

Original Research Article

The Power of Political Persuasion: A Content Analysis of the Former Moroccan Prime Minister's Speeches

Ayman Edouihri

Phd Candidate, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdlah university Faculty of letters Fes, Morocco

Corresponding Author: Aymane Edouihri, E-mail: aymane5@hotmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Article History

Received: March 17, 2020

Accepted: April 20, 2020

Volume: 3

Issue: 4

DOI: 10.32996/ijllt.2020.3.4.15

KEYWORDS

persuasion; discourse; ideology; power, Arab revolutions

ABSTRACT

Persuasion is an essential prerequisite in the construction of any type of discourse. The influential impact a discourse manipulator seeks to have on discourse receiver is an inherent constituent in the process of meaning making. Hence, the implementation of discursive and persuasive constructs helps the speaker/writer maintain their ideologies, representations and world view. One of the best manifestations of the persuasive power of discourse is, indeed, reflected in political discourse. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to analyze the persuasive constructs in the political speeches of the former Moroccan Prime Minister Abd Elilah Benkirane as a step towards understanding the effect they had on the rise of his political party (PJD) during the Arab Revolutions. Interestingly, among the backbone persuasive devices the findings came up with, the deployment of comparison, proverbs, narrative persuasion and dextrous pronouns were revealed as well.

Introduction

The rise to prominence of the Moroccan political party *Partie Justice et Developpement* (PJD) during the Arab Revolutions is starkly remarkable. The "invasion" of this political party of the Moroccan political scene is due to its organization, strong NGOs' networks and most importantly its discourse. This latter is characterized by special discursive features such as simplicity and down to earthiness, diatopic variety and Islamic background. The most influential propagator of such discourse is the former Moroccan Prime Minister Abd Elilah Benkirane whose speeches gave more breath and value to the PJD and finally brought it to governance as the first historically Islamic political party to lead the government. Added to that, the speaker's dynamic and zealous character coupled with his polemic and populist aggression helped him gain more supporters. Therefore, the examination of his speeches is essential to discern whether the type of discourse he represents is just a periodical phenomenon or it has in fact established its presence on solid grounds. The need to examine this type of discourse is also urgent to understand the prevailing political atmosphere and its mechanisms during such a turning point as the Arab revolutions.

Various researchers (Khaled, 2020; Hamdan & Elnadeef, 2020; Hussein & Hussein, 202) have analysed the speeches of some leaders in different context, but little attention so far has been paid to highlight the content analysis of the former Prime Minister's Speeches in Morocco. The purpose of this study was to analyze the persuasive constructs in the political speeches of the former Moroccan Prime Minister Abd Elilah Benkirane as a step towards understanding the effect they had on the rise of his political party (PJD) during the Arab Revolutions

Review of Literature

Persuasion

Persuasion is present in almost every aspect of people's lives. TV, newspapers, the Internet, law, politics, religion, etc all revolve around persuading a target audience via changing its attitudes, belief or standpoints. Informed by rhetoric and argumentation, persuaders use different tactics to construct a solidly convincing discourse that would leave indelible imprint on the audience which shall guide them to "buy" the advocated proposition. Perloff (2010, p12) cites some scholar's various definitions of the term persuasion:

- a. ☐ A communication process in which the communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from his receiver (Andersen 1971, p 6)
- b. ☐ A conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message (Berttinghaus & Cody (1987, p 3)
- c. ☐ A symbolic activity whose purpose is to effect the internalization or voluntary acceptance of new cognitive states or patterns of overt behavior through the exchange of messages (Smith 1982,p 7)
- d. ☐ A successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom (O'Keef 1990, p 17) .
- e. ☐ A symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviors regarding an issue through the transmission of a message in an atmosphere of free choice (M.Perloff 2010, p 12).

All these definitions present persuasion as an instrument of conviction grounded on free will unlike coercion which is based on force and power asymmetry. The persuader attempts to influence using a symbolic process of language manipulation which aims to transmit a message that people would willingly "buy". They set the "trap" and it is up to us to swallow the bait or turn around it and leave it. In this regard, Whalen (1996.p 5) argues:

You can't force people to be persuaded –you can only activate their desire and show them the logic behind your ideas. You can't move a string by pushing it, you have to pull it. People are the same. Their devotion and total commitment to an idea some only when they understand and buy in with their total being.

The study of persuasion is an old enterprise. It dates back to the ancient Greeks and Romans who constructed their lessons, speeches and philosophies on the art of persuasion. Golden contends (2000, p 1) "if any one group of people could be said to have invented rhetoric, it would be ancient Greeks". The art of rhetoric is the backbone of persuasion since persuaders should have a full grasp of language manipulation. The Sophists and Plato were the first to lay foundations to persuasion, though differently. The Sophists, a group of teachers, devoted their teachings to oratory and style focusing their efforts on how to construct persuasive arguments. On the other hand, Plato was more interested in the nature of truth and how it leads people to be fully convinced. He accused the Sophist of being shallow and neglecting truth for the sake of a "quick, neat, and stylish argument that wins immediate approval-even if this argument has some hidden flaw" (Golden et al, p 19). Therefore, Plato's understanding of arguments stems from the need to address the nature of truth with the construction of contentions that logically appeal to reason.

Another prominent figure in persuasion theory is Aristotle. He studied both the Sophists' and Plato's works and built on them his own perception of what persuasion is. In his Rhetoric, Aristotle considers persuasion a science that can be studied and used to enhance the speaker's/writer's stance. He views rhetoric as a scientific field which could be described and interpreted with accurate concepts and by invoking probabilities (Golden et al, 2000; McCroskey,1997). For the Greeks, rhetoric and elocution were one of the esteemed characters of a successful philosopher. In Rhetoric, Aristotle describes how trials were organized before an assembly and that

the success of prosecution and defense is widely determined by the persuasiveness of the speaker. He identifies four main reasons for learning persuasion: (1) truth and justice are perfect; thus if a case loses, it is the fault of the speaker (2) it is an excellent tool for teaching (3) a good rhetorician needs to know how to argue both sides to understand the whole problem and all the options (4) There is no better way to defend one's situation. (Rhetoric, p 45)

Aristotle's main contribution to the study of persuasion is his identification of three main means of persuasion: pathos, logos and ethos. Since the communication of any message consists of a sender, receiver and text, Aristotle related each of his appeals to these last constituents. Hence, persuasion is realized either in the character of the sender, or the emotional state of the receiver or in the argument of the message (Rhetoric, p 54). Aristotle's three persuasive means can be described as follows:

- a. Ethos or appeal to character: this persuasive means takes the speaker's credibility as the focal principle. The audience believes that the propositions advocated by a credible speaker are true and acceptable. Aristotle believes that unless the speaker enjoys practical intelligence, a virtuous character and good will, the audience will doubt his arguments (Rhetoric II, p 1)
 - i. Pathos or appeal to emotions: this appeal targets the receiver's emotional state.
 - ii. The audience's emotional disposition highly affects their reception of any given arguments. People may judge the same thing differently according to the dominant feeling. The speaker arouses specific emotions in the audience that would best serve his/her agenda and enhance the audience's acceptance of the message. (Rhetoric, II. p 69)
- b. Logos or appeal to logic: a good orator/writer, for Aristotle, is the one who addresses his message to the audience's minds. Speakers construct their arguments on logical grounds and try to make them sound reasonable and logical to their audience who usually appreciate to decipher a message using their cognitive abilities. Aristotle states that there are two types of arguments: inductions and deductions (Rhetoric II, p 71)

After the Greeks had introduced the study of persuasion and paved the path for their successors, there emerged many scholars who approached the concept of persuasion from different perspectives building new theories for the study of persuasion. Significantly, persuasion is best demonstrated in politics.

Language and Politics

Political discourse exceptionally flourishes during moments when politicians most need the support of the citizens especially during election campaigns, voting for legislations and referendums. Everywhere you turn your eyes, campaigns directed to win the public's voice spread like mushroom on TV, Internet, newspapers and billboards. Politicians use a variety of ways to convince the public. According to Jones (1994, p 5) "politicians use a variety of techniques to get their own way: persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation- anything they think will work". Yet, the use of linguistic persuasion has been recognized as the primary and most effective technique politicians resorted to.

Since the ancient Greeks and Romans, the boom of the study of rhetoric and argumentation was a central factor in the development of political persuasion. Johnstone and Eisenhart (2005) point out that "The first theorists of discourse in the Greco-Roman intellectual tradition were the philosophers and sophists who described and taught public speaking to those citizens whose voices mattered in a newly democratic fifth-century BCE Athens" (Eisenhart, 4). Public speaking is highly influential and convincing if enhanced by skillful oratory use of language. Ostensibly, language essentially determines to a large extent the success of the communicative aim of political discourse. Hague (1998) clearly puts it "politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore central to politics" (Eisenhart,p 3-4).

It is language that best transmits political messages and agendas given its highly influential and manipulative power. Charteris –Black (2005) contends” [W]ithin all types of political systems, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership” (Charteris – Black, p 1). Hence, the emphasis on the power of language in political discourse is intended to create domination, legitimacy, authority, consensus and so forth. Since it is grounded on language manipulation, it is focally important to study and scrutinize political speeches and how politicians use language to persuade, bargain and change opinions. Indeed, politicians construct their discourse on various persuasive devices with the hope to reach maximum effect on the public. The following section provides some of the main persuasive strategies that politicians use in their speeches, interviews and writings to highly attract, convince and manipulate people’s minds.

Methodology

Research Design

The present study makes use of the mix method for data analysis. The implementation of qualitative as well as quantitative aims at empirically identifying the dominant persuasive constructs and the frequency of their occurrences as a step towards understanding the strengths, weaknesses and ideological constructs embedded in the analyzed speeches. A preliminary definition of the mixed method is provided by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998,p 17-118); They maintain that “mixed methods studies are those that combine the qualitative and quantitative approaches into the research methodology of a single study or multiphased study”. In the same vein, Johnson et al (2007, p123) define it as “the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combine the elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis inference techniques) for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration”. Indeed, these breadth and depth the mixed method provides is expected to facilitate deciphering the textual makeup of the speeches in hands through stages of description, analysis and interpretation.

Data Collection

The data on which this research is based consist of three televised speeches delivered by the ex-prime minister of Morocco in the sessions of chancellors’ council. These speeches are available on this website: <http://conseiller.ma>. The following table presents the collected data:

Speech	Occasion	Date	Place	Duration	Topic
1	Monthly parliament oral sessions	8th May 2013	Rabat	50 min	Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)
2	Monthly parliament oral sessions	13th December 2013	Rabat	1h10 min	Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and politics)
3	Monthly parliament oral sessions	12th February 2014	Rabat	45 min	Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government employment politics)

Table1: Benkirane’s speeches

Data Analysis: Textual Analysis

The implementation of textual analysis is opted for the investigation of the data. This analytical tool is coupled with the mixed method in order to provide a deep analysis of the persuasive devices of the speeches and their representational constructs. Rogers (2011, p240) maintains that textual analysis refers to “the description, interpretation, and explanation of interactional and grammatical aspects texts (spoken or written) that includes: turn taking, cohesion, politeness, ethos, grammar, transitivity, theme, modality, word meaning, wording, and metaphor”. In this sense, textual analysis subscribes itself more to a qualitative method and in this respect Graakjær (2018, p1) states that “text analysis refers to the qualitative examination of textual structure, that is, text elements and the relations between elements”. Yet, the quantitative analysis is employed to reveal the most recurrent persuasive devices the speaker resorts to and highlight their significance. In this manner, the reader is provided a profound understanding into the persuasive power of the speaker’s discursive strategies.

Findings and Discussion

Data analysis of Benkirane’s speeches has made it clear that the former prime Minister of Morocco employs a variety of discursive strategies to make his line of argumentation convincing and persuasive. Among these, we find comparison, proverbs, questions, appeal to authority and narrative persuasion.

Comparison

Comparison is frequently resorted to by the former prime minister of Morocco to be credibly persuasive. Politicians make use of different comparisons to solidify their line of argumentation and persuasion. They usually compare their previous and actual achievements to highlight the progress they make or compare themselves to either previous or present opponents to emphasize their competence and criticize their opponents’. Furthermore, politicians can resort to outside comparisons when they compare what they have achieved to what have been achieved in neighboring and foreign countries to convince the public of their hard work and the positive change they bring about. Benkirane is no exception to these politicians. He makes use of different and extensive comparisons to support his claims. The following table elaborates on the number of times comparison has been used in Benkirane’s speeches.

Speech	Number of Comparisons
Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)	6
Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and politics)	7
Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government’s employment policy)	10

Table 2: Frequency of comparison in Benkirane’s Speeches

The above table clearly illustrates Benkirane’s heavy reliance on the use of comparison as a persuasive strategy. The high rate of comparison in the three speeches stresses that Benkirane prefers to measure his government’s achievements against other opponents’ to convince the public of his plans and agenda. This comparison is also made against time when Benkirane compares between past and present situations of the country before his rule and even between the past and present years of his own governance. The following excerpt illustrates the use of comparison in Benkirane’s speeches.

Extract 1**Arabic**

hadlṣamajān mānli weqṣet lintixa:bat essabiqa liṭa:niha biṭamr men zala:lataḷ malik kifaf kan:n lmaḡrib ka:n ja:riṣ muftaṣil waktar men stin mdina taxruzu fiha muda:hara:t jawmija wa ḡusbouṣija intaha lṭamr walhamdu lillah ba:qi baṣdā lmuda:hara:t djal baṣdā nna:s lmuḡtaṣzi:n wḡanruṣṣuliha w hadi tabi:ṣija w maṣqulah whadi ṣala:mah ṣeḡhi:hah

Speech 2: Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and politics (p18)

English translation

Since the last two years, when the early elections took place ordered by his majesty the king, how was Morocco? The street was inflamed, and more than 60 cities witnessed daily and weekly demonstrations. Thank God, it is over. There are still some demonstrations by some demonstrators and we will get back to them and these are normal, plausible and a healthy sign. (Moroccan Arabic)

In this passage Benkirane explains what has changed during his first two years of his governance. He makes a comparison between how Morocco was before the early elections, which brought him to the Prime Minister's office, and the present situation. Benkirane recalls the unstable and inflamed Moroccan streets during the so called "Arab Spring" and how demonstrations shook more than sixty cities on daily or weekly bases. He compares this chaotic situation to the stability and calm he secured for the country. This comparison is strongly maintained by the consciousness-raising question asked by Benkirane: "how was Morocco?" This way, he is able to catch the public's attention and direct them to recall the past and be ready to compare it to the present; a present which is defined by positivism and stability brought about by Benkirane. More than that, the former Prime Minister is giving more reality and credibility to his argument through admitting the ongoing "minor" demonstrations which he describes as "normal, natural and healthy". Benkirane promises to deal with these ongoing demonstrations which maintain the constant momentum his government created in solving past and present distresses.

Benkirane also resorts to comparing Morocco to other countries to foreground the achievements of his government. He stresses the positive changes Morocco enjoys at the economic, social, educational and environmental levels compared to other countries which were in the near past better than Morocco. To make his comparison solid, the Prime Minister uses figures and statistics which would help the public clearly identify the progress. Interestingly, Benkirane's comparisons of Morocco to other foreign countries usually cover Arab and Muslim countries and some underdeveloped countries. This way, he proves to the public that he is reasonable in his comparisons since Morocco is unlikely to compete with developed countries, at least for the time being.

Proverbs

Another persuasive tool Benkirane deploys in his speeches is the use of proverbs. One of the principles of language is economy; to say much using a little. Proverbs can serve this function since they are condensed, precise and memorable words of wisdom which encapsulate the culture and experience of a given society. Indeed, politicians employ proverbs in their discourse to say much in few words and appeal to people's emotions and sense of belonging. Practically, the analysis of the selected speeches proves that Benkirane is no exception to these politicians. The following table illustrates the recurrence of proverbs:

Speech	Number of proverbs
Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)	3
Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and policies)	2
Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)	4

Table 3: The recurrence of proverbs in Benkirane's speeches

In the above table, it is obvious that proverbs make up an essential component in the former Prime Minister's persuasive strategies. The analyzed data reveals that Benkirane makes use of proverbs which belong to different thematic fields such as animals, war and religion. More than that, he deploys proverbs in standard and Moroccan Arabic to guarantee maximum persuasive effect on the different spectrums of the Moroccan society. The following extract presents an example of a proverb in Benkirane's speeches:

Extract 4

Arabic

- 1- *əlʕda:wa ta:bta w ɕwa:b jkun*
- 2- *Kaddiru ləʕça fərwidā*

Speech 3: Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy) (p17-18)

English translation

- 1 – Proverb 1 means something like: even at the situation of enmity, enemies should exercise self-control and enjoy tactfulness.
- 2- Proverb 2 literally means: to put the stick in the wheel. It can mean something like: to obstruct the progress of something even sometimes stubbornly.

The first proverb is addressed to the opposition. Due to constant attacks and harsh criticism of the opposition, Benkirane tries to absorb the hostile atmosphere and refers his opponents to the Moroccan etiquette in the case of animosity where both parties, though enmity, have to exhibit a sense of politeness. This way, the former Prime Minister is showing Moroccans his good manners and his good will to respect the other even in the cases of outrage; something, clearly, the opposition lacks. Hence, a proverb like this would help Benkirane engrave an image of himself in the people's minds as a man of moderateness, openness and mannerism.

The second proverb is used as a counter attack on the opposition's remarks. Instead of accepting and studying the opposition's observations on his government's work, the Moroccan former Prime Minister accuses the opposition of being an obstacle which hinders the government's progress. More than that, this proverb can also mean that someone obstructs the progress of something without a good reason or just for the sake of stubbornness. This way, the opposition is negatively depicted as a party which cares only to hinder the work of the government and perturb its progress without having a good justification. Hence, the former Prime Minister is victimized and the opposition is demonized. This of course would back up Benkirane's stance and weaken the opposition's in the eyes of the Moroccan public.

Questions

The use of the power of questions has added a strong persuasive dimension to the Moroccan former Prime Minister's line of argumentation. Questions are very often deployed in all types of discourse. In political

discourse, different types of questions are used by speakers to achieve persuasion, stimulate thinking and prove a point. It is generally remarked that politicians use rhetorical questions to trigger their audience's thoughts, raise awareness and provoke agreement. Other types of questions such as open and close ended, WH and yes-no questions are commonly used by politicians especially in interactive situations such as interviews and debates. Practically, the data analysis has identified all these types of questions in Benkirane's speeches. The table below illustrates the types and frequency of questions used in Benkirane's speeches.

Speech	Type of question	Number of ses
Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)	Rhetorical questions	5
	WH questions	1
Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and policies)	Rhetorical questions	4
	Yes-no questions	1
	WH questions	1
	Open-ended questions	1
	Close-ended questions	2
Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)	Rhetorical questions	13
	Yes- no questions	3
	WH questions	13
	Closed questions	1
Total of questions		45

Table 4: Types and frequency of questions in Benkirane's speeches

The above table clearly proves that Benkirane relies heavily on questions as a persuasive tool. He obviously varies his types of questions to help him achieve different functions such as to criticize, explain and elicit desired answers. The table also shows that rhetorical and WH questions are the dominant types of questions in Benkirane's speeches. The following excerpts elaborate on the use of these two types.

Extract 5

Sample of rhetorical question

Arabic

Kunna kanta:lbu ba:f lmuha:ziri:n jdexlun lbarlama:n luka:n sanatu:nna di:kā ssaṣa kun ra:h mṣa:na da:ba lmuṣaḍili:n djalhum wqulu lija ṣlaf di:kā ssaṣa kentum ded we daba tatḩawtu ṣlija ṣa:wtani ?

Speech 1: Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad) (p20)

English translation

We called for the access of Moroccan immigrants to the parliament. If you had supported us that time, their representative could have been here with us. Tell me why were you against the idea at that time, and now you are yelling at me?

Sample of WH questions

Arabic

afnu mʔna nisbat lʔazʔz ʔatkun ʔaktar maʔna:h annahu lmuʔassasa:t ʔddawlija matbqa:f tiq fik katqul ha:da bhal ji wahad kajqolu lilabna:k aw lma:nihi:n jawddi ʔssijed rah ba:leʔ fʔddina lli ʔlih ba:leʔ felkridi waf atzi:d tsellfek? lla maʔatzidji tsʔlfʔk wila sʔlfa:tʔk afkaddir? katʔaʔab ʔlik ʔsuru:t w kat kebbar lfawa:ʔid w af jebdaw jeddawlu lma:nihi: ʔand baʔdem tajqulu hada lmaʔrib ra:h lqadija djalu ma:ʔitalhih matselfu:hʔ bsuhu:lah wla matselfu:hʔ niha:ʔijan.

Speech 3: Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)(p18)

English translation

What does it mean that the Deficit ratio will be higher? It means that the international institutes will not trust you anymore; the banks and donors would say you have exaggerated in asking for loans. Are they going to lend you more? No, they are not going to lend you more. And if they happen to lend you, what do they do? They make the conditions tougher and the benefits bigger. And what would the donors deliberate among themselves? They would say, you know! Morocco has an unstable situation, do not lend them easily or do not lend them at all. (Moroccan Arabic)

In the case of rhetorical questions, the former Prime Minister uses them mostly to deplore the opposition's acts. In the example above, Benkirane reminds his opponents of the past when he was in the opposition and they were in the government, at that time he called for the representation of Moroccan immigrants in the parliament and the government refused. Now the roles are reversed and the opposition is stuck in its contradictory stance. This way, and through his strong question why do you yell at me now? Benkirane is capable of exposing the opposition's dilemmatic and paradoxical situation before the people and present himself as victim of his opponents' deeds. This rhetorical question would echo in the people's minds carrying Benkirane's "innocent" interrogation: now why do you yell at me again? and persuade them of his toiling efforts against an anti-people opposition.

Concerning the second extract, the former Prime Minister uses a series of WH questions which he asks and answers himself. He asks a question and answer it right away for the sake of simplification, for example, when he asks: what does it mean deficiency rate would be more?, he believes that it would be difficult for the average Moroccan to answer this question; that is why he himself answers the question in a simplistic and down to earth manner. More than that, these types of question are formulated to serve consciousness-raising in the people. When Benkirane wants to introduce and explain something quite vague or difficult to grasp, he resorts to WH questions to explain the what, when, who, why, where and how to ordinary Moroccans. Interestingly, in the above extract, Benkirane introduces the questions and their answers in a dialogic form using very simple Moroccan Arabic as if he is telling an anecdote to little kids. In such manner, the former Prime Minister guarantees wider understanding of his discourse by the majority of Moroccans who, hopefully, are expected to "buy" his claims and support them.

Appeal to Authority

The reliance on different sources of authority has rendered Benkirane's claims credible and, consequently, persuasive. Indeed, authority would support the politician's claim and give the audience feeling that this claim is set on valid, authentic and reliable arguments. The Moroccan former Prime Minister resorts to four main

authorities to back up his claims. The following table presents these authorities and how many times they have been referred to:

Speech	Type of authority			
	Appeal to statistics	Appeal to foreign and international organizations	Appeal to religion	Appeal to the king's authority
Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)	12	7	16	5
Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and policies)	15	5	19	7
Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)	17	10	17	6

Table 5: types of authorities and their frequency in Benkirane's speeches

It can be inferred from the above table that the Moroccan Prime Minister varies his authorities between cognitive, international, spiritual and legitimistic sources respectively. Statistics make up a strong persuasive tool, through which Benkirane calls on the power of figures, numbers and calculations to stress the achievements of his government in tangible and clear ways. Further, because he belongs to a political party with Islamic background, Benkirane uses the supremacy of religion in the Moroccan social makeup and peppers his speeches with Quranic verses, Hadiths and religious vocabulary. This obviously would help him persuade a nation whose 99% of people are Muslims. Also, as the table testifies, there is a considerable reliance on international and foreign authorities to stress the validity of arguments. Benkirane quotes testimonies of powerful organizations such as UN and IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and reports about the progress of his government by other business organizations. Benkirane is not satisfied with only quoting organizations and their reports, but he also refers to prominent figures such as Mr Pan Kee Moun (chairman of UN) and presidents of countries to give great value to his accomplishments. The last but not least authority is the authority of the Moroccan king Mohamed VI. Given the high esteem and historical, religious and legitimistic authority the king enjoys, Benkirane makes of him a good witness on his government's work. When the king endorses and blesses the work of the government this would give it a high value and trust among the Moroccan public. The following excerpts exemplify every type of authority.

Extract 6

Appeal to statistics

Arabic

Waqad kossisa littarbija wattakwi:n iθna:ni waarbaʕ:na milja:r dirham sanata alfajni waθala:θataʕafar wa sazala lmawsimuddi ra:sijju alfainiwa iθna:ʕafar alfain iwa θala:θata ʕafar tatawuran i:za:bijan limuafiri taʕmi:mi ttamadrusi haitu ntaqalat nisbatu ttamadrusi bilʔibtida:ʔiji min wa:hidun watisʕu:na fa:sila iθna:n filiʔa sanata alfainiwa θama:nija alfaini watisʕa ila tisʕa watisʕu:na fa:sila sitta ila alfainiwa iθna:ʕafar

alfainiwaθala:θataʕafar maʕalasafi la: nahtaʕafido bihim zami:ʕan filmada:risi. Kama: xussisa ma: baina alfaini wa ihda ʕafar wa alfainiwaθala:θataʕafar wa:hidun wa ʕifru:na wa miʕataini mansiban lifa:ʕidati ha:ḍalqita:ʕi wantaqal ʕadadu lmustafidi:na min

muha:rabati lʕummijati min miʕatun waθama:nu:000 ila: sabʕu miʕatin wa xamsu:na 000 ma: baina mawsimai θama:nija wa tisʕu:nwatisʕa watisʕu: wa alfainiwa iθna:ʕafar alfaini wa θala:θata ʕafar fi:ma: nxafadat nisbatu lʕummijah min θala:θawa ʕarbaʕu:n filmiʕa sanata alfaini wa arbaʕ ila: aqalli min θama:nijatun wa ʕifri:a ha:lujan.

Speech 2: Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and policies)(p4)

English translation

42 billion dirham has been allocated for Education and Training in 2013. And the school year of 2012-2013 has witnessed positive development in the index of generalizing schooling, where the ratio of schooling moved from 91,2% in 2008-2009 to 99,6 in 2012-2013 in primary Education. Unfortunately, we cannot keep them all in schools.

And between 2011 and 2013, 21,200 job opportunities have been allocated to this sector [Education and Training]. And the number of beneficiaries from fighting illiteracy plans moved from 180,000 to 750,000 between the schools years 1999-1998 and 2012-2013, while currently the illiteracy rate has dropped from 43% to less than 28%. (Standard Arabic)

In this passage, the Moroccan former Prime Minister defends his government's achievements in the vital sector of education. To best persuade the Moroccan public, Benkirane makes use of figures, percentages and specific schedules to help the people clearly see, process and absorb his claims. The power of statistics enhances the persuasiveness of Benkirane's claims through addressing the cognitive side of the public which would leave no room for skepticism. This way, the clarity and straightforwardness of figures and numbers replaces the vagueness and elasticity of language making the argument concrete, easy to trace and memorable.

Extract7

Appeal to foreign and international organizations

Arabic

Kama: aʕa:da sundouqo nnaqdi ddawli xila:la laja:mi lʕaxi:rati bilʕsla:ha:ti llati tuba:ʕiruha lhukoumatu min azli tamni:ʕiqṭisa:dina lwaṭanij wa muwasalati stiʕa:dati ʕa:fijjatihi waʕtabartuha miθa:lan juhtada: bihi filmintaqa wa nawaha bi qudrati lhukoumati ʕala:stiba:qi ḍarfijati liqṭisa:dijati allaḍi: jusdiruhu albankuddawli sanawijan fi: taqri:ri (doiṅ biznās) assaʕba wa haqaqa lmaʕribu nati:zatan i:za:bijatan xila:la ha:ḍihi ssanah wallaḍi juqarinu muna:axa laʕma:li fi: miʕatin wa tisʕatin waθama:ni:na dawlatan haiθu taqaddamat bila:duna biʕafar daraza:t mina lmartabati ssa:biʕati wattisʕi:n ila: lmartabati ssa:biʕati waθama:ni:na wa huwa tahassunun zid ʕi:za:bijin ʕala lmustawaini lʕa:lamiji walʕarabiji fi: waqtin tra:zaʕa fi:hi tarti:bu duwalin ʕiddatun fi lmintaqa.

Speech 3: Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)(p3)

English translation

Also, the IMF has recently praised the reforms undertaken by the government in order to immunize our national economy and maintain its recovery considering these reforms a good model for the governments of the region. The IMF also noted the government's ability to anticipate the difficult economic situation. during this year, Morocco has achieved a positive result as has been reported in "Doing Business" report, which is a report that compares between the business atmosphere in 189 countries, in which our country

proceeded ten ranks moving from 97 to 87. This is a very good progress at both the global and Arab levels in a time when the rank of many countries has fallen back. (Standard Arabic)

The above extract is clear evidence on using the authority of a powerful international organization, the World Bank, as a witness on the successful work of the Moroccan government. Benkirane cites the World Bank's praise for his government's successful reforms at the economic level which secured the Moroccan economy against a global economic crisis. Thanks to these reforms, the World Bank maintains, Morocco does not only succeeds at avoiding this economic turmoil, but also proceed in the ladder of countries which have good economic atmosphere. Here, Benkirane refers to the authority of the "Doing Business" report which testifies Morocco's progress among countries with good economic atmosphere, where Morocco proceeds from rank 97 to rank 87. More than that, Benkirane compares Morocco's progress at the Arab and international levels where this progress is met with regression in these countries. This way, Benkirane is in a strong position to convince the Moroccan people of the success of his plans and work at a delicate sector, economy, arming himself with a powerful authority in the field.

Extract 8

Appeal to religion

Arabic

baʕda lixwa:n da:ba tajziw taj qululək əbʕina nfufu raʕi:s lhukuma watjdiru lidra:b awddi wehda fi:hem ba:vi tətfa:hem ji? bawi tedbet jiə ʔa:xer ana makan amenji beddast ana tantfa:hem bettafahum ʕandek lhaq neʕtihlek ʕla:f bwi:t nʕed lhaq djalek? aʕbaindir bih? waf ana beʕda ʕadindir ji haʕa lzibi? hadik raha huqoq djalkum welʔamwa:l djalkum welli qal sidnanbi salla llahu ʕalajhim wasallam: innama ana qa:sim wallahu lmuʕti.

Speech3: Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)(p27)

English translation

Some of the brothers say we would like to see the former Prime Minister and they go on strike. Well! They have to choose one of the options, negotiation is one thing and pressure is another. I do not believe in pressure, I believe in negotiation. If you have a right, I will give it to you. Why would I keep your right? What am I going to do with it? Am I going to put something in my pocket? These are your rights and your money, and as our prophet (PBUH) says" God is the giver and I am only a divider" (Moroccan Arabic)

In this excerpt the religious background of the Prime Minister comes to the surface as a persuasive strategy. In dealing with a spiny problem such as strikes and demonstrations, Benkirane reminds the strikers of his belief in negotiation and rejection of pressure facing them with strong rhetorical questions like: why would I take your rights? What am I going to do with them? Am I going to put anything in my pocket? Then he cleverly cites the prophet Mohamed's Hadith which means something like: God is the giver and I am only a divider. This way, Benkirane compares himself to the prophet and assigns himself the role of someone who is not responsible for creating and making things but only divides what he is given. Hence, some Moroccans would believe in this Hadith and see Benkirane as a fair divider, others would ask him to assume his responsibility as a Prime Minister to make the means available first then divide and remind him that he is far from resembling the prophet.

Extract 9

Appeal to the king

Arabic

Inna ssijasata lhuko:mija ttizaha lmuwaṭeni:na lmaḩa:riba lmuqi:mi:na bilxariḩ tastanidu ila ma: huwa mudmanun filbarna:maḩi lhukumiji wa ma: warada filxiṭa:biji lmalakiji ssamij bita:ri:x ḩifru:n wuḩt alfajni wa iṬna: ḩaḩara (20 2102 تشيغ) allaḩi juḩaddu xiṭa:ban ta:rixijan rasama fi:hi zala:latu lmaliki maḩa:lima ssijasati lḩumulijati litadbi:ri juḩuni maḩa:ribatilḩa:lami watanfi:dan lhaḩihi ssija:sati taḩmalu lhuku:matu ḩala ma:jail

Speech 1: Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)(5)

English translation

The government policy concerning Moroccan citizens living abroad is based on what is included in the government plan and what is stated in the royal speech on 20th August 2012, which is considered a historical speech in which his majesty the king drew the characteristics of public policy for the management of the affairs of the Moroccans of the world. For actualizing this policy the government works on what follows: (Standard Arabic)

In this extract, Benkirane uses the respected and trustworthy position of the king, as a strong authority, to support his claims. Here, he associates between his plans about Moroccan immigrants and the king's speech about the same issue. In fact, he deems the king's speech as a roadmap and devises his plans according to it. In this case, Benkirane's plans come as an actualization of the king's will and policy bringing them to light. This way, Benkirane benefits from the authority of king to give more credibility and validity to his claims and guarantees the support of the people to his king inspired plans.

Narrative Persuasion

Interestingly, Benkirane calls on the persuasive power of the language of literature and borrows the technique of narration to empower his speeches. Narration and storytelling are one of the common strategies of political persuasion. Politicians defend their claims and stances, sometimes, best through weaving a plot, defining characters and describing a vivid setting. By doing so, politicians present the argument in a form of interrelated series of event and participants and hook the public and invite them to vividly ponder on the arguments. Hence, the public would be able to visualize the events, identify with the participants and, thus, understand and support the argument. In the case of the Moroccan Prime Minister's speeches, Benkirane makes use of short narrative accounts where he is a major participant. The aim behind these accounts is to involve the public in an interactive way giving them the chance to be eye witnesses on the argument put forward. The following table shows how many times narratives have been implemented in Benkirane's speeches.

Speech	Number of narratives
Public affairs (Moroccans living abroad)	1
Public affairs (the social issue in the governmental plans and policies)	3
Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy)	4

Table 6: Frequency of narratives in Benkirane's speeches

It is clear from the table above that the Moroccan former Prime Minister relies quite considerably on narratives as a persuasive strategy. Most of the analyzed narratives are characterized by shortness, simplicity of event and straightforwardness. This way, the speaker guarantees clarity and appeal to his arguments and hence assures grip and then conviction on the part of the public. Below is an extract illustrating the use of narratives in Benkirane's speeches:

Extract 10

Arabic

Ṣajeṭna: Ṣla: əssijed dja:l ttakwi:n Imihani: w qunnalih qunəfaba:b ba:f jəmkenlik tṢa:wənhəm lli Ṣandhəm lṢiza:za qa:l nqarrihem Ṣwija dja:lṢaransija əṢwija dja:lingli:zija əṢwija dja:l informatk əṢwija dja:l lkantabiliti: rubbama baṢd Imawa:d la: taṢdoreni huna. dirna mṢa:h barna:maz ṢṢa: jədar jəstawṢeb? qa:llek xamsawṢəṢri:n aṢef wa:həd ṩadi: nəṢtiwhem aṢef derham lwa:həd wṩaitkuwnu lṩuddat ṢaṢr aṢhur.

Speech 3: Public affairs (business atmosphere and the government's employment policy) (p 24)

English translation

We called the Mr. who is responsible for vocational training and we asked him how he can help BA holder youngsters. He said I teach them some French, some English, some information technology, some accounting, maybe I do not remember other subjects. We agreed with him on a program. We said how many people would the program cover? He said 25 thousand, we will give each of them 1000 dirham and they will be trained for 10 months. (Moroccan Arabic)

In this passage the narrative takes the form of a dialogue recounted in reported speech. To make his efforts in combating unemployment clear and unassailable, Benkirane recounts his meetings with the minister of vocational training and the agreements they made to help young BA holders find jobs. The whole account is reported in a very simple and accessible language which makes the plot clear and easy to follow. More than that, in this account, Benkirane presents himself as someone who seeks help from specialists to be able to take the right decisions while devising his plans. Through telling this story with the minister of vocational training, Benkirane makes the public visualize him as a wisdom seeker or path finder who embarks on a journey which would help him get back full-handed with solutions to the country's predicaments. Also, this helps him give the impression that he is open to all constructive assistance from all parts for governance. This way, the Moroccan former Prime Minister is able to attract more people and make his narrative captivate their minds and skillfully "sell" them his claims.

Conclusion

The persuasive power of political discourse remains one of the most influential tools for manipulation, worldview shaping and indoctrination. The significant rise of PJD in the Moroccan political scene scattered the cards of the political game because it introduced a new type of discourse which is characterized by simplicity, diatoposia, polemics and populism. Moreover, the Islamic background of the party served as a board for riding the wave of the rise of Islamist parties and movements during the Arab revolutions. Such background brought the party into confrontation with the monarchy since the king in Morocco is deemed the Emir of the believers and whose religious authority is un-sharable.

References

- [1] Aristotle (1967). *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freesy. London : William Heinemann Ltd.
- [2] Bryder, T. (2009). Populism—a threat or a challenge for the democratic system. *Lecture: Xenophobia, Politics and Right Wing Populism in Europe. University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science. 10ECTS.*
- [3] Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. routledge.
- [4] Chilton, P., & Schäffner, C. (Eds.). (2002). *Politics as text and talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse* (Vol. 4). John Benjamins Publishing.

- [5] Crick, B. (2013). *In Defense of Politics*. New York: A&C Black.
- [6] DeRoso Evans, Jane(1992). *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- [7] Devlin, Lawrence Patrick (1987). *Political Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- [8] Joseph, E. (2006). *Language and Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- [9] Evans, J. D. (1992). *The art of persuasion: Political propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. University of Michigan Press.
- [10] Fairclough, I., & Fairclough, N. (2013). *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*. Routledge.
- [11] Fetzer, A., & Lauerbach, G. E. (Eds.). (2007). *Political discourse in the media: Cross-cultural perspectives* (Vol. 160). John Benjamins Publishing.
- [12] Graakjær, N. (2018). *Analyzing music in advertising: television commercials and consumer choice*. London: Routledge.
- [13] Hamdan, A. H. E., & Elnadeef, E. A. E. (2020). Analysis of the Prime Minister Abdulla Hamdok's Speech from Rhetoric and Linguistic Perspective. *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation*, 2(7), 78-88.
- [14] Halmari, H., & Virtanen, T. (Eds.). (2005). *Persuasion across genres: A linguistic approach*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- [15] Hume, David(1989). *Political Discourse*. Edinburgh: R. FLEMing.
- [16] Hussein, A. L., & Hussein, M. M. (2020). Pragma-Linguistic Analysis of Assertion in May's and Trump's Inaugural Addresses. *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation*, 3(2), 78-88.
- [17] Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage.
- [18] Mutz, D. C., Sniderman, P. M., & Brody, R. A. (Eds.). (1996). *Political persuasion and attitude change*. University of Michigan Press.
- [19] Neagu, M. I. (2013). *Decoding political discourse: Conceptual metaphors and argumentation*. Springer.
- [20] Norman, F. (1989). *Language and power*. London and New York: Longman.
- [21] Norman, F. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- [22] Perloff, R. M. (2010). *The dynamics of persuasion: communication and attitudes in the twenty-first century*. Routledge.
- [23] Pocock, J.G.A(1989). *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- [24] Roberts, R.H, and Good J.M.M(1993). *The Recovery of Rhetoric: Persuasive Discourse and Disciplinarity in the Human Sciences*. Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press.
- [25] Rogers, R. (2011). *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education*. New York: Routledge.
- [26] Shabo, M. (2010). *Rhetoric, logic, and argumentation: A guide for student writers*. Prestwick House Inc.
- [27] Tansey, S. D., & Jackson, N. (2014). *Politics: the basics*. Routledge.
- [28] Van Dijk, T.A (1993). *Discourse & Society*. London: SAGE vol. 4(2).
- [29] Van Eemeren, F., Van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- [30] Weiss, G and Wodak, R(2003) .*Critical Discourse Analysis: theory and interdisciplinarity (ed.)* New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- [31] Wodak, Ruth (2007). *Language and Ideology-Language in Ideology*.Lancaster: John Eenjamins