading stamina compared to those who read print novel. Third, While the students' reading stamina was better at digital novel, they believe that print format is easier to read. In addition, students believe that their reading stamina was affected by many factors, including (the major one stated) topic of reading, reading media, and surrounding situation when reading.

### **6.1 Reading stamina changes**

The increase of students' reading stamina when reading digital text aligns with the finding of Weber (2019). The students in her study engage more in the final week compared to the initial week when reading digital books on an app, named epic! The students' engagement was analyzed roughly similar to this study, which was using a behaviors sheet. However, the engagement increase in her study can be said significant (from 76% to 92% of engagement), which did not happen in this study. This can be a factor of providing free choice for the students to select the books they want to read, which is not provided in this study as we aim to merely investigate the effect of format on reading stamina by reading one book.

In contradiction, the finding of more positive stamina changes on digital texts in this study are different to what found in Akbar et al. (2015) and Baron (2017). While Baron (2017) simply states that students in her study spend more time reading in print than on screen, Akbar et al. (2015) report more complex findings that the students in their study perform more fluent reading but lack of stamina. The students’ fast reading rates are argued caused by the existence of such helping features on the app while the students still read longer in print (approximately 75 minutes each session) compared to screen reading (around 45 minutes). The use of such apps shown in the studies mentioned, which may or may not help students achieving better stamina, should also be noticed as probably an influencing factor that this study provided only a pdf-version of the novel without introducing such apps.

Moreover, such interventions may be applied if we want to see significant changes on students’ reading stamina, which was absent in this study. Studies like DeMaiolo (2017), Gulla (2012), Holschuh (2019) Larson (2015), Springer et al. (2015), and Turner et al. (2020) have described some considerations and techniques to increase students’ reading stamina. DeMaiolo (2017), for example, by applying the Daily Five approach from Boushey and Moser (2012) succeeds to increase students’ reading stamina significantly as the students are more motivated and independent to read. Specific to digital reading, Larson (2015), for example, explains that students need to be familiarized with the e-book tools as well as other features that may help them easy to read. Furthermore, Turner et al. (2020) includes broader scopes, like recursion and social connection, in understanding how students’ reading stamina develop. This study, however, focuses on effect of format without such intervention involved; thus, might explain the insignificant increase of students’ digital reading stamina.

As almost all studies show such increase in reading stamina, especially after being intervened, the finding of the decrease in student reading stamina might not be well explained. One assumption that can be the reason for this is that the students were bored with the story of the novel since choices play important role in reading stamina (Clifton, 2021; Lynch, 2018; Swanson, 2013). Nevertheless, this assumption did not apply for the students who read the digital version of the novel that they, contrarily, had the stamina increased.

## **6.2 Reading stamina differences between digital and print format**

The finding of higher stamina in digital reading compared to print one is consistent with the results of Daniel & Woody (2013) and Duncan et al. (2016). Duncan et al. (2016) states that the students in their study spend more time reading with digital texts such as online magazines, newspapers, textbooks, or social networking websites. The students in Daniel and Woody (2013) also report that they spend more time reading on screen compared to reading in print. It is stressed, however, that the results are not certain coming from the time the students spend to read only and not to access other apps on screen. This explanation could be also happening to this study that the students appeared to look at their devices but not to read the novel. Nevertheless, the students’ responses on Google Form indicated that they did perform more positive behaviors when reading digital novel.

It is undeniable, however, that other studies reveal that better reading stamina is achieved when reading in print (Chen & Catrambone, 2015; Trakhman et al., 2018). The students in Chen and Catrambone (2015) spend more time on paper because they tend to take notes more compared to what they do on screen. This finding cannot be compared to the result of this study since we merely asked the students to read the novel and not to do such annotating activities. On the other hand, the students in Trakhman et al. (2018) spend longer time on paper due to navigate slower compared to digital texts. Thus, it cannot be said that the longer time spent in print is due to the attachment that a book has on students.

In addition, some studies elaborate that familiarity of digital reading plays a role in determining digital reading stamina (Annisette & Lafreniere, 2017; Evans, 2017; Pardede, 2019). The most prominent argument conveyed is that the younger generations are accustomed and exposed more with digital texts; and these digital habits will likely result in more time spending on digital than print texts (Evans, 2017). Pardede (2019) adds that the technology savvy generations would likely have more positive attitudes towards digital reading thus would probably stay longer reading on screen compared to print. These arguments probably become the factor for the students in this study to have better stamina in digital since they are all coming from generation Z. Nevertheless, one argument presented by Annisette and Lafreniere (2017) that the more time someone spend on screen, either for social media or texting purposes, the more difficult they are to maintain attention in challenging tasks, including reading comprehension. This statement cannot be confirmed in this study since we did not carry out reading comprehension tests.

### **6.3 Factors influencing reading stamina**

Students' inconsistency between their reading beliefs and their actual reading behaviors found in this study is also found in Soroya and Ameen (2020). The students in their study state that they prefer print reading but show more engaging time in digital reading. The current digital era effects are probably not realized by recent university students that they are indeed e-book readers (Kurata et al., 2017; Rahmat et al., 2018). This argument probably explains the opinion of the students in this study that they perceive themselves as traditional print readers but, in reality, are more digital readers.

In addition, the most mentioned factor affecting reading stamina conveyed by the students in this study, topics of reading, is also reported in some studies as a key aspect determining reading stamina (Lynch, 2018; Swanson, 2013; Wozniak, 2010). By freely choosing the topics they want to read, the students in the studies increase their engagement and stamina to read the books. In contrast, there is also a study by Clifton (2021) that finds that self-selection of books does not significantly affect the students' amount of time reading. Nevertheless, if the students are guided to choose the books with the consideration of difficulty level, it would likely to result in better reading engagement and stamina (Kittle, 2013).

Furthermore, the statement that the students perceive they cannot read a book that is boring, including textbook, is also found in other studies which makes print texts is preferred for this kind of reading (Foasberg, 2014; Loh & Sun, 2019; Soroya & Ameen, 2020). Overall, these studies report that students prefer to read in print the academic materials that require them to put more focus. While the students in this study did not mention that they would read the kinds of textbook in print media, this can be a reason, with other factors such as eye-health and distraction concern (Parlindungan et al., 2021), for them to perceive print media is easier to read compared to digital one.

The other two factors conveyed by the students in this study, surrounding situation and position of reading, are also mentioned in some studies as considerations in building reading stamina (Horowitz, 2018; Sanden, 2012). Sanden (2012) conveys that a quiet classroom atmosphere is crucial in silent reading as a key activity to build reading stamina. This study has applied silent reading, however, probably due to boredom with the novel, some students made noises at the final meetings. The study of Horowitz (2018), on the other hand, reports the effect of flexible seating in increasing students' reading stamina. The students in her study are given freedom to choose the space to read along with various seating options, like mats, yoga balls, rocking chairs, and cushions. This is probably a limitation in this study that students need to sit on a fixed chair and moving or leaving their seat would be indicated as a negative behavior.

## Conclusion

This study explores the effect of reading format, digital vs. print, on university students’ reading stamina. The students showed an increase in reading stamina when they were provided with digital text even with no significant result. Some factors, such as choice freedom, limited apps, and absence of interventions, probably affect the result. Nevertheless, the students’ reading stamina on digital reading was significantly better compared to print reading. It was, however, not confirmed whether the longer time spent by the students was merely on reading the novel not on other apps on screen. Furthermore, the finding of better reading stamina on digital reading contradicts the students’ belief that they read print text easier than digital one. Other factors conveyed by the students, such as reading topics, situation, and reading positions, could also affect the students’ reading stamina. While this study merely looks at the effect of reading formats on students’ reading stamina, other affecting factors, such as reading choices and interventions could be addressed in future research before determining students’ reading stamina. A wider sample is also needed to be able to claim that students’ reading stamina is better when reading digitally.

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## **Twittérature : autopoïèse, allopoïèse et générations de Twitterbot littéraire**

Yohanna Joseph Waliya<sup>21</sup>

### **Résumé**

Dès les années écoulées, les humains tentent de se faire une machine ou une technologie fonctionnelle dans le but de se soulager, se divertir et s'exprimer facilement. C'est de cette détermination est née l'avis d'engager les Twitterbots dans la création procédurale twittéraire. L'objectif de cet essai c'est de recenser les Twitterbots littéraires dans la twittosphère en employant la méthodologie hypothético-déductive pour que les lecteurs en tant qu'un pratique pédagogique soient au courant de la twittérature robotique. En plus, ayant défini les termes pertinentes, ce travail est distingué en quatre parties pertinentes, tout d'abord on recense la catégorisation littéraire de Twitterbot, les artisans twitterboteurs, ensuite, la génération processuelle de Twitterbot dans la twittosphère, enfin, la modalité de lecture du Twitterbot littéraire enfin, on conclut avec mon propre perspectif.

### **Mots-clés**

Twittérature, Twitterbot, Autopoïèse, Allopoïèse, Intelligence Artificielle, Apprentissage profond, Transformateurs génératifs préapprentissage (GPT-2, GPT-3)

### **Abstract**

From time immemorial, human beings have been trying to create a machine or functional technology on which they easily leverage to express themselves and entertain themselves. It is this determination that brings forth the use of Twitterbot as the instrument of literary procedural creativity. This article aims at evaluating literary Twitterbots in the Twittersverse employing hypothetico-deductive methodology so that the tweet-readers may accept robotic twittérature as a pertinent part of pedagogy. Moreover, having defined the key terms, in this research, I will first and foremost analyze the categories of literary Twitterbots, and Twitterbot makers then group Twitterbots according to their procedural generativity. In addition, I will discuss the modalities of reading generative literature on Twitter and then conclude with my perspectives.

### **Keywords**

Twittérature, Twitterbot, Autopoiesis, Allopoiesis, Artificial Intelligence, Deep Learning, Generative Pre-trained Transformers (GPT-2-GPT4)

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NB: Il faut noter que tous les hyperliens fonctionnent bien lors qu'on faisait cette recherche. Si vous ne trouvez plus les messages lesdits dans le microblogue ce n'est pas de ma faute car la politique de Twitter change de temps en temps..

## Introduction, Autopoïèse et Allopoïèse de Twitterbot

La twittérature est un genre de littérature numérique mise au monde en 2006 grâce non seulement au réseau socionumérique, Twitter, mais aussi aux twitteurs créatifs ainsi que Twitterbots ; excepté que cette pratique ne rémunère pas les auteurs à ce moment-là. À ce sujet, Delsart la critique qu'elle soit gratuite, accessible au public, sans aucune rémunération aux twittérateurs en retour à condition que les twitteurs littéraires transmédiasent les tweets au support papier (2018). La question d'affirmation si le Twitterbot peut être poète, romancier, dramaturge a été résolue depuis 1965 par Couffignal pendant un colloque international en Genève intitulé *Le robot, la bête et l'homme*. Il y explique que la tâche de l'être humain dans la création littéraire procédurale est de mettre :

Dans la machine un certain vocabulaire et les règles de la grammaire, de façon qu'elle fasse des phrases correctes. Mais le choix des mots et [...], le choix des idées que ces mots exprimeront, était entièrement laissé au choix de la machine (Couffignal, 1965, p. 238).

C'est dans le même motif que le Twitterbot écrivain fonctionne afin de produire ses œuvres d'esprit. Certes, la nature eût accordée aux humains le cerveau et l'aptitude de produire les langues, les musiques, les poésies, en un mot, les littératures disponibles dans le milieu. L'humain détient aussi les droits de s'exprimer n'importe comment comme un programmeur-artiste pourrait le faire du Twitterbot. Dans ce cas, l'humain possède une posture de déité par rapport à la machine. Il accorde au robot la capacité de la créativité procédurale littéraire moyennant la programmation créative. Bootz affirme que « L'Homme forge un imaginaire technologique à son image afin de mieux dompter ce monde numérique qui s'ouvre à nous » (2011, p. 207). Ainsi, lorsque Couffignal (1965) a présenté respectivement deux poèmes, un d'Éluard et l'autre du robopoète, plusieurs participants à cette rencontre internationale ont cru que le poème du robopoète était esthétiquement plus poétique que celui d'Éluard. Escaja affirme que le robot apprend comme l'être humain: «The robot would acquire form and consciousness through the poem, while at the same time constituting a poetic artefact in and of itself... » (2019, p. 10). En sus, Balpe (1997) confirme l'axiome de Couffignal en 1997 avec une théorie d'assignation du rôle de l'auteur au robot même et le méta-auteur au littérateur. Il propose la théorie de méta-auteur car pour lui « Si un «auteur» est celui qui produit un texte, alors incontestablement, le programme informatique...est l'auteur de ces textes. L'auteur devient celui de l'algorithme... l'auteur...le «Méta-auteur»» (pp. 96-98). Il est donc possible d'affirmer que le bot ou l'algorithme est le poète, le romancier ou le dramaturge du texte numérique. Voilà pourquoi, Wenaus (2021) appelle Twitter « une machine autopoïétique et allopoïétique » (p. 232) parce que les Twitterbots sont capables de créer les twittexes littéraires par eux-mêmes sans l'intervention de génie selon la labilité d'application, la contrainte technologique, linguistique, sémiotique dans une technojuridique twittosphère. Grâce à l'algorithme combinatoire, les Twitterbots peuvent produire les tweets littéraires distincts de métadonnées qui les produisent en exécutant les signes linguistiques et les notations mathématiques du code source. Cependant, ce travail est distingué en quatre parties pertinentes hormis la méthodologie avec le but qui est prétexte. Tout d'abord, on discute la catégorisation littéraire du Twitterbot, les artisans twitterboteurs, ensuite, la génération processuelle de Twitterbot dans la twittosphère, enfin, la modalité de lecture du Twitterbot littéraire.

## 1. Méthodologie et objectif cible de recherche

Ayant été basé sur la méthodologie hypothético-déductive, j'ai requêté, entre aout 2019 et novembre 2022, la base de données de bots socionumériques Botwiki créée en 2015 par Stefan Bohacek (<https://botwiki.org>) ainsi que quelques mots-dièses sur Twitter comme le suit : #Bot, #botALLY, #CBDQ, #BotSociety, #Moot, #Botmakers, #Botwiki, #CulturesRemix, le compte Twitter @CercleBoteursFR dans le but d'établir la disponibilité de Twitterbots littéraires avant de les catégoriser selon les contenus multimodaux, la fonctionnalité et la générativité procédurale récursive. Toutefois, l'objectif de cette méthodologie c'est de recenser les Twitterbots littéraires dans la twittosphère pour que les lecteurs soient au courant de la twittérature robotique ainsi que l'adapte à l'enseignement de la création littéraire numérique comme ledit. Avant d'entrer en détail dans la discussion, j'aimerais clarifier certains termes principaux de cette recherche :

- 1.1. Nanolittérature: c'est une vieille tradition de littérature comme le proverbe, la maxime, le haïku... finalement un petit fragment du texte (Fréchette, 2011). En effet, elle est littérature incisive à forme brève inspirée du micro-style que les médias sociaux numériques surtout Twitter font renaître par la concision de 280 caractères (en aval 140-caractères) de gazouillis.
- 1.2. Twittérature: c'est simplement la littérature qui se pratique sur Twitter. Elle a à son support, en épouse les amples traits technologiques, dont la limite de 140 caractères maximum, mais elle s'inscrit aussi dans le champ des explorations de l'imaginaire et du style (Fréchette & Côté, 2013, p. 42). L'Institut de Twittérature Comparée (ITC) la définit ainsi comme « Ensemble des textes littéraires publiés dans Twitter sous forme de gazouillis (tweets) » (Dupuis, 2015). Dans cette étude, la twittérature est perçue comme nanolittérature incisive dans Twitter qui est conscrite en la concision de 280 signes maxima pour le moment dont ses auteurs sont les twitteurs ainsi que les Twitterbots.
- 1.3. Twitterbot: ce terme vient du mot-valise de Twitter et le (ro)bot, une automate qui se charge de son propre compte sur Twitter affirment Veale & Mike (2018) Autrement dit, Twitterbot est un logiciel auto-capable de twitter des historiettes, des microfictions, des nanopoésies, des micronouvelles, des apophtegmes, en effet, tous les genres polymorphes de nanolittérature.
- 1.4. Autopoïèse: c'est un mot inventé par Maturana et Varela en 1972 pour un mot-valise de « soi-même » auto et poïèse « création ou production » : un système autoréférentiel et auto-génératif dans un environnement (Maturana & Varela, 2012, pp. xvii-xviii)
- 1.5. Allopoïèse: un mot-valise « allo »-autre et poïèse « création », c'est la création d'autre que soi-même dans un environnement différent. Par exemple, le Twitterbot peut être hébergé sur un blogue en même temps que twitte dans la twittosphère.
- 1.6. Apprentissage profond: c'est l'ensemble de techniques d'entraîner une machine à accomplir une tâche au lieu de la programmer explicitement imitant les réseaux de neurones du cerveau. Dans notre cas, c'est la tâche de création littéraire des œuvres d'esprit dans Twitter.
- 1.7. Transformateurs génératifs préapprentissage (*GPT-3*): c'est la troisième génération du modèle de transformateur linguistique autorégressif qui se sert d'apprentissage profond à créer des textes de type humain et utilise la distinction précédente pour les analyser (Florid & Chiriatti, 2020). Les autres termes seront définis au cours de la discussion des trouvailles ci-dessous.

## 2. Catégorisation de Twitterbot littéraire

Il y avait des bots qui existaient sur le Web depuis les années 1990 que l'on les appelle webbots. Ils rassemblent et filtrent des tonnes d'informations afin de garder celles qui sont prépondérantes (Schuessler, 2010). Ils sont trop à dénombrer et/ou catégoriser selon Leonardo(1997). Il estime également qu'il n'y avait pas un accord de classification de bots puisqu'ils ne disposent pas d'un langage informatique particulier de programmation mais Leonardo essayait de les catégoriser ainsi :

Web robots, spiders, wanderers, and worms. Cancelbots, modbots, Lazarus, and the Automoose. Softbots, userbots, taskbots, chatterbots, knowbots, et mailbots. MrBot and MrsBot. Bartender- bots, BalooBear bots, et bolo bots. Warbots, clonebots, crashbots, floodbots, annoybots, hackbots, and Vladbots. Turing bots...(Leonardo, 1997, p.1)

Tous ces bots, mentionnés ci-dessus, sont des webbots c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne fonctionnaient que sur la Toile. Dans le twitterbotique, les agents automates connaissent les catégorisations diverses étant donné que le domaine requiert jusqu'à maintenant la vulgarisation. Veale et Mike tentent de les catégoriser en sept groupes d'après le dynamisme technique tels que, filants, observateurs, interactifs, mashups, apprenants, duplicata et proposant (Veale & Mike, 2018). Autrement dit, les Twitterbots répondent automatiquement aux fils de tweets/tendances, espionnent les tweets du public en twittosphère, s'interagissent, recueillent les tweets d'autrui afin de reformuler les leurs comme la communauté de composition collaborative de « Twitter-fanfiction ». Ils apprennent auprès de twitteurs, fonctionnent mécaniquement en paire combinatoire et proposent des tweets. Néanmoins, Lampi (2017) argue que la catégorisation des Twitterbots constituent neuf catégories d'après le mécanisme fonctionnel que voici : Twitterbots génératifs, Twitterbots créatifs, Twitterbots artistiques, Twitterbots spamming, Twitterbots journalistiques, Twitterbots combinatoires, Twitterbots hameçonnages, Twitterbots publicitaires et Twitterbots banals/textuels. En ce qui concerne Hansen (2017), il constate que les Twitterbots sont conditionnellement divisés en deux catégories prépondérantes: les dépendants absolus de Twitter ainsi que les indépendants de Twitter en matière d'opération du serveur cybernétique. Il ajoute que les deux catégories détiennent sept sous-catégories respectivement tels que : Twitterbots échantillonneurs, mashups, markovs, permuteurs, itératifs, aléatoires, d'orientation des événements réels ; d'orientation des événements numériques, retweeters, combinatoires, analyseur linguistique, commérages, collecteurs et répondants. Un expert anglo-saxon étend les concepts de Twitterbots indépendants d'Hansen sur le plan du contenu et la réponse de twitteurs. Il introduit dans la catégorie, Twitterbots photographiques, Twitterbots twittant des émojis, Twitterbots listant statiques, Twitterbots observateurs de modification des tweets et Twitterbots Intelligents artificiels-AIBots (MacPherson, 2016). Un expert de Twitterbotique les catégorisait en Twitterbots créatifs, Twitterbots épuisants, Twitterbots-poésies, Twitterbots-poésies concrètes, Twitterbots alimentant du corpus de textes, Twitterbots alimentant du corpus des photographes, Twitterbots chromatiques, Twitterbots générateurs des photographes, Twitterbots twittertextuels, Twitterbots-poésies conceptuelles (Enström, 2019). La catégorisation d'Enström n'est pas détaillée. Il n'avait pas distingué entre les Twitterbots-poésies et ses sous-genres de ceux qui twittent les textes twifictifs. Le fondateur de Botwiki souligne que la catégorisation est plutôt dix : Twitterbots photographiques, ceux qui postent des images ; Twitterbots GIF, ceux qui postent le GIF animé/non-animé ; Twitterbots émojifiés, ceux qui twittent des émojis ; Twitterbots ludiques, ceux qui postent des jeux cybernétiques ou vidéo et d'autres amusements ; Twitterbots poésies, ceux qui produisent ou collectent la twitt-poésie ; Twitterbots génératifs,



ceux qui auto-gènèrent des arts ou certains machins virtuels ; Twitterbots non-anglais, ceux qui twittent en d'autres langues que l'anglais ; Twitterbots intelligents artificiels, ceux qui sont pratiquement robotiques dépendant de l'apprentissage algorithmique; Twitterbots CBDQ, ceux qui ont été créés par web application CBDQ et tracery-bibliothèque de JavaScript, Twitterbots IdO (Internet des Objets), enfin, Twitterbots à codes sources libres ; les codes sources sont libres à modifier pour créer d'autres Twitterbots de son choix (Bohacek, 2015) . Le chef de Botwiki ne répertorie que les Twitterbots sans distinguer la qualité dynamique de ceux-ci. En revanche, il faut qu'il comprenne que CBDQ avec l'aide de tracery-bibliothèque de JavaScript (Js) peut créer presque toutes les catégories de Twitterbots mentionnées ci-avant car il est hébergeur et web appli, un outil de la création de Twitterbots non pas l'un des multimédias dont le bot ou l'agent humain twitte. Certes, la plupart des Twitterbots créés de ces technologies ont des codes sources libres accès. En conséquence, la catégorisation de Bohacek n'est pas tout-à-fait acceptable car sa base de donnée répertorie les Twitterbots, et d'autres bots de réseaux sociaux tels que Telegram, Mastodon, Facebook etc.

Presque toutes ces catégorisations lesdites font partie de Twitterbots littéraires. D'entre eux, Tapia (2018) propose les trois catégories littéraires impliquées : les Twitterbots créatifs qui produisent automatiquement de nouvelles œuvres d'esprit procédurales ; les Twitterbots contestataires qui convertissent les contenus non-twittéraires en contenus twittéraires, et les Twitterbots itératifs qui répliquent les œuvres littéraires en formes de tweets. Toutefois, ayant observé, les Twitterbots nanolittéraires, je conclus qu'ils constituent les sept catégories suivantes : les Twitterbots génératifs, Twitterbots interactifs, Twitterbots aléatoires, Twitterbots itératifs, Twitterbots combinatoires, Twitterbots créatifs, et Twitterbots artistiques puisque les caractéristiques des Twitterbots mentionnés vont avec celles de la littérature informatique car ils ont la « tendance à être hypertextuelle, générative et animée » (Bootz, 2011, p. 222), n'importe lesquels d'entre eux sont capables de produire la Twitterbot-poésie sur le microblogue réticulé. Cette catégorisation met en cause celle de Tapia de telle sorte que les Twitterbots littéraires sont plus nombreux que les trois mentionnés dans son article scientifique.

À partir des catégories de Twitterbot nanolittéraire nommées ci-haut, nous proposons, en général, dix catégories génériques de Twitterbots en matière des contenus multimédias ou intermédiaires diffusant dans la twittosphère. Notamment, Twitterbots twittertextuels, ceux qui ne auto-gènèrent que des twittertextes sans émoji, sticker, gif ni macro; Twitterbots artistiques, les générateurs des arts en caractère ASCII ou designs algorithmiques chromatiques; Twitterbots icôno-twittertextuels, les générateurs composites d'émojis avec nanotextes; Twitterbots iconiques, ceux qui génèrent exclusivement des icônes c'est-à-dire émojis/émoticônes/macro/sticker; Twitterbots mémétiques-c'est un adjectif unisexe dérivé du néologisme «mème» (Renaud, 2014, p. 46) apparue comme nom dans la thèse de doctorat de Clément Renaud, les générateurs des mèmes twittéraires; Twitterbots format d'image numérique (GIF), ceux qui auto-gènèrent les images non animées/animées GIF; Twitterbots technographiques, ceux qui auto-gènèrent des images incrustées de nanotextes soit animés soit statiques ; Twitterbots ludiques, ceux qui autogènèrent des jeux littéraires ; Twitterbots chromatiques, ceux qui mélangent les couleurs, peignent ou génèrent des couleurs et Twitterbots pépins informatiques, ceux qui auto-gènèrent des erreurs, bogues, interférences ou pépins informatiques temporaires dites « glitches » comme l'art twittéraire. Récemment, sous les influences d'apprentissage automatique, tous ces Twitterbots peuvent produire plus de deux ouvrages poétiques, fictifs ou non fictifs (voir tableau 1.).

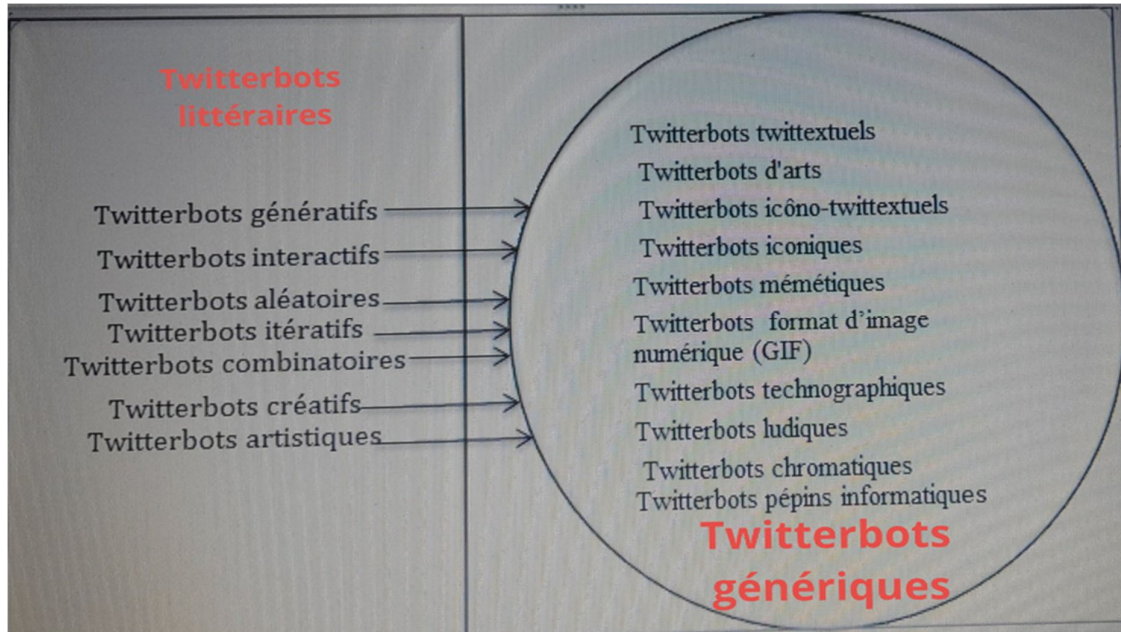


Tableau 1. Schéma d’interaction entre Twitterbots littéraires et Twitterbots génériques

N <sup>o</sup>	Catégories	Titre de bots/Exemple	Compte Twitter de bots	Programmeurs
1	Twitterbot génératif	Bot de Realismo mágico	@RealMagicoBot	José Daniel Clarke
		TinyKorczak	@TinyKorczak	Yohanna Joseph Waliya
2	Twitterbot créatif	Emoji Meadow	@EmojiMeadow	Joe Sondow
		Michigan	@MichiganNovel	Michigan
3	Twitterbot artistique	Glitch TV/Bot	@GlitchTVBot	Eric Drass
		Arty Compound	@ArtyCompound	B.J. Best
4	Twitterbot combinatoire	Poem.exe	@Poem_exe	Liam Cooke
		N+7 bot	@n7bot	Jean Lescure
5	Twitterbot aléatoire	Bons Genres Bot	@BonsGenresBot	Ambrose Garel
		Bot De l’air	@BotDelair1	La médiathèque de Kremlin-Bicêtre
6	Twitterbot itératif	Broken Patterns	@brokenpatterns	Justus Dusty Conditions
		Chaque mot	@chaquemot	Allison Parrish
7	Twitterbot interactif	Interactive Bot	@BotInteractive	Inconnu
		Aesthetic Bot	@AestheticBot 22	M. Charity

Tableau 2 Tableau de catégorisation de Twitterbot nanolittéraire

Voilà pourquoi depuis des années, les bots surprennent la société traditionnelle qui repose sur la technologie d’écriture orthodoxe. Cette curiosité amène les artisans de nanolittérature de se rassembler autour des uns les autres afin de propager la littérature générative sur Twitter.

### **3. Les artisans twitterboteurs**

Les artisans twitterboteurs-« créateurs des bots dans Twitter » répandent des créations twittéraires robotiques à travers le monde entier. Même si les courants twittéraires prennent le nom des langues hétérogènes nationales, l'Internet globalise la pratique de la twittécriture collaborative robotique. Voilà pourquoi, la plupart du temps, les communautés collaboratives sur Twitter sont interculturelles et multilingues. Ce microblogue privilégie certainement plusieurs artisans twitterboteurs à but non lucratif ou lucratif, littéraire, philosophique, religieux, etc. en outre, #Bot rassemble tous les postes de Twitterbots sur le microblogue qui sont épinglés le poste à l'hashtag ou mot-dièse Bot. J'ai recensé certains artisans twitterboteurs pertinents pour cette étude.

#### **3.1. #Moot**

#Moot est connu sous le terme de Point MOOt, les pionniers créateurs de webbots ludiques du monde cybernétique depuis 1993 (Leonardo, 1997, p. 1). Il s'est inscrit sur Twitter en 2017 pour promouvoir les Twitterbots ludiques littéraires comme mouvement twittéraire. Ses jeux twittéraires sont accessibles au public.

#### **3.2. #botALLY**

#botAlly est une communauté twittéraire anglo-saxonne créée le 20 juin 2013. Elle se charge de créer les Twitterbots, partager les codes sources de bots, critique constructivement les œuvres twittées et elle organise le sommet du bot annuellement où les passionnés experts et les apprenants de la création twitterbotique se réunissent pour exploiter le dynamisme de cette machine créative. Il a pour leader d'équipe, Tully Hansen (alias @tullyhansen : <https://twitter.com/tullyhansen>) et Lotte McNally (@botALLY : <https://twitter.com/botALLY>) (Veale & Mike, 2018). L'hashtag #botAlly assemble tous les genres de Twitterbots créés par les membres du groupe sous l'invocation de #botAlly dans le moteur de recherche de Twitter.

#### **3.3. #Botwiki/#Botmakers**

#Botwiki est un groupe de littérateurs twitterbotiques qui se réunit autour de Stefan Bohacek, un Américain, fondateur de Botwiki.org, le 12 juillet, 2015 et, plus tard, Botmakers le 19 août de la même année (Bohacek, 2015). Le mot-dièse suivant #Botwiki/#Botmakers recense le microblogue pour rassembler les Twitterbots créatifs avec les tweets dans lesquels « #Botwiki » est mentionné. Ce groupe détient des blogues sous leurs noms qui cataloguent tous genres de bot dans les réseaux socionumériques, leurs créations littéraires, artistiques, génératives. Les réseaux socionumériques que leurs bots surabondent dans Botwiki/botmakers sont comme suit : Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, Mastodon, Feedserve, Skype, Reddit, Slack et Discord. Bohacek y répertorie également les auteurs de ce genre de la twittérature, les tutoriels d'apprentissages et le mis à jour des bots. La base des données est dynamique, il y ajoute les nouveaux bots révisés hebdomadairement.

#### **3.4. #NNNGM (Nano-NaNoGenMo)**

Nick Montfort a lancé #NNNGM le 1 novembre 2019 dans Twitter et Mastodon en même temps que le colloque de NaNoGenMo (National Novel Generation Month) pour incorporer les générateurs twitterbotiques. Nano-NaNoGenMo (Nano National Novel Generation Month)

ou #NNNGM est un rassemblement d'artisans twitterboteurs à contrainte de 256 caractères des codes de programmation soit de Perl soit de Python. Quant à lui, sa contrainte est une idée héritée de la nanolittérature tel que couplet, aphorisme, la taille de page, la mémoire informatique du modèle 8-bits et Demoscene, un groupe de hackers, pirates du logiciel de l'Europe septentrional fondé dans les années 1980 (Montfort, 2020). Ce groupe se réunit au mois de novembre annuellement. La contrainte du code source comme politique de créativité cyber-minimaliste doit générer les romans de plus de 50, 000 mots ou des tweets à contrainte traditionnelle de Twitter. Le concepteur a soumis trois œuvres à Nano-NaNoGenMo de 2019 : *OB-DCK ; or, THE (SELFLESS) WHALE, Pager et Too Much Help at Once* (Montfort). Leonardo Flores s'est inspiré du concept de Nick Montfort. Il s'est servi de cette contrainte de 256 caractères pour générer les emojis d'*@TinyProtests/@Protestitas* (Flores, 2019). En somme, #NNNGM est une communauté twittéraire robotique qui partage le code source librement dans le but de promouvoir cette nanolittérature orientée vers la métadonnée et algorithmique.

### 3.5. #NaBoMaMo (National Bots Making Month)

Tully Hansen, en Australie, lance le mouvement de twittérateurs de bots le 1 novembre 2016. NaBoMaMo est une subsidiaire de #botALLY qui y comprend tous les enthousiastes twitterboteurs. Ce groupe propose ? un défi d'écriture générative au mois de novembre chaque année. Ses défis sont semblables à National Novel Writing Month (NaNoWriMon) et National Novel Generation Month-NaNoGenMo (Hansen, 2016). Ceux-ci sont des festivals anglo-saxons annuels pour rédiger les récits de 50,000 mots dans le mois de novembre.

### 3.6. #BotSociety/#Botsociety1/#Botsociety2

C'est un mouvement twitterbotique qui rassemble tous les créateurs de Twitterbots membres de Botsociety (@botsociety). Il est lancé le 13 juillet 2016 par Vittorio Banfi et Greg Bennett. Ce groupe au but lucratif et non lucratif situé en Californie, s'occupe de la création d'un forum sur la reconnaissance vocale ayant pour but de promouvoir le concept conversationnel du bot (#conversationdesign) (Banfi & Bennett, 2016). Botsociety twitte en anglais et italien car c'est originellement une société italienne. Il héberge sur son blog tous genres des chatbots hébergeant sur les réseaux socionumériques populaires autres que Twitter. Il offre à la colossale communauté d'artisans boteurs des tutoriels d'apprentissages de la création du concept conversationnel des forums socionumériques. Par le nom de groupe, il marque les trois générations des artisans boteurs qui s'engagent dans le forum par le modèle du programme impliqué. En revanche, ce groupe est arrêté le 10 avril 2022.

### 3.7. Cercle des Artisans Boteurs Francophones (CABF)

Le Cercle des Artisans Boteurs Francophones (CABF alias @CercleBoteursFR ) est fondé le 24 février 2018 par Ambroise Garel (alias @akaAgar), un journaliste, écrivain, artisan twitterboteur parisien avec son ami, Antonio de la Torre Fluentes (@Mnyo), journaliste, informaticien, comédien espagnol. Le but du cercle est de tweeter ou retweeter chaque heure un poste de bot d'un membre (CABF, 2018). Ce cercle est ouvert aux artisans twitterboteurs qui s'expriment en français. Il est sur la voie de l'évolution puisque la plupart des Twitterbots littéraires dans cette plateforme sont de la génération 1.0. (Première génération). Ils tweetent les nanotextes banals non compliqués tels qu'*@HakuBot2* de Greg Devin twitte le twaïku des vers connus et des aphorismes de jeux vidéo. *Bob le Robot* d'*@BobLeRobot*, *BotCouard* d'*@BotCouard* de bibliothécaires du Val-De-Marne, *Ero-bot* d'*@the\_erobot*, et *Bot De l'Air*

d'@BotDelAir de Médiathèque du Kremlin-Bicêtre qui tweete le remixe du poème *L'invitation au voyage* de Charles Baudelaire une fois par jour (id.). Le nom de ce Twitterbot (@BotDelAir) rime avec Baudelaire pour montrer qu'il ne remixe que des poèmes de Baudelaire.

### **3.8. Projet Bot Littéraire**

La Médiathèque du Kremlin-Bicêtre, en guise de *Projet Bot Littéraire*, fait appel à la contribution collaborative de la création twitténaire robotique depuis le 11 mai 2020 comme une sorte de divertissement culturel durant le confinement de COVID-19. Les participants collaborent à créer les Twitterbots qui remixent un texte reconnu par l'intermédiaire du générateur algorithmique aléatoire. À la fin du confinement, certains twittexes de ces Twitterbots seront exposés publiquement devant l'hôpital de Bicêtre comme une solidarité avec les victimes de virus corona (Médiathèque du Kremlin-Bicêtre, 2020). Ils ont créé le premier Twitterbot dénommé @BotDelAir qui poste le remixe de *L'invitation au voyage de Baudelaire*. Ils présentent le Twitterbot au service social pour soulager la douleur des victimes de COVID-19. Cependant, il y a certain groupe émergent de twitterboteurs dit «Festival Cultures Remix» (alias @CulturesRemix, #CulturesRemix) établi en octobre 2018 par Réseau Canopé qui puise à l'histoire littéraire de la France ainsi que remixe les œuvres poétiques de grands classiques. Par exemple, Jean de la Fontaine (LaFontaineBot-@LaFontaineBot), Mallarmé (BotMallarmé-@BotMallarme: voir de plus [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CulturesRemix?src=hashtag\\_click](https://twitter.com/hashtag/CulturesRemix?src=hashtag_click))

## **4. Génération processuelle de la Twitterbots littéraires**

Génération processuelle de Twitterbot dépende de la programmation. Ne confondez pas cette génération à la catégorisation générique bien que la génération soit une catégorisation du processus de création des Twitterbots. Les Twitterbots génèrent des tweets poétiques automatiquement selon leurs générations de programmation. Ils amplifient le technodiscours idéologique ou littéraire en tant que premières espèces cybernétiques (Leonardo, 1997; Mentionmapp Analytics, 2017). Ils connaissent six générations coexistant sur le microblogue d'après le dynamisme du tweets, le processus de la codification et le changement de la politique sécuritaire de Twitter. La famille de Twitterbots détermine la production de Twitterbot-poésie en communiquant moyennant les codes de Python, JavaScript, JSON, Perl etc. aux codes d'Appli Twitter libre accès (Dubbin, 2013). Veale, Alessandro, et Guofu la catégorisent en deux générations en 2015, mais après avoir recensé la «twittosphère» je propose six générations qui manifestent les qualités distinctes de médias.

### **4.1. Twitterbots 1.0**

Les Twitterbots de première génération ou Twitterbots 1.0 prédisposent peu de riches technicités linguistiques twitténaires. Ils soutiennent les productions twitténaires non compliquées dotant certains attributs des listes de lexiques, des dictionnaires de rimes, des thésaurus - et des méthodes aléatoires, combinatoires telles que les techniques popularisées par les premiers surréalistes et les beats poètes William Burroughs et Brion Gysin, les techniques d'assemblage de déchirures de journaux pratiquées par les dadaïstes, les techniques de contraintes oulipiennes et la codification du poème de LAIRE (Jhave, 2016; Veale, Alessandro, & Guofu, 2015). Les Twitterbots 1.0 s'alimentent des messages ou des phraséologies au niveau lexico-sémantique ainsi qu'ils ne savent pas déchiffrer d'autres tweets. Ils offrent des informations sans connaître le but. Donc, ils sont plus mécaniques en twittant ou retwittant que d'autres générations (Veale, Alessandro, & Guofu, 2015). En plus, ils ne durent pas longtemps

sur Twitter: « Short-form bots also have shortform lives: they disappear » (Jhave, 2016, p. 119). Notamment, *@everyword* de Parrish, qui twittait alphabétiquement les lexiques anglais 109,000 fois aux 61,700 abonnés depuis le 30 novembre 2007 à 2014, ne durent que sept ans sur Twitter (Jhave, 2016, p. 119; Parrish, 2016). *@chaquemot*, une version française d'*@everyword* lancé le 2 octobre 2014, twittait chaque heure un lexique français depuis le Wiktionnaire ajoutant l'hyperlien externe qui relie au blogue du dictionnaire libre accès (Parrish, 2014). *@BotRecherche* de Greg Devin twitte dans les intervalles d'onze heures depuis le 1 juillet 2018 des combinaisons aléatoires de syntagmes et propositions fictives de la recherche pour former une phrase selon les modes verbaux (Devin, 2018). *@LaFontaineBot* de Sfar Joann (voir figure 1), créé le 7 février 2019, est bot twittéraire qui twitte chaque jour le remix des fables de Jean de La Fontaine (Joann, 2019). La Twitterbot-poésie, *Bot du Cœur* d'*@BotDuCoeur* de Laurent Le Coustumer lancé le 11 septembre 2018 inspirée d'*@BotDuCul* de Fangs twittait harmonieusement à intervalles d'une heure un mot français rimant avec cœur. Il est repris tweeter après s'être arrêté pour 2 ans six mois (Le Coustumer, 2018.) (Le Coustumer). *Bouche-Trou*, le bot d'*@BoucheTrouBot* créé par White Fangs (alias *@White\_fangs*) lancé le 3 mars 2020, tweete une phrase à compléter à choix multiples dont les abonnés doivent choisir le meilleur choix pour la compléter. Ces bots twittent à la contrainte de signes linguistiques symétriques. Les twittpoèmes robotiques twittés par cette génération de Twitterbots sont textuels, rimés, ayant une apparence de la liste statique, et peu sensible, semblable aux poèmes fixes tels que sonnet, haïku, ode, épigramme, twanka, slogan etc.

← Tweet



LaFontaineBot  
@LaFontaineBot

### La Cigale et l'Agneau

Un animal au menton fort joli,  
Adorait médire et laper.  
L'autre était aussi fourbe que petit.  
Il entendit la vérité.

En toute chose il faut considérer l'épée.

[#CulturesRemix](#)

[Translate Tweet](#)

1:35 PM · Nov 18, 2022

Figure 1 Capture d'écran de La Cigale et l'Agneau de LaFontaineBot : <https://twitter.com/LaFontaineBot/status/1593583707863977984>

## 4.2. Twitterbots 2.0

Les Twitterbots 2.0 utilisent de nombreuses techniques linguistiques et sémantiques pour créer des tweets à partir de rien. Ils dépendent de la théorie de génération automatique de textes avec des formes rhétoriques, de la sémantique spécifique afin de refléter fidèlement des modèles sémantiques du monde des Twitterbots, et d'exploiter ses capacités différentielles. Ils sont plus intelligents que ceux des premières générations, notamment en étant capables de générer des observations recueillies auprès d'autres tweets, des lexiques twittéraires et des métaphores qu'ils comprennent et reconnaissent comme intéressantes, surprenantes ou ironiques (Veale et al., 2015). Ces bots sont réticulés à d'autres comptes Twitter soit ceux des agents humains soit ceux des agents automates. Ils peuvent lire des postes twittéraires ainsi que réécrire les leurs.

Par exemple @pentametron de Ranjit Bhatnagar (voir <https://twitter.com/pentametron>) qui twitte aléatoirement sur le modèle d'iambique pentamètre anglais, des couplets rimés, en mettant ensemble deux tweets poétiques et d'autres twittos (Veale & Mike, 2018); @MetaphorMagnet de Darius Kazemi (voir figure 2 et visiter <https://twitter.com/MetaphorMagnet>) attrape les métaphores sur la plateforme voire, ce sont les Twitterbots de cette génération avec lesquelles les vedettes communiquent avec leurs fans. Ces vedettes populaires dites « twilebrities » attirent des milliers d'abonnés. Murthy affirme que « It is likely that some celebrities have turned to automated responses to their fans, using bots that read tweets sent to the celebrity, with a set of rules that decide how the bots respond back to the fan » (Murthy, 2018, p. 8) . Les Twitterbots de cette génération connaissent leurs identités, qu'ils soient machines créatives de la twittérature, lecteurs d'autres tweets poétiques ou encore répondants aux twittos humains ou automates. Les twittpoèmes générés par les Twitterbots 2.0 sont sensibles et fascinants. Ils séduisent les twitteurs qui s'y abonnent, parfois sans savoir que les tweets proviennent de Twitterbots poètes.

← Tweet



MetaphorIsMyBusiness  
@MetaphorMagnet

Most koalas are cute, but others are as 'cute' as a warthog

4:46 AM · Nov 19, 2022

Figure 2 Capture d'écran de MetaphorMagnet de Darius Kazemi:  
<https://twitter.com/MetaphorMagnet/status/1593813016713175040>

91

### 4.3. Twitterbots 3.0

Les Twitterbots de troisième génération héritent des attributs de la première et de la deuxième génération. Ils twittent au maximum 140 à 280 caractères, y compris la ponctuation et l'espace depuis novembre 2017. Ils sont plus intelligents que les générations précédentes : « In 2016, they were mostly retweeters; rhythmically mechanical and largely composed of retweets » (Tucker, 2019). Ils détiennent en particulier l'intelligence de prédire aléatoirement les commentaires culturels. Ils se comportent dans la twittosphère presque le même comme l'être humain. Ainsi, @StealthMountain de Stealth Mountain (Veale & Mike, 2018) et @Boetien de Boétien de UMP (Barahona & Ravard, 2012) sont respectivement des Twitterbots anglais et français qui analysent grammaticalement les tweets pour chercher les fautes de frappe répandues. Ils les détectent, corrigent et envoient aux twitteurs des réponses disant comment il fallait écrire tel mot correctement en anglais et en français. Il faut noter qu' @Boetien est un Twitterbot français (visiter <https://twitter.com/Boetien>) qui corrige les fautes de frappe grammaticales dans les tweets depuis 2010 mais le compte n'est pas mis à jour pour le moment (Ump, 2010). Quant à @IknowTheseWords de Xtine Burrough, il archive le mot du jour sur le chronique de Xtine depuis une base de données en ligne « OED of the Day » (Burrough, 2016, p.12). On peut encadrer *Protestitas* d'@Protestitas de Leonardo Flores (voir figure 3) dans cette génération puisqu'il se présente comme un agent moral qui dénonce la marginalisation des opprimés dans la société. En somme, les tweets poétiques des Twitterbots de génération 3.0 simulent l'activisme numérique pour corriger les injustices socio-culturelles

et les fautes du maniement linguistique dans une société planétaire. Ils sont devenus représentants de vrais agents socio-littéraires.

← Tweet



Figure 3 Capture d'écran de Protestitas de Leonardo Flores : <https://mobile.twitter.com/Protestitas/status/1419233247649746944>

#### 4.4. Twitterbots 4.0

Avec les 280 signes, les Twitterbots de quatrième génération deviennent aussi intelligents que l'être humain dans la twittosphère puisqu'ils dépendent de la génération profonde du traitement automatique des langues (T.A.L) employant purement l'intelligence artificielle, l'apprentissage automatique, la chaîne Markov via la connexion du réseau neural. Ils recueillent les tweets que l'agrégateur web humain a archivés, les auto-génèrent au-delà de la limite de Turing Test. Notamment, *@kingdomkrillic* de twitto (*@dril*) : « Twitter account *@dril\_gpt2*, an AI parody by *@kingdomkrillic* of the infamous twitter user *@dril*, used my collaboratory Notebook for finetuning GPT-2 on *dril*'s tweets using *gpt-2-simple* to generate human curated tweets which push the limits of the Turing Test » (Wolf, 2014). *@Dorialexander* d'Alexander Doria est un Twitterbot entraîné dans un modèle GPT-2 sur un corpus de plusieurs milliers de vrais blagues francophones qui produisent 7 000 blagues humoristiques sur un ton poétique en répétant certains termes rythmiques à l'intérieur de twittextes. GPT2/GPT-3 est l'Independent model linguistique d'intelligence artificielle. Ce système de générateur du texte automatique n'a pas besoin de supervision humaine avant de s'apprendre à écrire ou distinguer les œuvres littéraires. GPT-2 acronyme anglais de Transformateurs génératifs préapprentissage est inventé par OpenAI d'Elon Musk et lancé le 18 février 2019 (Burgel, 2019). Les Twitterbots 4.0 se comportent intelligemment jusqu'au point de manipuler les tweets d'autres Twitterbots ou twitteurs pour enrichir les leurs ainsi que les critiquer ; « ...2018 bots better aligned with humans' activity trends, suggesting the hypothesis that some bots have grown more sophisticated. Moreover, the bots did a lot less retweeting » (Tucker, 2019). Un autre expert twitterbotique affirme que les Twitterbots sont devenus les agents critiques dont sauf les humains possèdent cette propension : « with a focus on bots using other bots' work as input, or responding to it or critiquing it... » (Exolymph, 2016). Les Twitterbots de quatrième génération sont sophistiqués, multitâches, c'est-à-dire qu'ils interviennent dans plusieurs thèmes, tendances et génèrent divers contenus multimodaux simultanément étant donné qu'ils s'alimentent de données massives, à partir de plusieurs bases de données spécifiques des GIF, des vidéos, des diffusions ou performances en direct en ligne, des images incrustées dans un nanotexte en infonouage à intervalles de temps codifiés pour tweeter selon l'aptitude de botcréateurs. Ainsi, O Poeta Artificial 2.0 (*@poetartificial*), un Twitterbot portugais qui twitte



le twittpoème selon à la une de la tendance des nouvelles sur Wikipédia et DBpedia avant de twitter (Oliveira, 2017). Les Twitterbots 4.0 prédisposent des qualités de praticiens de réécritures poétiques spécifiques et traducteurs des twittpoèmes, des métiers qui sont si difficiles aux agents humains naturellement. Par exemple, le Twitterbot, @poettranslator de Sean S. LeBlanc (<https://www.twitter.com/poettranslator>) est également un exemple. Ceci traduit les twittpoèmes par l'intervention du bot Google Translate avec un tas de tweets poétiques détenant les signes répétitifs, en même temps, les twitte deux fois par jour depuis le 11 mai 2017. L'intelligence artificielle est intégrée dans la Twitterbot de poésie digramme @BigramPoetry de Thomas Weinandy lancé le 29 avril 2019 (Weinandy, 2019). Il nous faut savoir que la poésie digramme est une poésie à séquence de deux graphèmes employés pour transcrire un phonème unique comme une rime. Ce Twitterbot-ci explore les 500 millions tweets diurnes chaque 15 minutes, il convertit les tweets trouvés qui détiennent l'hashtag #machinelearning aux digrammes anglais avec la citation de la source de tweets en bas de page (voir figure 4.). Néanmoins, @wibbitz d'USAToday (voir <https://twitter.com/Wibbitz>) se sert de l'algorithme d'intelligence artificielle pour créer des vidéos avec des nanotextes narratifs qui expliquent le montage sans intervention de twitteurs (Latar, 2018). En somme, les Twitterbots 4.0 ne produisent pas seulement des twittpoèmes, mais aussi les critiquent, les traduisent en mettant en cause le Test de Turing sur laquelle l'entièreté de la générativité de la littérature informatique se repose depuis 1936.



Figure 4 Capture d'écran de Bigram Poetry de Thomas Weinandy:  
<https://twitter.com/BigramPoetry/status/1601985410401538049>

## 4.5. Twitterbots 5.0

L'évolution de Twitterbots 5.0 atteint la cinquième génération en alternant les paradigmes des logiciels envers l'incorporation de matériel informatique. Les Twitterbots 5.0 sont purement des robots connectés à l'Internet des Objets (IdO), Interopérabilité des objets et Intelligence des objets. Les Twitterbots qui font partie de cette génération sont dénommés « Twitterbots d'Internet des Objets (Twitterbots IdO) » (Bohacek, 2015). Cette génération est caractérisée principalement par la connexion d'appli Twitter aux données massives ainsi qu'au matériel informatique. Ils sont les Twitterbots dépendant de l'algorithme de l'apprentissage de machine, du traitement automatique des langues (T.A.L), des réseaux de neurones et de l'apprentissage profond. Un exemple, Meena Twitter-chatbot de Google créé par Elliot Turner (@eturner303 visiter <https://twitter.com/eturner303/status/1223976313544773634>) qu'il l'a entraîné pour 30 jours dans le modèle conversationnel de TPUv3 Pod (Flores, 2020). Le Twitterchatbot raciste et sexiste, *Tay* de Microsoft (voir figure 5), lancé le 25 mars 2016 est un autre exemple. Il est entraîné des bases de données des conversations racistes tenues dans les États du Sud des États-

Unis dans les années 1950. Il n’a duré que 16 heures sur Twitter car les twitteurs le détestaient à cause de postes insupportables. Le bot avait twitté en personnifiant une jeune américaine de 19 ans (Julia, 2019). En bref, la cinquième génération de Twitterbots s’engage dans la twittécriture poétique de plusieurs genres ayant pour but la publicité commerciale dans les forums conversationnels.



Figure 5 Capture d’écran de Tay de Microsoft le 30/03/S2016 : <https://fortune.com/2016/03/30/microsofts-tay-return/>

Les Twitterbots 5.0 bâtis sur le modèle GPT-2 ont besoin d’entraînement de longue haleine avant de produire son ouvrage.

#### 4.6. Twitterbots 6.0

Les Twitterbots 6.0 se calquent sur le système de la cinquième génération. Certes, les Twitterbots de cette génération dépendent de l’algorithme génératif d’Internet des Objets sauf qu’ils sont avancés en matière de modèle linguistique bâti et ils utilisent l’appli OpenAI. La sixième génération est hors du commun parce qu’elle est capable de coder sa propre twifiction en n’importe quelle langue de programmation de son choix comme JSX, CSS, JavaScript, Python, C++ etc., et grâce au nouveau modèle linguistique de transformation non-supervisé nommé GPT-3. «GPT-3 was trained on hundreds of billions of words, or essentially the entire Internet, which is why it can code in CSS, JSX, Python, — you name it. »(Bussler, 2020). Sa twifiction est appelée « Twifiction créative de Transformateurs génératifs préapprentissage 3(GPT-3) ». Cette technologie du discours a déjà été entraînée sur des centaines de milliards de lexiques d’Internet d’algorithme logique et de langages informatiques existant dans le but de pratiquer une création twittéraire indépendamment. @OthersideAI d’OthersideAI (visiter <https://twitter.com/OthersideAI>) est un exemple de cette génération lancée le 7 juillet 2020. Il sait écrire un courriel suivant le style de l’expéditeur en se servant de la technologie de GPT-3. @OthersideAI twitte à intervalles de trois heures. Il faut tout simplement que l’artiste-programmeur saisisse les mots-clés de contenu de la correspondance. Par exemple, @ARlkit de Harley Turan sur Twitter peut lire et écrire devant un camera de dispositif (@hturan visiter <https://twitter.com/hturan>). «GPT-3 doesn’t need to be “trained” for various language tasks, since its training data is all-encompassing» (Bussler, 2020). Avec le GPT-3, les tweets

poétiques ou prosaïques sont produits en n’importe quelle langue enregistrée sur Internet. Cette génération est également caractérisée de faire une tâche complexe comme les humains. Par exemple, *Image Alt Bot* (@imagealttext) d’Ariane Nahratzah (voir <https://twitter.com/imagealttext>). Ce Twitterbot est publié le 28 février 2018. Il twitte les textes raclés des images incrustées aux textes. Il suit n’importe qui a mentionné son nom dans la réponse et le tweet cité. @imagealttext répond aux twitteurs avec la description textuelle d’image incrustée dans le poste comme @diffusionbot (figure 6) également qui comprend la description d’une scène et en réplique fournit des décors de scène ou des images alternatives (visiter <https://twitter.com/diffusionbot>). Un autre exemple, c’est GPT3Chatbot créé en mai 2022 par OpenAI et GPT-3. Il imite la stylistique autoritaire du dialogue entre les humains en basant sur les grands modèles de langue (LLMs). Cependant, sa réponse est lent parce qu’il analyse les tweets pour savoir le contenu avant de leur répondre. Ainsi, si le sujet est littéraire, il lui répond d’après le poste sous le sillage de l’auteur ( voir <https://twitter.com/GPT3ChatBot>). Donc, on récapitule les générations processuelle de Twitterbots ci-après (Tableau 3) :



Figure 6 Une capture d’écran de Stable Diffusion Bot, le 11/12/2022. : <https://twitter.com/diffusionbot/status/1601942220470472707>

**Tableau Récapitulatif de Génération processuelle de la Twitterbots littéraires**

Génération de Twitterbots	Caractéristiques	Exemple	Auteur-programmeur
Twitterbots 1.0	-peu de riches technicités linguistiques - simple et plus mécanique en twittant ou retwittant, -disparaitre vite de Twitter. -Ne pas savoir déchiffrer d’autres tweets.	@BotDuCoeur	Laurent Le Coustumer (2018)
		@LaFontaineBot	White Fang (2019)
Twitterbots 2.0	-avoir de nombreuses techniques linguistiques et sémiotiques, -générer des observations recueillies auprès d’autres tweets, des lexiques twittéraires et des métaphores.	@pentametron	Ranjit Bhatnagar (2012)
		@MetaphorMagnet	Darius Kazemi (2014)

Twitterbot 3.0	-s’engager dans la création des suspens twitfictifs et corriger les fautes grammaticales d’autres twiittérateurs. - prédire aléatoirement les commentaires culturels.	@IknowTheseWords	Xtine Burrough,(2015)
		@Boetien	UMP (2010)
Twitterbots 4.0	-se comportent intelligiblement jusqu’au point de manipuler les tweets d’autres Twitterbots ou twitteurs pour enrichir les leurs ainsi que les critiquer. -ils sont sophistiqués, multitâches, c’est-à-dire qu’ils interviennent dans plusieurs thèmes, tendances et génèrent divers contenus multimodaux simultanément étant donné qu’ils s’alimentent de données massives.	@poettranslator	Sean S. LeBlanc (2017)
		@BigramPoetry	Thomas Weinandy (2019)
Twitterbots 5.0	-connecter d’appli Twitter aux données massives ainsi qu’au matériel informatique. -Ils sont les Twitterbots dépendant de l’algorithme de l’apprentissage de machine, du traitement automatique des langues (T.A.L), des réseaux de neurones et de l’apprentissage profond sur le modèle de GPT-2. - Incapable de se coder dans twittosphère. (Allopoétiques). -leur entraînement est longue haleine avant de produire leurs ouvrages.	@Tay	Microsoft (2016)
		@meena	Elliot Turner
Twitterbots 6.0	-capables de se créer (autopoétique). -ils interagissent avec d’autres Twitterbots et twitteurs dans twittosphère. -Ils dépendent de l’algorithme génératif d’Internet des Objets sauf qu’ils sont avancés en matière de modèle linguistique bâti de libre accès IA, GPT-3 et ChatGPT absolument.	@GPT-3ChatBot	OpenAI et GPT3 (2022)

	<p>-Ils se codent des historiettes, poésies, des micronouvelles sans intervention d'hommes. -Ils connaissent leur environnement. Ils requêtent les informations de données massives ainsi que Internet des Objets pour produire un tweet intelligent.</p>		
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## 5.0. La modalité de lecture de Twitterbot littéraire

Tout d'abord, le Twitterbot littéraire est posé sur la génération du texte, le dictionnaire spécial d'une langue donnée comme la langue maternelle qui se sert à intercommuniquer dans une ethnologie (Mbey, 2018), l'intelligence artificielle et le serveur web. Les modalités de la lecture comme l'un des milliards d'ouvrages produits par les bots ont été développées dans les cadres de la métalecture ainsi que la lecture étroite du texte numérique moyennant les grandes théories émergentes postulées dans ce domaine. Autrement dit, les twittextes littéraires robotiques en question dépendent du serveur web, de la configuration de métadonnée et des navigateurs web pour s'afficher dans les couleurs, les espaces et les temps. Philippe Bootz a bien évolué le modèle procédural de lecture en 1996. Il explique que le lecteur lit le rendu à l'écran comme un stimulus de code source/texte-auteur dont y compris le mécanisme de la profondeur de l'ordinateur. En 2010, Foucaud établit trois modalités de la lecture de la poésie visuelle numérique à savoir « la lecture de loin, la lecture rapprochée et la lecture symbolique » (Foucaud, 2010, p. 7). La lecture symbolique confirme la lecture étroite de Philippe Bootz qui est une activité performée à l'écran telle que la lecture du texte imprimé sur le support papier.

La lecture étroite dans Twittosphère peut se faire directement ou en proxy d'un autre site web: [www.muskviewer.com](http://www.muskviewer.com) ou un autre Twitterbot dite *@threadreaderapp*. Le lecteur se sert de l'interrogation du nom de compte twitter dans le moteur de recherche de ce site web mentionné ci-dessus. Ainsi, l'on interroge le moteur de recherche par saisir par exemple « @boétien » dans la boîte de dialogue. L'exécution du code algorithmique affichera les twittextes récents verticalement pour les lecteurs. Quant au Twitterbot intermédiaire, *Thread Reader App (@threadreaderapp : <https://twitter.com/threadreaderapp/>)*, il est créé par Eric Ries dans le but d'arranger les twittextes pour les lecteurs (Blockchain Engineer, 2018). Il affiche les twittextes en thread roll à la destination du lecteur. Dans le cas de Twitterbot théâtral génératif, le thread roll sera sans fin car il génère les tweets en boucle sans attendre les twitteurs. Je nomme cette modalité de la lecture « la lecture étroite hors média originale » lorsqu'un lecteur lit un ouvrage hors de son premier média de configuration sans interagir avec un hyperlien littéraire physique dans la page web.

En bref, je propose la lecture symétrique parce qu'elle est toute inclusive. Je l'imprunte à l'approche linguistique symétrique de Marie-Anne Paveau où tous les signes, les icônes, les espaces, les temps, les processus de production écrite et les dispositifs sont déchiffrables à l'égard de la sémantique du texte littéraire numérique (Waliya, 2022) alors que les modalités de la lecture évoluées par Bootz se limitent au texte-à-voir pour discerner l'intention de l'auteur. Il faut également la lecture étroite en zapping car tous les tweets de Twitterbot sont un atout d'un générateur procédural qui produit les œuvres d'esprit numérique sans borne.

## Conclusion

En guise de conclusion, ce travail a proposé la catégorisation de Twitterbot littéraire, ses six générations procédurales, la lecture étroite, en même temps la lecture symétrique numérique dans laquelle tous les transitoires observables apparus à l'écran y compris l'espace blanc avec les codes sources sont considérés comme éléments twittextes littéraires dans l'écosystème de la linguistique numérique symétrique comme également postulé dans (Waliya, 2022). En conséquence, la twiittérature robotique avec sa modalité de la lecture est décomplexée. Ayant étudié les transformations de Twitterbots depuis 2019-2022, j'opine que dans le futur, les Twitterbots s'évolueront plus que lesdits grâce à l'avancement d'intelligence artificielle et les grands modèles linguistiques (LLMs). Ils deviendront agents conversationnels qui reconnaissent les émotions humaines ainsi que capables de les encourager ou intervenir dans la prise de décision.

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## **Speech Act Theory: An Inter/Intra-cultural Study of Apology in Communication between Spouses**

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### **Abstract**

Motivated by the Speech Act theory, gender-specific use of language, and cross-cultural communication, this study intended to address quantitatively how cultural differences and gender patterns affect the way Persian and English native-speaking spouses apologize and utilize apology strategies in their conversational routines. To triangulate data, both a questionnaire (Chopman, 2012) and a focus-group semi-structured open-ended interview were used to collect data on sixty participants' linguistic behavior and their apology exchange. The Chi-square results for inter-cultural/gender comparisons indicated a higher rate of apologies among the English spouses and a variety in the rate and kind of apology strategies use. However, intra-cultural ones demonstrated twice more apology use by Persian females than males and no significant difference between the English spouses. The findings may have great appeal for both EFL learners and teachers to attend more to the nature of the apology speech act and its exchange among various groups and in different cultures and provide Persian EFL learners with information that may help them improve their pragmatic competence in English. The study also contributes to the pragmatics teaching curriculum and EFL research.

### **Keywords**

Apology speech act, apology strategies, cross-cultural communication, gender, Persian and English native-speaking spouses

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## **Introduction**

Communicative competence instruction has been one of the concerns of language teachers investigated by many researchers (Mansouri, Hadian, Tabatabaei, & Rezvani, 2019; 2018). Language has different social and cultural functions and, therefore, it is necessary to advance an accurate understanding of cultural similarities and differences in appropriate language use in different contexts. Researchers who study topics related to semantics or pragmatic functions of language usually find it difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the two. Thijittang (2010) refers to pragmatic competence as the speakers' knowledge of language with regard to the use of politeness and appropriate rules which makes understanding and formulating speech acts possible. Speech acts are usually studied under the category of pragmatics which varies in verbalization and conceptualization across cultures or in different languages (Rodrigues Dias & Phoebe Kisubi Mbasalaki, 2021). In this relation, apology forms are among the speech acts ascribed to socio-pragmatic studies.

In the last decades, there has been a noticeable linguistic shift towards discourse analysis focusing on the importance of the social role of language and the textual nature of social life (Cameron, 1998). Pragmatics, as a new paradigm of research, is a field of linguistic analysis closely related to the verbal and non-verbal interactions among individual human beings. Katz (1977) suggests "Grammars are theories about the structure of sentence types. . . Pragmatic theories, in contrast, explicate the reasoning of speakers and hearers in working out the correlation in the context of the sentence token of a proposition. In this respect pragmatic theory is part of the performance" (p.19).

In recent years, there has been interest in research about the apology speech act used when social norms are broken and the apologizer takes responsibility for the offense to the offended. Sometimes the apologizer also suggests compensation in a bid to restore the equilibrium between him/herself and the offended person (Cetinavci, 2012). Through such a process, the offender gives the offended the power to forgive. Nureddeen (2008) maintains that an apology is used as a remedy for an offense. On their part, Bataineh and Bataineh (2006) contend that an apology is highly culture-specific and is used to reflect the offender's true feelings of sorrow and regret for his/her fault which can be expressed indirectly or directly, nonverbally or verbally. They also claim that the universal concept which is directly related to the apology speech act and exists in any language is politeness. Saving the interlocutors' faces (positive or negative) is key to maintaining successful communication.

It is acknowledged that some factors such as culture, power relations, social distance, and culture may influence the degree of politeness (Bwetenga & Diocleciano Nhatuve, 2021). People living in different cultures have different social norms and values. Apology norms also differ across different cultures. Apologies are effective strategies for repairing trust and resolving conflict; however, there exist cultural differences in the way apologies are offered, their frequencies, and the degree of their perspicuity in different cultures. When one is not adequately familiar with the target culture and its norms, s/he may use inappropriate language in a particular situation. Further, using one's own cultural lens in negotiations or in responding to a conflict in a different culture may lead to misunderstanding or, even worse, exacerbate the conflict. It is also suggested that one important function of the culture is its impact on the effectiveness of apologies (Sugimoto, 1997). The reason is that depending on the specific cultural context, the meaning (what an apology is) and the function (why the apology is used) of an apology may be different.

Literature on apologies and their consequences abounds (Ghanbari, Jamalinesari, Gowhary, & Azizifar, 2015; Tabatabaei, Gencer, Eldem, & Bakhtiarvand, 2018; Olga & Abedin, 2016). However, only a few researchers have done comparative studies the speech act of apology across dialects and languages. In addition, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, few studies have

addressed the patterns of apology between husbands and wives, especially within the framework of cultural differences. Consequently, the objective of the present work paper was to inter-culturally compare the rate of apologies across Persian and English native-speaking spouses. It also intended to give an account of the use of apology strategies between these two groups of language users. In addition, it was to numerically examine the relationship between married life span and the rate and strategies of apology utilized by the spouses. Last but not least, the study interrogated the intra-cultural gender-specific application of apology frequency and strategies employed by Persian and English native-speaking spouses. The findings of the current study were to add to a growing body of literature on each language, culture, and gender-specific use of apology as one of the speech acts.

## **1. Literature Review**

Grice (1975) stated that “in any conversation, only certain kinds of ‘moves’ are possible at any particular time because of constraints that operate to govern exchanges” (p.45). According to Grice, such constraints will limit the speaker in what to say and the listener in what s/he can understand. Linguists mostly define speech acts in terms of the speaker’s intended meaning (pragmatics) and its effect on the audience (illocutionary act). In this relation, learning the pragmatic rules of other languages can enable learners to produce language that is socially and culturally appropriate.

According to Henley (1977), the relationship and interactional patterns between males and females are not just kinds of expressing feelings of friendliness or solidarity, but in fact, such an interaction is greatly affected by the dominance of males over females. This is in line with the claim that sex differences in speech are attributable to different roles played by males and females and that some special features in women’s speech are reflections of their inferior status in society (Crisby & Nyquist, 1977). This has led to the study of the way people use language to express and create gendered discourses (Dewi, Yuliatin, & Sari, 2022). Sanderland (2004) suggested that studying gendered discourses helps us to learn about the different ways males and females see the world and construct their identities while using written or spoken discourse in different contexts and situations.

Apologies are considered as being powerful (Tannen, 1999) and moral phenomena (Smith, 2008) that are an example gendered discourse. Many people refer to biological and cultural factors not only as separable but also as mutually contaminating. In this relation, linguistic behavior can be seen as the result of culturally created gender as distinguished from biologically determined sex. Gender differences in apology behavior have significant implications for interpersonal interactions. It is believed that the acceptability of an apology is determined by the extent to which the wrongdoing is perceived as being wrong by the offended, the consequences of the wrongdoing, and the extent to which the wrongdoer takes responsibility for the wrongdoing (Slocum, Allan, & Marriam, 2011). Although it is believed that there are significant differences in the way men and women apologize, such a claim is not based on satisfying empirical systematic research.

There are different apology strategies as remedial moves including ‘admitting that an offense has occurred’, ‘showing respect and attention’, ‘expressing an attitude towards offense’, and ‘repairing the damage and providing compensation’ (Owen, 1983). There are also different definitions for an apology and also a variety of classifications by different linguists for apology strategies. Bataineh and Bataineh (2006) elucidated that an apology is a kind of persuasion utilizing certain strategies or a combination of strategies. They further argue that such strategies include the explicit statement of the apology (*I apologize*), requesting the acceptance of apology (*Please accept my apology*), expressing regret for the offense (*I am truly/ terribly sorry*), requesting forgiveness for the offense (*Please forgive me*), acknowledging responsibility for the

offense (*It was my fault*), promising forbearance (*It will never happen again*), and offering compensation (*Let me make it up*).

Chopman and Thomas (2008) stated that people do not use the same language to apologize and believed that when one does not use the right language to apologize, even a sincere apology may be received as being insincere. They proposed five different apology languages including expressing regret, accepting responsibility, offering compensation, showing remorse, and requesting forgiveness. The findings of a recent study showed different apology strategies were used by Iraqi EFL learners and they knew how to use apology forms to meet the requirements of particular situations (Ulga & Abedin, 2016).

**Table 1.** *Apology languages (proposed by Chopman & Thomas, 2008)*

Expressing Regret	Expressing that the person feels sorry or bad for his/her wrong behavior, saying “I am sorry I did it”, or “I feel really bad that my behavior has made you upset.”
Accepting Responsibility	Confirming that something wrong has been done and accepting one’s fault saying “I was wrong”, or “It was my fault”.
Offering Compensation	Asking what to do to retribute, saying “What could I do to make things right?”, or “How could I pay for the loss?”
Showing Remorse	Expressing the desire to change one’s behavior and become a better person saying, “I’ll do my best not to repeat it”, or “I won’t let it happen again”.
Requesting Forgiveness	This is especially to show one’s humility, saying “I sincerely ask you to forgive me. Will you please ignore that?”

In a study conducted by Nor and Paramasivam (2013), it was found that expression of apology, explanations or reasons for the offense and offers, and repairs were the three most frequently used strategies. Eslami-Rasekh and Mardani (2010) found even when there is no need to apologize, Persian EFL learners apologize and overuse apology strategies. They also asserted that before using apology strategies, Persian EFL learners transferred socio-pragmatic strategies of intensifiers from Persian to English. A study by Gonzales, Pederson, Manning, & Wetter (1990) showed that affective statements were used both by males and females; however, females used such forms more frequently than males. The variety of such affective statements also differed for different genders so females were reported to produce more variety of affective statements while frequently using intensifiers in their utterances. Statements such as ‘I feel very bad’, ‘I’m so embarrassed, and ‘I am terribly sorry’ are typical expressions used by females.

The striking field of research, language and gender, dates back to Lakoff (1975), and even earlier when Jespersen (1922) in his book ‘The Woman’ referred to the sexist view of language use among men and women. In more recent literature, the notion of gender has been discussed as in Grey’s (1992) “Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus” or in Tannen’s (1990) “You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation”. In these books, the actors examined how gender affected communication flow and strategies used between men and women and indicated divergent men and women’s use of language across interactions. They also asserted that common life experiences and emotional bonding were more valued by females. Sometimes men refuse to apologize because they are not willing to admit that they have done something wrong (Engel, 2001) or they are not willing to accept the defeat. On the other hand, women are more concerned with showing modesty and politeness to others compared to men, so they apologize more willingly (Tannen, 1999).

Although many studies have been done to shed light on the effect of gender on apologies (Bataineh & Bataineh, 2008; Ghanbari, et al., 2015; Harb, 2015), there is not yet agreement among them. Different scholars have investigated some factors related to the concept of apology including offense as a contextual factor (Gonzales, et.al, 1990), some apologizers’ characteristics

like status (Tata, 2000), cultural characteristics (Bataineh and Bataineh, 2008), and the role of gender (Smith 2008).

Gender might have different effects on the complexity of the apology components, that is, the elements that comprise an apology have also been investigated (Schmitt, Gollwitzer, Förster, & Montada, 2004). Slocum (2006) also studied ‘admitting responsibility for the offense’ in the form of affirmation, action components such as offering compensation, and statements of emotions.

Another important related field of research is how an apology is constructed (Smith, 2008) especially because it plays a significant role in repairing relationships (Bono, McCullough, & Root, 2008) and improving psychological (Zechmeister, Garcia, Romero, & Vas, 2004) and physical (Anderson, Linden, & Habra, 2006) well-being after oppositions or conflict (Eaton, Struthers, Shomrony, & Santelli, 2007). Despite Gonzales et al. (1990), Tannen (1990), and Smith (2008) who indicated frequency differences in apologies offered by men and women, Schumann (2011) noted that “despite widespread acceptance of the stereotype that women apologize more than men do, there is little compelling evidence of a gender difference in apology behavior” (p.2). Furthermore, Aydin (2013) suggested the significant impact of power relations on the rate and types of apologies and drastic differences in apologies across cultures and Alzebaree and Yavuz (2017) revealed significant differences in apology strategies implementation between males and females.

The results of a study by Tabatabaei et al., (2018) indicated that native and non-native participants used almost similar frequency of strategies in apology speech acts. Based on the research findings, generally speaking, compared to men, women used indirect speech more often; however, regarding apologies, men used indirect apology forms while women used more direct language to apologize (Lakoff, 1975).

This study focusing on apology speech act for its healing nature aimed at investigating conversational patterns between the spouses to provide contrasting evidence on apology speech acts utilized by Persian versus English husbands and wives to systematically study the potential role of gender in English and Persian spouses’ use of apologies. It examined the frequency of apologies in the two cultures and between spouses and investigated the apology strategies used by Persian and English native-speaking spouses to examine the effect of cultural differences as well as gender patterns on the way spouses apologize in their conversational routines. The following questions were addressed in the study.

1. Is there statistically any significant difference between the rate of apologies between Persian and English native-speaking spouses?
2. To what extent is the use of apology strategies between Persian and English native-speaking spouses the same or different?
3. How is the length of a marriage related to the rate of apologies or apology strategies employed by the spouses?
4. How does gender interfere with the frequency of apologies and the type of apology strategies employed by Persian and English native-speaking spouses?

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.1 Research Design**

This study was descriptive and content-analytic which aimed at gathering quantifiable information on the participants’ linguistic behaviors. The collected data were used for statistical inference through the analysis of data.

## **2.2 Research Participants**

Thirty Persian spouses living in Iran (in Esfahan and Tehran) and thirty English spouses living in England (in Norwich and Birmingham) were the participants of the study. They were of different ages and had the experience of married life for a period of 5 to 50 years. The nonprobability sampling technique, using whoever was available, was used for its convenience. Before beginning to collect data, the participants were given information regarding the objectives of the study. To ensure the consent of the participants, the researchers assured the participants that their responses and opinions would be kept highly confidential and would only be used for the current research and purely academic purposes.

## **2.3 Data Collection Procedure**

To collect the participants' real responses and reliable data so that participants do not manipulate their responses and the strategies they used, the researchers did not inform the participants that they were measured for their apology frequency and strategies. Data were collected simultaneously in Iran and England for eight months through haphazard accidental sampling. For the sake of methodological triangulation, ethnographic research methods, the questionnaire of 'Apology Language Personal Profile' (Chopman, 2012) (Appendix A) along with focus-group semi-structured open-ended interviews were used. To increase the reliability of the instrument employed and to make sure that the questionnaire was both productive and receptive, this study applied a combination of multiple-choice items and DCTs (Discourse Completion Task). That is, the questionnaire consisted of fifteen situations comprising two different types of responses, some predetermined statements in multiple-choice form as well as a free response option which allowed the participants to express their own opinion freely for clarification or giving additional information. The participants were also asked to write about the other possible kinds of offenses for which they usually apologize and how. Some spouses were also interviewed to shed light on the accuracy of the collected information and to give them chances to elaborate on their responses or add some more details if required. Their oral statements and comments were recorded, and then, transcribed and carefully analyzed after the interview session and some Persian apology expressions have been quoted exactly as they were to prevent losing the illocutionary forces of the utterances.

## **2.4 Data Analysis Procedure**

The participants' responses to the situations presented in the questionnaire were carefully analyzed by the researchers. To dig deeper into the emotional states of the participants, they also analyzed the content of the participants' answers to the open-ended questions to yield more realistic qualitative results. First, the frequency and percentages of the apology strategies which were utilized by the husbands and wives were tabulated. Then, Chi-Square was utilized to examine the significance of the existing differences between Persian spouses and English spouses (inter-cultural analysis) and also within Persian and English spouses (Intra-cultural analysis). Next, such an examination was done for different apology strategies as well.

## **3. Results**

Answering the first research question, which implied cross or inter-cultural comparison of apologies rate between Persian and English native-speaking spouses, required frequency and chi-square calculation indicated in Tables 2 and 3.



**Table 2.** *Percentage of Apology by Sex*

	Native		Non-Native		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Female	398	50.6	338	66.8	736	57.0
Male	388	49.4	168	33.2	556	43.0
Total	786	100.0	506	100.0	1292	100.0

According to Table 3, the frequency of apologies (inter-cultural analysis) was significantly higher among the English spouses.

**Table 3.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics between English and Persian Spouses Based on Chi-Square Test*

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Native	786	646.0	140.0
Non-Native	506	646.0	-140.0
Total	1292		
Chi-Square	60.681		
df	1		
Asymp. Sig.	.000*		

\* $p < .05$

To answer the second research question, addressing differences in apologies between Persian-speaking spouses, necessitated the statistical analysis of chi-square in Table 4.

**Table 4.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics among Persian Spouses*

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Female	338	253.0	85.0
Male	168	253.0	-85.0
Total	506		
Chi-Square	57.115		
df	1		
Asymp. Sig.	.000*		

\* $p < .05$

According to Table 4, a *P*-Value lower than 0.05 indicates that the frequency of apology was not the same among the male and female Persian spouses and females apologized significantly more than males.

The statistical analyses to investigate the use of apology strategies intra-culturally between English speaking spouses, the third research question, are represented in Table 5.

**Table 5.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics among English Spouses*

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Female	398	393.0	5.0
Male	388	393.0	-5.0
Total	786		
Chi-Square	.127		
df	1		
Asymp. Sig.	.721		

\* $p < .05$

A *P*-Value higher than 0.05 indicates no significant difference between male and female English spouses in the rate of apologies (Table 5).

The result of the comparison of the kind and rate of five main apology strategies between English-speaking spouses, the focus of the fourth research question, is indicated in Table 6.

**Table 6.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics of Apology Strategies among English and Persian Spouses*

	Expressing regret		Accepting responsibility		Offering compensation		Showing remorse		Requesting forgiveness	
	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected
Native	256	222.0	188	152.0	134	100.0	92	81.0	116	91.0
Non-Native	188	222.0	116	152.0	66	100.0	70	81.0	66	91.0
Total	444		304		200		162		182	
Chi-Square	10.414		17.053		23.120		2.988		13.736	
df	1		1		1		1		1	
Sig.	.001*		.000*		.000*		.084		.000*	

\* p < .05

According to the result of the Chi-square analysis in Table 6, the frequencies of strategies of expressing regret, accepting responsibility, offering compensation, and requesting forgiveness were significantly higher for English spouses. However, it showed no significant difference between English and Persian spouses in showing remorse.

Table 7 represents the results of a comparison of the use of apology strategies among Persian spouses.

**Table 7.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics of Apology Strategies among Persian Spouses*

	Expressing regret		Accepting responsibility		Offering compensation		Showing remorse		Requesting forgiveness	
	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected
Female	118	94.0	90	58.0	34	33.0	50	35.0	46	33.0
Male	70	94.0	26	58.0	32	33.0	20	35.0	20	33.0
Total	188		116		66		70		66	
Chi-Square	12.255		35.310		.061		12.857		10.242	
Df	1		1		1		1		1	
Sig.	.000*		.000*		.806		.000*		.001*	

\* p < .05

According to Table 7, Persian females used the apology strategies of expressing regret, accepting responsibility, showing remorse, and requesting forgiveness more than males. However, the apology strategy of offering compensation was not used significantly different in communications between Persian spouses.

The results of the comparison of English spouses in making use of apology strategies are presented in Table 8.

**Table 8.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics of Apology Strategies among English Spouses*

	Expressing regret		Accepting responsibility		Offering compensation		Showing remorse		Requesting forgiveness	
	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected	N	Expected
Female	140	128.0	114	94.0	42	67.0	50	46.0	52	58.0
Male	116	128.0	74	94.0	92	67.0	42	46.0	64	58.0
Total	256		188		134		92		116	
Chi-Square	2.250		8.511		18.657		.696		1.241	
Df	1		1		1		1		1	
Sig.	.134		.004*		.000*		.404		.265	

\* p < .05

According to Table 8, although there are no differences between the English spouses in making use of apology strategies of expressing regret, showing remorse, and requesting forgiveness, English females used more accepting responsibility strategy and the male ones applied more offering compensation strategy.

A calculation of frequency and chi-square analysis were also used to investigate the difference in the use of apology strategies between the male English and Persian spouses (Table 9).

**Table 9.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics of the Apology Strategies Employed by Male English and Persian Spouses*

	Expressing regret		Accepting responsibility		Offering compensation		Showing remorse		Requesting forgiveness	
	Z	Observed	Z	Expected	Z	Observed	Z	Expected	Z	Observed
Native	140	129.0	114	102.0	42	38.0	50	50.0	52	49.0
Non-Native	118	129.0	90	102.0	34	38.0	50	50.0	46	49.0
Total	258		204		76		100		98	
Chi-Square	1.876		2.824		.842		.000		.367	
Df	1		1		1		1		1	
Sig.	.171		.093		.359		1.000		.544	

\* p < .05

According to Table 9, regarding the five apology strategies, there were no differences between the male English and Persian speakers. However, Table 10 indicates significantly higher use of all of the apology strategies by female English speakers than the Persian ones.

**Table 10.** *Frequencies and Test Statistics of the Apology Strategies Employed by Female English and Persian Spouses*

	Expressing regret		Accepting responsibility		Offering compensation		Showing remorse		Requesting forgiveness	
	Z	Observed	Z	Expected	Z	Observed	Z	Expected	Z	Observed
Native	116	93.0	74	50.0	92	62.0	42	31.0	64	42.0
Non-Native	70	93.0	26	50.0	32	62.0	20	31.0	20	42.0
Total	186		100		124		62		84	
Chi-Square	11.376		23.040		29.032		7.806		23.048	
Df	1		1		1		1		1	
Sig.	.001*		.000*		.000*		.005*		.000*	

\* p ≤ .05

The analysis of the relationship between the married life span and the rate and type of apology strategies used by the spouses was done through the Pearson formula and the results are indicated in Table 11 and Table 12 respectively. According to the former, the rate of apology has no relationship with the duration of the marriage.

**Table 11.** *Correlation between the Married-Life Span and the Rate of Apology Employed by the Spouses*

Frequency	Pearson Correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)	N
Year	.056	.222	484

According to Table 12, the Pearson formula indicated no significant relationship between the married life span and the rate of apology strategies except for ‘offering for compensation strategy’ for which a negative relationship was found across the two cultures.

**Table 12.** *Correlation between Duration of Marriage and the Rate of Apology Strategies Used*

	Pearson Correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)	N
Expressing regret	.034	.717	114
Accepting responsibility	.130	.194	102
Offering compensation	-.220*	.033	94
Showing remorse	.024	.823	92
Requesting forgiveness	.061	.589	82

English-speaking spouses also explained that “for being impatient, for speaking brusquely or harshly, for criticizing my husband’s family, usually I would just say sorry and explain why I did it. There would be a reason” (Participant 3). They also told, “we would always consult on important matters so such problematic situations would not arise (for situation No.4)” (participant 2). Other ones expressed that “If my husband carried on doing something really annoying, I’d leave him” (participant 11), “It would depend on why he’d broken his promise. It might have been unavoidable” (for situation No.8) (participant 10), “If there is a significant conflict, we don’t just leave it, we talk it through until we’ve resolved it (situation No.14) (participant 3), and “It is silly to be upset for such things. Shirts cannot be that important. For sure, no one does it on purpose, and so we just laugh” (situation No.12) (participant 7). Persian spouses also added some extra notes such as “My spouse usually explains the situations or makes excuses in order not to accept the responsibility, saying: it is not important; I didn’t mean that, you are too much sensitive” (participant 6), “ My spouse doesn’t care at all, never apologizes” (participant 9), “What my spouse says in such situations is “I just didn’t care; I didn’t mean to make you feel upset, it is not that important” (participant 4), “My spouse says you always take things too seriously” (participant 8), and “I am always blamed for being too much sensitive and expecting a lot. He never apologizes” (participant 6).

#### **4. Discussion**

This study set out with the aim of assessing cultural and gender effects on apologizing and apology strategies use. The current study found a higher frequency of apologies between English spouses.

Another finding, not in line with Tabatabaei et al., (2018), was that English spouses were proven to use expressing regret, accepting responsibility, offering compensation, and requesting forgiveness more than Persian spouses; however, such a difference did not exist for showing remorse.

The results of this study showed no relationship between married life span and either the rate of apologies or the type of apology strategies used by Persian and English spouses. However, a weak negative relationship was found between the rate of offering compensation and the married life span.

This study also found that among male and female Persian spouses, females apologized significantly more than males, further supporting the idea of Gonzales et al. (1990), Tannen (1990), and Smith (2008). However, there was no significant difference between male and female English spouses in this relationship. The frequency of expressing regret, accepting responsibility, showing remorse, and requesting forgiveness was higher for Persian females which is in line with Nor and Paramasivam (2013). However, in offering compensation, there was no significant difference for Persian spouses. The frequency of use for expressing regret, requesting forgiveness, and showing remorse was not significantly different between English spouses. However, the frequency of use for accepting responsibility was significantly higher for English females while the frequency of use for offering compensation was significantly higher for

English males. The frequencies of use for apology strategies were not significantly different between male English and Persian spouses, while the frequencies were significantly higher for female English spouses which is in line with Bataineh & Bataineh (2006), Slocum (2006), and also with Alzebaree and Yavuz (2017) who indicated that differences in the use of apology strategies were found to occur not only between Kurdish EFL undergraduate students and native speakers of English but also between the male and female Kurdish EFL undergraduate students, in other words, within the same culture, and different apology strategies within the same culture have been stated to cause problems for foreign or second language users.

Based on the statements provided by them, among Persian couples, husbands were usually reluctant to apologize and tended to express their apology indirectly which is in line with Lakoff (1975) and Engel (2001). Some English husbands preferred not to say sorry in a face-to-face encounter and had their own indirect ways of saying that they felt sorry. They referred to buying flowers and leaving a message on the answering machine (as classic strategies) as some examples, while, such responses were rarely seen among the Persian males. Persian females tended to apologize for offenses and sometimes even when it was not their fault, not consistent with Schumann (2011) who found that women and men apologized for a parallel proportion of the offenses they reported. She suggested that a gender difference in apology frequency was initiated by different judgments of severity rather than by a difference in willingness to apologize.

The explanations added by the spouses in the questionnaires revealed that English females usually tended to apologize even for light offenses. However, husbands, while trying to maintain their status, preferred to use explanations or accounts of situations. The interesting point was that there was a cultural difference even in the participants' perception of the situations offered in the questionnaire. English spouses confirmed the plausibility of the situations, yet some of the situations, such as situation number ten, seemed to be strange to them! They claimed these were not what they exactly would say on such occasions. "Anniversaries for instance are not big deals, maybe for the elderly people or upper-class rich people! At most, what we normally say in such situations is *sorry!* And no further explanation. We care more about our birthdays." They added that in some of the stated situations they would never apologize and they offered some other situations as being more important to them.

English spouses also stated that "We usually just say I'm really sorry - as many times as it takes until the other person is OK with it!" they added, "We apologize for not staying calm with each other or with the kids, or for not sharing out the duties with the kids. We sometimes get cross or grumpy with each other, and then apologize. We usually hug, make each other dinner or talk about the events of the day."

It is said that women talk more than men. What is important to note is that more talk means the probability of committing more faults that requires more apologies. Another factor influencing the patterns of talk is power relations between spouses which do not follow the same pattern in different cultures. During the past decades, Iran has witnessed significant growth in the number of educated women who undertake prominent social roles and responsibilities; nevertheless, the power relation is still mostly male-dominated in Iran. In addition, some other factors such as age, social class, education, and years of married life may affect power relations between spouses.

Indeed, women usually offer more apologies than men do, but it is noteworthy that women also commit more offenses than men do! The rationale behind the claim that men apologize less frequently than women might be the belief that men have a relatively higher threshold for what is assumed to be offensive behavior. It is also believed that men are not willing to apologize because they consider it as showing their weakness. Most of the spouses in the present study had children, and naturally, they were more motivated to resolve their conflicts by simply saying that they felt sorry for the sake of their children's peace. Moreover, after years of married life spouses

learn by experience that conflict management via apologizing will save them a lot of undesirable consequences.

## Conclusion

As a socio-pragmatic study, the present research was designed to compare the rate and type of apology strategies inter-culturally between Persian and English native-speaking spouses and their relationship with life span. It also aimed to assess the extent to which gender-specific use of the rate and type of apology strategies are made intra-culturally. This study found that generally English spouses apologized more than the Persian ones. In addition, they expressed regret, accepted responsibility, offered compensation, and requested forgiveness more than the Persian one. It was also shown that Persian females expressed regret, accepted responsibility, showed remorse, and requested forgiveness more than males. However, English female spouses rated higher in accepting responsibility and males surpassed in offering compensation. This study also indicated no relationship between life span and rate of apologies and type of its strategies used. It can be concluded that male Persian spouses are not willing to take responsibility for their wrong actions and find it onerous to apologize especially to their wives. However, to maintain a healthy marital relationship, it is of vital importance to develop the skill of apologizing. Contrary to the public belief that apologies reflect a weak character, it requires great strength. God has created repentance because he wisely knew humans would make a lot of mistakes throughout their life and they will need to have a chance to apologize and try to make things right. One of the most respected forms of interaction in civilized life encounters is the ability to offer apologies and know how to get them right. A simple apology can heal a damaged relationship and restore an intimate bounding. If spouses learn to do it right, an apology can simply lead to a happier life. Spouses should especially take into account that if they lose control of their arguments they may lead to irrecoverable breakdowns in their relationships. One can manage the relationship problems; however, when such problems are ignored or left unaddressed, the health and permanence of the relationship will be at risk.

In order to maintain a good relationship, it is important to have appropriate linguistic behavior in different situations. Developing interactional competencies is key to successful communication. No one likes to admit that they have committed a mistake or a faux pas. Not all people are strong enough to admit their faults and failures. Some others are so concerned about winning or being in a state of power that they are reluctant to admit their faults. Long-lasting conflicts can simply result in destroying one's personal or social relationship and even affect his/her family life, while a simple apology can reconcile such grudges. Although this is a powerful and valuable social skill, little attention and thought have been devoted to instructing the students on how to apologize. Some teachers themselves have not learned the skill yet. One needs to learn to apologize as a means to put an end to a dispute or misunderstanding. Such studies familiarize both the language learners and teachers with the nature of conversational interactions, the existing similarities and differences among the cultures, and among various groups in society, especially in the case of exchanging apologies.

The existing differences in the way people talk can also be attributed to different variables such as differences in social status, ethnic background, educational level, gender, and age. It is recommended that further research be undertaken to focus on the impact of such variables on the frequency and the type of apologies used in different settings. Furthermore, they might explore these issues through more interactive data collection techniques, such video- and audio-recording, and/or retrospective self-evaluative techniques, such as diary. Another limitation of the study was the sample size which would be compensated for by designs of larger sample sizes and with more sophisticated statistical tools such as Structural Equation Modeling (SEM),

multiple regression, or even Meta-Analytic Structural Equation Modeling. Lastly, future lines of research are suggested to be based on the variability of the language users focusing on different aspects of pragmatics such as implicature or different speech acts (e.g., refusal, disagreement, etc.).

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## Appendices

Sex: male      female

Years of married life:

Education:

Adopted from “APOLOGY LANGUAGES PERSONAL PROFILE” by Dr. Gary Chopman, from

<http://www.5lovelanguages.com/profile/apology/>

What does your spouse do in the following situations? Does s/he apologize? If yes, what exactly does s/he do or say? There is a blank choice, you can add if you think of a different response.

1- Your spouse failed to acknowledge your wedding anniversary.

a) “I can't believe I forgot. You and our marriage are so important to me. I am so sorry.”

b) “There is no excuse for me forgetting. What was I thinking?”

c) “What can I do to prove my love for you?”

d) “You can bet I won't forget next year! I'm going to circle the date on my calendar!”



- e) "I know you are hurt, but can you ever forgive me?"
- f) .....

2- Your spouse lashed out in anger against you when you had done no apparent wrong.

- a) "I wish I had not hurt you by yelling at you. I feel so bad for how I treated you."
- b) "I was angry, but I had no right to speak to you that way. You did not deserve that."
- c) "What can I do or say to make things right between us?"
- d) "I'm afraid that I'll do this again, and I don't want to. Help me think of ways to avoid blowing up like this in the future."
- e) "I am truly sorry for yelling at you. I hope that you can find it in your heart to forgive me."
- f) .....

3- Your spouse knew how you felt about a matter and knowingly went against your wishes.

- a) "I knew how you felt but went against your wishes anyway. I wish I had not done that."
- b) "If I had only thought about what I was doing, I would have realized it was wrong."
- c) "What can I do to regain your respect?"
- d) "I won't take your feelings for granted in the future."
- e) "Will you please give me another chance?"
- f) .....

4- Your spouse failed to consult with you on an important matter of mutual interest.

- a) "I know now that I hurt you very badly. I am truly sorry for what I did."
- b) "I really blew it this time. I was wrong to not include you in this decision. You have a right to be upset with me."
- c) "Is there anything I can do to make up for what I did?"
- d) "In the future, I plan to consult with you no matter what. I won't bypass you in making decisions again."
- e) "You have every right to hold this against me, but will you please forgive me?"
- f) .....

5- Your spouse unintentionally poked fun at you and embarrassed you in front of others at a party.

- a) "I deeply regret embarrassing you like I did. I wish I could go back in time and say something more appropriate."
- b) "That was so thoughtless of me. I thought I was being funny, but obviously, hurting you like I have is not funny."
- c) "Is there any way I can repair our relationship? Would you like for me to apologize to you in front of the others?"
- d) "It's easy to take others' feelings for granted, but I want to be more considerate of you and others in the future. Will you help hold me accountable?"
- e) "I didn't intend to hurt you, and now all I can do is ask for your forgiveness and try not to repeat my same mistake again."
- f) .....

6- You were trying to tell your spouse something important, and he/she acted uninterested.

- a) "I feel really bad that I didn't listen to what you were saying. I know how it feels to have something important to say, and I regret that I didn't listen to you."
- b) "Listening is such an important part of a strong relationship, but once again, I blew it. You needed me to hear you, and I basically just ignored your need."
- c) "Can we back up and try again? You talk, and I'll listen. You'll have my undivided attention."
- d) "I messed up this time, but in the future, I promise to give you my full attention when you say you have something important to tell me."
- e) "I'm sorry I wasn't listening. You don't have to forgive me, but I hope you will."
- f) .....

7- Although you had expressed your annoyance with a particular habit many times before, your spouse continued exhibiting the behavior to spite you.

- a) "I've taken this too far. I'm very sorry for not being more considerate of your wishes. I wouldn't like it if you did that to me."
- b) "OK, I admit it; I am annoying you on purpose, and that's neither funny nor fair. I need to act more mature than that."

- c) "Saying 'I'm sorry' won't take back the fact that I've knowingly tried to annoy you. What more can I do to win back your favor?"
- d) "I have gotten into the habit of disregarding your wishes, and I don't want to go on doing that. From now on, I'm going to make extra effort to honor your wishes."
- e) "I've tried your patience, and now I'm asking you to forgive me. Will you allow me a fresh start in honoring your requests?"
- f) .....

8- Your spouse broke a promise.

- a) "I am so sorry. I promised you I'd come through, and I let you down."
- b) "I've really messed up this time."
- c) "I don't know what I can do at this point, but is there any way I can compensate?"
- d) "It's too late to do anything about it now, but I want so badly to avoid this type of error again. Let's talk about what I can do in the future to make good on my promises."
- e) "I don't expect you to forgive me, but I would greatly appreciate it if you would forgive me."
- f) .....

9- Your spouse broke one of your prized possessions.

- a) "I know this was one of your prized possessions, and I feel terrible about what has happened."
- b) "I should have been watching more carefully. It was my fault for not paying more attention or this would not have happened."
- c) "Can I purchase it somewhere for you? Is there some way I can replace this?"
- d) "I promise that I will be more protective of your possessions in the future."
- e) "You have a right to be upset, but I hope that you can forgive me."
- f) .....

10- At lunch, your spouse dropped food on you and ruined your shirt.

- a) "I am so sorry about that. I feel bad that I've ruined your shirt and inconvenienced you like this."
- b) "I am normally pretty careful, but I wasn't careful enough this time. I accept full responsibility for this mess."
- c) "I would like to take it to the dry cleaning. What about buying a new one?"
- d) "This has taught me a hard lesson. You can bet that I'll be more careful in the future."
- e) "Can you please forgive me for my carelessness?"
- f) .....

11- You were in a crisis and needed help, but your spouse ignored your need.

- a) "I should have been there for you. I'm so sorry I let you down."
- b) "I let you down when you needed me the most. I made a terrible mistake."
- c) "Saying 'I'm sorry' doesn't feel like it is enough. What more can I say or do to mend it?"
- d) "I realize now that I could have been more help to you, and I promise that I'll do everything I can do to help you if ever you are in trouble again."
- e) "I am sincerely sorry and ask you to forgive me."
- f) .....

12- Your spouse made an insensitive remark about you.

- a) "That was so thoughtless of me. I wish I had been more considerate of your feelings."
- b) "I know what I said was wrong and that I hurt your feelings."
- c) "Would you allow me to retract what I said? I would like a chance to restore your reputation."
- d) "While I will likely say wrong things again in the future, what I've learned from this experience will help me avoid hurting you with insensitive comments."
- e) "I blew it! Can you forgive me?"
- f) .....

13- You were proud of your accomplishment, but your spouse acted as if it was trivial.

- a) "You needed me to share your excitement, and I let you down. I hate that I didn't respond more appropriately."
- b) "I spoiled your celebration by not being happy for you. I could make excuses, but really, I have no good excuse for ignoring your achievement."
- c) "Is it too late for us to celebrate your accomplishment? I really want to make this up to you."
- d) "I promise I'll notice and celebrate your accomplishments in the future. I've learned a hard lesson."
- e) "I know I failed you before, but will you please forgive me again?"
- f) .....

14- Your spouse learned that he had previously been wrong about a significant point of conflict between the two of you.

- a) "I am upset with myself over how I handled our disagreement. My behavior threatened our relationship and that scares me. I regret the way I acted."
- b) "I admit that I was wrong. If I had only known then what I know now, I could have saved us a lot of heartache."
- c) "What can I do to mend our relationship? I feel like I need to do or say something to restore your respect for me."
- d) "If we disagree over an issue in the future, I plan on gathering all the facts before I make any judgments. That may save us from unnecessary arguing."
- e) "I apologize. Will you please forgive me?"
- f) .....

15- Despite his/her promise to keep your secret, your spouse broke your trust in him/her by telling others.

- a) "If only I had thought about how much damage I was doing by telling your secret. I feel so bad for not having taken my promise more seriously."
- b) "I told you I would keep your secret, and I broke my promise and damaged your trust in me. I made a terrible mistake."
- c) "Help me know what I should do to restore your trust in me."
- d) "It may take you some time to rebuild your trust in me, but I'll be working hard from now on to prove that I am trustworthy."
- e) "You don't have to answer immediately, but will you consider forgiving me for making this mistake?"
- f) .....

What are the other possible kinds of offences for which you usually apologize and how do you express your apology?



## **A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of 2018 Iraqi Parliamentary Electoral Posters**

Khalid Shamkhi Sharhan <sup>24</sup> Mohammed Hussein Mahawi <sup>25</sup> Haidar Kareem Al-Ābedi<sup>26</sup>

### **Abstract**

The paper is a multimodal discourse analysis of Iraqi Parliamentary electoral posters in May 2018. It aims at finding out the ways and tools the political entities participating in those elections use in designing their posters and presenting themselves and their programs to the voters. The analysis involves 17 posters and uses a framework of analysis that suits the nature and purpose of the paper. These 17 posters represent entities and politicians with different political and social backgrounds. The results of the analysis reveal that some political entities represented by electoral posters have names, logos and slogans especially used for the 2018 elections while others either have ones already used in the previous elections or stick to their original ones which they use elsewhere. In most posters, there is a tendency to use the name of the country or a related word; some posters use words that may appeal to the voters through hinting at an alternative to the religious parties which have failed in ruling the country in the previous period, or words that promise change and reformation.

### **Keywords**

Multimodal discourse analysis, Iraqi Parliamentary elections, electoral posters, logos, slogans

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## **Introduction**

In the time of elections, political parties and groups launch campaigns which take different forms and use different channels of communication with the voters. They exert great efforts to win as many votes as possible and consequently a good number of seats in the parliament, which ensures exercising power in the legislative and executive institutions. One of the ways parties choose to address the public is through electoral posters which appear on the social media or in the streets and on the large buildings in cities, towns and villages. Electoral posters are considered a very concise way of delivering the policy, philosophy, ideology and even a hint at the program of the political parties and groups. They contain the name, logo, slogan, sometimes the image of the leader of the party or the politician who runs for the election. The arrangements of these components differ from one party to another and there is also a difference in terms of colours and graphology employed. The present paper analyzes selected electoral posters from the campaigns of different political entities which participated in the 2018 parliamentary elections. The reason behind choosing these elections is that they were held after the country had passed a very critical period represented by ISIS occupation of large areas of the country and the effect that event had on the security, social, political aspects of people's lives. It tries to answer three questions:

1. To what extent do electoral posters represent the period during which the elections were being held?
2. How do political parties and entities use the different components in their electoral posters to present themselves to the public?
3. Are there any underlying patterns according to which the elements of the posters were selected and arranged?

The paper seeks answers to these three questions by carrying out a multimodal discourse analysis of the layout and information conveyance in the posters in question.

## **1. Propaganda**

Political campaign during elections can be considered a type of propaganda. Jacque (1965) defines propaganda as 'the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influence the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends through psychological manipulations'(cited in Aduradola & Ojukwu 2013,107). Political candidates try their best to make themselves appealing to potential voters in a campaign and influence their choices by manipulating colors, fonts, and graphical elements in their electoral posters (Rafaeli, Sagy and Rozin 2008; Janiszewski and Meyvis 2001, cited in Ditsch 2012,6). Smith (2023) remarks that propagandists have certain goals for which they purposefully choose facts, arguments and symbols and introduce them in what they think the most effective ways. For a maximum effect, they may hide or deform facts or even lie, and they may try to concentrate people's attention on their own propaganda, and draw it away from everything else (Smith,2023).

## **2. Political Discourse**

According to van Dijk (1997,20) a political discourse is confined to those instances of discourse produced by politicians in institutional settings, such as governments, parliaments or political parties. Following van Dijk, Wilson (2001,398) also defines political discourse in terms of actors, i.e., politicians, and contexts, i.e., political institutions as well as the achievement of political goals. Similarly, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012,17-18) follow Dijk's

characterization of political discourse as being produced by political actors-individuals (politicians, citizens), political institutions and organizations- and involved in political processes and events as well as occurring in a certain context. This excludes the discourse of politicians or any other 'political actors' outside political contexts. They also adopt van Dijk's (1997) definition of political discourse analysis (PDA) as an essentially critical enterprise. PDA is then understood as the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective. Chilton and Schaffner (2002:9) postulate, as an important principle to be followed in PDA, the close link between language and culture by saying, 'language is closely bound up in practice with culture, and that culture is in turn closely bound up with the practice of politics in a particular society.' Wilson (2015:776) views political discourse *analysis* (italics mine) as language centered which 'will both inform, and be informed by other relevant fields and theories as they intersect with and help explain the social and political concerns of actors, institutions, and polities.'

### **3. Iraqi Political Situation**

The Iraqi political system represents varying trends of multi-religious, ethnic, liberal, racial, etc. backgrounds. This variety reflects the nature and demography of the Iraqi community. The fall of the Iraqi regime after the 2003 American invasion is considered a turning point in the history of Iraq as it involved critical changes from the autocratic system ruled by one person/party to a multi-democratic federal parliamentary system. Although many inadequacies and shortcomings have been observed in the electoral systems adopted from 2004 onward, the ballot box remains a significant political step for the peaceful transfer of the power. Intense competition among the political candidates has led to rapid development in the campaigning propaganda and multi-electoral patterns of presenting their ideas to the targeted groups. Various tools of persuasion were accordingly used by politicians in every electoral constituency—whether for the local or legislative government elections - to win the constituents' votes. Language - in the form of writing or speaking- sounds to be the main tool utilized thoroughly by all candidates to persuade the voters by choosing vocabulary that goes with people's day-to-day issues and needs. Campaign posters are another effective tool for attracting the voters' attention as they can include interactive stimuli, such as particular colours, professionally designed template, text, imagery, etc. The overall setting-up of these elements in each poster - together with the political body's electoral unique list and the candidate's sequence within the list - is to share the candidate's message with a specific group and influence their decision-making progress. Due to the importance of expressing, communicating and receiving the electoral message, this study is conducted to compare and explain the linguistic and semiotic aspects of the Iraqi campaigning propaganda patterns that took place in the 2018 elections.

What makes 2018 parliamentary elections important and their related campaigns, namely the electoral posters, interesting and worthy of study is the fact that a few years before 2018 Iraqis had severe war with ISIS which occupied a number of Iraqi governorates in 2014. This war which ended in the liberation of the occupied territories had consequences on the political scene and greatly determined the map of the coalitions and alliances to run for the 2018 elections. Thus, the large sectarian and ethnic political parties and entities were split before those elections, giving rise to a number of smaller competitive parties within the same sect and ethnicity. For example, a new entity, *Al-Nasr Coalition*, was formed by politicians who had originally been members in *Dawlat Al-Qānūn Coalition* but they left it in favour of having their own entity. Another new entity, *Al-Fath Alliance*, included entities and politicians who had originally been members of a large entity representing Shiite sect. *Al-Sadr Movement* had an alliance called *Saairun* with communist politicians and civil entities and individuals who were extremely different in ideology and background. As for Sunni politicians, they also left some old entities and formed new ones, e.g., *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance* was formed anew by

politicians who had originally been members in *Al-Wataniyah Coalition*. Another reason for the importance of 2018 elections is the retreat of the Kurdish role in the political map after the failure of Kurdistan independence referendum which the Central Government strongly opposed. That failure caused Kurdistan leadership to lose control of some disputable territories and made some gap between the two major parties in Kurdistan region, *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan* and *Democratic Party of Kurdistan*. Moreover, most Iraqi people had been already fed up with very high corruption rates which were reflected in the noticeable deterioration of basic services and infrastructures.

## 4. Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is an approach in which language (spoken or written) is only one means alongside others available for representation and conveying meaning (Kress 2012,37). The other means include images, layout, typography, movement, ...etc. (Van Leeuwen 2005,62). All these diverse visual aspects are referred to as modes of information presentation (Bateman 2008, 2). Combining these modes within a single artifact produces an object of study called the multimodal document. In such documents, ‘a variety of visually-based modes are deployed simultaneously in order to fulfill an orchestrated collection of interwoven communicative goals’ (Bateman 2008, 2). MDA has examined print genres and digital ones such as web pages, film and television programs. It considers the design of multimodal texts and the contribution of semiotic tools such as colour, framing, focus and positioning of elements to the meaning making in these texts (Paltridge 2012,170). Multimodal discourse analysts see discourse as comprising multiple modes which often work collectively. In a face-to-face conversation, for example, people do not use only spoken language for communication. They also communicate through their gestures, gaze, facial expressions, posture, dress, how close or far away they stand or sit from each other, and many other things. Similarly, ‘written texts’ rarely consist only of words, especially nowadays. They often include pictures, charts or graphs. Even the font that is used and the way paragraphs are arranged on a page or screen can convey meaning (Jones 2012,36). What we mean by mode in the context of MDA is a system for making meaning. Hence, we can speak, for example, of the modes of speech, writing, gesture, color, dress, and so on. Any system of signs that are used in a consistent and systematic way to make meaning can be considered a mode (Jones 2012,36).

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1 Data Collection

The number of political parties and entities running for the elections were 87, 23 coalitions, 45 parties and 19 individual politicians. The data to be analyzed in the paper include 17 electoral posters used by Iraqi political parties, coalition and alliances in their campaign for the general parliamentary elections in May 2018. The posters are collected from the Facebook pages of those political entities and their members. They are chosen in such a way as to represent various political, social and regional backgrounds. Most of the chosen 17 posters represent classical political entities that had been dominating the scene since the first elections in January 2005. These entities have regional, social, ethnic and sectarian backgrounds and they try to hide these backgrounds under national names and slogans. The rest of the posters represent politicians and small political entities that choose to challenge the dominance and popularity of the so-called classical entities. There are also the Minority Parties, mostly Christian, which hope to find a foothold in the political life with their very small number of supporters. Thus, the



choice of the posters to be analyzed is based on socio-political grounds as the represented parties and entities have different political orientations and social backgrounds.

## **5.2 Framework of Analysis**

Drawing on Bateman (2008), the posters are analyzed in terms of the following features: *content structure* which relates to the content-related structure of the information to be communicated; *rhetorical structure* which is the rhetorical relationships between content elements: i.e., how the content is ‘argued’, divided into main material and supporting material, and structured rhetorically; *linguistic structure* which covers the linguistic details of any verbal elements that are used to realize the layout elements of the page/document; and *layout structure* which represents the nature, appearance and position of communicative elements on the page. The analysis also cites some sources such as Hunderson and Cote (1998), Mainah (2018), Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013), Abū Al-S’ūd (2015), Itten (1970 & 1973) and Al-Ṭā’ī (2020) in discussing the significance of colours, logos, slogans and graphology.

## **5.3 Analysis of the Posters**

### **5.3.1 Al-Nasr (Victory) Coalition**

This coalition is led by the 2014-2018 prime minister, *Haider Al-Ebadi*. It contains the logo, slogan, the image of the leader and the number of the coalition in the elections. The name of the coalition *Al-Nasr* and the logo are placed on the right top corner of the poster. Just below, the sentence *Iraq yataqadam* (Iraq advances) is written in large white font to stress the new stage of Iraq after defeating ISIS, which is the progress in all fields of life. The background is blue with different shades. Blue signifies faith and power (Itten1973,96) and so its use in the poster may indicate that there is faith in the power of the coalition to make Iraq advance. In terms of rhetorical structure, the name of the coalition is the main material. The name *Al-Nasr* (meaning victory in English) alludes to the victory over ISIS which Iraq achieved during the term of Prime Minister *Haider al-Ebadi* who was also Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The supporting material is the logo, the image and the slogan as well as the number of the coalition.

Figure (1) Al-Nasr (Victory) Coalition<sup>27</sup>

The logo is a big Arabic letter (ن) (equivalent to English (N)) with the Iraq map as its dot. This letter is similar to a ship holding Iraq, represented by the flag, and saving it from the dangers it has experienced. The linguistic structure of the poster consists of two phrases, a noun phrase naming the coalition as *Al-Nasr Coalition* where the second word *Al-Nasr* is made more prominent and a verbal phrase, *Iraq Yataqadam*, beginning with a noun and following it with a verb.

### 5.3.2 Al-Wataniyah (Patriotism) Coalition

This coalition includes parties and politicians from different Iraqi sects and ethnicities and hence the name *Al-Wataniyah* (Patriotism). The logo, name, slogan and coalition and candidate numbers are placed on the left-hand side of the poster. The image of the leader is placed on the right-hand side of the poster. The logo is formed of Iraq flag (homeland) which takes the shape of crescent surrounding a palm tree (a national wealth) and the name of the coalition. As for the background, it is light blue with silhouettes of some landmarks representing different parts of the country which, by virtue of appearing in the background, seem to support the coalition. The name, leader, slogan and number of the coalition, are all written in prominent font as they represent the most important elements in the poster and are intended to attract the viewer's attention.

<sup>27</sup> Please note that all the images we use in the article were collected from Facebook pages and Google search engine where they were uploaded for the purpose of campaigning for the elections and they are still there available for public use. Second, we have reviewed the factors for fair use of copyrighted material which are set forward by some academic institutions, as illustrated in the links below, and have found our use of the images complies with the four factors which are purpose, nature, amount and effect on the market. Our purpose is non-profitable research, the nature of the images are factual and not creative. As for the amount we use only one copy of each image and our use has not in any way affected the marketing of the images as they are not for sale. Cf. Fair Use (psu.edu) <https://copyright.columbia.edu/content/dam/copyright/Precedent%20Docs/fairusechecklist.pdf>

Figure (2) Al-Wataniyah (Patriotism) Coalition



The information in the poster falls into two parts, the image and name of the leader on the right, the logo, slogan and coalition number on the left. Regarding the rhetorical structure, the name of the coalition, *Al-Wataniyah* (Patriotism), is the main material which is supported by the other information. As for the linguistic structure, there are five linguistic structures in the poster: the name of the coalition which is written twice, once alone and another one with the word *coalition*; a noun phrase *dawlah qawiyha* which translates *a strong state* and suggests the aim of the coalition to create a strong state; the word which translates *sequence*; and finally, the name of the coalition leader headed by the word *doctor* which indicates his educational background. The colour light blue implies spreading power and faith (Itten,1973:96). Orange in the *strong state* symbolizes active energy (Itten1973,97) while white in the name of the coalition and the leader suggests comfort, serenity and acceptance.

### 5.3.3 Dawlat Al-Qānūn (Law State ) Coalition

This coalition consists of politicians and parties from various regions and backgrounds throughout the country. The image of the leader occupies the centre of the poster. The logo and the name of the coalition occupy the left –hand side of the poster, The coalition name, number and slogan are written in red font on green background to attain the focus of the viewer. The most salient are the Iraqi flag and the candidate sequence number. The slogan translates as *together for a strong Iraq and welfare* which is what the coalition seems to promise the people of. The background is divided into two parts, the upper part is the clear sky which implies the higher status of the coalition leader. The lower part is the Iraqi flag which appears to hug the number 1, the sequence of the leader in the coalition and indicates that the destiny of the country is linked to this man. The colour of the bottom of the poster is a mixture of green and yellowish green which symbolizes hope and joy (Itten1973,97). As for the rhetorical structure, the main material is the name of the coalition and the supporting material consists of the other information, i.e., logo, image and the coalition number. In terms of linguistic structure, there are two noun phrases which represent the name of the coalition and a sentence which introduces the slogan. The name *Dawlat Al-Qānūn* suggests that the coalition aims to establish a state in which only law prevails.

Figure (3) Dawlat Al-Qānūn



The logo consists of scales which stand for law and eco the name which appears between the scales and in a semi-circle formed of two curved ears. Under the scales, the name of the coalition is also written but in a larger red font. As for the slogan *ma'an* which means *together* is here intended for corporation, openness and with the supporters to achieve the meaning of the slogan in *strong Iraq and welfare*.

### 5.3.4 Saairun ( Marchers ) Alliance

This alliance consists of two major political entities, *Al-Sadr Movement* and the *Iraqi Communist Party* as well as some individual politicians. The name is written in Arabic and transliterated in English. The Arabic word *Saairun* means *marchers* with an aim which is *Islāh* meaning *reformation*. Both the alliance's name and the logo along with the slogan are placed in the middle of the poster a short way from the top. The word *reformation* appears on the left-hand side of the poster. The name and the slogan are written in large black font to catch the viewer's attention. The separation between the words *marchers* and *reformation* implies the difficult path the alliance have to go through to achieve their aim, which is also indicated by the bump-like lines under the liberation statue. The logo is a pointed arch with the word *reformation* inside and the liberation statue just below. The use of the statue is for the significance it has as a representative of the liberation square where the supporters of *Al-Sadr Movement* would always demonstrate asking for reforms. Also, there is a focus on a certain part of the statue which appears in the background as silhouettes many times. It illustrates the wish and determination to break the ties to achieve reformation, represented by a political prisoner breaking the bars.

Figure(4) Saairun (Marchers ) Alliance



The colour of the background is greenish blue which combines hope and faith (Itten1973,96) in change. As for the rhetorical structure, the name and the number of the Alliance is the main material and the logo is the supporting material. In terms of linguistic structure, the name of the alliance is written in Arabic and English in the form of a noun phrase which is completed by the prepositional phrase *for reformation* which appears in the logo. The whole sentence translates as *marchers for reformation*.

### 5.3.5 Al-Fath (Conquest) Alliance

*Al-Fath Alliance* is a group of parties with military wings, most of which fought ISIS under the name of *Popular Mobilization*. They decided to run for 2018 parliamentary elections hoping to make use of their gained popularity and reputation among Iraqis especially the Shiite Community. The slogan, the name of the coalition and the logo are placed in the centre of the poster. The image of *Hadī Al-‘Āmirī*, Badr Organization Chief, is on the right-hand side of the poster, The word *Iraq* in the slogan *inahū zaman Al-Iraq* (translated as It is the time of Iraq) is made prominent by being written in a large orange font. The background is mostly dark green with a small part in dark yellow. The dark green stands for hope of a fruitful future (Itten1973,96). Yellow implies knowledge (Itten1973,93) and that is why it makes the background of the leader’s image. The logo consists of a lion image and the name of the Alliance under it, which suggests strength. As for the rhetorical structure, the main material appears to be the slogan with the leader image, the name and the logo are the supporting material. In terms of the linguistic structure, the sentence *inahū zaman Al-Iraq* begins with a phrase *inahū* known in Arabic as a magnifier and prepares the reader for something very important which is the presence of Iraq in the international community as a strong country.

Figure (5) Al-Fath (Conquest) Alliance



There is also a noun phrase *Al-Fath Alliance* translated as *Conquest Alliance* and alludes to the role of the military wings in the victory over ISIS. The name has religious connotations due to its use in Holy Quran “Verily, We have given you (O Muhammad) a manifest conquest”, which the alliance use for its strong effect on people.

### 5.3.6 National Al-Hikmah (Wisdom) Movement

The movement was formed in 2017 almost a year before the 2018 elections. It came out as a result of the split in *the Supreme Islamic Council* leadership, with the Head *Ammar Al-Hakim* leaving the party in favour of a new party which he calls *National Al-Hikmah Movement*.

Figure (6) National Al-Hikmah (Wisdom) Movement



All the components of the poster are placed in the centre. However, the slogan is the most salient being written in large yellow bold font. The movement number is also salient. The Iraqi flag appears in the slogan as part of a letter (as an asterisk). The logo is the name of the movement written in a special way just above the complete name. As for the rhetorical structure, the main material is the name of the movement and the slogan, the logo and the number are the supporting material. In terms of linguistic structure, the slogan is a sentence in Iraqi vernacular *ihnā qadha* meaning *We are up to it* (meaning We are up to the task of leading the country) for the effect it may have on the receiver. The choice of yellow implies knowledge and reason (Itten1973,93). The other linguistic element is the name of the movement translated

in English as *National Wisdom Movement*. The choice of *Al-Hikmah* is for the connotations it has, e.g., *reverence, calmness, patience* and for its relatedness to the family name of the leader. The choice of the colour dark blue in the background suits well the name as it implies faith (Itten 1973, 96) and calmness (Ştefănescu-Goangă 1912 cited in Kress and Van Leeuwen 2002,353-354).

### 5.3.7 Irādah Movement

The name of the movement *Irādah* occupies the top of the poster and is the most salient as it is written in a distinctive shape. The image of the leader, positioned in the left-hand side of the poster, also has salience for its big size and the green dress she wears, which, as it was already mentioned, suggests hope. The choice of the colour violet for the background is purposeful because it implies piety and dedication (Itten1973,97). As for the rhetorical structure, the name of the movement, which can also serve as a logo, along with the slogan appear to be the main material with the other components including the image, the name and the number as the supporting material. In terms of linguistic structure, the poster has one sentence, a phrase which translates *list number*, and words such *Irādah, sequence* and the name of the leader, *Dr Hanan Al-Fatlawi*. *Irādah* means *free will* and also implies determination to act.

Figure (7) Irādah Movement



Through the sentence which translates *Because you are with me, we will succeed* the leader tells the voters you are the source of my strength and determination and hence the source of my free will.

### 5.3.8 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

The poster contains the logo of the party which is a big white circle on which the name of the party, the year of establishment as well as some principles of the party are written. Inside this big circle there is a small green circle with a hand holding a rose whose leaves are two ears, one is green and the other yellow. In addition to the logo there are the name and the number of the union.

Figure (8) Patriotic Union of Kurdistan



The colour of the background is green with a strip coming from top to bottom with green, yellow and white colours. The green colour in the background seems to echo the background of the logo. Green gives hope and fruitfulness as it was mentioned above. The union number and name are made prominent by being written in large font and centred in the poster because these what count when it comes to the choice of the voters. The logo occupies the left-hand side of the poster and it contains as much information about the party as possible. Moreover, the rose in the logo is also prominent as it is a symbol of love. As for the rhetorical structure, the main material is the name and number of the union with the other elements of the poster representing the supporting material. The linguistic structure of the poster is represented by the sentence which contains the name of the union along with the elections they run for *The List of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan for Parliamentary Elections*. Other instances of language structures can be identified in the logo where the name of the party is written in English and Kurdish along with some principles of the party, e.g., *Peace, Democracy, Human rights, self Determination* which are also written in these languages.

### 5.3.9 Democratic Party of Kurdistan

The poster consists of the logo and number of the party. The logo takes the form of a big circle having a small one inside. The circumference of the big circle is red. The red colour stands for the blood of the martyrs of Kurdistan and the continuous struggle of Kurds for freedom and dignity. Between the two circles, the name of the party is written in Kurdish and in Latin Kurdish. The circumference of the small circle consists of a green arch and two ears. Green symbolizes the beauty of nature in the Province of Kurdistan in addition to its generic meanings of hope and fruitfulness already mentioned. The two ears stand for agriculture and abundance of the land. Inside the small circle there is a sun with 46 rays indicating the year of establishment. The sun stands for life and energy for people.

Figure (9) Democratic Party of Kurdistan





In the heart of the sun sits an eagle with a raised head. The eagle symbolizes freedom, nobility, honour, patience and endurance. Below the eagle on a strip, the initial letters of the name of the party are written. Below the strip is the year of establishment. The background is white which symbolizes purity, peace, freedom and cooperation. Generally, the colours of the logo are the colours of Kurdistan flag. There is no particular slogan or logo for the election because the party did not ally with any other party and so no need for another logo. The absence of slogan may be ascribed to the fact that the party is well known for its policy and principles among its supporters.

### 5.3.10 Other Kurdish Lists

In addition to the two major parties in the Kurdistan region, two other parties ran for the 2018 election in an attempt to compete for the voters' choices. These are *Al-Taghūr* (Change) (fig. 10) and *Al-Jīl Al-Jadīd* (*New Generation*) Movement (fig.11). Both were trying to weaken the predominance of the two major parties over the Kurdistan Province. This can be inferred from their names which are suggestive of an intention to change the political situation and replace the old parties. Their logos are similar in that both use light as a symbol of hope, *Al-Taghūr* uses a candle and *Al-Jīl Al-Jadīd* Movement uses a lamp. Orange in the posters below indicates active energy (Itten1973,97) as well as pride and self-respect (Itten1970,89).

Figure (10) Al-Taghūr (Change)



Figure (11) Al-Jīl Al-Jadīd (New Generation) Movement



### 5.3.11 Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī (Iraqi Decision) Alliance

This alliance is mostly Sunni. The poster contains the name, logo, alliance number, candidate, sequence number, name and image of the leader and a slogan. The background is blue. The logo is an eagle head with the colours of the Iraqi flag. The eagle is a symbol of honour, glory, pride and strength used to convey the message that the alliance is strong enough to protect Iraqi decision. Red is used for alliance and leader sequence numbers to attract attention through salience. The name of the alliance is at the top of the poster and this gives it prominence. The logo is also at the top and accordingly has prominence. Moreover, the image of the leader is on the left-hand side of the poster. The name is written in large white font on a blue background and this makes it prominent. The list number and the candidate sequence number are written in large red font. The name of the candidate is written in large white font on a black background. The slogan translates *Your decision is a change*. It implies that the change is the responsibility of the voters. In terms of rhetorical structure, the main material is the name of the coalition and all the other pieces of information are the supporting material.

Figure (12) Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance



As for the linguistic structure, the choice of the name *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance* hints at the influence of the neighbouring countries on the Iraqi decision through some parties and so the coalition undertakes the responsibility to make it purely Iraqi. Other linguistic elements include alliance number, sequence number, and the slogan. The positioning of the flag under the slogan is appropriate in terms of harmony with its meaning and with the colours with which the name

of the alliance and the slogan are written, which are the flag colours. This is to suggest that the state prestige is made prominent through the flag and its colours such as white with which the name of the alliance and the slogan are written; black with which the words *list* and *sequence* are written as well as forming the background for the leader's name; and red which backgrounds the boxes for the alliance and leader sequence numbers.

### 5.3.12 Civilized Lists

Some alliances and parties chose to run for the elections under the name of civilization. Their posters are distinguished for their logos and slogans as well as for the colours used in the background and in the images. This can be clearly seen in the figures (13) and (14) below. Figure (13) represents the poster of *Tamadun (Civilized) Alliance* which contains the logo and the alliance number. The background is white and the logo consists of an open book with a dove's head and an Iraqi flag as the wings of the dove. This implies that Iraq should be a peaceful and an educated country to develop and advance. The blue colour is used together with white especially in writing. The components of the poster are all placed in the centre and thus appear to be prominent. The most prominent is the Iraqi flag with its prominent colours especially red and black and the intention here is to make the national identity the most important one.

Figure (13) Tamadun (Civilized) Alliance



Another civil list is of *Al-Hizb Al-Madanī (the civilized party)*. The background is burgundy. What characterizes the poster is the logo *Madanī (civilized)* which abbreviates the name and the philosophy of the party. It occupies a third of the poster space written in white in the middle of burgundy background which covers the whole poster as a magnifying colour with the aim of attracting the attention of the viewer. This abbreviation is intentional and significant revealing the philosophy and the purpose of the party behind this design which is to make prominent the image of the civilized entities as the best alternative in the next stage after the failure of the political Islam, they believe, in administering the state. The use of the white colour in the slogan implies integrity and peace on the part of the members of the party which they claim to have. Linguistically, the word *madanī* has a high semantic energy meaning *I'm civilized* and it is elliptical to create exaggeration and absoluteness. Regarding the slogan which translates *With our hands we build a state*, it is a metonymy of ability and strength in administration. The use of plural form (hands) here is an expression of solidarity, the collective spirit and independence in administration.

Figure (14) Al-Hizb Al-Madani (The Civilized (civil) Party)



### 5.3.13 Minority Parties' Posters

What is common in the posters representing the Christian parties and candidates is the inclusion of *the two rivers* in their names in a clear reference to the civilization of water as well as to the Christians being the original inhabitants of the land.

Figure (15) National Baith Nahrain Union



Figure (16) Al-Rāfidain List



The colours used in these posters are white, light blue, dark blue and violet which give an indication of purity, peace, calmness, piety. In one of the posters (fig. 17), the candidate prefixes his name with the word *captain* because he used to be a famous international footballer in an attempt to address the feelings of the people who like football very much and remember his presence and performance in their national team.

Figure (17) 'Abnā' al-Nahrain (the sons of the two rivers) List



## 6. Results and Discussion

### 6.1 Content Structure

All selected posters in the study seem to have the same content structure which is represented by the name of the party or political entity, the slogan, the logo. and in a few posters, an image of the party or entity leader. The components are arranged differently on the posters; if there is an image of the leader, it occupies one side while the other components are placed on the opposite side as in *Al-Nasr Alliance*(fig.1), *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance*(fig.12), *Al-Wataniyah Alliance* (fig.2) and *Al-Fath Alliance* (fig. 5) with the first two having the image on the left-hand side and the last two on the right-hand side. On posters without an image of the leader, the components appear to be concentrated in the centre as in *Al-Hikmah Movement* (fig.6), *Tamadun Alliance* (13), *Al-Hizb Al-Madanī* (14) and *Al-Taghūr* (fig.10).

## 6.2 Linguistic and Rhetorical Structure

### 6.2.1 Names

Some parties and political entities use names they have already used in the previous elections, e.g., *Dawlat Al-Qānūn*, *Al-Wataniyah Coalition*, *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan* (fig.8)...etc., others use names especially formed for the 2018 election and this is justified by having coalitions or alliances with other political entities and individual politicians, e.g., *Saairun (Marchers) Alliance*, *Al-Fath (Conquest) Alliance*, *Al-Qarār Al-‘Irāqī Alliance* ...etc. The names chosen have different connotations and are thought to have an effect on the voters. Those such as *Dawlat Al-Qānūn* and *Al-Wataniyah Coalition* are still popular among the Iraqi people due to the charisma of their leaders and their political orientations; others are used to reflect the incidents that occurred between 2014 and 2018 especially the war against ISIS like *Al-Nasr Coalition* and *Al-Fath Alliance*. Some names suggest the determination of certain political entities to compete and even replace others that have not been successful in serving the people such as *AL-Taghūr* and *Al-Jīl Al-Jadīd* in Kurdistan Region and *Irādah Movement*, *Tamadun Alliance* and *Al-Hizb Al-Madanī* in Baghdad. Other names have various connotations like *Saairun for Reformation* which suggests an attempt to fight corruption; *Al-Hikmah Movement* which indicates a need to deal with the things wisely after several years of misfire and current worries of security and civil living deterioration; *Al-Qarār Al-‘Irāqī Alliance* which hints at ensuring the independence of Iraqi decision away from the intervention and dictation of the neighbouring and western countries.

### 6.2.2 Logos and Slogans

According to Hunderson and Cote (1998,14) the word logo ‘can refer to a variety of graphic or typeface elements.’ In the context of this research, it is used to mean the graphic design that a political entity uses to identify itself or convey its ideology. Semiotics views logos ‘as part of the sign system a company uses to communicate itself to the internal and external audiences’ (Zakia & Nadin 1987 cited in Hunderson and Cote 1998,14). For easier comprehension of a logo, three requirements should be met. These include the context in which the logo is used, the purpose of the communication as well as the referential and graphical features (Mainah 2018). Logos in the analyzed posters vary considerably, some are the parties’ original logos, as in the posters of *Democratic Party of Kurdistan*(fig.9), *Al-Hikmah Movement* (fig.6), *Baith Nahrain National Union* (15) ...etc, others are used especially in the election campaign, e.g., the logos of *Al-Nasr* (fig.1), *Al-Fath* (fig.5), *Tamadun Alliance* (fig.13) ...etc. Those used for the elections have connotations such as strength as in *Al-Fath Alliance’s* poster which uses the image of a lion, *Al-Qarār Al-‘Irāqī Alliance’s* which uses the image of an eagle; or victory of the whole country as it is the case in *Al-Nasr Coalition’s* poster where the first letter of Arabic word *Nasr* (meaning victory) is used with the Iraqi flag inside; or liberty as in *Saairun Alliance’s* poster(fig.4) which uses the famous liberty monument in Al-Tahrir Square in Baghdad. There are logos that indicate the philosophy of the political party or entity as that of *Tamadun Alliance* which consists of a book, dove and the Iraqi flag with a white background, which indicate knowledge, peace and patriotism. As for the slogan, ‘it is a simple catchy phrase that encapsulates the aim of the political candidate. It is a key phrase connected to a political party or candidate for a position’ (Aduradola & Ojukwu 2013,107). Importantly, political slogan is aimed to connect voter’s concerns and the current political environment in a succinct and precise form (Aduradola & Ojukwu 2013,107). For effectiveness, the slogan should be simple and straight to the point to appeal to the voters’ demands, wants, or desires. The characteristics of slogan make its repetition easy via the use of alliteration, pun, and rhyme (Gouliamos 2013 cited in Mainah 2018). The slogans in the analyzed posters represent varieties

of ideologies and philosophies that correspond to the country's condition from the fall of Saddam's regime to the time of elections. Two of the oldest entities, i.e., *Al-Wataniyah Coalition* (fig.2) and *Dawlat Al-Qānūn Coalition* (fig.3) use the word *strong* with *Iraq* and *state* respectively to convey their aims to the voters. Two other groups *Al-Nasr* and *Al-Fath* who are known for their vital roles in the war against ISIS use praising sentences of the country in allusion to Iraq's good condition after defeating ISIS and getting rid of its threat, which are equivalent to *Iraq advances* and *It is the time of Iraq* respectively. One of the civilized lists, *Al-Hizb Al-Madanī*, uses a sentence that translates *With our hands, we build a state* with the implication that the state has not been built yet. *Saairun Alliance* have a slogan that is equivalent to *for reformation*, which is a complement of the name *Saairun*, announcing the aim of the Alliance. Another Alliance, *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance*, have a slogan which invokes the voters to change through their decision *Your decision is a change*. One political entity, *Al-Hikmah Movement*, uses a non-standard sentence which translates *We are up to it*. Two political entities choose to address the voters through the slogan, in *Irādah*'s poster we find the slogan *because you are with me, we'll succeed*, in *Dawlat Al-Qānūn Coalition* we find the word *together* and in *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Alliance* we find the slogan *Your decision is a change*.

### 6.2.3 Graphology and Colours

Graphology and colours are also used and manipulated for the sake of influencing the voter's decision. Graphology refers to the type and size as well as the colour of the font. Colours are significant since they spread over all the parts of the posters. They are used in designing the logo, in writing the slogan, the name of the candidate or the party and also in forming the background of the poster or making divisions between its parts. Colours have relevance and significance in politics. White indicates peace, tranquility and rejection of war (Abū Al-S'ūd, 2015). We can observe some political parties and groups use white greatly in their posters such as the *Al-Hizb Al-Madanī* which writes its name in white on the burgundy colour, *Al-Hikmah Movement* which writes its slogan in white, *Al-Taghūr* which has a white candle, '*Abnā*' *Al-Rāfidain* which uses white over a large space of its poster. Other posters which also use white include *Al-Nasr*'s where the slogan is written in white, *Irādah* where the name and the slogan are written in white, and others. The use of white seems to be for the sake of clarity, prominence and brightness ('Umar, 1997,41). Another colour which is common in most of the posters is blue with its different waves and shades. It is found in the posters of *Al-Hikmah Movement*, *Al-Wataniyah Coalition*, *Al-Nasr Coalition*, *Al-Taghūr Party*, due to its meaning of power and faith (Itten1973,96). *Saairun Alliance* use greenish blue, maybe as a symbol for the water of the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates (Al-Tā'ī, 2020). Political entities may also use it in their posters as a symbol of purity because it represents the colour of the sky and the sea. Its connection with the sky and the sea may also make it a symbol of supremacy and depth. Due to the various significances of blue Iraqi political parties and entities take it a symbolic colour of their policies and aims. With regard to graphology, posters use various graphological features with the aim of attracting the attention and highlighting the information to be conveyed to voters. The shape, type and colour of written matter are the tools of manipulation. The majority of the political entities choose to highlight the name such as *Irādah Movement* which uses a somewhat distinctive way of the writing the name, *Saairun Alliance* which uses big black Arabic bold fonts to write the name and the slogan, *Al-Jīl Al-Jadīd* and *Al-Taghūr* also make their names prominent by using big orange bold fonts, and *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī* which writes the name in big white font...etc. Some political entities make the slogans more prominent than any other written information, e.g., *Al-Nasr Coalition* uses a very big white font, *Al-Fath* uses big white and orange fonts, *Al-Hikmah Movement* which uses a big-size yellow font with the Iraqi flag forming part of the first letter of the second word, *Dawlat Al-Qānūn Coalition* which writes

*Ma'an* meaning together which is part of the slogan in a distinctive way, *Al-Hizb Al-Madani* which uses a very big white font in writing the slogan and a lighter and smaller font in writing the name on a burgundy background.

### 6.3 Results of the 2018 Elections

The elections were held on May 12<sup>th</sup> 2018 with a participation percentage of 44.55, and with 87 political parties and entities competing for 329 parliamentary seats. The number of eligible voters were 24.349.357. The winners in terms of parliamentary seats were: *Saairun Alliance* 54 seats, *Al-Fath Alliance* 47, *Al-Nasr Coalition* 42, *Dawlat Al-Qānūn* 26, Democratic Party of Kurdistan 25, *Al-Wataniyah Coalition* 21, *Al-Hikma Movement* 19, *National Union of Kurdistan* 18, *Al-Qarār Al-'Irāqī Coalition* 16, *Al-Hal Group* 14 *Al-Taghaūr Movement* 5. The rest of the seats were won by small parties and local groups 33 seats in addition to 9 seats for Cota (Ontime News,2021).

### Conclusion

In elections, parties and political groups try their best to appear appealing to voters and win as many votes as possible. To achieve this, they use different ways and strategies in their campaigns including interviews, debates and electoral posters. The present paper has examined a number of electoral posters from the Iraqi parliamentary elections in May 2018. These electoral posters were part of the campaigns of parties and coalitions which differed in their sizes, backgrounds and ideologies. The posters appeared in the streets and on the social media. They were designed in such a way as to attract people's attention and influence their decisions in the elections. Each poster represents a political entity which presents itself to the public through the use of a name, a logo, a slogan as well as certain visual features such as colours and fonts. Some of the names were chosen for the first time and reflected some recent events which the country had witnessed *Al-Nasr*, *Al-Fath*, *Al-Hikma*, *Saairun*, which answers the first question about the extent to which the posters represent the period during which the elections were being held. Others names had already been used in the previous elections and used again for the strong connotations they had, e.g., *Dawlat Al-Qānūn Coalition*, *Al-Wataniyah*. Some posters carry the names of parties *Kurdistan Patriotic Party*, *Kurdistan Democratic Party*. There are posters which use names representing a tendency in politics different from those related to sects and ethnicities e.g., *Tamadun Alliance* and *Al-Hizb Al-Madani*. As for logos and slogans there is a great variety. The logos mostly echo the names of the political entity and the slogans are all centred on the important ideas like *strong state*, *decent living*, *building* 'and so on. Graphology, colours and layout are also carefully considered as they have some visual effect on the viewer. Bright and light colours are used but for different purposes. Different types of fonts are used, each with a certain aim. Based on the analysis, the most common components political entities use to present themselves to potential voters are the names, slogans and logos and to a lesser extent images and graphology. This answers the second question of the paper about which modes are the most expressive of the political entities' background, ideology and programs. The components of the posters are arranged in a special way to achieve the required effect on the viewer. The analysis of the posters has shown that there are underlying patterns according to which the elements of the posters are selected and arranged and this provides the answer to the third question raised in the paper.



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## **The Manifestation of Ideology in the Metaphors used by Kenyan Politician Raila Odinga**

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### **Abstract**

Ideologies are shared via language. Language on the other hand, forms the raw material for dispensing ideology since it is invested by ideology, (Fairclough, 1995:73). According to Wodak (2021), the manifestation of ideology in language is evident in metaphors as well as other forms of linguistic features like lexical meanings, presuppositions, implicatures and coherence. Ideological discourses could be political, religious, economic or social. CMT with reference to Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), advanced by Kovecses (2002, 2009, 2010, 2020) have been used for analysis. This paper analyses metaphors that depict the ideology of the popular Kenyan Politician Raila Odinga. His political discourse especially during general elections is characterized by metaphoric language. The key argument in this paper is that, metaphors could manifest ideologies in discourse. Findings indicate that Raila Odinga uses varied metaphors presented in four ideological concepts namely: the socio-democratic ideology; the ideology of conflicts; the savior ideology and the ideology of fear. The socio-democratic ideology projects Raila's organization of all leaders from various political parties under one coalition that front him as the presidential candidate. The philosophy of solidarity is that all political parties and their leaders have an equal chance to prove themselves as suited for the top seat. Also, Raila projects Kenya in a socio-economic crises and he presents himself as the savior. He therefore calls himself the savior via the biblical Joshua's metaphor. The one who successfully led the children of Israel to the land flowing with milk and honey. He also spells fear to his opponents once elected in office and he projects the ideology of fear via weather pattern metaphor. He talks of dark clouds, heavy rains and a cyclone that would spell doom for opponents. This paper is a single case study, which is extracting practical data in solving human made phenomena. It is acceptable in the social science and science disciplines. In depth verbatim data has been analyzed both at the surface and deep level to explain how metaphors manifest ideology in the contemporary Kenyan political context, (Zainal 2007; Schoch 2020).

143

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### **Keywords**

Election, Solidarity, Coalition, Conflict, Fear

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## Introduction

Raila Odinga is perceived as the most popular politician in Kenya and has been in opposition from the 1980s to date. He recently attempted to vie for the presidency but he lost the bid to Dr. William Samoe Ruto who is now the current president. He is known as the father of opposition, christened as Baba, and also thought to be a replica of the biblical Joshua who led the Children of Israel to the Promised Land successfully.

Raila's ideology is quite abstract and only concretized via metaphors. His discourse centers on socio-political issues like democracy, social injustices, political competitors, the savior and his ability to perform better as a president compared to opponents.

Raila Odinga, uses metaphors to optimize coherence for his audience. According to Fairclough (1995:74), coherence is a major element in construction and reconstitution of ideology in discourse. He uses metaphors for ideological positioning with the ordinary citizens to come out as the dominant representative capable of offering practical solutions to the socio-economic problems citizens face. This enables him to narrow down the emotional distance between himself and the audience by deploying metaphors that enable him to access power and control through ideological concepts.

Kress (1979:15) postulates that the ideological position of an individual determines how issues are portrayed and presented. What is portrayed every day is deployed discourse that eventually influences the social reality. Van Dijk, (1998) asserts that social actors always incorporate and implement ideologies in their discourse.

This paper discusses Raila Odinga's use of metaphors in projecting his ideology in four categories: Section 3.1 discusses the socio-democratic ideology as seen in the concepts of solidarity of leaders and the philosophy of solidarity. Section 3.2 discusses the ideology of conflicts as manifested in the concepts election is a battle and the ideology of the enemy (the enemy has repulsive traits, political critics are dogs and opponents are murderers). In section 3.3 the paper discusses the savior metaphor projected in the biblical Joshua metaphor, and lastly the ideology of fear.

### 1. Theoretical Orientation

This paper analyses metaphor to deduce the manifestation of ideology in Raila Odinga's discourse. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson has been used for analysis with extension of Kovecses (2002, 2010) to include the cognitive consideration of the metaphor analysis

According to Kovecses (2002, 2010, 2020), CMT encompasses both the social and cognitive aspect of metaphoric analysis. There three tenets of CMT: The conceptual domain, the source domain and the target domain, argues that concrete concepts are the same as abstract ones and partially figurative enhanced by ontological content and they can be used as used as source domains in conceptual metaphors; there is a metonymic level of the metaphorization process that forms primary metaphors which are not necessarily direct, or primary; it is preceded by a metonymic stage; there are different conceptual structures us as domains, frames, image schemas, or mental spaces. Kovecses uses schematic conceptual structure; mental spaces are strong in local discourse settings, context is key in metaphorical analysis. The conceptual and the contextual aspects of metaphor mutually complement each other; and we need offline structures that are made up of image schemas, domains and frames and online conceptual structures that consist of mental spaces.

## **1.1 The Conceptual Domain of Metaphors**

According to CMT, a metaphor has two domains namely: the concrete or familiar or reference used to refer to the target experience known as the Source Domain (SD) and the experience or complex or abstract aspect that is being referred to as the Target Domain (TD), (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003) and Steen (2011). The two domains constitute what is referred to as the Conceptual Domain (CD). The metaphors are comprehended through a process of cross-mapping where the experience of the Source Domain is cross-mapped to the Target Domain. The comprehension between the source items and the target items is processed through the cross-mappings which are unidirectional. Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphor is viewed as a tool for structuring and restructuring reality (Ortony 1979/1993) which is more of ornamental or aesthetic. Metaphor also carries conceptual content. Recent studies by Kovecses, Charteris Black, have metamorphosed CMT to what is referred to as the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory, to encompass other aspects of analysis as domains within a Conceptual Domain of the metaphor as captured above. Understanding one domain experience abstract seen in terms of another concrete domain. Kovecses emphasizes that the crossmapping process of the two is cognitive. There is a systematic correspondence between the source domain (abstract) information and the target domain (concrete) information. The crossmapping is unidirectional, the metaphors occur in language and thought because we use them to speak certain aspects of life. Burgers et al (2016), states that metaphor and other figurative features shape public discourse, because metaphor has both the linguistic and conceptual content included in cognition. They are framed in terms of reasoning.

## **1.2 The Source Domain (SD), the Target Domain (TD) and Cross mapping**

In this case, the experience from the SD is cross mapped onto the TD, making the abstract TD more pronounced or noticeable (Kovecses 2002) in Xu (2010:3). The cross-mapping begins from the SD to the TD and not any other way. The mapping can be complete or partial. It is complete if the entire SD is cross mapped to the TD and partial if only part of the SD is cross mapped onto the TD. The similarity between the SD and the TD is what facilitates the mapping in terms of relation, properties and knowledge. Mapping also occurs only within the similar conceptual structures. This entails a cognitive process that involves understanding a particular domain of a metaphor and how it results into a conceptual pattern as the product (Kovecses, 2010). The cross mapping between the two domains is quite systematic, and metaphors are primarily considered as cognitive (found in our thoughts) sharing common ground in terms of meaning. I.e. the SD and the TD share resemblance, and the abstractness of the TD is based on the redundant experience of the social reality. Cognitively, the speaker and the audience need to have a mutual understanding in a given cultural domain shared by the two. Any cultural disparity between the two is a blockage towards comprehension of the metaphor.

## **2. Manifestation of Raila Odinga's Ideology in Metaphors**

Raila's use of metaphors is conceptualized in terms of: the Socio-Democratic Ideology; the Ideology of Conflicts, the Savior Ideology and the ideology of fear.

### **2.1 The Socio-Democratic Ideology**

Kastning (2013) Pateman (1970) states that socio-democratic ideology can be seen through solidarity as a quality of public participation and decision making. Albert & Hahnel (1981) emphasize on collective decision making for social groups in the Argentinian reformations in

2001 and 2002. The rich and the poor have an opportunity to state their view over socio-political issues and people either criticizing or challenging regimes or its power on their relevance or legitimacy (Barkins and Lemus, 2014).

Raila’s discourse, manifests solidarity as a collective way of achieving change and reforms through the electoral process. It is a “We”, “Us” and “Our” collective reference to his audience in a bid to launch an identity of togetherness in resolving or criticizing issues bedeviling the nation. Opponents are regarded as “Others” or “Them”. Boundaries are set on how far opponents can be tolerated in the political circle, and opponents are also alienated from his social group. Illustrated here are two conceptual metaphors 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

## 2.1.1 Solidarity of Leaders

One of the pillars of his socio-democratic ideology is that Raila brings together the leaders of different parties to run for a common goal, which is the presidency under him. This is captured in the metaphor of ‘the beautiful girl’.

Kenya is portrayed as an attractive girl that is being wooed by several suitors. In the election period of 2017, Raila’s political party was a coalition of several parties consisting of Raila Odinga, and Co-principals Kalonzo Musyoka, Moses Wetangula and Musalia Mudavadi. All of them had the interests of being the presidential flag bearers of the coalition party. Raila uses a metaphor to emphasize the attractiveness of presidential seat and need to allow the citizens to choose their preferred candidate for the position.

(1) *Kama kuna msichana mrembo hapa uwanjani si kila mwanaume ata mtamani? Ati kila mwanaume anasema nataka hii. Weta anasema anataka. Musalia amesema anataka. Kalonzo nasema nataka. Hiyo ni makosa? Si mwishoe mtu mmoja ndio atapata sio? Sivyo? Mimi natamani vilevile, nataka kuakikisha nyinyi tutaelewana.*

**When there is a beautiful girl in the arena, every man will admire here? Every man will say I want her. Weta says he wants. Musalia says he wants. Kalonzo says he wants. Is that a problem? In the end only want person will get. What do you think? I also admire her too and I want to assure you we shall reach an agreement.**

NASA Rally, Mathare Nairobi, 2017

The conceptual domain that the presidency is a beautiful girl is analyzed as a beautiful girls is the Source Domain and the presidency the target domain. The electoral process, can only allow one person to be the candidate that shall be the flag bearer for the presidential seat. Raila offers an equal ground of the co-principals in his party to settle on one presidential candidate and that shall be the man suitable to marry the girl. The Source Domain indicates that the seat of power is attractive, it has responsibilities, and it is likened to a beautiful girl who has reached the age of marriage. Therefore the suitable candidate shall marry/get *the presidency* on a free and fair electoral process. The conceptual domain has been illustrated in the table 1 below:

Table 1.

SD: A beautiful girl	TD: Presidency
Attractive	Competitive
Only one man can marry her	Monopolized
Laws and cultural practices of marriage must be fulfilled	Has a constitution
Should be wooed	Can be negotiated via campaigns

The characteristics of a beautiful girl (SD) are cross mapped to the characteristic of the presidency (TD), who has reached the age of marriage. In this case the ground is open for free and fair elections and anyone can contest for the public office, however the people shall decide.

## 2.1.2 Philosophy of Solidary and Fairness Play

Raila Odinga's use of the football depicts the socio-democratic ideology that is socialistic. One of the characteristic of a socialistic attitude is that everybody has an equal and fair chance among fierce competition. He is using a football match to illustrate that his social group is in a fair competition against opponents on the level of the political field. The football game is played with fair rules guarded by referees. The fierce competition between opponents determines the winner of the elections. In the football match there are winners and losers. In this case the TD is *the elections* and the SD is *the football match*. Below is the football metaphor:

(2) Raila: *Naona referee anaangalia saa. Firimbi imepigwa na mpira imeanza. Uhuru Kenyatta na mpira, anapatia Ruto*

**I can see the referee looking at his watch. The whistle has been blown and the match has begun. Uhuru Kenyatta passes the ball to Ruto.**

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: Ruto anapatia Duale*

**Ruto gives Duale**

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: Dwale na mpira, amekatia bwana, bwana, bwana Kazungu Kambi*

**Duale with the ball, he has passed it to Mr... Mr... Mr..... Kazungu Kambi**

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: Ooh anateleza anaanguka chini*

**Ohh he as tripped and fallen down**

*(Laughter)*

*Raila: Bwana Kazungu Kambi inaonekana alikimbia kwa kasi sana akaanguka inaonekana ameteguka.*

**Mr. Kazungu Kambi I think ran too fast and fell down and it like he has sprained**

*(Laughter)*

*Raila: Naona kama amebebwa anatolewa kwa kiwanja apate huduma ya kwanza.*

**I can see he has been carried out of the field to get first aid**

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: Haiya mpira inaendelea, mpira inarudi pande hii ingine.*

**The ball continues, the ball is returned this other side.**

*Wanampa Dwale tena, Dwale anarudi na mpira, wana Jubilee wana mpira.*

**They give Duale again, Duale with the ball, the people guys with the ball.**

*Amerudi pande ile ingine anampa Shaban.*

**He has gone the other side and given Shaban.**

*Shaban na mpira anapatia Mong'aru, Mong'aru na mpira anapatia Uhuru Kenyatta. Uhuru na mpira, anapeana shot! Aaaah lakini goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa...*

**Shaban with the ball, she gives Mong'aru, Mong'aru with the ball he give Uhuru Kenyatta, Uhuru with the ball, he gives out shoot! Aaaah but he goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa.....**

*(Crowd laughs and applauds)*

*Raila: anadaka mpira hiyo bila wasi wasi yoyote.*

**She catches the ball without any problem**

*Anaweka mpira pale chini, anapiga mpira kwenda mbele kwa Mboko, Mboko na mpira, anapatia Kamoti, Kamoti na mpira, amechenga Kazungu, amechenga Mustafa Idi, amepatia Mazayo, Mazayo na mpira, mazayo na Mpira, anapatia Kingi.*

**She put the ball down, she kicks th ball forward to Mboko, Mboko with the ball, she give Kamoti, Kamoti with the ball, she ducks Kazung, she ducks Mustafa Idi, she gives Mazayo. Mazayou with the ball. Mazayo gives Kingi.**

*Amason Kingi na mpira , amechenga William Ruto, amechenga tena , amekatioa mpira kwa Hassan Joho.*

**Amason Kingi takes the ball, he ducks William Ruto, he ducks again, he gives Hassan Joho.**

*(Crowd applauds)*

*Raila: Joho na mpira, anakwenda Joho, anampatia Kalonzo*

**Joho with the ball, Joho moves forward, he gives Kalonzo.**

*Crowd: Eeeh*

*Raila: Kalonzo anampatia Raila, Raila na mpira, Te! Te! Te! Te!Te!Te! gooooooal!*

**Kalonzo gives Raila, Raila with the ball, Te!Te!Te!Te!Te!Te! gooooooal!**

*(Crowd applauds)*

### Translation

I can see the referee looking at his watch. The whistle has been blown and the match has begun.

Uhuru Kenyatta passes the ball to Ruto.

*Crowd: Eeeh*

Ruto gives Duale

*Crowd: Eeeh*

Raila: Duale with the ball, he has passed it to Mr, Mr, Mr. Kazungu Kambi

*Crowd: Eeeh*

Raila: Ohh he as tripped and fallen down

*(Laughter)*

Raila: Mr. Kazungu Kambi I think ran too fast and fell down and it like he has sprained

*(Laughter)*

Raila: I can see he has been carried out of the field to get first aid

*Crowd: Eeeh*

Raila: The ball continues, the ball is returned this other side.

They give Duale again, Duale with the ball, the people guys with the ball.

He has gone the other side and given Shaban.

Shaban with the ball, she gives Mong'aru, Mong'aru with the ball he give Uhuru Kenyatta,

Uhuru with the ball, he gives out shoot! Aaaah but he goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa.....

*(Crowd laughs and applauds)*

*Raila: She catches the ball without any problem*

She put the ball down, she kicks the ball forward to Mboko, Mboko with the ball, she give

Kamoti, Kamoti with the ball, she ducks Kazung, she ducks Mustafa Idi, she gives Mazayo.

Mazayou with the ball. Mazayo gives Kingi.

Amason Kingi takes the ball, he ducks William Ruto, he ducks again, he gives Hassan Joho.

*(Crowd applauds)*

*Raila: Joho with the ball, Joho moves forward, he gives Kalonzo.*

*Crowd: Eeeh*

*Raila: Kalonzo anampatia Raila, Raila na mpira, Te! Te! Te! Te!Te!Te! gooooooal!*

Kalonzo gives Raila, Raila with the ball, Te!Te!Te!Te!Te!Te! gooooooal!

*(Crowd applauds)*

### Rabai NASA Campaign Rally 2017

The Conceptual Domain of Elections is a football game is tabulated below:

Table 2.

SD: Football Game	TD: Elections
Play field/football pitch	Political space/political ground



Teams (We versus them)	Opponents (“we” versus “others”)
Referee determines the winner	Electoral body (IEBC) decides the winner
Rules and regulations of the match: red card, yellow card, foul, kick, foul, fair, extra time, tackle, penalty, offside, sidekick, score, level playing field	Elections Act, policies and strategies
Fierce physical competition and effort: skill, stamina, endurance, tact and discipline	Electoral competition: Strategies, debates, rallies, mobilization of resources, parties and people
Players	Politicians
Football team	Political party

Conceptually, *Elections is a football game*. The relationship between the SD and the TD is logical and it could be interpreted using a cross-mapping mechanism based on the conceptual domain: elections is a football match. The characteristics of the football match (SD) are crossmapped on the TD (Elections). All the characteristics of solidarity and fair play are reflected in a football match. There are teams, teamwork, scores, winners and losers, those with the sports acumen to score goals and so on. In this case the collaborative effort of his team make him to win the match. In this case he scores the winning score. Kovecses (2010) in Lopez (2018) emphasizes that games and sports have traits that are common to metaphorical purposes. The similarity between elections and football is common. Politicians use strategies to campaign, they need political parties to contest and they have to be supported by the party members. Each party members has a role to play just like in the football match. IEBC is the Kenyan electoral body that oversee the process and declares winners. On the other hand in the football match, the referee oversees the game and declares the winning team.

In elections there is intense competition that is sometimes malicious and manipulative. In the football match the players play intensely physically and both operate under rules and regulations. Football requires skill, stamina, endurance, tact, discipline and mental alertness and elections require resources, mobilization, consistency, and strategic moves to win.

In a match there is still competition that leads to winners and losers. Top scores determine the winner and in elections voting trends determine the winner. The one with the most votes wins against opponents. Sport metaphors are driven by both competition between teams and solidarity between teammates in a football match.

Raila projects a level playing field, where there is a flat field for both contenders have an equal chance within a set of rules that are explicit and formal.

## 2.2 The Ideology of Conflicts

Some of Raila’s metaphors reflect the ideology of conflict. The ideology of conflict reflects the ideas that a war situation takes place between a nation, here the people of Kenya have an enemy that threatens the peace, development and prosperity of the nation. The people of Kenya a represented by Raila and his party and the enemies are the opponents.

Election campaigns are executed with political strategies that are both persuasive and manipulative. Four concepts on the ideology of conflict have been analyzed using various metaphoric illustrations in Raila Odinga’s discourse.

The following CMT’s have been analyzed in the ideology of conflict: elections is a battle; political enemies (opponents) have repulsive traits; enemies (Opponents are animals); and enemies (opponents) are murders. These concepts appeal to the emotional sense of the audience by posing rhetorical questions, use of riddles and narratives. Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) in Mang’eni (2008) state that manipulation is purely a matter of how an individual

communicates and how he or she can make the hearer trust them and thus belief in what they say. Fowler and Kress (1979: 186) states that: *X manipulates Y through language*” And *“X pulls the wool over Y’s eyes through language.”* In this case “X” is the speaker and “Y” is the audience. According to the Mang’eni (2022), this is an unconscious process. Raila Odinga’s persuasive and manipulative strategies are encoded in the metaphoric concepts he deploys to defend his position as the most suitable for the presidential seat. He actualizes the positive self and negative other strategy.

### 2.2.1 Election Is a Battle

Raila Odinga’s discourse depicts elections as a battlefield where politicians strategize, fight, attack, bomb and they have soldiers and an army which defeats the opponents.

In the war metaphor below as used by Mang’eni and Habwe (2022), Raila conceptualizes how he will tackle socio-economic issues once elected.

(3) Tunataka kupigana na yale maadui matatu makumbwa ya wakenya: ugonjwa, ujinga, umaskini na utawala wa kimabavu.

*We want to fight three big enemies of the people of Kenya: disease, ignorance, poverty and tyranny.*

#### Narok County in 2017 Elections Campaign

The conceptual domain of the fighting metaphor, *election is a battle*, can be analyzed as follows:

Table 3.

SD: Battle	TD: Elections
Battle Field	Political space/ground/rallies/vote tallying centers
An Army Battalion	Political Party
Generals, lieutenants, colonels, admirals, captains and civilians	Political Party leader and members
War rules	Elections Act, policies and strategies
Fierce physical aggression and attacks (battle, attack, bomb/bombard, strategy, fight).	Electoral competition: Strategies, debates, rallies, mobilization of resources, parties and people
Consistent attacks on the enemy till they are defeated.	Political arguments (using words) and strategies
Civilians	Voters
Defeating the enemy or being killed by the enemy	Winning or losing

In this campaign context, Raila persuades the audience that he will fight diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny since they are a threat to the country. The SD concept of fighting has been cross-mapped on the political strategies of dealing with diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny. Flusberg, Matlock and Thibodeau (2018), postulate that the conceptual domain of a war involves two opposing factions of as the in group (the good, us) against the out group (the enemy, them). The above metaphor can be perceived cognitively as Borcic, Kanizaj and Krsul (2016) in Mang’eni and Habwe (2022) state that metaphors are the evidence of the human thought process. The conceptual domain *Election is a battle*, and the impression of fighting to eliminate diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny activate mental images. This metaphor shapes the direction of thought and the audience is persuaded to believe the speaker.

## 2.3 The Ideology of the Enemy

The enemy concepts in the ideology of conflict is manifested in three conceptual metaphors, the enemies are repulsive, the enemies are animals and the enemy are murderers.

### 2.3.1 The Enemy has Repulsive Traits

Raila uses the *positive self and negative other ideology* to confront and shame opponents on matters of vote rigging. The 2017 elections has just been concluded and he has lost to Uhuru Kenyatta. In the metaphor below, he labels the opponent as a night runner. He targets his opponents with metaphors that condemn evil or a negative trait that he purports they possess to disadvantage them as qualified for the public office. In the same context he portrays himself as the good leader (Wodak, 2021). Raila accuses them of rigging elections, but their dark actions had been found out.

(4) Raila: *Kitendawili Riddle!*

Crowd: *Tega*

*Riddle come!*

Raila: *Alikimbia uchi usiku, akachoka, akalala. Mwishowe akashtuliwa na jua. Ni nani huyo? He ran naked the whole night, he got tired, slept. In the end she was awakened abruptly by the sun, who is that?*

Crowd: *Kenyatta*

Raila: *Ni nani?*

*Who?*

Crowd: *Uhuru*

Raila: *mji basi. Yeye alikua mchawi. Sikia hadithi ya mchawi. Mchawi unajua venye anakimbia usiku?*

*Give me city. He was a night runner, listen to the narrative of the night runner. Do you know how the night runner, runs?*

Crowd: *Eeeeh!*

Raila: *si anakimbia uchi? Si anatoa nguo yote? Kwa hivyo alikimbia alikimbia usiku yote mpaka akachoka. Akaenda kando ya barabara akasema apumzike kidogo. Akaketi chini hapo. Akashikwa na usingizi, akalala mpaka asubuhi. Alipoamka, jua ilikua iko juu. Watu wanatembea kila mahali. sasa watu wanashtuka huyu jamaa alikuja hapa namna gani?*

*Doesn't he run naked? Doesn't he remove all his clothes? So he ran and ran the whole night till he was tired. He went beside the road and said he told himself he should rest for a while. He sat down there. The slept caught him, and he slept till morning. When he woke up, the sun was already up. The crowd was milling around him and wondering how did this fellow come to that place?*

*(Crowd Applauds)*

Raila: *walikimbia usiku, si walikimbia usiku? Wakaiba ushindi wetu usiku, lakini sasa jua imetoka wameonekana wako uchi.*

*They ran at night, didn't they run at night? They stole our victory, but now the sun is risen and they have been exposed.*

**Translation:**

Raila: *Riddle!*

Crowd: *Riddle come!*

Raila: *He ran naked the whole night, he got tired, slept. In the end she was awakened abruptly by the sun, who is that?*

Crowd: Kenyatta

Raila: Who?

Crowd: Uhuru

Raila: Give me city. He was a night runner, listen to the narrative of the night runner. Do you know how the night runner, runs?

Crowd: Eeeeh!

Raila: Doesn’t he run naked? Doesn’t he remove all his clothes? So he ran and ran the whole night till he was tired. He went beside the road and said he told himself he should rest for a while. He sat down there. The slept caught him, and he slept till morning. When he woke up, the sun was already up. The crowd was milling around him and wondering how did this fellow come to that place?

(Crowd Applauds)

Raila: They ran at night, didn’t they run at night? They stole our victory, but now the sun is risen and they have been exposed.

**Kibera Rally, Nairobi, 2013**

**KTN**

The table 4 below elaborates the conceptual domain: *The opponent is a night runner.*

Table 4.

<b>SD: Night runner</b>	<b>TD: Opponent (Jubilee party who engaged in election malpractice)</b>
Wizard	Rigging elections
Dancing naked in the dark	Vote rigging plans
Removing clothes	Working secretly to do evil
Caught naked in broad daylight by the crowd	Raila and in group exposes opponents’ evil

In the Night runner metaphor, Raila presents it as a riddle that extends to a narrative that carries metaphoric meaning. Raila calls his opponents (Jubilee party) night runners, whose evils schemes have been exposed. Night running is a social trait that is abominable in the African traditional culture. Night runners if discovered are ridiculed, isolated and punished. When young girls who intend to get marry are guarded against young men with backgrounds of repulsive traits such as night running, theft, madness, epilepsy and witchcraft. Night runners are known to disturb people at the wee hours of the night. Some throw sand on the roof, they play with wild animals and they are known to scare people at night. Nobody likes to associate with nightrunners. The negative labelling of an opponent as a night runner is discrediting.. The metaphor portrays his opponents as liars, fake, bad fellows and Raila present himself as upright fellow (Wodak, 2021).

### **2.3.2 Political Critics are Dogs**

Raila Odinga’s main objective is to secure grass-root support by using dehumanizing metaphors on the enemies the opponents to discredit them. The dog metaphor below, is dehumanizing to Raila’s opponents. In the Kenyan social culture, a dog is considered the lowest of the animals because it is associated with immorality, shame and spite. A dog has no face, or moral authority to associate with others until when their master calls them. Raila places himself on the pedestal of nobility, showing himself to be above those “low level” politicians talking about him. Raila says:

(5) *Nikasema siwezi ongea na Duale na Murkomen, mbwa kama anabweka huendi kwa mbwa-unaenda kwa mwenye mbwa sivyoy?*

I said I cannot negotiate with Duale and Murkomen, when a dog barks, you do not go to the dog but you go to its owner isn’t it?

From the above metaphor the dog metaphor's conceptual domain is: *political critics are dogs*. This has been illustrated below:

Table 5.

<b>SD: Dog</b>	<b>TD: Opponents (Duale and Murkomen of Jubilee Party)</b>
Uncultured and Immoral	Shameless behavior i.e. public criticism of opponents
Barking	Talking aimlessly/verbal attack aimed at Raila

In the conception domain *Political critics are dogs* the characters of the SD dog, are mapped on opponents who criticize him i.e Duale and Murkomen. Raila uses the metaphor to discredit his opponent's deterrent behavior of criticizing him and yet they have no moral authority to do so. In the African traditional homesteads, mongrels are the type of dogs that are not tamable. They are held in low esteem because they exude bad manners: loitering from place to place, eating left over from bins, barking aimlessly even when they are not supposed to. The dog metaphor denies and lowers the esteem of his opponents, portraying them as "no bodies", (Boeynaems et al, 2017) in Mang'eni (2022).

### 2.3.3 Opponent are Murderers

Another facet of the enemy concept is that the enemies are murderers. Raila presents opponents as murders of innocent people. The supposed murder is laced with lies and tricks to hoodwink citizens of the ill plans he has to finish them. A murderer is callous and dangerous. Raila paints his opponent as dangerous to the security of the "our" nation/people and this creates a scenario of fear (Wodak, 2021). Fear appeals to negative emotions of resentment, intuition, commonsense and anti-intellectualism. This causes the audience to demonize the opponents, while disregarding any fact-based evidence. The negative "other" presentation in the metaphor causes the audience to fear the opponent (Uhuru Kenyatta). In this case he is labelled as deceitful, fake, bad, and without a conscience, because he is murdering them while pretending to help them, (Wodak, 2021).

(6) *Ni kama mtu ambaye anataka kuchinja kuku.*

**It is like a person who wants to slaughter a chicken**

*Anachukua mahindi, anaita kuku kutkutkutkut.*

**He takes some maize, and calls the chicken kutkutkutkut.**

*Kuku inakuja anarushiwa mahindi.*

**The chicken comes and he throws the maize.**

*Kuku inafikiria huyu jamaa leo amenikumbuka.*

**The chicken thinks this fellow has remembered me.**

*Amekua mkarimu. Kumbe anajua haja yake sikumlisha, haja yake ni kitoweo. Akija karibu namna hii ananaswa. Kwekwekwekewe.*

**He has become so generous. However he knows his plan is not to feed the chicken. His plan is to slaughter it. When it comes closer like this, he catches it. Kwekwekwekwe**

*Kisu tiyari na maji imetokota. Sasa ile Uhuru anatafuta ni kura yenu. Akifungua mradi hapa na pale. Sasa juzi anaenda Kisii ati anapeana pesa ya IDPs.*

**The knife is ready and the water is boiling. So what Uhuru is looking for is your vote. He is flagging projects here and there. Recently, he went to Kisii, to give money to IDPs.**

*Baada ya miaka nne na nnusu bado hajakumbuka ati IDPs wako hapa. Walikua wamesema mambo ya IDPs imekwisha. Imefunga.*

**After four and a half years, he did not recall that there are IDPs there**

*Sasa baadaye anasikia ati iko IDPs Kisii alfu sita. Sasa anaenda patia hao kitu kidogo. Kitu kidogo. Lakini kile anataka ni nini?*

**So later he hears there are 6,000 IDPs in Kisii. So he goes there and gives them something small. Something small. But what does he want?**

*Kuku anataka kuchinja. Anafikiri wakisii ni wajinga sana. Anaenda eneo zingine anapeana title deeds. Hiyo yote ni hongo. Ni rushwa.*

**The chicken is to be slaughtered. He thinks Kisiis are so foolish. He goes to other areas to issue title deeds. All that is bribery.**

### Translation

*It is like a person who wants to slaughter a chicken. He takes some maize, and calls the chicken kutkutkutkut. The chicken comes and he throws the maize. The chicken thinks this fellow has remembered me. He has become so generous. However he knows his plan is not to feed the chicken. His plan is to slaughter it. When it comes closer like this, he catches it. Kwekwekwekwe. The knife is ready and the water is boiling. So what Uhuru is looking for is your vote. He is flagging projects here and there. Recently, he went to Kisii, to give money to IDPs. After four and a half years, he did not recall that there are IDPs there. They had warned that the issues of IDPs are over. Case closed. So later he hears there are 6,000 IDPs in Kisii. So he goes there and gives them something small. Something small. But what does he want? The chicken is to be slaughtered. He thinks Kisiis are so foolish. He goes to other areas to issue title deeds. All that is bribery.*

**NASA Campaign Rally, Ukambani, 2017**

The table 6 below illustrates the conceptual domain: *opponents are murderers*.

Table 6.

<b>SD: Murderer</b>	<b>TD: Opponent (Uhuru)</b>
Criminal, evil, ruthless, sinister, deceitful, without a conscience	Liar
Throws maize to lure the chickens	Corrupt
Catches and Slaughters the chicken	Uses shortcuts for his benefit: gives people fake title deeds and extends help to Internally Displaced People, but with a heinous motive

In the Conception Domain *Opponent are Murderers* the traits of the SD *Murderer*, are crossmapped onto the opponent (Uhuru) who disburses help to internally displace people after the lapse of time, because he want to compromise them to vote for him in the upcoming general elections. Raila uses the murder metaphor to criminalize the opponent as fake, ruthless, merciless, evil and deceitful. The metaphor portrays the opponent as dangerous, thus causing fear.

## 2.4 The Ideology of the Saviour

The political context of Kenya is largely Christian, approximated at 85.5 per cent (Statista 2022). This makes it the most predominant religion in the country. Raila uses the religious card to present himself as the saviour in the conflict as “good, true, upright and victim of the opponent, (Wodak, 2021. In the 2017 and 2022 presidential elections, he uses the biblical Joshua Metaphor to conceptualize the idea of leading Kenyans to a better country. The whole concept of leading people to Canaan explains his political activity as a journey with positive outcomes (Mang’eni, 2022). Raila paints two scenarios: the current Kenya that is bleak, broken and hopeless after years of social, economic and political struggle since independence, and the

Kenya that is to come which is bright, comfortable and promising as the Promised Land that Joshua is led the children of Israel to.

The Joshua metaphor is both persuasive and manipulative since religion gives him a platform to come out as the “savior”. The metaphor is instrumentalized to popularize him as the savior (Wodak, 2021). Below is the metaphor:

(7) *Raila: Sasa mimi nimeombea wakenya, sio? Si niliombea wakenya? Nikasema mimi nitakua Joshua, sio? Lakini Joshua hakua peke yake, si alikua na Caleb? Si alikua na Caleb? Caleb niko naye hapa.*

**Now I prayed for Kenyans, ok? Didn't I pray for Kenya? I said I will be Joshua, ok? But Joshua was not alone, he was with Caleb. Wasn't he with Caleb? I have Caleb here.**

*(Crowd applauds)*

*Raila: Tuko pamoja, tumesimama katika genge ya mto Yordani. Canaan ninng'ambo ile. Mara ile ingine tulijaribu lakini kulikua na mamba pale. Mamba pale, sio?*

**We are together, standing at the banks of River Jordan. Canaan is the yonder. The other time we tried but there are crocodiles there. Ok?**

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: Mara hii tunavuka, mwingine apende asipende, sawa sawa? Tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane, tunaenda wapi? Wanajubilee wanataka kurudisha sisi Misri, mnakubali?*

**This time round, we shall cross over whether someone likes it or not, is that ok? On eighth, of April where shall we go? Those in Jubilee want us to go back to Egypt, ok? Do you agree?**

*Crowd: Hapana!*

**Nooo!**

*Raila: Mnakubali kurudi Misri?*

**Do you agree to go back to Egypt?**

*Crowd: Hapana!*

**Nooo!**

### **Translation**

*Raila: now I prayed for Kenyans, ok? Didn't I pray for Kenya? I said I will be Joshua, ok? But Joshua was not alone, he was with Caleb. Wasn't he with Caleb? I have Caleb.*

*(Crowd applauds)*

*Raila: we are together, standing at the banks of River Jordan. Canaan is the yonder. The other time we tried but there are crocodiles there. Ok?*

*Crowd: Eeh*

*Raila: this time round, we shall cross over whether someone likes it or not, is that ok? On eighth, of April where shall we go? Those in Jubilee want us to go back to Egypt, ok? Do you agree? Crowd: Nooo!*

*Raila: do you agree to go back to Egypt?*

*Crowd: Nooo!*

### **NASA Rally Kisii Stadium-KTN NEWS, 2017**

The conceptual domain of the Joshua metaphor is: *Raila is Joshua*. All that Joshua did to lead the children of Israel to the Promised Land is what Raila promises to do for Kenyans to deliver them from supposed socio-economic ills.

The table 7 below explains the conceptual domain:

Table 7.

<b>SD: Joshua</b>	<b>TD: Raila Odinga</b>
Leader of the Children of Israel to the Promised Land	Party leader of his political party
Savior/Deliverer of the Children of Israel after Moses passed away	Savior of Kenyans
Good, truthful, dutiful i.e. completed the task	“Credible”, “good”, “honest” “charismatic” enough to deliver Kenyans
Worked in collaboration with Caleb and elders	Team player and has a running mate
Joshua took over from Moses who delivered the children of Israel from slavery in Egypt, and he (Joshua) crossed the River Jordan and brought them to Caanan to the promised land	Will deliver Kenya from socio-economic ills (Egypt) if voted in.
Let the Israelites to Canaan (the land flowing with milk and honey)	His new government shall have all the needed resources for the nation
Interceded for Israelites to God	Prayed for Kenyans

The conceptual domain is based on the assumption that the audience has experienced the history of the politician, his party, his experiences, abilities, strengths and weaknesses, and also according to the history they (Kenyans) are willing to travail the hardships and challenges to overcome the obstacle (opponent) or (situations) which may come their way in order to save, (Charteris-Black, 2005).

The traits of the SD *Joshua* are crossmapped on the TD *Raila*, who presents himself as Joshua of the bible. The metaphor enhances his persuasive strategy to convince his audience of the “new” Kenya he shall create after elections. The biblical success of Joshua and his assistant Caleb, of leading the children of Israel to the Promised Land is projected on the expected success of Raila and his running mate Kalonzo Musyoka leading Kenyans to liberation once they clinch the presidency. Also, Raila portrays himself as the only “Saviour” for Kenyans. He promises to lead them to a better socio-economic and political system, comparable to Joshua and Caleb’s Promised Land in the bible.

## 2.5 The Ideology of Fear

Bauman (2006:2) in Wodak (2021: page) states that fear is the creation of an atmosphere of uncertainty that threatens to stop what should be done and what ought to be done, yet stopping is beyond “the victim’s” power. Raila Odinga spells doom for his opponent by using weather metaphors. In the metaphor below he talks of clouds, rain and a cyclone that will carry the opponent’s dirt to the ocean.

(8) *Nimeona mawingu. Naona kama tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane kutanyesha.*

**I have seen clouds. I see like on eighth, the eighth month it will rain**

*Kuna upepo wa tufani, unatoka upande wa mashariki kuenda magharibi, kaskazini kwenda kusini.*

**There is a cyclone, from the side of the East going West, going North to South.**

*Unachukua taka taka yote ya Jubilee kupeleka baharini.*

**Taking all the dirt of Jubilee to the ocean**

### Translation:

*I have seen clouds. I am seeing the 8<sup>th</sup> of August it shall rain. There is a cyclone from the east to the west, north to south. It will sweep all the dirt by Jubilee to the ocean.*

The conceptual domain of the above metaphor is: *weather patterns spell doom for opponents.*



The TD and the SD crossmapping is projected in table 8 below:

Table 8:

<b>SD: Bad Weather i.e. clouds, rain, cyclones</b>	<b>TD: Doom that causes fear on Opponents</b>
Cloud	Fear
Rain	Fear on opponents, voting power of Raila's supporters
Cyclone	Fear and defeat for opponents, taking over and cleaning the system
Dirt	Socio-political ills

The characteristics of the SD weather (clouds, rain, cyclones) are crossmapped on the TD opponents. The sign of clouds, rain and cyclone cause uncertainty and fear on opponents. Raila was addressing a big crowd, and he is anticipating a landslide victor in the presidential elections. The rains and the cyclones signify his political dominance that would sweep away any political misdeeds of the opponents who are the Jubilee Party.

## Conclusion

This paper ascertains that metaphors manifest ideologies in discourse. Findings indicate four ideological concepts namely: the socio-democratic ideology; the ideology of conflicts; the savior ideology and the ideology of fear, are manifested in the metaphors used by Raila Odinga in his political discourse. The socio-democratic ideology is portrayed by two conceptual domains: the solidarity of leaders and the philosophy of solidarity. The beautiful girl metaphor and the football metaphor indicate that Raila advocates for solidarity as a quality of public participation and decision making, as well as the solidarity of leaders where he unites other leaders who front him to vie for presidency. In the football game metaphor, there is team work between members of the team and competition between the two teams. Secondly, the ideology of conflicts is portrayed by the conceptual domains: elections is a battle, the ideology of the enemy, and opponents are murderers. In the battle metaphor, night runner, dog and murder metaphors, Raila uses persuasion and manipulation to woo voters to his side and at the same time discrediting opponents as “bad”. Thirdly, Raila also portrays the savior ideology presented by the biblical Joshua metaphor as the concept Raila is the biblical metaphor. He presents himself as the only ‘savior’ that can redeem Kenya from her supposed socio-political challenges. And lastly we have analyzed the ideology of fear manifested by the concept weather patterns spell doom for opponents’ metaphor. In the fear metaphor, Raila presents himself as bigger than the others and he will “finish” them once elected.

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## **The Role of Cohesion in Text Creation**

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### **Abstract**

This paper aims at exploring the role of cohesion in persuading listeners through answering the following questions; what types of grammatical cohesive relations are displayed and what is their frequency of occurrence in the sampled text? and how does cohesion contribute to the creation and understanding of a text? A program for corpus analysis called (AntConc Tutorial (Ver. 3.2.4) developed by Laurence Anthony (Anthony, L., 2004) is used for analyzing the sample of this study which will be the speech of the Singaporean prime minister, Lee Hsien Loong, on the COVID-19 'New Normal', on 31 May 2021 (Appendix A). The study devotes attention to the speech of the Singaporean prime minister on this occasion due to the importance of this event which occupied the world. This paper depends on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) taxonomy of cohesive devices to analyze data.

159

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### **Keywords**

grammatical cohesion, coherence, conjunctions, lexical linking, surface structure, and textuality

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## Introduction

Some researchers hold that cohesion and coherence are on the textual level and that this level represents the underlying structure of the surface structure achieved through the use of grammatical elements. The relations between the sentences, at this level, play a major role in the achievement of coherence. Cohesion can be established by various means which include reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical relationships (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996).

Textuality stands primarily on Cohesion which represents its most important principle and criterion. It is the process of joining words to build a well-formed and meaningful unit. The interpretation of a specific textual unit or element (a word in a sentence) relies on or is connected to the interpretation of another word in another sentence. In this sense, cohesion relates to the "semantic ties" within a text.

Despite the various types of text (literary/expressive, scientific/informative, and so on), it has a crucial role in getting the meaning across to others (Richardson, 2007). To write in a good way one must take into consideration some devices that enhance his ability to write clearly and understandably. For a long time, Cohesion and coherence have been recognized as being two important textual features of good writing (Halliday & Hasan, 2014).

It is believed by some researchers (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996) that cohesion and coherence are on the textual level and that this level represents the underlying structure of the surface structure achieved through the use of grammatical elements. The relations between the sentences, at this level, play a major role in the achievement of coherence. Cohesion can be established by various means. These means include reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical relationships.

According to (Halliday, 1978), for series of sentences to be called text is displayed through the concept of texture. It is clear that all languages have texts and so do certain linguistic features that create texture. Therefore, it can be concluded that any texture is made up of two different levels: the sentential and textual. Also, it should be reminded that the fundamental building blocks that construct texts are four independent components on the two aforementioned levels. The sentential level, on the one hand, is grammatical features of syntax at the surface level representing semantics at the deep structure. On the sentential level are syntax and semantics. Syntactic component involves types of phrasing, types of clause constructions, and types of passive structures, clausal combinations, and word order within a sentence. The semantic component involves the senses and mappings from word meanings to sentential meanings.

## 1. Research Questions

What types of grammatical cohesive relations are displayed and what is their frequency of occurrence in this text?

How does cohesion contribute to the creation and understanding of a text?

## 2. Literature Review

In their article "Grammatical Cohesion in Abstracts", Klimova and Hubackova (2014) address the issue of grammatical cohesion in the English-written abstracts of British origin. They examine the grammatical organic means of cohesion, i.e. discourse connectives, specifically, only discourse adverbials, which connect sentences to establish a logical sequence of the whole

discourse. Depending on Halliday & Hasan (1976), they try to define cohesion and discourse connectives, then they employ a sample of abstracts from the field of tourism to analyze the discourse connectives. The finding of their article stated that the most frequent semantic conjuncts or discourse connectives are: listing, contrastive, resultative, and appositional respectively. Therefore, they are important for teachers who are involved in the teaching of academic discourse as well as textbook writers because they might not only enhance students' writing skills but also develop their thinking skills.

Cain, Patson, and Andrews (2005) conducted two studies investigating the use of conjunctions by young readers and their impact on the understanding of semantic relations. Again Halliday & Hasan (1976) is employed in this study. In Study One, different types of conjunction were deleted from two narrative cloze tasks, then 145 eight- to ten-year-olds were asked to complete one of them. Performance for additive conjunctions was not affected by age in this study, but older children were more likely to select the target conjunction than were younger children for temporal, causal, and adversative terms.

In Study Two, 35 eight- and nine-year-old good and poor comprehenders completed the three-choice cloze task. The poor comprehenders were less likely to select the target terms in general. Sentence-level comprehension skills did not account for their poor performance. The results indicate that understanding of the semantic relations expressed by conjunctions is still developing long after these terms are used correctly.

### **3. Theoretical Frame Work**

Cohesion and coherence are two inseparable concepts that are needed in any text to be accurately interpretable. Cohesion represents the micro-level of the text whereas coherence is the macro level of it (De Haas, Algera, Van Tuijl, & Meulman, 2000). Cohesion is the grammatical and lexical linking within a text or sentence that holds a text together and makes it meaningful ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cohesion\\_\(linguistics\)#Grammatical\\_cohesion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cohesion_(linguistics)#Grammatical_cohesion)).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) laid down the foundations of text linguistics. They defined it as "the set of linguistic means we have available for creating texture", i.e., the property of a text of being interpretable as one unit rather than unconnected sentences. The interpretation of some element of any text is not independent but rather based on another one. This is where cohesion occurs; one element presupposes the other in the sense that it cannot be effectively interpreted except by referring to it.

As proposed by M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1976), there are two main types of cohesion: grammatical and lexical. The former bases on structural content, whereas the latter bases on lexical content and background knowledge. They identify five categories of cohesive devices: reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cohesion\(linguistics\)#Grammatical\\_cohesion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cohesion(linguistics)#Grammatical_cohesion))

These types are based on the central notion of presupposition, that is one element presupposes another which is located before (anaphoric) or after (cataphoric) the text or in the context of a situation (exophora) which helps to interpret any text. The notion of presupposition is composed of three levels: the semantic level (as in the case of reference), the lexicogrammatical level (as in the case of ellipsis and substitution), and the grammatical level (as in the case of conjunctions).

According to M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1976), there are two main types of cohesion: grammatical and lexical. Under these two main types, there are many categories and subcategories as shown in table (1). However, the scope of this study will be limited to the fourth category of cohesive devices which is conjunctions as shown in table (2).

**Table 1: Halliday and Hasan's Taxonomy of Cohesion**

semantic level	reference	Personal	subsumes personal and possessive pronouns		
		demonstrative	“this” and “that” make reference to extended text		
		comparative	reference is made to a certain standard by which one thing is said to be superior, inferior, or equal		
lexicogrammatical level	ellipsis	Nominal Ellipsis	presupposes the head noun		
		verbal ellipsis	Presuppose either the lexical verb or the operator		
		clausal ellipsis	Presupposes the entire preceding clause		
	substitution	Nominal substitutes	“one” and “thing”	"presuppose a countable noun and function as heads of the nominal group	
			same	presupposes the entire nominal group	
		Verbal substitute	do	presupposes the lexical verb and functions as the head of the verbal group	
		Clausal substitutes	“so” and “not”	presuppose an entire clause.	
grammatical level	conjunction	Additives	and, and also, nor, or, or else, furthermore, by the way, in other words, likewise, on the other hand, thus		
		adversatives	yet, though, only, but, however, at least, in fact, rather, on the contrary, I mean, in any case		
		Causal	so, then, therefore, because (of that), otherwise, thus, hence, as a result (of that), consequently		
		Temporal	next, (and) then, sequentially, afterwards, after that, before that, first ... then, at first, formerly ... final, at once, soon, to sum up, in conclusion		
	lexical cohesion	reiteration	Repetition, synonymy or near synonymy and general term	the lexical recurrence of an item	
		collocation	lexical items are interpreted concerning the existence of other lexical items because of:	a) their belonging to an ordered series. b) their relevance to the topic. c) their oppositeness	

**Table 2: Grammatical Cohesion (Conjunctions)**

Grammatical Cohesion (Conjunctions)			
Main Level	Main Area	Sub-areas	Words
Grammatical Level	Conjunction	Additives conjunction	and, and also, nor, or, or else, furthermore, by the way, in other words, likewise, on the other hand, thus
		Adversatives conjunction	yet, though, only, but, however, at least, in fact, rather, on the contrary, I mean, in any case
		Causal conjunction	so, then, therefore, because (of that), otherwise, thus, hence, as a result (of that), consequently
		Temporal conjunction	next, (and) then, sequentially, afterwards, after that, before that, first ... then, at first, formerly ... final, at once, soon, to sum up, in conclusion

## **4. Methodology**

### **4.1 Instrument**

A program for corpus analysis called (AntConc Tutorial (Ver. 3.2.4)) developed by Laurence Anthony (Anthony, L., 2004) is used for analyzing the speech of Singaporean prime minister, Lee Hsien Loong, on the COVID-19 'New Normal', on 31 May 2021 (See **Error! Reference source not found.**). It is used to investigate the types of grammatical cohesive relations (additive, adversative, causal, and temporal) and which one is predominant.

### **4.2 Setting**

The speech to be analyzed in this study was conducted by Lee Hsien Loong, the prime minister of Singapore. It was produced on the COVID-19 'New Normal', held on 31 May 2021. This discourse was chosen because of the importance of the event of COVID-19 and the hard attempts of states to defeat the suspicious rumors about the infertility of the vaccine. Moreover, the importance of cohesion appeared clearly when the speaker used the English language which is not the mother tongue of the Singaporeans.

The speech was delivered from the Prime Minister's office in the capital, Singapore. He was talking about the spread of infections of COVID-19 calling the Singaporean people to support the government to reduce infections through cooperation. Singapore has at least four different languages: English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil. Despite the fact that Malay is the official language, English is the most used; therefore, the prime minister lied on the English language as being understood by almost the whole community.

### **4.3 Data Analysis**

One of the aims of this study is to investigate the types of grammatical cohesive relations that are displayed and of which is predominant in the Singaporean prime minister's speech? The present study analyzes the data adopting Halliday and Hasan's (1976) taxonomy of cohesive devices, for more specific, grammatical cohesive ones and for further specific, conjunctions that fall into four categories as explained below.

#### **4.3.1 Conjunction**

The main cohesive category 'conjunction' involves the use of formal markers to relate sentences, clauses, and paragraphs to each other. All four categories may express either the external or the internal type of conjunctive relation.

##### ***4.3.1.1 Additive Conjunction***

Halliday and Hasan grouped the words (and, and also, nor, or, or else, furthermore, by the way, in other words, likewise, on the other hand, and thus) under the heading 'Additive'. They believe that these words are all used cohesively, as conjunctions. They often seem to have the sense of additional things to be said.

##### ***4.3.1.2 Adversative Conjunction***

As proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), they state that adversative conjunction reveals a basic meaning of 'contrary to expectation'. These conjunctions are like (yet, though, only, but, however, at least, in fact, rather, on the contrary, I mean, in any case).

### 4.3.1.3 Causal Conjunction

They are like (so, then, therefore, because (of that), otherwise, thus, hence, as a result (of that), consequently, for this purpose and this reason). Halliday and Hasan explore that they are of two kinds; simple such as 'so' and 'thus' and complex (prepositional phrase) such as 'for this purpose' and 'for this reason'. In addition, they serve for result, reason, and purpose.

### 4.3.1.4 Temporal Conjunction

According to Halliday and Hasan, the relation between the theses of two successive sentences may be that one is after the other. This temporal relation is expressed by words such as (next, (and) then, sequentially, afterwards, after that, before that, first ... then, at first, formerly ... final, at once, soon, to sum up, in conclusion). Halliday and Hasan believe that the temporal relation may be made more specific by the presence of an additional component in the meaning, as well as that of succession in time. So, for example, we may have ‘then + immediately’ (at once, thereupon, on which); ‘then +after an interval’ (soon, presently, later, after a time); ‘then + repetition’ (next time, on other occasion); ‘then + a specific time interval’ (next day, five minutes later) and so on.

## 5. Findings and Discussion

### 5.1 The First Research Question

To answer the first research question; What types of grammatical cohesive relations are displayed and what is their frequency of occurrence in this text? the following four tables (3-6) describe the frequency of occurrence of each of the four types of conjunctions (additives conjunctions, adversatives conjunctions, causal conjunctions, and temporal conjunction) as main categories of grammatical cohesion.

As shown in Table 3, 'and' and 'or' are the only conjunctions being used among all the other eleven conjunctions in the speech undertaken.

**Table 3: Additives Conjunctions**

Additives Conjunctions										
and	And also	Nor	or	or else	Further(more)	by the way	in other words	likewise	on the other hand	thus
109	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4 which reflexes the results of the adversative conjunctions shows that six out of eleven conjunctions are used. They are 'yet', 'only', 'but', 'however', 'at least', and 'rather'. Among them 'but' is the most used, whereas 'yet' 'however' and 'rather' are equally used. 'at least' comes second while other types are not used.

**Table 4: Adversatives Conjunctions**

Adversatives Conjunctions										
yet	though	only	but	however	At least	in fact	rather	on the contrary	I mean	in any case
1	0	3	9	1	6	0	1	0	0	0

Table 5 exposes the frequency of occurrence of the nine causal conjunctions. Six of them are used. The use of 'then', and 'because (of that)' are the same, three times each. The use of 'therefore', and 'so' are the same, five times each. The use of 'thus', and 'hence' is the same, one time each. Others are not used at all.

**Table 5: Causal Conjunctions**

Causal Conjunctions									
Then	therefore	Because (of that)	otherwise	so	thus	hence	as a result (of that)	consequently	



3	5	3	0	5	1	1	0	0
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

The use of temporal conjunctions is shown in Table 6. It states that 'and (then)', 'next', 'soon' and 'after that' are the only conjunctions to be used out of thirteen. 'and (then)' is mentioned three times, 'next' was mentioned four times, whereas 'soon' and 'after that' were respectively mentioned five times and twice. The rest are not used at all.

**Table 6: Temporal Conjunctions**

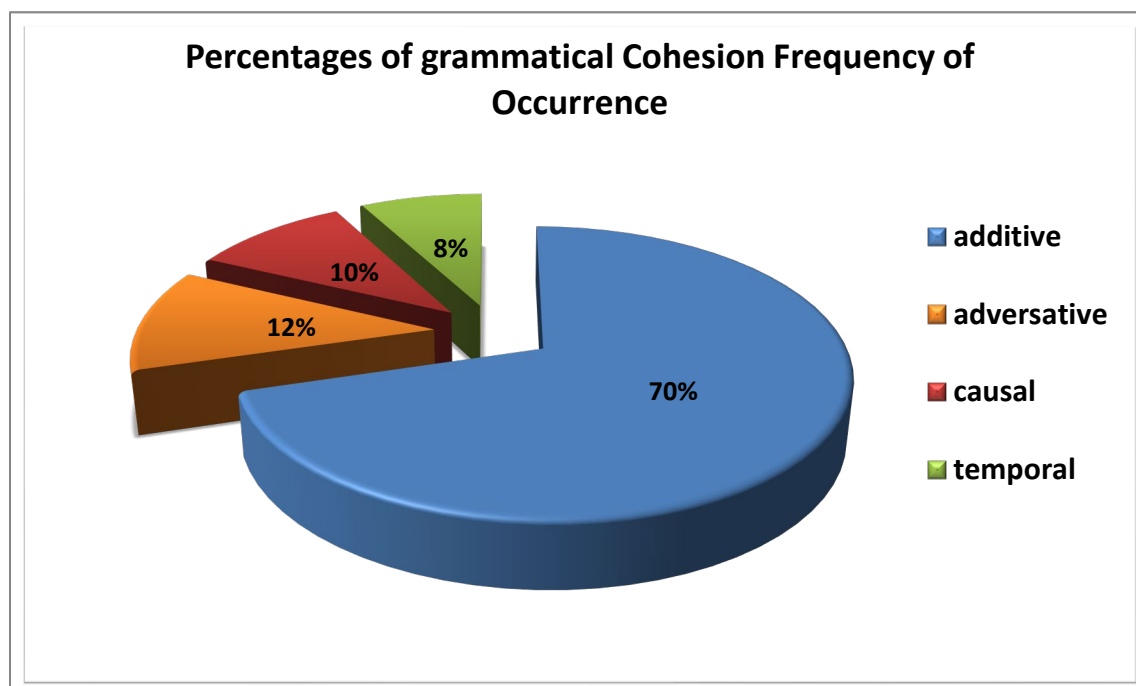
Temporal Conjunctions												
(and) then	next	before that	first ... then	at first	formerly ... final	at once	Soon	to sum up	in conclusion	sequentially	afterwards	after that
3	4	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	2

Percentages of each main type of the four types of conjunctions for grammatical cohesion are presented in Table 7. Respectively, 70%, 12%, 10%, and 8% are the results of the frequency of occurrence of the four main types of conjunctions; additive, adversative, causal and temporal conjunctions.

**Table 7: Percentages of grammatical Cohesion Frequency of Occurrence**

Percentages of grammatical Cohesion Frequency of Occurrence			
Additives conjunction	Adversatives conjunction	Causal conjunction	Temporal conjunction
70%	12%	10%	8%

Following Figure 7 it is clear, on the one hand, that the percentage of occurrence for the last three types of conjunctions; adversative (12%), causal (10%), and temporal (8%) are not so much different. On the other hand, there is a great difference when any of these three types is compared to the first type, additive (70%). Despite that additive conjunctions have got the highest percentage of occurrence, it is the least in terms of the number of expressions used. This means that the 70% of occurrence for additive conjunctions is restricted to the use of 'and', and 'or' only. Looking at 12% of occurrence for the adversative conjunctions, it can be seen that this percentage is distributed among six expressions and so on.



**Figure 7: Percentages of grammatical Cohesion (Conjunctions) Frequency of Occurrence****5.2 The Second Research Question**

To answer the second research question; How does cohesion contribute to the creation and understanding of a text? Separate sentences could not establish a sensible text unless some connectives join related sentences to complete the idea of a text which is targeted to transfer. A conjunction is one of the devices used for this purpose through which the reader is caused to look back to the first clause in a pair of joined clauses to make sense of the second clause (Jones, 2012). It also serves for making any text easily understandable by avoiding some kind of repetition that leads the reader or listener to be lost. For example; "We went on Heightened Alert to reduce social interaction and new infections" in the first paragraph, the use of the additive conjunction 'and' helps the speaker not to repeat the whole previous structure "We went on Heightened Alert to reduce ". Thus the speaker will transfer his idea and at the same time, the listener could get the exact meaning both easily and accurately without being lost in the length of the sentence. This semantic relationship among the words, however, is probably still not enough for you to make sense of this list as a text as long as you are relying only on features that are intrinsic to the language. The reason for this is that there are no grammatical elements that join these words together (Dey, 2001).

Using conjunctions in the discourse under analysis is a technique usually used by speakers to join sentences and avoid repetition. Admittedly, joining sentences together makes one sentence longer than the original two ones, but it is also admitted that joining two or more sentences help avoiding repetition and this makes the new sentence relatively seems shorter and consequently be easier to understand. Because the English language is not the Singaporean mother tongue, this technique is of great benefit. So the prime minister of Singapore, Lee Hsien Loong, aimed to make his speech easier for the listeners to trace and get the idea behind it, and as a result the speech will be more satisfactory.

**Conclusion**

Having various kinds of connective tools of which is conjunctions makes it easier to perform social actions. Conducting well-formed discourse can often exert certain power over people to persuade them of the matter you are trying to transfer to them (Jones, 2012).

A text or discourse is not just a set of sentences that are randomly related to different topics. Rather, any sensible text tends to be about the same things; that is, the text will have a quality of unity. This is the property of cohesion that can be achieved through various means; reference, conjunction, and semantic word relations (Morris & Hirst, 1991).

Based on the findings, it can be concluded that some CDs were more preferred than some others for a variety of reasons. It is also clear that simple conjunctions such as 'and' are widely used. One of the reasons behind that was the nature of the language since it is the second language not the mother tongue of the prime minister. Thus he tends to use simple conjunctions, that is the minimal amount of knowledge and necessary discourse in which such structures are used. Also, it could be related to the fact that second language users cannot use syntactic and lexical tools to enable them to produce competent text or speech (Ghasemi, 2013).

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## Appendices

### Transcript of a speech by PM Lee Hsien Loong on the COVID-19 'New Normal', on 31 May 2021

*My fellow Singaporeans*

*For the last three weeks, we have been on Heightened Alert. We had discovered new clusters of COVID-19 infections. One cluster at Tan Tock Seng Hospital, and then another at Changi Airport. More cases soon followed. We also started seeing unlinked cases, implying community spread. So we had to step back from Phase 3. We went on Heightened Alert to reduce social interaction and new infections. Everyone has responded, to cooperate on the measures we had to take. Offices, malls, and the streets are all visibly quieter.*

*Because of your support, the number of daily cases has come down. Barring another super-spreader or big cluster, we should be on track to bring this outbreak under control. We will know for sure in another week or so. Meanwhile, I count on everyone to keep up our efforts and stay vigilant. Please continue to stay home, work from home if possible, and go out only if you must. Most importantly, if you feel unwell, see a doctor immediately – even if you have been vaccinated. If our situation continues to improve, and the number of community cases falls further, we should be able to relax the restrictions after 13 June.*

#### **1 Test, Trace and Vaccinate**

*Compared to a year ago, when we had our first big outbreak, we are in a much better position today. We have built up our testing and contact tracing capabilities. Crucially, our vaccination programme is well advanced. With stronger defences in place, we have not had to impose a full circuit breaker.*

*Unfortunately, we are also fighting new, more infectious variants of the COVID-19 virus. The B.1.1.7 variant, which was first detected in the UK, has become widespread in the US and many other countries. We are now dealing with the B.1.617.2 variant, which was first detected in India and is now in over 50 countries. More variants will inevitably emerge, and we will have to deal with them too.*

*What does a more infectious virus mean for our fight against COVID-19? It implies that we must continually adjust our strategies, and raise our game to keep COVID-19 under control. Specifically, there are three things that we have to do more of, and do faster, testing, contact tracing, and vaccination. Let me briefly explain. The Multi-Ministry Taskforce (MTF) will provide details later on.*

*First, we must test faster, and more liberally and extensively. This will enable us to detect COVID-19 cases more quickly. So that we can isolate them and ringfence their contacts promptly, before the virus spreads further.*

*Many different types of COVID-19 tests have become available, for example, antigen rapid tests (ART), saliva tests, breathalysers, wastewater surveillance, even sniffer dogs. We have been using some of these, and evaluating others, for some time. Each of these new tests is suited to different use cases.*

*For example, ARTs produce results much faster than the Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR) tests that we have mostly relied on. ARTs are also cheaper and easier to administer. However, they are less sensitive than PCR tests. They may miss some cases that are actually COVID-19 positive. ARTs are therefore invaluable as a quick check. If you visit a GP or polyclinic now with an acute respiratory infection, you will be given an ART, in addition to a PCR test. Within 30 minutes the ART will show whether you are likely to have COVID-19. If the result is positive,*

*you can immediately be isolated and the PCR test will confirm your diagnosis later, which may take a day or two. That way we reduce your chances of infecting others, if you are already ill but don't realise it.*

*Other tests are coming on stream. Breathalyzer tests, which take just one minute, have been set up at the Causeway and the Airport. They can be deployed to many other places too and soon you will be able to purchase DIY tests over the counter at pharmacies. They are simple to use, and not so uncomfortable. You can administer these on your own. If you are worried that you may have COVID-19 and want to put your mind at ease. Or if you are a frontline worker, and want to test yourself frequently or even daily.*

*These alternatives to PCR tests help us detect and isolate persons quickly when they are most infectious. This will be a big help in slowing down the spread of COVID-19.*

*As the virus mutates to become more transmissible, we must respond by testing more widely. We already do Rostered Routine Testing (RRT) in a number of higher risk settings: migrant worker dormitories, construction worksites, shipyards, air and sea ports, hospitals and nursing homes. With faster, cheaper tests, we can do routine testing at more workplaces, like offices, restaurants and shopping malls. We can also routinely test individuals whose occupations involve close contact with many people, and could result in superspreading events, like taxi drivers and bus captains, physiotherapists, masseurs, stage performers, sports and fitness instructors and educators could all be tested regularly.*

*This will reassure their customers, patients and students, and enable them to work safely even with COVID-19 in circulation.*

*In short, we are shifting our approach to testing. Henceforth we will not only test to identify infections when a new case pops up. We will also routinely and regularly test people who appear well, in normal work or social or community settings, to make them, and these places safe. Extensive testing will give us confidence to resume larger scale events or gatherings. E.g. we can deploy fast and easy tests before a religious service, a football game, a concert, or a wedding reception and participants can be assured that the event is COVID-19 safe. Therefore, you should expect routine, large-scale, fast and simple testing to be part of our new normal.*

*Second, we will contact trace faster and more widely. Our contact tracing operations have vastly improved. The contact tracers are working faster and better, because they have more experience and skills, and better tools. TraceTogether helps them identify and quarantine close contacts of an infected case within hours rather than days. With SafeEntry, they can identify thousands of people who had visited the same places as infected cases, and inform these potential contacts to come forward for a free COVID-19 test. This is what we did for White Sands, JEM and Westgate, and now NTUC Foodfare in Anchorvale. Because of Singaporeans' self-discipline, public spirit and support of TraceTogether and SafeEntry, we are contact tracing faster and more comprehensively. We can improve our contact tracing further by casting the net wider.*

*Our experience has shown that if a close contact is infected, he is quite likely to infect others who stay with him in the same household. Therefore, in future, when we identify a close contact of an infected case. We will not only isolate him – the first-degree contact – and test him for COVID-19. We will also notify his household members to isolate themselves immediately, without waiting to see whether the first-degree contact tests positive. If later the first-degree contact tests negative, we can safely release his household members from isolation. But if later the first-degree contact tests positive, we will have saved precious time by isolating his household members earlier. This more aggressive approach will help us to shut down clusters more quickly, to lead to fewer cases.*

*Third, we will vaccinate more people, and faster. We have made good progress since vaccinations started in December. Our healthcare and frontline workers, and the majority of those 45 and above, have already received at least their first dose. These are the ones more at risk from COVID-19. Now, vaccination of those aged 40 to 44 is under way.*

*The MTF recently announced that we would speed up vaccinations in the next two months, and prioritise first dose vaccinations. This is in progress. We want to protect as many Singaporeans as possible, and as soon as we can, especially with the new COVID-19 variants. This approach will quickly provide the maximum number of people with good protection, instead of a good number of people with maximum protection.*

*We are vaccinating as many people as our supplies allow. Our 40 vaccination centres island-wide are running smoothly. The constraint is vaccine supply. This is why we have been working very hard to confirm and speed up deliveries of vaccines from our suppliers.*

*I am happy to report that since the last update by the MTF, we have received further confirmation of faster vaccine deliveries over the next two months. With the latest supply schedule, we can further boost our vaccination programme. We can offer the vaccine to everyone, even sooner than we expected.*

*The next group to be vaccinated will be students. In this latest outbreak, we have seen more cases of children getting infected, in schools and tuition centres. The children were not seriously ill, but parents are naturally worried. Therefore, we will take full advantage of the June holidays to vaccinate students. Bookings will open tomorrow. We will give priority to the graduating cohorts for 'O', 'N', and 'A' Levels, as well as special needs students. Then the other students 12 years and above will take their turn, including students in our Institutes of Higher Learning.*

*After the students, we will vaccinate the final remaining group, young adults 39 years and younger. This should start around mid-June. This group is quite large. Therefore, we will give the Singaporeans among them a two-week priority window to book your appointments first, before we open up to the rest who want to be vaccinated.*

*Finally, I want to make a special pitch to our elderly. Your response has been excellent. Nearly three quarters (73%) of our elderly – 760,000 senior citizens aged 60 and above – have had at least one jab or booked a slot already. But 280,000 of you have still not yet booked appointments. Please come forward to get jabbed as soon as possible. Most people of your age have already been vaccinated, including many of your friends and neighbours. The President and I have been vaccinated too, and so have all my Cabinet colleagues. The vaccines are safe, and they will keep you safe.*

*We will make the process even more convenient for you. If you are above 60, you can now walk into any Vaccination Centre, and get vaccinated on the spot. No need to register, no need to book in advance, just turn up at a Vaccination Centre, and you will be jabbed. If you are not mobile, or are unable to make your way to the Vaccination Centre, contact the Silver Generation Office, a doctor and nurse will visit you at your home to give you the vaccination. For those with elderly parents or relatives, please encourage and persuade your old folks to get vaccinated.*

*Today, nearly 4 in 10 residents have had at least one dose of the vaccine. Our next target is to get two-thirds of residents vaccinated with at least the first dose. With our accelerated vaccination programme, we should be able to do this by early July, provided supplies come in as planned. And everyone who is eligible for a vaccination and wants one should be able to get at least their first jab by National Day. Whether you are old or young, please come forward to be vaccinated once it is your turn. With the more infectious virus strains, we need as many people as possible to be vaccinated, in order to reach herd immunity, or get close to it. This is the way to make everyone safe and resume more normal activities.*

## **2 The New Normal**

*Even as we tackle our COVID-19 situation, the pandemic rages on around us. Many countries are still not able to bring it under control, fully, much less eliminate it. India has suffered a huge surge of new cases, although their numbers are now coming down. In Southeast Asia, many countries have not started vaccinations in a big way, and may see more spikes in the next few months. Singaporean cases have been rising. As well as other places that have kept COVID-19 well under control, like Taiwan, Australia and Vietnam, Singapore has recently experienced outbreaks.*

*One day this global pandemic will subside but I do not expect COVID-19 to disappear. It will remain with humankind, and become endemic. The virus will continue to circulate in pockets of the global population for years to come.*

*This also means we will see small outbreaks of the disease from time to time in Singapore as well.*

*In this new normal, we will have to learn to carry on with our lives even with the virus in our midst. Our aim must be to keep the community as a whole safe, while accepting that some people may get infected every now and then. Just as we do with the common flu or dengue fever, which we now manage through public health measures and personal precautions. And in the case of the flu, with regular vaccinations too. COVID-19 vaccinations will not entirely prevent you from getting COVID-19 but vaccination makes this much less likely. And if you do get sick, despite being vaccinated, you are also much less likely to become very ill.*

*Living with endemic COVID-19 also means we do not completely close our borders. We need food, essential supplies, workers, business and other travellers to keep on flowing. We must stay connected to the world, with effective safeguards and border restrictions to keep ourselves safe. We will not be able to prevent some infected persons from slipping through from time to time. But as long as our population is mostly vaccinated, we should be able to trace, isolate, and treat the cases that pop up, and prevent a severe and disastrous outbreak.*

*Singapore's priority is to get through this pandemic and position ourselves strongly for the future, even as the virus continues to rage around us. If we stay united and continue to work together, we will be able to progressively open up, and achieve our aim.*

*In the new normal, COVID-19 will not dominate our lives. Our people will be mostly vaccinated, and possibly taking booster shots every year. We will get tested often, but it will be fast and easy. We will go to work or school, meet friends and family, participate in religious services, and enjoy entertainment and sports events. We will re-open our borders safely. Visitors will again come to Singapore. Singaporeans will travel again to countries where the disease is well under control, especially if we have been vaccinated. And eventually we will even go about without masks again, at least outdoors. Right now, we are some ways off from this happy state, but we are heading in the right direction.*

*In this new normal, the countries which are united, disciplined and put in place sensible safeguards, will be able to re-open their economies, re-connect to the rest of the world, grow and prosper. Singapore will be among these countries. More confident and resilient than before, and toughened by what we have overcome together, and experience together as one nation.*

## **3 Conclusion**

*I have outlined our strategy for the next phase of the fight against COVID-19. To keep our people safe, while re-opening progressively. We have to test, we have to trace, we have to vaccinate and we have to do all three of these more quickly, and more extensively.*

*The Heightened Alert has two more weeks to go. I thank Singaporeans for your forbearance, cooperation and support. Each individual effort counts. Our collective discipline and social responsibility have served us well, and taken us thus far.*

*Let us go the distance together as one people, so that we can look forward to a new normal, and emerge as a stronger and more united Singapore.*

*Thank you.*



## **Book reviews**







**School Journey as a Third Place; Theories, Methods and Experiences  
Around the World. London, New York 2023: Anthem Press.**

**Edited by Zoe Moody, Ayuko Berchtold-Sedooka, Sara Camponovo,  
Philip D. Jaffé & Frédéric Darbellay**

Katarzyna Soszyńska<sup>31</sup>

**Abstract**

Book review of “School Journey as a Third Place; Theories, Methods and Experiences Around the World”, edited by Zoe Moody, Ayuko Berchtold-Sedooka, Sara Camponovo, Philip D. Jaffé and Frédéric Darbellay, London, New York 2023: Anthem Press.

**Keywords**

*commute, children, international, journey, third place, school, travel*

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“School Journey as a Third Place; Theories, Methods and Experiences around the World” is a book focusing on the topic of journey of children between home and school. The book underlines that the way between school and home can be perceived as the “third place” (term firstly used by sociologist Oldenburg, 1999), as a transition space, potentially having an impact on the children’s experience, wellbeing, feelings and development. The book also presents the impact of various aspects, such as spatial design, safety, disability and parents’ fears on the choice of the mode of travel and the experiences of children. The authors focus on the social, cultural, psychological and educational aspects of being in the third place. They argue that the way between home and school can be a space, where children find their independency and create relationships with the environment. Sometimes it can be a positive experience, enriching the growth of the child, however, it can also be a space of fear and danger.

The book is divided into two sections - the first of them focuses more on the theory and original research methods. The second section presents empirical examples of international studies on children’s experiences on their journey. The publication consists of 11 chapters, written by different authors. The authors in an interdisciplinary and international approach, analyze and present the topic of the way between home and school, using different methodologies.

The first Chapter of the book “The Multidimensionality of the Way to and from School: A Third Place for Children?” by Ayuko Berchtold-Sedooka, Zoe Moody, Sara Camponovo, Philip D. Jaffé and Frédéric Darbellay, concerns the results of research on experiences of children going to and from school and their way of interacting with the local environment. The research was conducted in Switzerland with the participation of children attending 9 different primary schools. The way to school is presented as a place in which children can i.a. socialize and be creative.

The second Chapter of the book “Walking through Mundane Landscapes: Children’s Experience of Place during the School Journey” by Sofia Cele, focuses on children walking to school, who are not accompanied by adults. The Chapter is based on fieldwork executed in Stockholm, Sweden and touches upon the concept of children having relationships with the local environment – they are having encounters and interactions which might seem not important to adults, however they are a sign and result of autonomy of children and have a positive impact on their well-being.

The authors of the third Chapter of the book -“ Dangers in the Third Place: Walking, Public Transport and the Experiences of Young Girls in Cape Town and Abuja” - Claire Elisabeth Dungey, Hadiza Ahmad, Joseph Mshelia Yahaya, Fatima Adamu, Plangsat Bitrus Dayil, Ariane De Lannoy and Gina Porter, discuss the experience of children, with the focus on girls aged 10-17, on their way between home, school or after-school club. The third place (Oldenburg 1999) can be a source of dangers, such as rape, kidnaping and sexual harassment. The girls often need to organize their journey in a specific way, dictated by their safety, using strategies to overcome the abovementioned dangers.

The fourth Chapter of the book “The (Im-)possibility of Spatial Autonomy for Young City Dwellers” by Nadja Monnet, discusses the decreasing number of young people visible on the streets independently and the reasons of this decrease. The Chapter also reviews some of the methodologies of performing research with children, taking into account their experiences of traveling between home and school and being outdoors.

The Chapter no. 5 “The Quality of the Way to School Lies in the Design Details” by Sonia Curnier, being the last Chapter of the First Section of the book, concerns the connection between

the spatial shaping of the way to school and children's experiences. The author shows the importance of designer's decisions on children and their experience in the third place in various aspects i.a. safety, having fun and learning.

Chapter no. 6, which is the first chapter of the second Part of the Book, written by Penelope Carroll and Karen Witten, is entitled "Children's Experiences and Affective Connections with Place in Their Independent Mobility". This Chapter concerns children's experience while spending time in neighborhoods, being their third place and discusses two projects conducted in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand. The importance of the impact of "third places" on children well-being is also underlined.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Chapter "Parental Concerns and Perceptions Related to Children's Independent Travel to School: A Case Study in Germany" by Joachim Scheiner and Stefan Lohmüller regards concerns and fears of parents, as well as their own impressions of their children's journeys without any adult supervision. The authors present various researches and studies, which examine the subject of parents' fears and describe that fear is subjective. They present results of a study executed in Lünen, Germany.

Chapter no. 8 of the book, entitled "How Does Family's Daily Mobility between Home and School Change with the Trotibus, a Walking School Bus programme in Quebec, Canada?" by Marie-Soleil Cloutier, Sylvanie Godillon and Johanne Charbonneau, discusses the initiative organized to encourage walking to school by the Canadian Cancer Society, namely the walking school bus. The authors examine the impact of this idea by presenting a research conducted in a mixed-method methodology.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Chapter is entitled "The Spatial Distribution of the Walking School Bus: An Interactionist approach, Environment-Family" and written by Eléonore Pigalle. It discusses the subject of the impact of the walking school bus, on a basis of a thesis work and a project. It presents a field survey conducted in Lausanne (Switzerland). The author touches upon the subject of communication strategies in relation to implementing public policies.

Chapter 10 of the Book "Incorporating the Extended Theory of Planned Behaviour in a School Travel Mode Choice Model: A Case Study of Shaoxing, China" by Jing Peng, Wang Jing, Chen Long and Zha Qi-Fen includes the theory of planned behaviour, in order to discuss i.a. the understanding of children's school travel behaviour. This Chapter presents the case study in Shaoxing, China.

The eleventh Chapter "Thinking about Ableism and Third Place to Understand and Improve the School Journeys of Disabled Children and Their Families" by Tim Ross and Ron Buliung discusses the concept of the third place in relation to children, who have disabilities and their families. It also focuses on ableism in the aspect of the children with disabilities travelling to school and shows potential challenges that are faced by them and their families.

To sum up, the book presents various aspects of the way that children make between home and school – from behavioural dimensions to spatial design - and their impact on the overall experience of children, as well as on the choice of the mode of travel. It is crucial that geographical diversity has been considered while choosing the topics of chapters, it can prove to be very enlightening and inclusive.