College of Graduate Studies
English Department

Abdulfatah Al-Sisi's Ideology and Identity: Critical Discourse Analysis of

Selected Speeches

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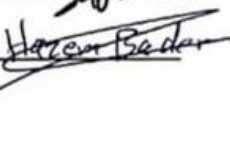

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work. It was conducted under the supervision of Dr. Mahmoud Eshreteh at Hebron University, and it has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree in any university.

Signature: Othman Abdalgani Jamjoum

Dedication

I would express my gratitude to Allah for giving me the patience, power and the ability to finish this paper. I send my deep gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Mahmoud Eshreteh for giving me the opportunity to have this thesis done. His continuous support, observation, and most importantly his patience through writing this paper will remain in my memory for good.

Abstract

This research investigates the ideology and identity of the sixth Egyptian president Abdulfatah Al-Sisi through eight selected speeches. These speeches were delivered over many years of Al-Sisi's life as an Egyptian president. Some of these speeches are labeled as some of the most important ones by the Egyptian government and cover the topics of religion, local economy, and local education. These speeches discussed significant issues like the Egyptian twenty fifth revolution in January 2011, plans of Egypt 2030, possible threats to the security of Egypt and perceptions of Al-Sisi toward Egypt's past and future. This thesis is considered to be qualitative since it is based on the researcher analysis of selected speeches. To analyze these selected speeches, Leete's (2012) theory about identity and van dijk's (2006) theory about ideology have been adopted as the theoretical framework of the study. The political background in Egypt helped analyze the speeches of Al-Sisi and revealed his ideology taking into consideration the context of which the speeches were delivered. The analysis of the eight selected speeches showed that Al-Sisi does not have a suitable plan for maintaining an appropriate education for Egyptians, doesn't have appropriate plans to boost the local economy, doesn't allow religion to intervene in political issues and rules Egypt by military force and deception. Moreover, Al-Sisi links himself with the army and the security of Egypt as a triangle which are deeply connected to each other.

Abstract in Arabic

ملخص الدراسة

عبد الفتاح السيسي فكراً وهوية: تحليل نقدي لبعض خطاباته

يهدف هذا البحث الى استقصاء فكر وشخصية الرئيس السادس لمصر عبد الفتاح السيسي من خلال تحليل ثمانية خطابات له. تم جمع هذه الخطابات خلال فترات زمنية متفاوتة خلال رئاسة عبد الفتاح السيسي لمصر. هذه الخطابات تعد من أهم الخطابات من قبل الفئة الحاكمة بمصر وتتعلق موضوعات هذه الخطابات بالدين والاقتصاد المحلي والتعليم في مصر. وتتطرق هذه الخطابات تحديدا الى ثورة 25 يناير 2011 ورؤية مصر 2030 والاخطار المحتملة لامن الدولة المصرية ورؤية السيسي لمصر من خلال الماضي والحاضر. يعتبر هذا البحث نوعي لانه يعتمد على تحليل الباحث لخطابات مختارة و تم الاعتماد في تحليل هذه الخطابات باستخدام نظرية فاندايك (2006) عن الفكر ونظرية ليتي (2012) عن الشخصية كاطار نظري للدراسة. من أجل تحليل هذه الخطابات للكشف عن فكر وهوية السيسي تم الاستعانة بالخلفية السياسية للاحداث في مصر. وقد أظهرت نتائج تحليل الثمانية خطابات للسيسي بأن السيسي يفتقر الى خطة من اجل استدامة تعليم مناسبة للمصريين كما ويفتقر الى خطط مناسبة لدعم الاقتصاد المحلي في مصر بالاضافة الى عدم السماح للدين بالتدخل في شؤون مصر السياسية كما انه يحكم مصر بالحكم العسكري واعتماد اساليب الخداع. قام السيسي ايضا بالربط بينه وبين الجيش المصري وامن مصر كجسم واحد.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction:

The use of language is not always the same according to surrounding circumstances. Language used by a teacher inside a classroom is different from the language used by a baker inside bakery, or from the language used by a candidate in an election run. Politicians usually use a certain language to avoid taking responsibility for actions. The use of language is different depending on the power of speaker and listener, status, gender, and surrounding circumstances. Sometimes, messages could be understood in different meanings according to the identity of a speaker, a listener and the context itself. Thus, different listeners may have different interpretations for the same message.

These messages carry the ideas of the speaker to one or more listeners. According to Leech (1983), these messages could have aesthetic, directive, phatic, informative, and expressive functions. Speeches delivered by politicians and high status figures usually deliver messages in formal contexts to make decisions. These decisions could either be delivered directly like orders, or indirectly as hidden agenda to avoid responsibility for their decisions.

Politics is a social activity that tackles the issue of power. It is also a set of cooperation strategies that are implemented by some social institutions in order to solve social conflicts (Chilton, 2004).The implicit characteristics of politics are the clash of interests, persuasion and manipulation, imposing opinions as logical and identifying allies and opponents. This is what Van Dijk expressed in the term "ideology" which is represented in being a social policy that is derived partially or

completely from social theory consciously. There is another definition of ideology through Marxism which is represented in the struggle for political power in the issue, and other ideas like the nature of capitalism arise from a certain set of material interests (Fairclough, 2001). In addition, ideology is the basis for the social representations that group members share so that there is a mental framework about the beliefs in society and the cognitive and social functions that exist for such groups (van Dijk 1998).

This thesis aims at investigating selected speeches of the president of Egypt Al-Sisi to reveal his identity as a president and his ideology about religion, local economy, and local education through certain selected speeches that are delivered on multimedia like interviews, presentations, and conferences. These speeches were delivered over many years through Al-Sisi's presidency life.

1.2. Statement of the problem:

Lexical choice differs depending on the situation. Thus, language used by presidents is different from the one used by (ordinary) people. Political figures may not deliver their message straight forward; some figures may use certain words that could have different meanings. Each meaning conveys a different message. Therefore, these messages may have aims in speakers mind. Usually, language delivered by politicians is meaningful and full of speech acts. The speeches need deep analysis to disclose any hidden agenda which are widely spread in political speeches. In the following speech, the Egyptian president Al-Sisi discussed religion and revolution. This quote is an example of ideology represented in words as this thesis will discuss other examples in detail.

We Must Revolutionize Our Religion (Channel 1 (Egypt) - December 28, 2014 - 02:47)

Can religion be revolutionized? What does he mean by the term *revolutionize*? How could religion be revolutionized? What is his ideology toward religion? Well, the previous quote and other quotes might reveal his hidden agenda during his reign of Egypt.

There is an interview when he was about to come the president of Egypt. Al-Sisi in this interview spoke in English as follows:

> *interviewer: Its very likely that you are about to become the next president of Egypt, so I want to start out by asking you what your top priorities are for your first hundred days and how long it's gonna take to make a real difference in the life of Egyptians? Abdulafatah Al-Sisi: Let me first thank you for this interview and I welcome you to Egypt.*
>
> *Interviewer: Thank you very much. Al-Sisi: and let me introduce myself Abdulfatah Al-Sisi. I'm an Egyptian citizen. I love my country and my all people. I want to serve them. By to… ensure democracy, freedom, rule of law, and a better life style. Let me talk by Arabic please (2014).*

Al-Sisi started answering the question in English, instead of using Arabic. This excerpt shows that the interviewer asked about Al-Sisi's top priorities as a president, and he answered him by introducing himself instead of his priorities. Why

did he start using the English language? Why did he introduce himself instead of introducing his top priorities? Is it a kind of procrastinating?

The researcher attempts to reveal Al-Sisi's ideology and identity as a president of Egypt. It is important to mention that the researcher is not politically affiliated to any political party and has no political tendencies toward any political side in Egypt. Thus, this research is made for scientific inquiry of studying language through political discourse.

In this thesis, it is hoped that this study investigates Al-Sisi's identity, ideology and his own perception toward religion, local economy and local education in Egypt through eight selected speeches. These speeches were carefully selected over many years of his life as a political figure to reveal his ideology and identity and their impact on Egypt.

1.3. Significance of the study:

Critical discourse analysis research has paid attention to ideologies represented by politicians around the world especially by decision makers of the United States of America, North Korea, Russia, Iran, China, or any powerful country. The ideology of such powerful countries and first world countries is reflected in weaker and third world countries that tend to be subordinate ones. Politicians' speeches reveal their ideology toward interior and exterior policies.

The study of speeches of the sixth Egyptian president, Al-Sisi, is significant since it is loaded with interior and exterior political messages. These messages may reveal the ideology of the president after Egyptiantwenty fifth revolution in 2011 which results in Mubaraks' step down, after president Mursi came to office in 2012,

but somehow in 2014, he was jailed. Consequently, Al-Sisi became the current president of Egypt. Al-Sisi's speeches may reveal his ideology as president of what happened before he became a president and how things will be going on during his reign.

1.4. Research Questions:

This study aims at answering the following research questions:

1. How does Al-Sisi construct his ideology about religion?

2. How is local economy constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology?

3. How is local education constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology?

4. How does he construct his identity through language?

1.5. Objectives of the study:

The objective of this study is to identify the ideology used in speeches delivered by the sixth Egyptian president Abdulfatah Al-Sisi during his presidential era. Several language theories will be observed; such as semiotics, lexical choice, ideology, and critical discourse analysis in order to explain to what extent the speaker's ideologies are reflected in his linguistic choices. These theories study the lexicon and discourse produced by Al-Sisi to track his ideology toward his country. In general, this study aims to:

- Reveal how Al-Sisi's perceives religion
- Reveal how local economy is constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology
- Reveal how education is constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology

- Reveal the identity of the speaker through language

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies:

2.1. Introduction:

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework and the related previous studies of the thesis. The theoretical framework discusses the issues of ideology and identity of the sixth Egyptian president Abdulfatah Al-Sisi through various angles; critical discourse analysis, lexical choice, intertextuality, semiotics, pragmatics and political discourse analysis, corpus analysis and lexical pragmatics, and strategies of controlling people by media. On the other hand, previous studies deal with researches conducted on the same research, such as, the political figures' speeches analyzed to reveal their ideology.

2.2. Theoretical Framework:

In this research, the theory of ideology by Art Leete (2012) and Teun van Dijk(2006) will be adopted as a theoretical framework in order to reveal the hidden agenda of Al-Sisi during his presidential period by analyzing selected speeches.

2.2.1. Ideology:

Political ideology is a common subject for researchers and social analysts who work on the development of political psychology. Ideology has defeated different theories in political thought. It has proved to be the best understanding of political ideology as a theory that different actors do in their positions despite the many strategies available in the field (John Martin, 2015). Ideology can be defined as a group of "factual and evaluative beliefs" which is knowledge and opinions of a set (van Dijk, 2003).

Ideology has several features. First, it is general due to the system of purely personal beliefs that cannot be considered ideological. Ideology must have a general identity that transcends everything that individuals have. Therefore, different groups within a single political society can challenge the prevailing ideology and create or develop counter-ideologies aimed at questioning the legitimacy of the status quo and the willingness to spread their own (John Martin, 2015).

For example, knowledge was used by Marx and Engels to denote abstract concepts that illustrate imaginary concepts apart from material aspects. It was used by Marxists to refer to general issues in the daily lives of people, and used by political scientists to indicate firm positions that are achievable at certain times. People used to refer to the beliefs, attitudes and opinions that differ from one person to another one whose strategy is different and so on (John Martin, 2015).

By its origin, ideology doesn't have negative connotations, but it has social and cognitive features. Ideologies are not personal or individual. They shape the identity of groups, and they are considered to be a sort of belief system stored in long-term memory, though not all socially common beliefs are considered to be ideologies. The society needs some socio-culturally shared ideas that could be considered pre-ideological ones. Ideology is not only expressed by speaking or writing, but it is also expressed by other social practices. It is often used in media and social sciences in a vague and negative way through misguided ideas of others (van Dijk, 2006).

Ideology is connected with politicians and political processes, practices, cognition, and discourse. Therefore, it has political tasks called political ideologies. Political ideology could be briefly defined as the overall system such as democracy and dictatorship; overall social actions such as government, elections, decision

making; micro practices such as discourses and debates, special values such as freedom and equality, and political cognitions. In the field of politics, different groups, power, struggles and interests are at stake, so politicians should be organized and conscious to compete. It is based on ideological unlikeness, alliances and likeness (van Dijk, 2006).

2.2.2. Political Discourse and Ideology:

Ideology in the political field is a set of values, principles and objectives that any winning party intends to implement on the ground. If the field of politics is ideological, its practices and discourse are considered ideological as well. In a context model, ideologies are engaged in production and understanding a discourse. Therefore, discourse makes ideologies notable since it is only discourse that is explicitly expressed. Political practices other than discourse implicitly show or experience ideologies (van Dijk, 2006).

Structures of political discourse are usually studied to reveal ideologies. Political discourse is known with political contexts as well as political discourse. For example, a president is known as a political relevant context while an engineer will be seen less political than the president. Political figures don't engage in political situations arbitrarily. However, they do have political knowledge and ideologies to share. Political categories are not universal, and they are considered culturally specific. Other cultures could have their norms and values (van Dijk, 2006).

Political discourse has pragmatic functions "context model". First, speech acts serves a political promise or threat regarding the power or relationship of the participants, political positions, and the intention to help or hurt the recipient. Second, it controls the selection of information in semantic aspect which indicates what the

participants are talking about. Third, the context also controls all levels of style of political discourse, for example, lexical choice, pronouns, syntactic structures, and other grammatical choices regarding the situations (van Dijk, 2006).

2.2.3. Political Discourse and Political Ideology:

Clearly, not all characteristics of political discourse are affected by implied ideologies; only those which are contextually variable are affected by ideologies. For example, the choice of polite or less polite pronouns is considered contextually variable while the position of articles prior to nouns is not considered a variable in English language. Ideological differences should be explored in what a speaker says rather than how he or she says it because socio-cultural knowledge defines communities and not ideological groups (van Dijk, 2006).

Ideologies usually comprise a polarized structure. These implied structures are manifested in political attitudes. Discourse would also show various types of polarization. Furthermore, it shows strategies of what might be called "the ideological square, emphasize our good things, emphasize their bad things, De-emphasize our bad things, and De-emphasize their good things" (Van Dijk, 2006). These aforementioned strategies could be applied to the whole levels of meaning, action, and form of text and talk. Therefore, political discourse focuses on their good actions and link political opposition with negative topics (van Dijk, 2006).

A speaker could boost meanings in various ways, such as word order, stress, headlining, repetition, and so on, and vice versa the opposite. There are organized means to explore discourse at different levels when ideologies are not explicit in the discourse. Consequently, when the speaker links meanings with good things, it could

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be associated with the group of the speaker, that will emphasize such meanings (van Dijk, 2006).

Political discourse doesn't only deal with opposed ideological groups. It is also an expression of implied ideology. Ideological categories such as, group relations, values, aims, actions, and norms are expected to be notable in a group member discourse. So, when they converse as group members, they are expected to boost their good actions, norms, and values. Such talk will be ideological (van Dijk, 2006).

2.2.4. Identity

Identity is a concept which gives an explanation to the human behavior and ideas and conceptions behind that behavior. Identity is to be vague in accordance with one's perception; we can relate this to the play of meanings (using different lexicons to relate things can be different from one identity to another) so it may be difficult to analyze because of the complex discourses it may contain. (Leete, Art2012).

Long time ago, identities were meant to be simple by using the word (the other) by Europeans to relate to identities that are different from theirs. And the others and related to them as (savages)and (the others) tend to hide their real identity whether it was individual identity or related to group identity not to be observed by them. (Leete, Art2012).

As Hallowell (1971 [1955]: 36) indicated, there is nothing called individual identity because at some point there are some connected behaviors and a common culture that implies mostly the overall goals and values. Identity is described as flexible and can be changed due to the unstable ideological and political surrounding

circumstances. Recent theories described identity as (discourse) due to the complexity, reflexive and subjectivity of it. Generally speaking, people have the ability to choose the group of identity to belong to, unlike political leadership which directs people to a certain shaped characteristics (Leete, Art2012).

According to Appadurai, many countries are having some activities (What do you mean by activities?)to involve ethnic diversities into small groups and closed membership in the countries and this automatically put those ethnic diversities into a fixed identity in the community (Appadurai, 1997).

Recently, new social and cultural developments appeared in a summative form but still considered to be irregular identities or groups. Globalization brought some results that highly affected the uniformity of population. That was one of the reasons in which new identities were born that were apart from the dominant identity (Appadurai, 1997).

Groups of identity can be defined and classified in many ways. Individual groups can be a sibling, a woman, a man, a daughter etc. Furthermore, there are groups of religions; Muslims, Christians, Jews. For each religion group, we can find smaller groups. For example in Christianity we can find orthodox, catholic and so on. Having this multiple identity in a community makes it difficult to identify the political identity of a region (Appadurai, 1997)

The term "political identity" is to be defined as a stream of behaviors that are originated from multiculturalism such as movements of feminism, gays and lesbians and other like ethnic movements. This definition focuses on three basic areas; identity like individual and group with its characteristics as multiple, subjective and objective. The other part is the reasons of political actions related to identity. Some critics relate

the causes to the material and others go for the linguistic, cultural and social causes. And the last base demonstrates whether the political identity really makes a difference or not (Appadurai, 1997).

Furthermore, there is a subjective and objective perception. As for the subjective perception, it constructs how community is socially constructed from this group member's image. As for the objective identity, it is the opposite of subjective identity. For example, there is an ethnic group in Afghanistan called Hazara; its members introduce themselves as Shi''a Muslim. Another ethnic group' Taliban's call and demonstrated that they are unbelievers. So these two contradictory examples make conflict relationship between each other. Having these two; subjective and objective identities make the observation of political identity more focused due to having more than one perspective and that observation is no more done by one perception or one point of view but to observe from group and individual points of view (Yunespour, &Reza,1970).

Having understood the religious part and the multi identities in Afghanistan helped in understanding and acknowledging the overall social and political identity. This somewhat helped to understand what was going in Afghanistan and what lead and still to the poverty that this country was and still suffering from but in a decreasing way. Having an obvious contradiction between the subjective and objective perceptions has an important role in contacting the basis of various groups' conflict (Yunespour, &Reza,1970).

According to what Taylor (1994) demonstrated that people go under some experiences like being a part of a collective as a habit formation, there are individuals whocan really be harmed, because of others actions "being a part of a collective",.

This is due to the loss of their habitual practices with others and the lacking of solidarity without following or being a part of collective they share the same interests and experiences. Liberal theories emphasize that through identity people give magnitude to others and it is unfair for the dominant identity to take the burden and the blame for nontrivial costs of the minorities (Watson, R., & Hayward, C. R. (2010).

Identity is an instrument for people to meet their needs of having solidarity and particular connections with others. And what was noted is that some minorities such as thesexual finds a necessary way for their survival. On the other hand, identity in some cases can be a burden. When a certain identity has the power or the legitimacy, it can be no good for identities that are minorities and sometimes will be defined as the externals or the others. Both theories; multiculturalists and liberalists demonstrate that sometimes groups exclude or make the limits of freedom shortened for the non-dominant groups (Watson,& Hayward, 2010).

2.2.5. Critical Discourse Analysis

According to van Dijk(1998), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a field that tackles discourse in both spoken and written forms to reveal sources of power, dominance, equality, and bias which are uttered in certain contexts. He concluded that there is a close relationship between discourse, ideology, and politics. Political field is considered to be ideological one involving its discourse and practices. Ideologies could be observable through written or oral discourse. Through discourse, ideologies could be explicitly expressed unlike their practices. Van Dijk defines ideology as social abstract beliefs shared by a group of people. Ideology and discourse are related through social, and cognitive (van Dijk2006).

Fairclough(1995) described the three dimensional methods as follows: The first one is a description of which the text itself written is or spoken discourse with its types, genres, syntax, grammar, and arguments. The second one is interpretation which tackles the context of discourse with its implications, economics, politics, and environmental conditions. The third one is explanation which seeks meanings of the previous dimension. Therefore, there are micro, meso, and macro-levels of analysis. Micro-analysis level deals with the text's structure and function. Meso-analysis level deals with production, consumption, and power relations. Macro-level analysis deals with texts and external factors (Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough (2010) perceives language as social action where social elements impact language to utilize certain forms of language. Scholars of critical discourse analyses investigated language regarding social condition and non-linguistic factors, like ideology, power, and dominance. Thus, Van Dijk (2003) pointed that critical discourse analysis is considered to be a type of analysis which studies how dominance, power, and inequality are practiced, reproduced, and countered.

2.2.6. Semiotics

Semiotics could be defined as codes within a language. These codes could reinforce structures of power. There are different levels of meanings for structures. For example, denotation and connotation have different order of significations. Denotation is what a sign indicates, and connotation indicates ideological assumptions, socio-cultural values, and objective interpretation. Semiotics is used to cover hidden messages. For example, Judith Williamson (1978) used semiotics to analyze advertisements and reveal the hidden meaning behind them.

Decontextualizing these signs reveal hidden meanings included in language (Sebeok 2001).

Within the semantic level of political discourse, some would be able to reveal ideologies. These ideologies are coded within a form of secondary layer of meanings. Political discourse may contain more than one meaning. Therefore, different people may have different interpretations for the same text. Consequently, semiotics inserts connotation meanings in addition to the primary one. Though it is hardly inevitable that semiotics does not have ideological basis; a neutralization of semiotics could be possible (Winfried 2004).

2.2.7. Intertextuality

Another theory which is considered in this research is intertextuality. It is a way of explaining a text using another text. In other words, the writer borrows ideas or, and words of another writer or speaker. These borrowings could be allusions, references, impressions, citations, and/ or quotations. These references could be direct or indirect. Intertextuality could be internal or external. Internal one is referring to a text within inside the same text itself while external intertextuality is borrowing discourse from another text (Zengin, 2016).

To be aware, one should understand its antecedents. Intertextuality, is a principle that all speeches and writings. In other words, it means the traces of a word and making connections with old or ancient use of a word or a phrase. Intertextuality derives our attention from the writer and to focus on the sources and social context. In this case, the writer is considered to be as a tool to create his own discourse meaning. Leitch(2001) says that the text is a set of relations not only a unified object; it contains

grammar, lexicons, system of language and history with its beliefs and ideas that depend on previous culture and borrowings (Zengin, 2016).

According to Porter (1986), we can differentiate between two types of intertextuality, Iterability, and presupposition. Iterability means "repeatability" and that is when a text has certain quotations and references done before and it's been paraphrased or used in a different matter. As for presupposition, it refers to assumptions that can be referenced in a text and its context to portions that are not vividly "there." For example, "Open the door" contains applied presupposition, pretending that there is a decoder who is able of being addressed and capable of opening the door than the encoder, and a context which is the door is closed (Adetuyi, 2016).

As for the pedagogy of intertextuality, it is not new. It remained Eliot's tradition, but now it has been broader. Intertextuality suggests that our aim is to help students in learning to write for their target discourse communities. Students need to develop what Joseph Williams calls "pre-socialized cognitive states." Williams said that pre-socialized writers are not sufficiently absurd in their discourse community for producing competent discourse. Intertextuality confirms that writing across the curriculum aims at introducing students to set systems of discourse communities. It affirms the value of critical reading in the composition classroom. It also requires considering our ideas about plagiarism. Current pedagogies assume that when writers analyze audiences, they must concentrate on the expected new readers (Zengin, 2016).

Intertextual theorists suggest that the main aspect of evaluating writing should be "acceptability" within some discourse community. It includes adherence to formal conventions. Andit also includes indicating the "right" topic to apply the appropriate

methodology, adhering to standards for evidence and validity, and over all adopting the community's discourse values, and to borrow the appropriate traces. Success is gauged by the writer's capacity to realize what can be presupposed and to borrow community's traces effectively in order to establish a text that contributes to the maintenance or, possibly, the definition of the community (Zengin, 2016).

2.2.8. Lexical Choice

Lexical Choice deals with text generations depending on the context. Tutin,& Kittredge (1992) argue that using correct lexical choice in context requires differentiating among features of concepts which are related to the semantic and syntactic aspect of the language. Lexical Choice cannot be produced without taking into consideration the context. Lexical contexts consist of utterances that deal with syntactic relations with words being generated. It is crucial for composing collocation restraints that confine ways of expressing certain meaning for certain lexical item (Fedele, & Kaiser, 2014).

In terms of textual context, the majority of cohesive links are anaphoric. Anaphora is a word that refers to an antecedent. Thus, when a word is discussed according to an antecedent, the previous context must be taken into consideration. These words could be a reflection for the same extralinguistic objects. On the other side, there is cataphora which is quite opposite of anaphora. In cataphora, reference antecedents follow pronouns (Fedele, & Kaiser, 2014).

John Wilson (2015) discussed revealing ways in which lexical choice is manipulated for specific political impact and which is considered to be an essential aim for the discourse analyses. Various levels of linguistics are used in the process from lexis to pragmatics. In terms of lexical choice, authors like Graber (1981);

Geis(1987); Bolinger(1982) wrote about loaded words, technical words and euphemisms. While Fowler and Marshall (1985) studied selected functional, their organization and their ideological aspect. Some define political discourse broadly that almost any discourse could be defined as political while others deal only with politicians and core political events regardless of the daily discourse which is part of their lives depending on the analysts' point of view. So, some analyses may become as much political as linguists (John Wilson, 2015).

2.2.9. Pragmatics and Political Discourse Analysis

Mocano(2015) links between pragmatics and political discourse. There is a relationship among speeches, politicians, and communication process. The role of pragmatics is putting language in use. Semantics deals with forms and meanings while pragmatics concentrates on generating meanings in context. While one of the aims for the political figures is to describe the political realities, another aim is to deliver instructions or and orders for people to act in a certain way. Political discourse is not nonsense words. Everything is based on deliberate behavior(s). It is an integral part of a political dimension (Mocano, 2015).

There are fundamental aspects for pragmatic approach in political discourse. The political discourse is that an interlocutor, who has the quality and status to deliver certain ideas, speaks on behalf of a certain group where the group recognizes itself, and is recognized by the people. Another perspective is the audience. Thus, the speaker should be aware of the audience attitudes and adjust his speech to meet their expectations. Media is considered an aspect for its documentation of political events. The last one is communication. It is considered to be as a contract and governed by principles of influence where interlocutors must comply to each other (Mocano 2015).

Multiple interpretations could be inferred for the same words by different people. The intended meaning could be inferred from the context. Thus, there are different levels of context structuring. Circumstantial context deals with the physical environment of the interlocutors which is place, time, and nature of communication. Situational or paradigmatic context deals with the cultural background where the communication takes place. Interactional context deals with signs that accompany process of communication like facial expressions and gestures. Epistemic context deals with beliefs and values which are shared by the interlocutors including presuppositions, expectations and intentions (Brown & Yule 2012).

2.2.10. Corpus Analysis and Lexical Pragmatics

Corpus analysis and lexical pragmatics deal with lexical encoded interpretation in use. They include metaphorical extension, lexical narrowing, and approximation. Linguists like Michael Stubbs (2001) supported the importance of utilizing corpus data as a supplement of inductive evidence. A central aim of lexical pragmatics is to investigate encoding and modifying of word or phrase level. Kolaiti& Wilson (2014) examine a set of hypotheses that seek to verify the rapid development of lexical pragmatism and to promote the possibility of intuitive data, mere artifices of fabric and syntax. As a response by "semanticists" against Chomsky's theory, *Philosophical Thought Explains the Importance of Language Uses in Understanding Our Nature* To this day, most of the important concepts in pragmatism have been derived directly from the philosophy of language (Kolaiti& Wilson,2014).

The lexical pragmatism applies the distinction of semantics at the word or phrase level instead of all speech. The main objective is to explore the processes by which linguistic meanings that are in use are modified. The application of pragmatism

addresses foreign or second-language learning problems on the assumption that, despite the potential universality of operations such as implicature, there are likely to be significant differences not only in language structures but also in their use (Kolaiti& Wilson,2014).

Language approximation is often treated as a state of pragmatic ambiguity, which has different standards of accuracy depending on the linguistic context. It is also seen as a blatant violation of the truth of the literary text, which leads to linguistic confusion in the text read. Studies undertaken by (Lakoff, 1987; Carston, 1997, 2002; Sperber and Wilson, 1998, 2008; Glucksberg, 2001, 2003; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002)and others confirm that lexical narrowing and broadening depend on context and are quite flexible. Many corpus linguists adopt a "use" semantics theory implicitly or explicitly that provides straight perception to the meaning. However, he who works on lexical pragmatics supposed that interpretation of a word or a phrase in a certain context deals with semantic and pragmatic factors. So, intended meanings could be less direct and need to be decoded (Kolaiti,& Wilson2014).

2.2.11. Interjections:

Abdulla and Talib(2009) in their research *The Meanings of Interjections in English and Arabic* said that the term "interjection" comes from the Latin and is divided into two syllables, inter, meaning "between" and jacer means "throw." These syllables have no real linguistic value but are used to express feelings or mental states in everyday situations. In this context, it interferes with speaking more than writing, and there are many examples of this, wow, ouch, oops, er, huh, gee, ooh, uh, aha, brrr, shh, ahem, psst (Li, 2005: 65).

Neal Norrick (2007) wrote an article about Pragmatic markers, interjections, and discourse .Neal discussed Matmala's contributions to the Journal. He discussed the issue of written and spoken discourse along with interjections as pragmatic markers. Conversational words have structural and pragmatic functions regarding the context. Therefore, pragmatic function is considered dynamic signaling assumptions about speech event, relationship among the interlocutors, connections to previous action, suggestions and speaker's position, attitude and emotions (Neal Norrick, 2007).

Schiffrin (1982) discussed the functions of markers and discourse. Discourse markers are related to a previous utterance shows speaker's attitude toward a certain utterance or event and or shows speaker's surprise toward an utterance. Moreover, Romero (2006) discussed discourse markers in his approach Discourse Cognitive Model. Discourse markers are defined as components that fill discourse and intellectual slots that are communicated in language and are needed to complete the interactions. According to this approach, markers are dynamic components to serve speaker-listener relationship. The signs interlocutors send to each other are called contextualization cues which serve to keep the discussion among them going on. These signs incorporate all types of discourse markers like intonation and pitch (Norrick, 2007).

2.2.12. Face Threatening Acts:

Brown and Levinson (1987) defined face threatening acts as acts that may threaten the speakers face or the hearers face. These acts may have a positive impact and save the face of the interlocutor(s) or a negative impact which result in losing the face of the interlocutor(s).

Language can be utilized to motivate, debilitate, enhance good correspondence or even initiate struggle among correspondents. Therefore, politeness is required for fruitful communication. Van Djik (1997) discusses that political issues are constrained to the activity of institutions, for example, government, parliament and parties. Individuals with differing ideologies and character meet to make laws and make sure they are executed (Ambuyo, Indede, and Karanja, 2011).

Face threatening acts prompt a communication breakdown as tested by Haris(2000) and shedding the light to such exchanges. However, he proposed that face threatening acts don't evidently rupture either the guidelines of discussion or the discourse expectations of the individuals of the house. In addition, he discusses that such conduct is expected for decent parliament members. This conduct functions to mainstream correspondence (Ambuyo, Indede and Karanja, 2011).

The notion of politeness should be perceived as a key conflict which could be found in Brown and Levinson (1987). The essential job of politeness is in its ability to work as a way of managing potential animosity among interlocutors (Ide 1989). The approach of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) gain its strength by clarifying the notion of face which is the self-portrait that everyone wants to gain for himself (Ambuyo, Indede and Karanja, 2011).

2.2.13. Hedges:

According to Holmes, with the consent of Crystal and Davy (1975), Brown and Levinson (2000) and other linguists supported him, hedging is described as linguistic devices that bring softness to rigidness of the statement. Hedging is used to lessen the level of risk and in uncertain utterances.

According to Falahati (2006, 102), there are two approaches for the function of hedges, the politeness model and the poly-pragmatic model. The poly pragmatic model deals with two types of hedges. Hedges affect the truth of the proposition and hedges that show the degree of the speaker's point of view to the truth-value of the proposition. In general hedges are used to make the writing style more established and to be more specific in speech or writing Salager-Meyer (1997, 106-108). As for the politeness model, linguists stated different aspects of Hedges. For example, Hyland (1995, 35) demonstrated that hedges help in making the force of speech lighter and asserts in minimizing threatens so that, the usage of hedges minimize face threatening acts. Brown and Levinson (2000, 18) differentiated between positive and negative politeness. Therefore, hedges are classified as negative politeness. Politeness has a connection with speech act theory and they are divided as implicit and explicit ways (Falahati, 2006).

According to Valeika and Verikaitė (2010, 65-66), the addresser can choose politeness strategies. The first strategy is when the speaker is direct, and most of the time he\she is impolite as in the example, *open the window!* The speaker can be polite by using one of the linguistics devices such as modal verbs; *would you, can you* and that would give the same social status. The second is negative politeness, this strategy is used to not oppose opinions and it is obvious from the devices used indirectly; can *you lend me your pen?* The third is the positive politeness. In this, the addresser tends to build and have a close relationship with the addressee and to minimize threatens as much as he can; *I think it's raining outside. You'd better take an umbrella.* And there are other strategies used like giving assurance by using *you know* and other devices like, haven't you (Valeika and Verikaitė, 2010).

As for poly pragmatic model, Hyland (1996, 437) divided the scientific statement into factive and non-factive. He examined the non-factive scientific statement and he demonstrated that it is based on both the reader oriented and the content oriented in which accuracy is based on reliability, attribute and the writer oriented (Hyland, 1996).

2.1.13. Strategies of controlling citizens by Media

As Chomsky[1](n.d) noted in his book *Silent Weapons for Quiet War*, there are ten strategies to manipulate the population through media. First, strategy of distraction means, to distract the public attention from the real incident that is important and affects the nation, gives them things to be busy and away from the surrounding circumstances, such as taxes, daily life problems and social issues. Second, the strategy of creating problems then offering solutions to the problem encourages people to be needy for this authority. That means to fabricate an incident that will attract the public attention for a while and to provide a solution for this problem to create for him a good propaganda. Third, it is the gradual strategy where masters do not oppose things as it is from the first time, yet they operate it to achieve a particular aim. In other words, to convince them doing things step by step but not haphazardly. Fourth, it is the strategy of postponing aims. This strategy is mainly rejected by people in order to gain public acceptance of these unpopular decisions. Through the time of postponing these aims, governments find methods in order to let community accept these aims. Another strategy is to address the public as a little child. Most of the advertisers tend to use children's intonation and view themselves as they were little children to deceive the public. Sixth, the strategy addresses the emotional side

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[1]https://exploringyourmind.com/10-strategies-of-media-control-noam-chomsky/

more than the reflection. It is a classic technique in which the speaker can cut the rational thinking of the listener and open his/her emotions and heart to listen to him/her rather than the intellect; by this the speaker opens the door for his ideas to be implanted in the mind of the listener easier than any other technique. The other strategy is to keep the public in ignorance and mediocrity. The more the public is unaware of the methods used in controlling and enslavement the better it is. Eighth, it is the strategy of encouraging the public to be complacent with mediocrity. The aim of this strategy is to lead the public to be ignorant and uneducated in the name of fashion and trend. The ninth strategy is the self-blame strategy; individuals tend to blame themselves for their failure because they believe that they are not clever enough instead of going against the system. The last strategy is that governments get to know the individuals better than they know themselves[2]

2.3.   Political Background:

There are political background events that should be taken into consideration when analyzing the selected speeches. To begin with, January 2011 revolution resulted in relinquishing a previous Egyptian president Mohamad Hosni Mubarak of his position and introduced him to a court to be judged. President Mohamad Hussein Tantawi was nominated by the Supreme Council of Armed Forces to take his place temporarily. In 2012, thirteen nominees from different political parties were involved in the second and final phase competition in the elections. Mohamad Mursi and Ahmad Shafeeq qualified to the final phase which resulted in Mursi, a representative of Islamic Brotherhood, winning the campaign and becoming the fifth president of

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[2]http://www.99posto.org/english/10-strategies-of-manipulation-by-the-media

Egypt. In 2013, president Mursi was jailed after coup d'état headed by Abdulfatah Al-Sisi.

In 2018 elections, CNN published an article about the candidates who declared their intention to participate in the elections. The article[3] reported a brief view about the major candidate, Sami Anan - the former military chief of staff. The lawyer Khaled Ali, who criticized the obstacles Al-Sisi regime imposed on the presidential elections, stressed that what happened recently doesn't suit the reputation of Egypt. Moreover, the CNN report sheds the lights on the candidates who withdrew from the elections and the probable reasons of their withdrawal leaving no major candidates for Abdelfatah Al-Sisi.[4]. However, Abdulfatah Al-Sisi submitted his papers successfully for the elections.

In2018, Sami Anan declared his intention for presidential campaign runcalling civil and military state institutions to be neutral among the candidates. He also claimed that he will correct wrong actions, but later he was questioned and accused of counterfeit and incitement (CNN 2018).

In the eleventh of January 2018, ʻKhaled Ali confirmed that he will resume the elections campaign regardless of the unsuitable timetable given by the regime and regardless of challenges, and how violent the regime is. However, he decided not to complete the elections when Sami Anan was strongly requisitioned not to (CNN 2018).

Ahmad Shafiq, a former candidate in 2012, declared his intention to participate in the presidency elections through a recorded video on the twenty ninth of

[3] https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/23/middleeast/egypt-arrests-presidential-candidate/index.html
[4] https://edition.cnn.com/2018/03/25/africa/egypt-election-sisi-intl/index.html

November 2017 claiming that Egypt is collapsing. However, in January 2018, he announced his retreat saying he is not the right man as president for the upcoming period (CNN 2018).

Ahmad Qanswa, a colonel in the army, also declared on twenty ninth of November 2017 his intention to participate in the presidency elections through a video on Facebook imitating Al-Sisi's dress in 2014. On the nineteenth of December 2017, a military court sentenced him 6 years to jail under the pretext of disobeying a military law. He claimed that he resigned from the military services to become a candidate as the law states. However, his resignation wasn't accepted.

On the other hand, in April 2019, the Egyptian government made genuine amendments on the Egyptian's constitution. It claimed that plebiscite has been made between twenty and twenty second of April 2019. Egyptian media declared the results of the plebiscite, and more than 88% of the Egyptians agreed to the amendments. Therefore, Al-Sisi claimed his right to keep himself as the ruler of Egypt for another twelve years since the amendments state that the period of each presidential period is six years. [5]

2.4. Previous Studies:

There are scholars who need further studies of the speeches of politicians to reveal their ideologies. For example, Juraj Horvath (2013) analyzed Obama's inaugural speech through Norman Fairclough's approach of critical discourse analysis (1995). He investigated the hidden messages of political discourse revealing Obama's

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[5]https://www.youm7.com/story/2019/4/23-فى-2019-الدستورية-التعديلات-على-الاستفتاء-نتيجة/
4219034/مشاركة-نسبة-أعلى

persuasive strategies. The writer discussed the background of the United States focusing mainly on their liberal ideology.

The conceptual basis in this study, according to Fairclough (1995),is that his theoretical conceptualization is taken from Batstone who demonstrates "critical discourse analysis" as it aims to disclose the way texts can be described as delicate and covert. According to Juraj's(2013) analysis, Obama thanked previous presidents, acknowledged the existence of some crises, addressed the world, and suggested solutions (Juraj 2013).

Moreover, Fatih Bayram (2010) conducted a research on analyzing Erdogan's political speeches. He discussed the importance of the use of language and the importance of perceptions as well as power, cultural and social background, region, and social status. His theoretical framework is based on Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (1995) to identify Erdogan's ideology. Fatih Bayram studied the language used in a debate in the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2009 within the context of his ideological, cultural and language background.

Daniela Matic (2012) identified and compared the speeches of the Republican Party candidate John McCain and the Democratic Party candidate Barack Obama. The analysis of the speeches took place through critical discourse analysis of political discourse structures, and semantic speeches in their 2008 presidential elections. The study revealed that their speeches aim at positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. From the analysis which was done between the two speeches, there were similarities and differences. We can see that lexicon was used to give objection or criticism in a way or another and not only to provide facts and information.

Andhita and Sofi (2017) analyzed the utterances of Donald Trump during presidential campaign in 2015 in Knoxville. The researchers used descriptive qualitative method in their research. Moreover, Critical Discourse Analysis theory by Van Dijk (2008) was used as a theoretical framework to analyse the data. The research had four objectives: First is the political utterance in Trump's speech. Second is the way he delivered his speeches. Third are the aims of his utterances. Fourth is the impact of these utterances on people. The results of the study showed that Trump succeeded to deliver his ideology and managed to gain power. His speeches had the required elements to convey his ideology and aims at the audience Andhita and Sofi, (2017).

Fawwaz and Nazik (2015) studied the use of linguistic strategies that king Abdullah II used in his speeches. The data for this research was represented by three speeches selected by the researchers. The researchers applied two levels of analysis. The first one was the three dimensions of Fairclough (1995) analysis. The second one was using persuasive strategies of political discourse. These strategies are creativity, reference, circumlocution, and intertextuality. The results showed that King Abdullah II delivers his speeches employing the previously mentioned strategies. He uses creativity to display reality. He uses intertextuality to correspond with Americans referring to extracts from previous American presidents, as he uses circumlocution to highlight issues related to peace process in the region including United Sates role. In the reference strategy, he uses the first person narrative to show his core issues.

Hernandez –Guerra (2013) in his article *Textual, Intertextual and Rhetorical Features in Political Discourse the Case of President Obama in Europe* discussed the importance of political discourse. Speeches should be understood and delivered in its original meaning. Barak Obama with his highly level of speeches is one of the key

speakers in the twentieth century. Political discourse or text is all about reformulating sentences and phrases; if politics is aimed at communications, then we have to analyze the speaker and the addressee because most of the political discourse is not subtle and not clear as a first interaction with the text.

President Barak Obama, in his speeches, maintains to be optimistic even in hard and tough situations. However, in this text the case different; he does not provide consistent ideas. He chose to threaten and highlight on terror actions. Obama used lexicons that aim activation toward fighting terrorism and used the collective pronoun (we) to not put the blame of what happened in Afghanistan only but also on the European countries as well. Hernández-Guerra, C. (2013)

In the abovementioned study, the researcher tries to investigate and analyze the comparative relationship between power and ideology form Foucault's (1983) and Gramsci's (1975) conceptions. From their conceptions they both share the concept of relations of power. On the other hand, the Marxist[6] Gramsci believes that power is existed in ideology. Therefore, the person who has ideology generates power. It is existed everywhere among people like a hegemonic order. Ideology is existed in social life among people. It tackles the issue of relations among culture, politics and economy. From Foucalt's point of view, ideology and power is identified as the ruler and the ruled and the leader and the led. Foucalt believes that power objectifies humans. Objectification divides humans as sane, mad, criminal, innocence, etc. , and teaches the self-subjectivizing. The type of power imposes legislations, orders the individual, marks him by his own personality, appends him to his own identity, imposes a law which he should perceive and be perceived. It is the power that turns people into subjects (Daldal 2014).

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[6]Daldal, A. (2014). Power and Ideology in Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci

Van Dijk in his research dealt with the strong relation between ideology and discourse. He also demonstrated that discourse has a clear power in showing identity through lexicon and expressions someone use. Ideology is inferred through repeated social acts of individuals. It is acquired, affirmed, changed and sustained through discourse. General properties of language and discourse are not mainly ideologically marked. Discourse analysis offers techniques to examine the structures and elements of underlying ideologies. Ideological polarization among in-groups and out-groups is a noticeable of the structure of ideologies. Members of in-group tend to emphasize their good actions and minimize their negatives. Moreover, they tend to emphasize ~~on~~ out-group negatives and minimize their positive actions (Van Dijk, 2006).

A research paper conducted by (Ambuyo, Indede and Karanja, 2011), investigated politeness in the political field regarding governmental discussions of the Kenyan Parliament. Politeness is an endeavor by the speaker to semantically show that he cares about the sentiments of others. The parliamentarians are obliged to deliver parliamentary language required by the standing requests of 2008. Therefore, politeness is the only strategy of interaction for discussion. This research was conducted using positive, negative and image repair politeness strategies. The result of the research showed that there are strategies used to lessen face threatening acts to increase effective communication.

An M.A thesis conducted by (Larinaityte, 2011)was written discussing the issue of Hedges. Researchers tend to examine the use of hedges in the speeches of Bush and Obama in and after elections, the result was that the use of modal verbs is seven times more than the modal lexical verbs and this shows that the probability in the speeches is pretty high and both are features of presidential speeches. Other devices such as

conditionals were used in pre and post-election speeches and it is a feature of presidential speeches.

Another study that focused on the idea of addressing the political discourse of the Islamic religion is Hakem Al-Matari's study in his book *Freedom or the Flood* published in 2008.He discussed the historical stages of legal political discourse highlighting the features of each stage and its most important characteristics. What this study found is that it was legitimately permitted to benefit from the experiences of other nations in regulating rights and duties, as well as the experiences of Omar bin Al-Khattab in the administrative systems of the Persians and Romans. In addition to that, there is no one who prevents the legitimacy of the peaceful transfer of power between political parties 'electoral programs that are introduced within the framework of the country's constitution and general system, which is Islamic law. However, this book was published in ~~the~~ Arabic language.

2.4. Conclusion:

This thesis tackles a similar issue of the aforementioned studies. This study investigates Al-Sisi's speeches as a political figure in his capacity as the president of Egypt. Eight speeches were selected to seek his ideology and identity through critical discourse analysis. This study answers the four questions of the thesis about religion, Local Education, Local Economy and Identity.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3. Methodology:

3.1. Introduction:

This chapter discussed the methodology of the thesis. It included data collection and selection of speeches. Data collection described the data "speeches" of Al-Sisi. Moreover, this chapter discussed the justification of selection of the speeches. The data were not collected in a certain time and place. However, they were collected through several stages of Al-Sisi's life as a president.

Eight Speeches were selected through different stages of Al-Sisi's life as a political figure and these speeches tackled the issue of religion, local economy and education to reveal his ideology through van dijk (2006) theory. Moreover, these speeches revealed how Al-Sisi shaped his identity by Leete (2012). Critical Discourse Analysis was used by the researcher to investigate Al-Sisi's ideology and identity.

3.2. Data Collection:

The data studied in this research are speeches delivered by the speaker as the sixth president of Egypt. These speeches were delivered through interviews, conferences, and presidential speeches. These spoken speeches were transcribed into written material for analytical purposes, and were discussed thoroughly in this thesis.

3.3. Selection of Speeches:

Eight speeches are selected to be analyzed. These speeches dealt with the core issues of a country like religion, education, and local economy. Moreover, these speeches were chosen through several stages of Al-Sisi's life as a political figure.

Some of these speeches were delivered while he was a candidate in the presidential reign. Other speeches were selected when he was nominated as a president to discuss his ideology as a president. And, other speeches were selected through his life as a president of Egypt.

In addition, some of the selected speeches were delivered in major events. These events were said to be long-term plans for the future of Egypt and Egyptians. Long-term plans area sum up of what the political figure aims at and how he hopes to see his country evolving through the years to come since they tackle significant issues. Other speeches were selected based on the identity of Al-Sisi himself. Some of the selected speeches seem to be paradoxical in terms of speaker's aims through his reign.

These selected speeches were delivered in public through multimedia. TV shows, conferences, and meetings are the main sources for the data in this research. These speeches tackled significant issues and significant surrounding circumstances. However, these speeches were delivered in the speaker's first language "Arabic", and they were translated to English by a licensed translator and approved by two other licensed translators.

Some of the selected speeches are as follows: First, a speech was delivered in Port Said in the thirty first of January2018at the celebration of opening a natural gas field. He directly addressed and unveiled hidden things that were occurring years ago and will occur in the years to come. From a political point of view, Egypt was about to have a presidential election, and he hinted about the results of the elections.

Second, in the twenty fourth of July 2017, he delivered a speech in the presentation of "The vision of Egypt 2030" in Alexandria. The president Al-Sisi

discussed the future of Egypt. He discussed his plans of the next decade and the way he will develop Egypt. An attendant was allowed to speak in this session about education, but she was immediately interrupted by Al-Sisi to deliver a speech about the current and future situation of education in Egypt.

Third, Al-Sisi visited the city of Demiat for the inauguration of a combination of projects. Al-Sisi presented his ideas about the local economy. While he was presenting, an attendant shouted about corruption and exploitation that the president may not aware of in the city of Demiat. The result of this interruption was sharp words from the president to the attendant about the economic situation in Egypt.

Fourth, two speeches of the president Al-Sisi in interviews were discussing "terror actions" in Senai. One of the speeches was delivered on the thirty first of January 2015 commenting on these violent conducts. The other one was an interview with Lames Hadidi and Ibrahim Iessa on CBC Egypt, the program's name is "Egypt Elects the President" discussing the same issue. This interview was published on the fifth of May 2014.. However, these two speeches have some differences in contexts.

Fifth, in Aswan, Al-Sisi delivered a speech in a conference on *The Future of Scientific Research and Health Care*. The number of attendees was one thousand and five hundred young Egyptians and Africans. He discussed the issue of education and distinctive Egyptian minds and their role in Egypt.

Sixth, an interview was held with lames Hadidi and Ibrahim Iessa on CBC Egypt in the program *Egypt Elects the President*. Al-Sisi was a guest in this program as a candidate of the presidential election. This interview was published on the fifth of May 2014. He discussed his point of view of Islam, and his plans for leading Egypt.

Seventh, President Al-Sisi in an interview with Portuguese channel RTP on the twenty second of November 2016 described Muslims in Arab countries as terrorists. The interview was translated into English by the channel and published in English language. The same interview was published in the Arabic version which is the language of Al-Sisi. Therefore, the English translated version was verified for the thesis.

Eighth, in the *first national youth conference*, Al-Sisi addressed Egyptian young people for the first time in a conference held on the twenty fifth of October 2016. This conference was held in Sharm El-Sheikh and entitled "*Exchange Rate Crisis, Monetary Policy, and Causes and Solutions.*"

Chapter Four: Discussion and Analysis

4. Discussion:

4.1. Introduction:

In this section, the collected data are analyzed according to the framework of the thesis. Therefore, the three aforementioned questions about religion, economy, and education, will hopefully be answered in this section.

4.2. Question1:

This question tackles the issue of religion from Al-Sisi's point of view as a president. The president has an impact on how religion is perceived in Egypt. From his position, he can manage the ideology of the country toward religion to the way he perceives religion. The following question is about religion. The following analysis should be the answer of the question.

Addressing ideology in political speeches is very important, especially in attempting to address the religious perspective and how politicians use their political speeches to that perspective. This is similar to what was found in Hatem Al-Matari's study in his book "Freedom or the Flood" published in 2008.

It is important to address the political ideology and benefit from the experiences of other countries in regulating rights and duties. An example was given from the experience of Omar Bin Al-Khattab in the administrative systems of the Persians and Romans; the electoral programs were presented in a specific country within the framework of the country's constitution and public order, which is Islamic Sharia.

How does Al-Sisi construct his ideology about religion?

In an interview in 2014, Al-Sisi discussed his point of view of the ideology, concept, and values of Islam as the official religion of Egypt.

Al-Sisi:

"A massive offense to the Egyptians' rights has occurred. Not only in these eight months, no, the encroachment that occurred throughout the year. They dealt with the Egyptians with a framework of values, and concepts other than what the Egyptians chose. They chose the basis of a constitutional and legal contract living good with it. They should have respected the constitutional and legal contract which the Egyptians chose as the basis. And it didn't occur. They started to put their thoughts and vision in management from a legitimate from their perspective and underestimate the ideology of law and constitution although it is the basis which is the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is built on."Qunbar's translation

From a political point of view, former president Mohamad Morsi reigned Egypt from the first of July 2012 till the third of July 2013. He was a representative of Freedom and Justice Party "Muslim Brotherhood" through public elections. Therefore, the Freedom and Justice Party has a major impact on Egypt, and it has a decent popularity among Egyptian citizens. However, throughout Al-Sisi's reign as a president, he clearly stated ideas contrasting the Muslim Brotherhood and their concepts. He didn't only oppose them as a president and legal party opposition, but he

also worked on vanishing them along with their concepts and thoughts as long as he is a president of Egypt.

Al-Sisi attempted to remove Muslim Brotherhood Party from the reign; therefore, there is a great importance that comes from analyzing the political speeches of politicians and trying to address the Islamic religion and Islamic law. This is what appeared in Al-Sisi's discussion of the grave crime incident that affected the rights of Egyptians throughout the year. The idea and the administrative vision started from a legal perspective, and the level of ideology between the law and the constitution was reduced even though it is the basis for the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

From a political point of view, the previous Egyptian president Mohamad Morsi during his reign was a representative of the Freedom and Justice Party, or what is known as the "Muslim Brotherhood" through the general elections which indicates that freedom and justice do have a great influence in Egypt, and it has good popularity among Egyptian citizens. Muslim Brotherhood may not be the representatives of all Muslims in Egypt. However, they have won presidential elections which mean they do have followers among Muslims. To win an election, a party has to get votes more than other parties. One of the most prominent aspects of democracy and Islamic states is how the president is chosen in Islamic law and any democratic law. A country like Egypt should require freedom and fulfillment of law and balance between the political parties especially in an Islamic country.

At the political level, Al-Sisi clearly stated that the conflict between him and Muslim Brotherhood is ideological. This ideological conflict led to another conflict which is presence. In several occasions Al-Sisi didn't hide his opposition to the Freedom and Justice Party in Egypt. On the contrary, he clearly declared that he

refused the presence of the values, concepts and perception of Islam as the representative of brotherhood of Islam wants. He justified his perception as law and constitution is the legal bond between the ruler and the ruled and refused to add these values and concepts as a substitution for the law and constitution at the time before Morsi came to the office.

Human Rights Watch published a report in 2018 about the incidents of Egypt in 2017. Security forces gathered together several protestors, mainly focusing on the "outlawed" Muslim Brotherhood. The Ministry of Interior's National Security Agency self-assertively confined, vanished, and tormented individuals. There were various occurrences of what seemed, by all accounts, to be extrajudicial killings, including of previously detained people in organized "shoot-outs.[7]

Human Rights Watch also published a report in 2019 about incidents of Egypt in 2018. It described the presidency elections which Al-Sisi secured his second term as unfair. His forces escalated terror, viciousness and arrests against common society activists and numerous other people who basically who had basically voiced mild criticism of the government. [8]

Data analysis revealed that the conflict in Egypt existed between the ruler and the ruled, by its nature, to the transition of the ideological struggle into a struggle for existence, and this is what appeared in the presence of a rejection of Islamic values, concepts and perceptions at the political level. Al-Sisi used excessive force against Egyptian unarmed civilians who had supported Freedom and Justice Party. These events were reported by a number of newsletters interested in Human Rights. This is in line with the study of Dijk (2006), in which the relationship between ideology and

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[7]https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/egypt
[8]https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/egypt#699e6e

discourse was highlighted, and it has been shown that discourse has a clear power in shaping the ideology of Al-Sisi.

Al-Sisi translated his words of opposition on the ground. In August, 2018, Human Rights Watch published an article about Raba's victims in 2013. It discussed unfair mass trial for citizens. The authorities of Egypt did not succeed in prosecuting any of the members of the security forces after their systematic killing of large groups of peaceful protesters in Rab'a Square in Cairo in 2013, according to Human Rights Watch. In mass trails, hundreds of protesters have been convicted under unfair charges. At least 817 protesters were killed by security forces within a few hours on August 14, 2013. As security forces violently scattered the main gathering of protesters demanding the reinstatement of President Mohamed Morsy at Rab'a al-Adawiya. [9]

In August 2014, Human Rights Watch sent out the outcomes of a year-long investigation into the Rab'a Massacre, and other incidents of killings of mass number of protesters based on interviews with over 200 witnesses. The investigations began immediately after the attacks, including review of hours of video footage, physical evidence, and statements by public officials.[10]

Law No.161 of 2018 was approved by President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi on July 26; it enables the president to grant military commanders ministerial status and "diplomatic immunity" to protect them when they travel outside the country. Also, it protects them from being questioned for what happened between July 3, 2013, and January 2016 unless there is permission by the Council of Armed Forces.

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[9]https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/egypt
[10]https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/egypt

In 2016 an interviewer from Portuguese channel RTP asked Al-Sisi about his opinion of Muslims attitudes in western countries in general and in the USA in particular shedding the lights on nasty behaviors occurred against Muslims.

Interviewer:

"There have been reports about nasty behaviors toward Muslims because of this discourse by Mr. Trump."

Al-Sisi:

"Well this is true, but every country, every country is attempting to save guard its nationals and I understand this follow."Qunbar's translation

Regarding intertextuality, this speech occurred regarding Trump's speeches during his presidency campaign about Muslims in the USA. In 2015 at New Hampshire rally, Trump promised to kick All Syrian refugees out of the USA describing them as a potential secret army whom most of them were Muslims. Another incident was in October 2015 on Fox Business. Trump discussed the idea of closing mosques in the USA regarding hatred ideas coming from the area of mosques as he claimed. Moreover, in December 2015 on CBS news, Trump said: "If you have people coming out of mosques with hatred and death in their eyes and on their minds, we're going to have to do something" and so many other statements said by Trump at that time. [11]

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[11] https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2017/05/20/i-think-islam-hates-us-a-timeline-of-trumps-comments-about-islam-and-muslims/

Therefore, the interviewer tackled these speeches asking Al-Sisi about his opinion concerning Trump's statements since Al-Sisi is a president of a Muslim country[12]. However, Al-Sisi didn't deny any nasty behaviors occurring to Muslims in Western countries especially in the USA. He also didn't speak any word that may indicate he is not aware of these nasty behaviors. Here Al-Sisi didn't even condemn or feel sorry for these nasty behaviors, but he defended these behaviors as a right for each country to save their guard regardless the method they use. In semiotics level, mosques are considered as places where all Muslims do prayer to Allah regardless of their political tendencies.

Al-Sisi approved using these nasty behaviors against Muslims and didn't deny any single action of Trumps nasty procedures. Thus, he expanded his opposition of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt to include Muslims in Western countries where Egyptian Political Party of Muslim Brotherhood does not exist.

This indicates that Al-Sisi tried many times to block the Islamic religion in Egypt in the political level, and he doesn't care about Islam and Muslims of their presence in Western countries as well, especially in the United States of America. It is notable that Al-Sisi did not condemn or feel sorry for his opposition to Islam and Muslims and for such nasty behaviors. The acts of these behaviors considered that it is the right of every state to maintain their caution regardless of the method they used.

Al-Sisi also pointed that every country has the right to use these nasty behaviors. It is not a secret that there are conflicts between him and the political Muslim Brotherhood; this is what he indicated that the conflict between him and Muslims is a struggle over ideology.

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[12]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PhJi_aTh_m4

Al-Sisi and an RTP Portuguese channel interviewer discussed Trump's speech about Islamophobia in November 2016.

> *Interviewer: "Don't you think it prompts Mr. Trumps statements against Islam were reflecting Islamophobia?"*
> *Al-Sisi: Well I think there has been a campaign worldwide against terror. This campaign actually, terror well, Islamophobia actually terror is strolling all over the world across the world, across the world has been a source of concern for all.* RTP's channel translation

Both Interviewer and Al-Sisi discussed Trumps' speech about terror, Muslims and Islamophobia. Al-Sisi implicitly agreed with Trump that Muslims are terrorists. He also admitted that terror comes from Muslims is a concern for the USA, Egypt and all counties. This speech contained paradoxical point of views since in the same interview Al-Sisi didn't deny that he is a president for a Muslim country.

Therefore, there could be three trajectories for such a paradox. One, Al-Sisi became a president for a Muslim country and he perceives the Muslim citizens as terrorists or possible threat for his reign as a leader. So, he may eradicate such a threat by eradicating Muslims ideology. Two, he became a president for a Muslim country, and he doesn't perceive Egyptian citizen Muslims as a threat unlike political Muslim Brotherhood which were listed as terrorists. Therefore, he could have agreed that Muslims are possible threats from the matter of power to keep his reign as an Egyptian president. Three, Al-Sisi may perceive Muslim Brotherhood as real representatives of Muslims all over the world, and he perceives his political dispute with them as applied to all Muslims all over the world.

4.3. Question2:

This question tackles the issue of local economy from Al-Sisi's point of view as a president. The president has an impact on how local economy works in Egypt. From his position, he can manage the way Egyptians perceive economy. The following question is about local economy. It's analysis should be the answer of the question.

How is local economy constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology?

In several speeches, Al-Sisi clearly stated that Egyptian economy doesn't have the sufficient fund to provide the Egyptians with their needs. For example, in the *First National Youth Conference,* Al-Sisi addressed the Egyptian young people for the first time in a conference held on the twenty fifth of October 2016. This conference is held in Sharm El-Sheikh. The conference has the title of Exchange Rate Crisis, Monetary Policy, and causes and solutions.

> *Al-Sisi:*
>
> *"You should take in consideration and shouldn't forget that the one who speaks is one from you. I swear to the Mighy Allah. I stayed ten years with my refrigerator has nothing but water, and no one heard my voice, Ten years, my refrigerator has nothing but water. And, no one heard my voice. In addition, I'm from a very wealthy family, and I'm sorry that I'm speaking about myself, but I want to tell you that the issue is far bigger than this. Self-esteem, self-honor, this matter doesn't come easily. You depending on your self is not an easy thing, thank you."Qunbar's translation*

In terms of strategies of controlling people, it is inferred from the text that Al-Sisi has made a long-term plan that depends on lessening the basic resources of the Egyptian citizens like food. This is a gradual strategy as mentioned in the section 2.2.13. It is not accepted to live in poverty without complaining by any citizens around the world. He also addressed emotions of Egyptian citizens using terms like "self-honor" and "self-esteem" instead of giving real solutions.

This also indicates that he had the will and power to manage the way in which he wants to steer the economy of Egypt. Al-Sisi calls upon the young Egyptians to adapt to his own perception to economy. He is using a polite language merging himself with Egyptian citizens to manipulate the ideology of the citizens. However, the Egyptian economy was not good enough as he claimed. There was also insufficient fund to provide the Egyptians with their needs. This is what appeared since the first speech of Al-Sisi at the conference ofOctober2016, in which the exchange rate crisis, monetary policy, causes and solutions were addressed.

Al-Sisi addressed the young people of Egypt for the first time. He decided to break the ice with Egyptian young people through a conference. This conference had an economic title with causes and solutions to the economic crisis. Al-Sisi introduced himself to the Egyptian youth as a role model to follow.

The only method Al-Sisi mentioned is tolerating the crisis. A vivid example of tolerating the aforementioned crisis is starving for almost a decade. It is important to overcome the crisis and the young people of Egypt should not complain about the insufficient fundamental material of living like food. From his opinion, it is normal that people live without food and starve for a decade.

He described the tolerance of young Egyptians of the lack of essential resources to live like food, and be quiet about is as self-honor and self-esteem. Therefore, the Egyptians should be proud about it. Having this way followed, they would solve the problem of the Egyptian economic crisis as Al-Sisi believes.

> *Al-Sisi:*
>
> *"I want to tell you one last word for the people who see us. When we took the decision of floatation of Egyptian pound, we knew it has complicated impacts on all Egyptians."Qunbar's translation*

Al-Sisi used the personal pronoun "we" indicating the decision is not made by an individual. Therefore, the complicated consequences of floatation of Egyptian pound toward the economy are not Al-Sisi's burden to bear. Thus, Al-Sisi admits taking decisions that have complicated impacts on the citizens. As a result of such decisions, the Egyptian pound dropped against other international currencies like the US dollar, the Euro etc. However, during Al-Sisi's speech, a speaker interrupted his speech to complain about such decisions and their impacts on the ordinary citizens and the big companies.

> *A random speaker:*
>
> > *"Another participant: A final request after the permission of your Excellency. I hope from your Excellency to cancel the fuel price boost, and the three electrical sections because in reality no one pays the price boost but the ordinary citizen. The ordinary citizen is the one who pays the real bill. Because the factory owners add the*

electrical and fuel boost on the cost of products. Currently,

the ones with simple income are not capable of this boost.

So, a request from your Excellency to cancel the fuel and

electrical section boost until we increase the minimum

wage to 3000 pounds to be capable of this thing."Qunbar's

translation

Moreover, Al-Sisi delivered another speech during his visit to Damietta on the inauguration of a combination of projects in the new city of Damietta; Al-Sisi made a presentation about these projects. Through the presentation, one of the attendants complained to Al-Sisi about the exploitation, and requested from Al-Sisi to raise the minimum wage. As a result, Al-Sisi responded and humiliated the speaker. Al-Sisi didn't respect the speaker and spoke with him harshly that the other interlocutor lost his face in front of the attendants and whoever sees the event.

Al-Sisi response to the man was exaggerated without showing any sense of politeness as a political figure even though the speaker asked Al-Sisi in a polite way to raise the minimum wage without undermining the status of Al-Sisi as a president, as the following:

Al-Sisi:

"so, tell me who are you? Who are you?"

The participant:

"answ"

Al-Sisi:

"What answer? Did you study the subject you are talking of? Did you study it? What's this? Do you study the words you are saying? Do you think when you come and say these words in a general subject like this, you say delay, delay, do you want a country to thrive or to keep its death? No, please, please excuse me. Study the subjects well and know what exists in this country. 3000 pounds as a minimum! This after how many years after how many years! No, of course, I beg your pardon. I wanted to hush up and say no no go ahead."Qunbar's translation

The gradual strategy of controlling people could be inferred in this speech when Al-Sisi linked raising salaries with the upcoming years. He also linked the prosperity of Egypt, the low salaries, and the taxes imposed together. Al-Sisi insulted the speaker and fooled his opinion. The man didn't have ~~the~~ enough knowledge to speak in public and suggest solutions for the economic crisis from Al-Sisi's point of view. He believed that the increment of taxes that are paid by the common citizens will result in the prosperity of Egypt. These taxes shouldn't be paid by businessmen, or the owners of electric or petrol companies, or else the economy will remain stagnant.

Al-Sisi preferred to embarrass the speaker instead of a fair discussion that maintains the dignity of the common citizen. The reason for this insult could be the fact that the president enjoys a diplomatic immunity. This indicates that whatever Al-Sisi does, there is no authority for anyone in Egypt to prevent him from what he is doing. These snobbish words indicate that Al-Sisi has the maximum power to say and do without any kind of legal prosecution.

In addition to the power that Al-Sisi has which appeared by embarrassing the common citizen instead of discussing the issue fairly, the exact minimum salaries they discussed need years to be reached. Three thousand Egyptian pounds equal one hundred eighty four dollars[13]. So, it will take some years for the common citizens to tolerate such increment of taxes. He uses the delaying strategy of controlling people to keep Egyptian citizens starving and under control.

Michele Dunne Senior, a fellow and Director in a Middle East Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace made a congressional testimony toward the circumstances of Egypt in 2017.

> "There is much to be concerned about regarding what is happening inside Egypt, where security, economic, and political conditions have deteriorated since President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi took control in 2013"[14]

Her report of the current situation of Egypt matches the analyses of selected speeches for Al-Sisi. This deterioration of the Local Economy has clearly appeared in Al-Sisi's reign as a president. These problems are probably going to continue as long as Al-Sisi controls Egypt. Moreover, the deterioration could be increasing for the years to come. Michele also commented on the current investments of Al-Sisi's projects and how these projects will affect the future local economic situation in Egypt.

> Instead of focusing on creating jobs and improving labor force skills, Sisi's economic policies are oriented toward

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[13]https://www.currencyc.com/ar/usd-egp.html
[14]https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/042517%20-%20Dunne%20Testimony.pdf

helping his most important constituency—the military—to make money. That means undertaking mega construction projects, such as the second Suez Canal passage and new administrative capital in the desert ("Wedian"), with no serious consideration as to whether such projects will generate significant employment, growth, or even revenue for the government. Congress Testimony

Data analysis revealed that the current investments of Egypt are mainly directed to police and army. There is no future vision to help common citizens in their private sectors. The dictatorship of Al-Sisi takes its place in local economy by making the military sector as the main one in the country. Unemployment and poverty will mark the country's economy in Al-Sisi's regime. Al-Sisi should do quite the opposite by creating more job opportunities, and supporting private sectors which will banish poverty and provide the citizens of Egypt with economic fund to have a decent life without worrying about the deficiency of food or other basic life requirements.

The absence of alternative solution other than squeezing common citizens could be clearly seen through the previously translated presentations which were delivered live on TV channels. He used helpless words about Egyptian economy to manage the ideology of the citizens. He expected the Egyptian citizens to confess and believe that there is nothing could be done except to be patient and hope the upcoming years to be better.

4.4. Question3:

This question tackles the issue of local education from the Egyptian president's point of view. Abdulfatah Al-Sisi should have his own impact on how

local education works in Egypt. From his position, he can manage the method Egyptians perceive knowledge and what they should focus on. The following question is about local education and the analysis to follow should be the answer of the question.

How is local education constructed through Al-Sisi's ideology??

In the following quotation Al-Sisi discussed the issue of teachers' salaries in the conference *The Vision of Egypt 2030*. It was allowed to one of the attendance to speak in the session. However, the president interrupted her and didn't give her the chance to continue the idea she was trying to raise; he discussed his point of view about education and teachers.

>*Al-Sisi:*
>
>*"You want to tell me that salaries in general are not good? Of course it's not good. You want to tell me that we are supposed to increase the salaries? Yes I know but where from?"Qunbar's translation*

In this quote Al-Sisi not only admitted that teachers' salaries in Egypt are low, but he also confirmed the information. He discussed the issue of bad salaries as it is the ordinary situation. Even if he wants to increase the salaries of teachers, he hints there is no sufficient income for Education.

In the same speech, Al-Sisi discussed the issue of funding Education in depth. He compared education in Western countries with that in Egypt.

>*Al-Sisi:*

If education has 18 millions, 18 millions I'm a mathematician. For me, numbers always shape relationship and comprehension, and I hope that this thing. This thing I said a lot. These 18 millions in your opinion how much the minimum money that we can spend on a student in his education annually through a school and its maintenance, activities inside the school, good curriculums, and teacher?........ Let's say 10000 Egyptian pounds yearly this is a number. I converted the currency of dollar foreigners said into Egyptian pound. So, they said 10000 dollars averagely, I said keep it in Egyptian pound, So, 10000 pound how much? It means 180 billion. Someone saves me with the number 180 billion. Ok do we spend 180 billion? How much the budget of the minister ministry of education? Half of them. It is 60 or 70 billion pound. So there is something incorrect. What is this incorrect thing? It is that we can't afford it. Qunbar's translation

Al-Sisi focused his discussion of education on the low salary of teachers, and that what teachers charge in Egypt is nothing compared to what teachers receive in the US. The language used in his speeches indicates the deterioration of the financial situation of teachers. Al-Sisi described the minimum amount of money which is spent on one learner as an average for Egyptian learners. These funds include school trips, school maintenance, teachers' salaries, books, etc. So, the Egyptian president Al-Sisi confessed of dealing with Education process less than he should. Not only he dealt with the minimum as average, but he also spent eighteen times less than the minimum

when he discussed in the conference the issue of changing the currency from American dollar to the Egyptian pound. "They said 10000 dollars averagely, I said keep it in Egyptian pound, so, 10000 pound" since one dollar equals 18 pounds[15].

After that Al-Sisi described himself as the mathematician to present to the Egyptians the amount of money that he spent on education which is One Hundred Eighty Billion pounds annually. Then, as a mathematician he calculated the half of this amount of money to equal sixty or seventy billions instead of ninety billions. The result is closer to the third instead of the half. Eighteen times and three times less equal fifty four times less than the minimum amount of money spent on education.

This confession reveals that education in Egypt suffers from the lack of basic required teaching resources for learners, teachers, and education in general.

At the beginning of this conversation, it seems that the situation of education isn't discussed thoroughly in the conference. Therefore, the speaker wanted to shed light on this critical issue. Even when the speaker wanted to discuss the situation of teachers, she was immediately interrupted by Al-Sisi explaining that no one should speak out of his mind and discuss his own ideas haphazardly.

Data analysis revealed that Al-Sisi didn't deny the deteriorated situation of education in Egypt. However, he described the defacto of education as miserable. When Education is miserable with no tangible prospects for it, it is expected that the future of Egypt will not be promising. However, it will be as miserable as Al-Sisi expected. In addition, he told the speaker publicly that any idea discussed in front of TV should be delivered or permitted by well-educated figures (as he said). These

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[15]https://www.currencyc.com/ar/usd-egp.html

well-educated figures should study the subjects and ideas professionally before any discussion in public (as if stating that it must be on track with the ideas of Al-Sisi.)

In Aswan, Al-Sisi delivered a speech in a conference titled *The Future of Scientific Research and Health Care*. The participants of the conference were one thousand and five hundred young Egyptians and Africans. He discussed the issue of Education and distinctive Egyptian minds and their role in Egypt.

> *Al-Sisi:*
>
> *Let's speak with them and tell them when we have a distinctive mind, we will send him to you, and when he succeeds in a scientific research, you give us a proportion of his mind. He is our son. We taught him, and made him available to you. Qunbar's translation*

Al-Sisi is sure that there are distinctive minds that have the ability to invent things. It is expected that Egypt will use these minds and provide them with the required Education and tools. Al-Sisi may put a special plan for these distinctive minds, or he may even provide them with the kind of jobs they are skillful at for the benefit of society in its totality. However, Al-Sisi preferred to sell these talents to Western countries for money instead of using these talents to develop their own country. The issue of export should be applied on merchandise when Egypt achieves self-sufficiency. However, Al-Sisi seemed to apply it on researchers and brilliant minds.

At the same time he stressed the miserable fact of Education in Egypt. Al-Sisi has no plan to revitalize the "ruined Education". These ideas of Al-Sisi about

Education of getting rid of scientists and brilliant minds, dealing with Education as merchandise, preventing teachers from speaking their minds and refrain from allowing the minimum required fund of Education lead the Education of Egypt to downfall. Al-Sisi is the one who is responsible for the current situation.

In January 2018, Al-Sisi delivered a speech in the city of Port Said where he discussed several issues referring to January 2018 revolution (2011) that forced Husni Mubarak to step down. Though most of his speech was about political issues, he discussed the future of Egypt and Education.

> *We said we will establish an academy to teach the people that a country means. And, there will not be anyone who wants to speak and represent people who are not well educated. By the way, for fifty years, I have been learning the meaning of a country. Fifty years yes I swear. I swear in the name of almighty God for fifty years I have been learning and teaching myself the meaning of a country. It's a very difficult issue a very difficult issue. People are illiterate in country and want to represent and speak. No, this shouldn't have happened. Qunbar's translation*

Data analysis revealed that Al-Sisi linked the future of education in Egypt with his future political view. He had the will to create military academy for teaching people what a country really is. From Al-Sisi's perception, there are people in power who speak in public about common issues still they are not well-educated. So, the idea of being entitled academically is delivered to the people around him who want to

speak in public. He indicated that a person may learn how to speak and what to say interminably for fifty years before he becomes eloquent.

The addressees of this quote are the people around him who speak publically and the ones who have the intention to do so. This also indicates that whoever speaks publicly about a country's matter is well-educated. He who speaks publicly should not speak out of his mind, but he should speak what the country wants him to. It is implied that truly qualified people in Egypt nowadays are the ones who are completely obedient and have the same ideology of Al-Sisi. He introduces himself as the only knowledgeable person who leads Egypt.

Al-Sisi accuses those who speak about common issues, and somehow disagree with him, as illiterates and traitors. The scope of which Al-Sisi perceives Egypt and its future is the only eligible one for people around him. The trusted people who have the same perception of Al-Sisi are those entitled to speak in public though he introduced himself as a non-political person. Many times, Al-Sisi asks people who speak in public and their speech is inappropriate from Al-Sisi's point of view a rhetorical question "Have you studied this?". Therefore, he wants people to study the issues before they speak and perceive the issues according to his scope though he is a military man. This paradoxical issue of wanting learned and non-political figures to lead and make decisions in Egypt shows the corruption and dictatorship in local education. It also indicates that truly learned theorists and speakers are no longer required in Egypt.

Al-Sisi's ideology of dictatorship exceeds political field, and it is clearly shown in education as he said. The corruption of local education in Egypt lies in the ideology of Egyptian country toward education of oppression and dictatorship. It also

suffers from severe insufficient fund for the Ministry of Education. Al-Sisi admitted that Egypt can't afford the required minimum fund for learning process. It is clearly stated by president Al-Sisi that even in the future, the Ministry of Education will not adequately be funded. Consequently, the generations to come in Egypt will suffer from ignorance as a result of corrupted and miserable academic circumstances.

Though this speech discussed the issue of local Education, Al-Sisi used the strategy of delay to control the educational process. He preferred to postpone unsolved issues of current corrupt education until 2030.When a speaker, apparently a teacher, spoke in the conference of *The vision of Egypt 2030, Al*-Sisi immediately prevented her from discussing an ongoing problem. From his point of view, it is useless to discuss such a problem at that time.

Data analysis revealed that another strategy used in this speech is distraction. Al-Sisi confessed of corrupted education due to insufficient fund of education. However, he asks for a different kind of learning that encourages thinking outside the box. He demands for critical thinking in the education process without funding the minimum requirement of the process. The aforementioned point was discussed about education, but The Vision of Egypt 2030 is an initiative by the Egyptian government. It was published in 2018. It is a strategic plan of development as isn't meant for Education only. So, these strategies were used for the whole people and sectors.

4.5. Question4:

This question tackles the issue of identity of Al-Sisi as a president. From his position, Al-Sisi's utterances have an impact as a leader. His utterances in conferences, meetings, interviews and other Media shows reflect the identity of the president of Egypt.

How does he construct his identity through language?

In Port Said, in January 2018, Al-Sisi delivered a speech in the inauguration of a natural gas event. In the same year, presidential elections were planned to take place. So, some people nominate themselves as potential candidates. The former Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces Sami Anan announced himself as a candidate before he was arrested. [16]

Al-Sisi:

I'm saying this word for you because excuse me I see this..things ... be careful huh things that were done seven or eight years ago will not be repeated again in Egypt. It's not..huh. What didn't succeed at that time will you make it succeed now? No no no no no it seems that you don't know me well. Huh huh you don't know me well I swear. I swear that the safety and stability of Egypt is worth the life of mine and the army's. Nobody would think to interfere in that because I'm not a politician. I'm not a politician with words without action No. I have never spoken in this way. But, it's clear that people are not concentrated. We don't control this country by words .Qunbar's translation

Al-Sisi seemed to be confused and worried. He used impositions and harsh words through this speech. He began his speech with a threat that certain actions must not be repeated. In this speech, he delivered messages to different classes of

audiences. He didn't   deliver the messages to the Egyptians or the opposition only, but also to the militant and prominent national figures around Al-Sisi.

Al-Sisi delivered this speech hinting of the political context of seven years prior to his speech. The 2011 political events led to Mubarak's stepping down as a president, and were then jailed following a democratic presidential election. These are considered as major events that affected his speech. So, political events of 2018 are similar to 2011 from his point of view. However, Al-Sisi's reaction to these political events sounds different from Mubarak's. Al-Sisi stated that whatever happened will not be repeated, so he will not relinquish his position as a president of Egypt. Therefore, he will not allow anyone to think of replacing him as a president.

Al-Sisi clearly stated that there was an unsuccessful attempt seven years ago that is recurring at present. Part of Al-Sisi speech was mainly directed to the people around him. He felt himself insecure while others are plotting against him. Therefore, the language of imposition, threat and religious genres are used to make him feel powerful to stay as a president.

In the following quote, *I'm saying this word for you*" he states that he is delivering this message for a certain audience using the pronoun "you". The kind of threat that follows is probably delivered to the military generals around him who are keen to become candidates or potential presidents.

> *"What didn't succeed at that time will you make it*
>
> *succeed now? No no no no no".Qunbar's translation*

Al-Sisi discussed the events that happened seven years prior to his speech. The words and expressions used were a clear statement that January revolution will not be

allowed to occur again regarding its result of changing a former president of Egypt. He repeated the word "no" several times to reinforce his idea about what happened. And, he warned people around him not to act against him or assist such actions.

Data analysis confirms that there is a relationship between speeches and identity, and that the President's speeches have an impact on Egyptians. In his speech, Al-Sisi focused on the political aspects, and the political events that took place in Egypt in 2011. This is in line with van Dijk's (2006) study in which he demonstrated the relationship between ideology and discourse. Discourse has a clear power in manifesting identity, and that ideology can be deduced from the repeated social actions of individuals which are acquired and confirmed by changing it through discourse. Additionally, the analysis of discourse provides important techniques for examining the structures of elements of political ideologies, and that the ideological polarization between both internal and external groups is noticeable in the structures of ideologies.

It seems that Al-Sisi is ready to take unprecedented actions toward any intended actions. He used religious swearing words to threaten the addressed people who may plot against him. He linked his life and the army's life with the stability and security of Egypt shedding the light of what happened seven or eight years ago as he previously mentioned. So, he introduced himself and the army as one unit. This unit is the reason why Egypt is stable and secure.

> *"I swear that the safety and stability of Egypt is worth the life*
>
> *of mine and the army's. Nobody would think to interfere in*
>
> *that because I'm not a politician. I'm not a politician with*
>
> *words without action No. I have never spoken in this way.*

But, it's clear that people are not concentrated. We don't

control this country by words."Qunbar's translation

In terms of semiotics, pragmatics and political discourse, when someone says "I'm not a politician", it indicates that he is an ordinary citizen. However, Al-Sisi is considered to be a political figure since he is the president of Egypt. This term here indicates the pragmatic function of using excessive force in order to maintain his position as a president. Therefore, he repeated the statement twice to emphasize it. He defined a politician from his point of view as one who speaks without doing real actions. He confirmed his ideas that he is a man of action. Al-Sisi himself confirmed that his words are not as usual as previous speeches by admitting that this time things are different claiming that the intended audience is not realizing what he is doing.

From his point of view, this country is not ruled by words. Al-Sisi used the pronoun "we" describing who is running the country. Previously, he linked himself with the army as a unit. And, he said that politics cannot control the country, but actions do. This hints that dictatorship is used as a medium to run the country. The military forces are well known for being used in wars. So, he is using his supreme power to control the people.

It is clear that Al-Sisi is ready to do everything possible in order to remain a president for Egypt. He introduced himself as a militant who will not step down regardless of the consequences. The stability of Egypt from his point of view is being himself as a president while the army preserves peace and control over Egypt.

As a result, Al-Sisi will choose weak, trusted yes-man people who are afraid of him and will not have other thoughts instead of well-deserved ones to be around him with no ambitions or dreams of development. These actions of dictatorship will

spread all over through Egypt and it institutions. Al-Sisi will make sure that people around him are guaranteed to be part of his plan as he has already shown his perspective which is dictatorship and military actions.

Al-Sisi:

"Anyone thinks of getting close to it nooooo nooooo" Qunbar's translation

He stated that no one should even think of getting in control over the country. He confirmed his idea by lengthening the vowel and repeating the word "no" twice. So, he dealt with authority as his own material. He set himself as he is the one against malefactors. Therefore, anyone thinking of competing with him in the elections will be considered as a malefactor. This religious concept is borrowed to convince people religiously to be on his side. The use of religion is also used to confirm his status as a Muslim who wants to redeem Muslims from evil people.

His threats were meant to get his followers down the streets to give him "authorization" again. This notion has been confirmed by him through repeating the statement twice, and telling them that he still didn't ask. This term again indicates that it happened once in the past. Probably, the first time was in January revolution which resulted in Al-Sisi being the sixth president of Egypt since he himself mentioned the date 2011. So, he is threatening everyone of repeating the actions of 2011, but it will be in his advantage.

In this quote:

> "It *costs a thousand and two hundred a thousand and three*
>
> *hundred million dollar a month. How much? Is it right?*""
>
> Qunbar's translation

He moved to talk about petrol. The cost of petrol that he was talking about was unclear. He asked the audience if his information is right; a speaker corrected the way of saying numbers. However, Al-Sisi totally ignored him by asking the same question again and insisted on his words by repeating them again. So, he is not asking them questions to be answered or corrected. He is stating his words to be taken for granted and getting credibility by the audience.

The whole previous messages were mostly delivered to the people around him threatening them if not obeying his words while in this quote

> " *buy petrol to maintain some products for people to find*
>
> *some fuel for their cars and gas for their houses ok*",
>
> *Qunbar's translation*

He included common people in his speech warning of the consequences of any attempt to repeat the actions of 2011 revolution. Petrol stations may stop again and there will be no petrol or gas for houses and cars which are considered to be basic requirement for their lives.

Al-Sisi linked the current status with the stability and security of Egypt and stated clearly that any other system will result in the loss and chaos. So, these words enhance the aforementioned threat. Al-Sisi linked his life with the Egyptian army as he clearly stated. He will not leave in stable and secure status. Their existence is linked with the ban of any actions of revolutions and disobedience.

Al-Sisi described the one who doesn't believe in his words as an ignorant who doesn't know well. Then, he declared an academy will be established for educating people. The main goal for this academy is to teach people everything about the country. He also stated the timing for achieving this main goal which is about fifty years. In order to avoid any kind of objections, he claimed that he applied that on himself. Moreover, the teacher is Al-Sisi as well. So, this academy will be yielding to his supervision to teach people. Anyone who doesn't believe in Al-Sisi's words is ignorant and should be taught as he has the whole information required for running Egypt; other points of view will be considered malefactors. He described some people who tried to take advantage in speaking about country matters, as they can't read or write for their country. This shouldn't happen from his point of view. They should be taught by Al-Sisi how to run the country.

Al-Sisi had an interview with lames Hadidi and Ibrahim Iessa on CBC Egypt, the program's name is *Egypt Elects the President*. Al-Sisi was a guest in this program as a candidate of the presidential election. This interview was published on the fifth of May 2014.

Al-Sisi:

> *I had one of the leaders in a meeting with me*
> *on the twenty third of June. And, he requested a*
> *meeting to discuss the situation. And, when I say this I*
> *don't disclose any secret. But, I'm saying to the people*
> *who listen to contrive my words very well. For forty*
> *five minutes, he was talking to me and telling me that*
> *fighters will come from Syria, Afghanistan, Lybia, and*

from all over the world. They will fight ahhhh the

Egyptians and fight you, yaaaaaaah. Forty five

minutes and I was .Qunbar's translation

Moreover, Al-Sisi delivered a speech on 31st of January 2015 commenting on violent conducts in Sinai. The following is an excerpt of the speech which was delivered on the previously mentioned date.

Al-Sisi:

I confirm to you on twenty first of June, and please remember this date well. On the twenty first of June, one of the major leaders of this organization if he was not responsible of everything about the organization asked for a meeting with another leader, me myself, I'm saying this and before with closed sessions. But, I'm saying this to all Egyptians, so they know whom we are dealing with. We know who we are dealing with. For forty minutes and much more, this leader was telling me, we will bring or you will find people come to fight you from all over the world. From Afghanistan, from Syria, from Iraq, from Palestine, from Lybia, from all over the world, this was on the twenty first of June, on twenty first of June. I knew very well that this will happen…Qunbar's translation

Al-Sisi delivered two speeches of the same incident about meeting an anonymous leader. These speeches had some similarities in terms of semiotics and

intertextuality in terms of ideology. He mentioned Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Syria and Lybia. Al-Sisi hints of the conflicts these countries have. The connotation of mentioning such countries deals with the consequences of these speeches. In terms of strategies controlling people, Al-Sisi proposes the problem of facing terrorism and offers the solution for this problem.

Though there were some similarities between the two speeches, there were also some differences between them. Based on this incident, he classified the members of Muslim Brotherhood as extremists and terrorists. He discussed the other person he represented as devilish, powerful, and longtime enemy. This long time and powerful enemy has appeared surprisingly at that time. He also mentioned some countries which have conflicts such as Syria, Afghanistan, and other countries.

There are differences between the two speeches, and the most important one is the date of the incident discussed. In his speech on the 31st of January 2015, he mentioned that the incident happened on the twenty first of July. On the other hand, in the previously mentioned interview on the fifth of May 2014, he mentioned that the incident happened on the 23rd of June.

On the other hand, it is strange that someone who is devilish, terrorist, and longtime enemy as Al-Sisi described, threats the president of Egypt and his country face to face, and the president who is a militant non-political man as he previously described himself has no immediate reaction toward this immense threat. He didn't even tell the name of that person or the people he represented in public.

Therefore, the differences between the two speeches raise questions about the validity of the information in the conversations. Moreover, there is no published

evidence of the exact conversation that he discussed neither in the 21st of July, nor in the 23rd of June.

On the other hand, this speech tackled intertextuality where he borrowed the speech of a leader of terrorist organization as Al-Sisi claimed. This speech reflects Al-Sisi's identity toward local and international Policies.

> Al-Sisi: For forty minutes and much more, this leader was telling me, we will bring or you will find people come to fight you from all over the world. From Afghanistan, from Syria, from Iraq, from Palestine, from Lybia, from all over the world, this was on the twenty first of June, on twenty first of June. I knew very well that this will happen. And I suppose that you knew as well that we will confront a massive wave of terrorism because we came to an organization that was in its most powerful status.

This speech tackled clear threats for Egyptian government and citizens in case this interview has occurred as Al-Sisi claimed. The interview revealed the matter of power of Egyptian government versus possible threats. Al-Sisi was threatened along with his country with a confrontation with a massive wave of terror. The question is why did Al-Sisi kept silent for 45 minutes while he was being threatened. This kind of silence by a president of one of the biggest Muslim countries revealed the weakness of his personality.

Consequently, it is difficult to confirm which of the two conversations comprises the true details of the conversation. Moreover, the paradoxical date that Al-Sisi mentioned about the conversation raises questions that this exact conversation has

not even occurred between him and another leader. He may have fabricated the conversation to constitute new laws against certain group of people. The fabrication of such an incident gives him the legislation to change any existed ideology to his favor. This incident proved that Al-Sisi fabricated events and distorted real events and facts to serve his own ideology of ruling Egypt with actions.

During Al-Sisi's visit to England in the 21st of January 2020, there were some protests against Al-Sisi in England. A legal group (Guernica 37) which comprises international lawyer demanded the issuance ofan arrest warrant for Al-Sisi[17]. (Guernica 37) says that Al-Sisi had a role for the death of the previously democratically elected president Mohamad Morsi. "Credible allegations of torture made against the Egyptian government and state organs" says (Guernica 37) statement to counter terrorism units in England to arrest Egyptian president Al-Sisi. They stated that there is clear evidence that the death of Mohamad Morsi was intentional. They also stated that it is probable that Al-Sisi was aware of the torture of Mohamad Morsi in jail. [18]

In addition to (Guernica 37), an Egyptian opposition called Egyptian Revolutionary Council protested in England during Al-Sisi's visit to London. ERC is an organization that considers itself anti-Sisi's regime. It encourages United Nations authorities to investigate the conditions of Egyptian prisoners. ERC states that Al-Sisi became a president not by an election but by coup de tat. The protestors held written banners describing Al-Sisi as a traitor and murderer. [19][20]

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[17]https://www.guernica37.com/
[18]https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20200120-uk-legal-group-urges-arrest-warrant-for-egypts-sisi/
[19]https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/egyptian-opposition-considers-taking-sisi-to-international-courts-31363

Al-Sisi has intellectually linked his life and the life of the Egyptian people to the stability and security of Egypt. This is what appeared in his words and speeches so that he promised the "evils" to commit the maximum penalties for them, and this is what appeared in his words: An example of hedging in Al-Sisi's speeches is what he mentioned in the phrase "we", because he wanted to describe who runs the country as one group and has one goal, as he linked himself to the army as a unit, and he considered that politics cannot control the country, but the procedures do. Dictatorship is also used as a means to run the country, as it uses its supreme authority to control it.

He expressed his full readiness for the sake of preserving the security and stability of Egypt, as shown in his speech while repeating the word "no" twice. This means that he deals with the authority as his own, placing himself in a position that he is against the bad guys, and anyone who thinks of competing with him will be considered as an opponent. This is in line with Joraj Horvath's study (2013), in which Obama's rhetoric was analyzed by drawing on Norman Fairclough's approach to his analysis of critical rhetoric (1995) in which Obama's convincing strategies are revealed and liberal ideologies are discussed. Also, With the study of Fairclough (1995), it was stated that "critical discourse analysis" aims to reveal the way in which texts can be described as sensitive.

On the other hand, Al-Sisi's letters received many objections, and this was what appeared during Al-Sisi's visit to England on January 21, 2020, where there were many protests against Al-Sisi in England. There were also protests by the Egyptian opposition called the Egyptian Revolutionary Council in England during Al-

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أخبار-عربية-ودولية/أخبار-دولية/2020/01/20/مصريون-تظاهروا-في-/https://www.arab48.com[20]
لندن-احتجاجا-على-زيارة-السيسي

Sisi's visit to London. He intended to change words and try to give inaccurate information, and this indicates that he presented a nature of deception, lies and lack of self-confidence. The attempt to address the negative and positive sides of his speeches is consistent with Daniela Matic's study (2012) in which a comparison was made between the speeches of Republican candidate John McCain, and Democrat candidate Barack Obama. Critical discourse analysis of political speech structures and semantic speeches was followed in presidential elections in 2008. This study concluded that an analysis of aims to present both positive and negative sides, and this is what emerged by presenting the objections and criticisms of what was found by each of them in this study, and the similarities and differences between both letters. Furthermore, participates with Andhita and Sofi's (2017) study in which the words of Donald Trump were analyzed during his presidential campaign in a year in Knoxville. In this study a qualitative descriptive approach was followed, and the critical speech analysis theory created by van Dijk (2008) was used as a framework theory works to analyze data. The aim of analyzing the speeches aimed namely at: analyzing Trump's political speech, the analysis of the way he delivered his political speeches, knowing the denotations of his words, and influencing people and their words. This study has reached an important point which is that Trump succeeded in his ideology and gaining power because in his political speeches there were elements that needed to be available to them in which his ideology and public gain were expressed.

4.6. Hedges:

Al-Sisi used some words in his speeches to lessen the intensity of his words. He imposes his ideas regarding his ideology in local economy, religion, and local education and his identity.

> "*I'm saying this word for you because excuse me I see this ..things ... be careful huh things that were done seven or eight years ago will not be repeated again in Egypt" Qunbar's translation*

Al-Sisi used the words "la moakhtha" which is similar to the English word "excuse me" in the previous quotation. The whole quotation discusses a prohibited action from Al-Sisi's point of view. He used the hedge to impose his opinion and threaten the Egyptian citizens and the militants as well. He attempted to relieve the face threatening act as a political figure in front of the media. Another quotation that Al-Sisi uses hedges as the following:

> *The guest: "the teacher, the teacher is an issue that we are taking marginally. The minister discussed the teacher, but didn't discuss the teachers' issues thoroughly"*
>
> *Al-Sisi: "No, no, no, no please, please"*
>
> *The guest: "Go ahead, please"*
>
> *Al-Sisi:" First, we discuss the general shape that we are in together. We are here, please, to organize our words, and open the discussion in an organized way. Or else, it will be. If*

everyone has something in his mind and discussed it. mmm

frankly, this is not acceptable Qunbar's translation

Al-Sisi uses the interjection " lau samahte" matches the equivalent "please" to redress face threatening act of interrupting the speaker at the beginning of her speech. Al-Sisi delivered a speech discussing the situation of local education instead of the speaker. He also imposed his ideas and clearly states that the speaker shouldn't have spoken his mind without consulting others. In other words, she didn't have a permission to discuss such ideas in public.

4.7. Interjections:

In Al-Sisi's speeches, there is an abundance use of interjections. These interjections serve different meanings according to the context.

"I'm saying this word for you because excuse me I see this ..

things ... be careful huh things that were done seven or eight

years ago will not be repeated again in Egypt"

In this quotation, he uses the hedges "this", "thing and "huh" to express and affirm his idea. He used these words in an arrogant language to feel the power and threaten the addressee. He undermines the addressee. In the same speech, he uses other interjections as follows:

"it seems that you don't know me well. Huh huh you don't know me well I swear. I swear that the safety and

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stability of Egypt is worth the life of mine and the

army's" Qunbar's translation

Al-Sisi uses "huh" in his speech to confirm his idea. He threatens the addressee using phrases like "stability of Egypt" and "worth the life". He also uses religious words to swear in order to emphasize his threats. The usage of such hedges helps him to strengthen his status as a man of power. However, not all interjections serve the same issue of arrogance, as in the following quote:

"Or else, it will be. If everyone has something in his mind and

discussed it.mmm frankly, this is not acceptable."

Al-Sisi interrupted the speaker ordering her not to say things out of her mind referring to the minister of education who was reading the speech from a written paper. Using the interjection "mmm" refers to the fact that any opposition to his ideology is not acceptable. He clearly stated that no one should speak out of his mind. So, the one who speaks should stick to the written material.

This interjection reveals a kind of lack of confidence in Al-Sisi's character. He doesn't accept any kind of criticism in public. Consequently, any type of speech in the media and the conversations with people are previously prepared speeches. Later in the same speech, Al-Sisi revealed the corruption of education in detail. In addition, Al-Sisi uses hedges for lying and deception as in the following example:

"Ok do we spend 180 billion? How much the budget

of the minister ministry of education? Huh Half of

them. It is 60 or 70 billion pound."*Qunbar's*

translation

In the previous quotation, Al-Sisi used interjections for giving inaccurate information. From a mathematical perception, half of 180 is 90. However, Al-Sisi gave a wrong answer even in mathematics. These interjections have pragmatic and ideological function. They show how Al-Sisi is surprised when someone speaks his mind. In order to reduce these interjections, Al-Sisi always asks ~~the~~ people to "study" things before they speak. In other words, he who speaks should deliver the ideology of Al-Sisi to avoid such surprises. Information given after interjections could also be lies and deception. In Al-Sisi's speeches, the abundant usage of interjections represents his character of deception, lies and lack of self-confidence. Information given through his speeches and the usage of hedges represent his weak character on the diplomatic level.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations:

5.1. Conclusion:

In Al-Sisi's selected speeches about religion, local economy and education, there were clear confessions about the sector's status. He clearly stated that political Islam is not allowed in Egypt even though Egypt itself is considered to be an Islamic country. So, his ideology toward religion in Egypt will not be an Islamic one. Therefore, the military actions against the political representative of Muslims were completely legal from Al-Sisi's point of view. These actions exceed the political parties to approach Egyptian civilians. Massacres like Al-Nahda and Rabaa Al-adawya have been conducted by the Egyptian army against citizens who supported Freedom and Justice Party. Moreover, Egyptian prisons are still full of Muslim Brotherhood supporters who are against Al-Sisi's regime.

In terms of Local Economy, the currency of Egypt has a massive recession against other foreign currencies. This is an indication for the local Egyptian economy which suffers a massive recession. By analyzing Al-Sisi' speeches, one would realize that his remedial plans for local economy are all revolving around military army. Al-Sisi's future plans will neither increase local production nor reduce the country's debt. On the contrary, according to the International Fund report, the debt of Egypt has increased through Al-Sisi's reign as a president. In his speeches, the absence of realistic solution for local economy is obvious. Michele Dunne testified in the United States Congress in 2017 that Al-Sisi misuses the debt he receives from the International Fund, and he will let Egypt neck in debts.

Discussing the issue of education, Al-Sisi confessed during the *Vision of Egypt 2030* conference that education in Egypt is collapsing. He also stated in detailed

statistics that he can't provide Egypt with the minimum requirement of fund for Education. Therefore, the ignorance of the upcoming generations in Egypt is the responsibility of Al-Sisi. Instead of working on urgent plans to upgrade the level of education among young learners, he links local education with the civil rights and civil education. International magazines and websites who are interested in education among the world have classified Egyptian education among the lowest ones worldwide.

In terms of Al-Sisi's identity, it is realized that he considers himself as the only valid source of information and decision making. It is obvious from the selected speeches that no one should speak in a public matters without being permitted to. He's steering the ideology of people to get used to live in poverty, collapsed education, secularism and obedience. The method of ruling Egypt using excessive force and giving it the whole economy of the country indicates that Al-Sisi is nothing but a dictator. As a result of this excessive use of force and mass killings, President Donald Trump described Al-Sisi's identity as "my favorite dictator"[21] and "a fucking killer"[22]. So, his dictatorship and killing for Egyptian civilians are well known all over the world.

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[21]https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-called-egyptian-president-sisi-my-favorite-dictator-g7-2019-9
[22]https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/trump-reportedly-branded-sisi-killer-new-book-reveals

5.2. Recommendation:

In this research, the speeches selected for the current president of Egypt 'Abdul Fattah Al-Sisi' were translated from his mother language 'Arabic' to English by an authorized translator Murad Al-qunbar. It is preferable for further investigation to have his speeches in the English language for a holistic analysis without the need of translation to English.

It is possible to take more speeches uttered by Al-Sisi in order to analyze his identity and ideology as a leader. In addition of investigating Al-Sisi's local economy, education and religion, it is also preferable to analyze his ideology and identity toward foreign policy. The analysis could be conducted into political foreign field. A comparison of his identity, ideology and language with Egyptians and his people could be conducted to infer the similarities and differences among them.

As for his ideology and identity, they can be analyzed through his facial expressions and body language while he is uttering speeches and connecting that with his political status. Discussing the current political events of Egypt, it is possible to conduct a complete research about the conditions of Egypt before and during Al-Sisi's era, and discuss the differences and the political position of Egypt now and then. How is its difference? Is it better or worse and why? How can Al-Sisi as a president improve the condition of Egypt on the external and internal policy?

Appendices:

Appendix A: Abdulafatah Al-Sisi's Selected Speeches:

These are some speeches delivered by the speaker himself. These speeches were selected by the researcher to be analyzed.

1.

"انا بقول الكلام ده لكم عشان لا مؤاخذة انا شايف كده .. كلام.. احزرروا هه الكلام اللي كان اتعمل من 7 /8 سنين مش حيتكررتاني في مصرهي مش . هه اللي منجحش ساعتها حتنجحوهدلوقتي لا لا لا لا انتوا باين عليكم متعرفونيش صحيح هه ههمتعرفونيش صحيح لا والله. والله امنك واستقرارك يا مصر تمنه حياتي انا وحياة الجيش محدش يفكر يا جماعة يدخل معانا في الموضوع ده لاني انا مش سياسي انا مش سياسي بتاع الكلام لا انا عمري ما كنت تكلمت بالطريقة دية لكن واضح ان الناس مش واخدة بالها احنا بنمشيش البلد برجليها بالكلام البلد دية عشان ترجع كده تاني ربنا وحدة فقط اللي يعلم هي رجعت كده ازاي واي حد يفكر يقرب منها لااااالاااااا انا حقول للمصريين انزلوا تاني انزلوا تاني ادوني تفويض قدام الاشرار اي اشرار حقول للمصريين تانيتاني لو الامر استمر كده وحد فكر انه يلعب في مصر وامنها حطلب منكم انا مطلبتش عشان بس متتعزبوشحطلب منكم تفويض تاني لان حيبقى في اجراءات اخرسى ضد اي حد بيعتقد انه ممكن يلعب بامنها واحنا موجودين انا مبخافش غير من ربنا مبخافش غير من ربنا وعليها هيا بس الكلام اللي بيقول المهندس طارق ده لما حصل الكلام في 2011 توقفت الانتاج بتاعنابتدت الناس في .. الاحتياطي بتاعنا خلص في استيراد منتجات بترولية كان بالف ومتين والف تلتمية مليون دولار في الشهر كام ؟! مش كده ولا ايه ؟

شخص: مليار ومتين في الشهر

السيسي: مش كده ولا ايه ؟ لحسن الناس تكون مش واخدة بالها الحكاية كانت ماشية ازاي كانت (تمتمة) كل شهر البلد عاوزة الف ومتين مليون دولار تشتري بيهم بترول عشان يبقى منتجات الناس تلاقي وقود في العربيات بتاعتها ويلاقوا بوتجاز في البيت طيب .. هواحنا بنبيعه بتمن ولا بنبيعوش بتمن ؟ كمان فالاستقرار والامن ده معناه اللي احنا فيه غير كده معناه ضياااع وانا مبخوفش حد طيب حد مش مصدق مهو ميعرفش محنا قلنا بعد كده حنعمل اكاديمية نعلم فيها الناس يعني ايه دولة وميبقاشـالنهاردة حد يتصدى لشان عام مش متعلم

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<div dir="rtl">

كويس بالمناسبة انا بقالي خمسين سنة بتعلم يعني ايه دولة خمسين سنة اه والله قسما بالله العظيم انا بقالي خمسين سنة بتعلم وبعلم نفسي يعني ايه دولة حاجة صعبة اوي حاجة صعبة اوي ناس مبفتكش الخط للدولة وعايزة تتصدى وتتكلم لا مينفعش كده والكلام ده مينفعشاقولوش ابدا وانا قاعد في المكان دوت " .

</div>

Translation:

I'm saying this word for you because excuse me I see this ..things … be careful huh things that were done seven or eight years ago will not be repeated again in Egypt. It's not..huh. What didn't succeed at that time will you make it succeed now? No no no no no it seems that you don't know me well. Huh huh you don't know me well I swear. I swear that the safety and stability of Egypt is worth the life of mine and the army's. Nobody would think to interfere in that because I'm not a politician. I'm not a politician with words without action no. I have never spoken in this way. But, it's clear that people are not concentrated. We don't control this country by words. Only our God knows how this country got back like this again. And, anyone thinks of getting close to it nooooo nooooo I will tell the Egyptians to go down again go down for my authorization against malefactors any malefactors. I will tell the Egyptian again again. If things continued like this, and someone thought of playing in Egypt and its security, I will ask you – I didn't ask, so you don't get tormented- I will ask you for another authorization. There will be anooooother procedures against anyone who thinks he can play in its security in our presence. I'm only afraid of our God. I'm only afraid of our God and only on Egypt. Words which were uttered by Tarek the engineer when things happened in 2011, our production has stopped. People started to… Our reservation ran out in importing oil products. It costs a thousand and two hundred a thousand and three hundred million dollar a month. How much? Right or what?

A speaker: "one billion and two hundred a month."

Al-Sisi: "Is it right? It's better than that the people is not realizing how things were going on. It was .. Every month the country needed a thousand and two hundred a million dollar a month to buy petrol to maintain some products for people to find some fuel for their cars and gas for their houses ok. We sell it for money or for free? In addition, stability and security means our current status. Other than that means losssss. And I'm not scaring anyone.And anyone who doesn't believe doesn't know. We said we will establish an academy to teach the people that a country means. And, there will not be anyone who wants to speak and represent people who are not well educated. By the way, for fifty years, I have been learning the meaning of a country. Fifty years yes I swear. I swear in the name of almighty God for fifty years I have been learning and teaching myself the meaning of a country. It's a very difficult issue a very difficult issue. People who are illiterate in the country, want to represent and speak. No, this shouldn't happen. And I shouldn't say this utterance while I'm in this place."

2.

In Alexandria, "The vision of Egypt 2030" session was held by the president to discuss the future of Egypt in the 24th of July 2017. In the following speech, it was allowed to one of the attendance to speak in the session. However, the president interrupted her words and delivered a speech.

الضيفة: المعلم, المعلم ده امر نحن بناخده فعلا على هامش الموضوع سيادة الوزير ذكر المعلم لكن متكلمش بشكل وافي عن اوضاع المعلم"

السيسي :"لا لا لا لا لو سمحتي لو سمحتي"

الضيفة: "تفضل"

السيسي: " نتكلم الاول على الشكل عام اللي احنا موجودين فيه مـع بعـض احنـا هنـا لـو سمحتم بننظم كلامنا ونفتح الحوار بشكل منظم والا حتبقى الموضوع لـو كـل واحـد عنـده فدماغـه حاجـة وقـام يتكلم فيهـا مـش حيبقى ده كلام مش مقبول بصراحة النقطة التانية. انا تعودت معاكم ان انتم تفكروا كويس. فكروا قبل ما تتكلموا الكلمة دي بقولها المرة وتنين وتلاتة لازم نفكر قبل ما نتكلم اللي بقول الكادر. عايز تقولي ان انـا عـارف ان المرتبات بصفة عامة مش جيدة ؟ طبعا مش جيدة . عـاوز تقـولي ان احنـا المفـروض نـزود المرتبـات؟ ايـوا انـا عارف بس منين؟ وانتا بتطرح الطرح بتاعكوبتسال السؤال ده قولي اجيبه منين حقولك سؤال عشان انـا. عرفتـوا ليه انا بطلب تعليم مختلف ؟ عشان الناس يبقى عندها فكر نقدي. فكر ديمـا بيـدرس الموضـوع وبيناقشـه مـن كـل الوجوه قبل ما يتكلم فيه عشان يبقى طرحه طرح مفيد. طرح ايجابي ميبقاش طرح للطرح. طرح حنستفيد منـه. الفكرة حتبقى اضافة لينا. لكن النهاردة انا قولت. انا عاوز اقولكم على حاجة اذا كان تقريبا التعليم فيه 18 مليون. 18 مليون انا بتاع حساب. الارقام عندي دايما بتشكل بالنسبالي علاقات وفهم وارجو ان الكـلام ده. الكـلام ده انـا قلته كتير ال18 مليون دول تفتكر الحد الادنى اللي ممكن نصرفه على الطالب في تعليمـه كـام في السـنة بـين مدرسة وصيانتها بين انشطة جوا المدرسة بين منهج كويس بين مدرس موجود تفتكر كام؟ حد يقول رقم كده. حد يقول رقم. في الخارج سالت ناس السؤال ده قالولي يعنـي 10 الاف دولار رقم متواضع. 10 الاف دولار رقم متواضع. فمتتالمش من كلامي ولا تزعلشي على حالك وحـال بلـدك لان احنـا مصـممين نعبـر. مصـممين نعبـر. اومــال احنــا بنيجـي نقعـد القعـدة دي كـل مـرة ليـه عشــان اكلمكـم وتكلمـوني ونسـمع بعضـنا الـبعض واشكيلكموتشكولياشكيلكم حالي اللي هوا حال بلدي اللي نفسي اشوفها كبيرة اوي بس مش لوحدي بينا كلنا. نرجع بقا تاني عشان نبقا غطينا السؤال اللي حضرتك سالته. لو قلت في 18 مليون بيتعلموواحدفع عليهم كام في المتوسط لكل طالب؟ انا حقولك رقم ميحيركشحنقول 10 الاف جنيه في السنة ده رقم. انا خليت كـل دولار هـم قـالوا عليـه برا خليته جنيه. يعني هم قالوا 10الاف دولار في المتوسط انا قلت خليه جنيـه يعنـي 10 الاف جنيه يعنـي كـام؟ يعني 180 مليار حد يلحقني من ورا بالرقم 180 مليار طيب احنا بنصرف 180 مليار موازنة السيد وزير وزارة التربية والتعليم كام؟ نصهم. يعني 60 /70 مليار جنيه. اذا في حاجـة مـش مزبوطـة ايـه هي الحاجـة اللـي مـش مزبوطة؟ ان احنا مش قادرين نوفر ده. طيب لو احنا ربطنا الكلام ده بمسيرة السلاح الاقتصادي تعرف ان احنـا. الموازنة دي هي قدرتك المالية مش انا قلت مـن يـومين كـده مصـر عـايزه حـد يقـدر . يعنـي اللـي عـاوز يتـدخل بشؤونها مهو برضو انا اسف اني طولت عليكيبس انا مهم اوي. انا اكتر حاجة بخاف عليها ان احنا نبقى الـوعي

بتاعنا مش كامل. وعينا مش كامل. انا قلت كلمة من يومين في افتتاح القاعدة. قلت ايه اللي عايز يتدخل في مصر انت عارف مصر بتتصرف ايه؟ مهو يجي يناقش يجيب القضية على القناة بتاعته يقولك شوف المعلمين في مصر مش لاقيينياخدوا صحيح صحيح. ده المدارس عندهم خيبانة ومش جيدة. صحيح طيب ليه؟ عشان احنا قدرتنا الاقتصادية مش جيدة. طيب نيجي نحلها انتا بتتقلب تقولي الدنيا غالية وكده انتا يعني بتضغط علينا. فانا اخرج من الدايرة دي ازاي؟ دايرة العوز دايرة العوز انا بقولها على الملا دايرة العوز عوز العوز عوز الدولة. قدامنا خيارين يا نكافح ونصبر ونوصل بفضل الله سبحانه وتعالى او نقول ان مفيش فايدة ونركن او حاجة تالتة نعمل "ايدينا كده والناس مبتشحدش خلاص

The guest: "the teacher, the teacher is an issue that we are taking marginally. The minister discussed the teacher, but didn't discuss the teachers' issues thoroughly"

Al-Sisi: "No, no, no, no please, please"

The guest: "Go ahead, please"

Al-Sisi:" First, we discuss the general shape that we are in together. We are here, please, to organize our words, and open the discussion in an organized way. Or else, it will be. If everyone has something in his mind and discussed it. mmm frankly, this is not acceptable. The second point, I'm accustomed with you that you think well. Think before you speak. I say this once, twice, and thrice. We should think before we say. He says the stuff. You want to tell me that salaries in general are not good? Of course it's not good. You want to tell me that we are supposed to increase the salaries? Yes I know but from where? When you discuss your discussion, and ask this question tell me where to get this from. I will ask you a question. Did you know why I ask for a different education? So that people will think critically, ideas always study the subject and discuss it from all aspects before he speaks of, So, that its discussion will be useful. A positive discussion and not discussion for the sake of discussion. Discussion we will benefit from. The idea will be a supplement for us. However, today I said. I

want to tell you something. Education has 18 millions. 18 millions I'm a mathematician. For me, Numbers always shape relationship and comprehension, and I hope that this thing. This thing I said a lot. These 18 millions in your opinion how much the minimum money that we can spend on a student in his education annually through a school and its maintenance, activities inside the school, good curriculums, and teacher? Someone guess the number. Someone guess the number. In foreign countries I asked people this question, and they said 10000 dollars is a low. 10000 dollars is a humble number. So don't feel sorrow from my words, and don't be sad about yourself and your country because we insist to pass. We insist to pass. We don't come here every time in these sessions but to talk, hear, complain, to each other. I complain to you about my situation which is my country's situation that I hope to see it very big but not only me, we all together. Let's go back again to cover the question that you asked. If you told me that 18 million are learning how much money will I pay for each learner in average? I will tell you a number so you will not get confused. Let's say 10000 Egyptian pounds yearly this is a number. I converted the currency of dollar foreigners said into Egyptian pound. So, they said 10000 dollars averagely, I said keep it in Egyptian pound, so, 10000 pound how much? It means 180 billion. Someone helps me with the number 180 billion. Ok do we spend 180 billion? How much the budget of the minister ministry of education? Huh Half of them. It is 60 or 70 billion pound. So there is something incorrect. What is this incorrect thing? It is that we can't afford it. If we connect these words with the weapon of economic development, you will know that we. The budget is your financial ability. Didn't I say two days ago that Egypt needs someone who can. I mean he who wants to interfere in its affairs its. I'm sorry that I made you wait long, but I'm very important. The most things that I'm afraid of is that our awareness is not completed. Our awareness is not

completed. Two days ago, I said a word in base opening. What did I say? He who wants to interfere in Egypt, do you know what does Egypt spend? So, he who wants to argue on his own TV, he says look at the teachers in Egypt can't find salaries to take, true, true. Schools, there, are terrible and not good ones. We solve it. You turn around and tell me it's expensive, and you squeeze us. So, how do get out of the need cycle? Need cycle. Need cycle. I say it in public; need cycle, need, need, the need, the country need. We have two choices. Whether to struggle and be patient and reach by Allah' favor. Or we say that there is no point and stagnate. Or thirdly, we make our hands like this and people don't give beggars anymore.

3.

During Al-Sisi's visit to Demiat of inauguration of a combination of projects in the new city of Demiat, Al-Sisi delivered a presentation about these projects. Through the presentation, one of the attendants complained to Al-Sisi about the exploitation, and requested from Al-Sisi to increase the minimum wage. As a result, Al-Sisi responded and humiliated the speaker.

" عبد الفتاح السيسي: انا عايز اقوللكم كلمة اخيرة للناس الي بتتفرج علينا، احنا لما اخدنا قرار التعويم تعويم الجنيه المصري كنا عارفين في ليه تاثيرات صعبة على كل المصرين، بس احنا كنا عارفين كمان ان ده حيعطي فرصة حقيقية لمصر انها تصدر صناعة وزراعة بشكل كبير وحتقلل استيراد بشكل كبير، فعشان ناخد الفرصة دية تحملنا وبنتحمل الاعباء الناتجة عنها الاعباء الناجمة عنها النهاردة بقا السوق المصري والصناعة المصرية والزراعة المصرية بقت منافسة بشكل كبير جدا جدا بتكلفتها، الدولار هنا ثمنه كام في مصر وثمنه كام للمنتج نظيره برا بكام احنا بقا عندنا فرصة كويسة، عقبال ما تتملي شراينا عقبال ما تتملي .. يعني يحدث التوسع في دولة عشان كده احنا محتاجين كدولة نتحرك مع الناس اكتر في الزراعة في الصناعة عشان منضيعش الفرصة دية منضيعش الفرصة دية . "

احد الحضور: اشكرك يا دكتور.

شخص اخر من الحضور: طلب اخير بعد اذن سعادتك ارجو من معاليك الغاء زيادة اسعار الوقود والتلتشرايح كهربا ، لانه الحقيقة الا بيدفع تكلفة هذه الزيادة هو المواطن البسيط، المواطن البسيط هو الا بيدفع الفاتورة الحقيقية، لانه اصحاب المصانع بيضيفوا زيادة الكهربا وزيادة الوقود على اسعار منتاجاتهم، وحاليا اصحاب الدخول البسيطة مهياش قادرة تستحمل زيادة حاليا، فطلب من سعادتك الغاء زيارة اسعار الوقود وشرايحالكهربا لغاية ما نرفع الحد الادنى للمرتبات ل 3000جنيه، علشان يقدر يستوعب ده

السيسي: طب مش تقولي حضرتك مين؟ انت مين؟

الرجل المذكور:...

السيسي: جواب ايه ..انت درست الموضوع الي بتتكلم فيه ده؟ انت دارسه؟ ايه ده؟ انتوا دارسين الكلام الي بتقولوا ده؟ انت فاكرني لما تيجي تقولي كلام في موضوع عام زي كده تقولي ارجي ارجي .. انت عايز دولة تقوم ولا تفضل ميتّة؟ لا لو سمحت لو سمحت من فضلك ، ادرسوا المواضيع كويس واعرفوا البلد فيها ايه، 3000 جنيه كحد ادنا بعد كم سنة بعد كم سنة ، لا طبعا من فضل حضرتك انا كنت حسكت واقولك طيب لا لا اتفضل .

Al-Sisi: I want to tell you one last word for the people who see us. When we took the decision of floatationof Egyptian pound, we knew it has complicated impacts on all Egyptians. However, we knew it would give a real chance for Egypt to export industry and archaeology heavily, and it we also know it will decrease importing heavily. Because we take this chance and take the responsibility of its consequences. Today, the Egyptian market, Egyptian industry, and Egyptian Archaeology become extremely competent in its cost. How much the dollar costs here? And how much is it valuable to its counterpart in foreign countries? Now, we have a very good chance. And, we hope our veins are the upcoming to be filled. It means amplification is happening in a country. So, we as a country need to move more with people in agriculture in industry. So, we don't miss this chance. We don't miss this chance.

One of the attendants: thank you doctor.

Another participant: A final request after the permission of your Excellency. I hope from your Excellency to cancel the fuel price boost, and the three electrical sections because in reality no one pays the price boost but the ordinary citizen. The ordinary citizen is the one who pays the real bill. Because the factory owners add the electrical and fuel boost on the cost of products. Currently, the ones with simple income are not capable of this boost. So, a request from your Excellency to cancel the fuel and electrical section boost until we increase the minimum wage to 3000 pounds to be capable of this thing.

Al-Sisi: so, tell me who are you? Who are you?

The participant: answ

Al-Sisi: What answer? Did you study the subject you are talking of? Did you study it? What's this? Do you study the words you are saying? Do you think when you come and say these words in a general subject like this, you say delay, delay, do you want a country to thrive or to keep its death? No, please, please excuse me. Study the subjects well and know what exists in this country. 3000 pounds as a minimum? This after how many years after how many years? No, of course, I beg your pardon. I wanted to hush up and say no no go ahead.

4.   Al-Sisi delivered a speech on thirty first of January 2015 commenting on violent conducts in Sinai. The following is an excerpt of the speech which was delivered on the previously mentioned date.

انا باكدلكم يوم واحد وعشرين ستة ومن فضلكم افتكروا التوقيت ده كويس يـوم واحـد وعشـرين سـتة ''

احد اكبر القيادات لهذا التنظيم ان مكانتش هي المسؤولة عن كل شيء فيه طلب لقاء مع قيـادي اخر معايا شخصـيا

انا بقول الكلام ده هوة وقبل كده بجلسات مغلقة لكن انا بقوله للمصريين كلهم عشان يبقوا عارفين احنا بنتعامل مع

مين احنا عارفين احنا بنتعامل مع مين لمدة اربعين دقيقة واكثر هذا القيادي كان بيقوليحنجيب او حتلاقي مـن كـل

ربوع الدنيا ناس جاية تقاتلكم من افغانستان من باكستان من سوريا من العراق من مصـر مـن فلسطين مـن ليبيـا

من كل الدنيا حتيجي تقاتلكم ده كان اليوم واحد وعشرين ستة يوم واحد وعشرين ستة انا كنت عارف كـويس اوي

ان ده اللي حيحصلوانتوابيتهيالي كمان كنتوا عارفين ان احنا حنقابل موجة ارهاب كبيرة اوي لان احنا جينا علـى

تنظيم فـي اقـوى حالاتـه تنظيم بقالـه سـنين طويلـة جـدا مسـتقر بـيخطط جـاهز نـافز نـاجح فـي العـالم فـي دول

بتقادالنهاردة بقيادات من هذا التنظيم تفتكروا الدول دية حتبقسسبتعمل ايه ؟ حتسبنا بحالنـا؟ شـوفوا المواجهـة دي

مواجهة صعبة وقوية وشريرة وحتاخد وقت طويل حتاخد وقت طويل واللي بيدفع تمن الوقت ده كل المصريين"

Translation:

I confirm for you on twenty first of June, and please remember this date well. On the twenty first of June, one of the major leaders of this organization if he was not responsible of everything about the organization asked for a meeting with another leader, me myself, I'm saying this and before with closed sessions. But, I'm saying this to all Egyptians, so they know whom we are dealing with. We know who we are dealing with. For forty minutes and much more, this leader was telling me, we will bring or you will find people come to fight you from all over the world. From Afghanistan, from Syria, from Iraq, from Palestine, from Lybia, from all over the world, this was on the twenty first of June, on twenty first of June. I knew very well that this will happen. And I suppose that you knew as well that we will confront a massive wave of terrorism because we came to an organization that was in its most powerful status. An organization has been stable for a long period of time scheming, penetrating, ready, and successful in the world. Nowadays, there are countries that are leaded with leaders of this organization. Do you think these countries will become

ahhhhh what to do? Will they let us on our status? Look, this confrontation is difficult, powerful, devilish, and will take a long time, will take a long time. And it will be on the account of all Egyptians.

5.

In an interview with lames Hadidi and Ibrahim Iessa on CBC Egypt, the program's name is "Egypt Elects the President". Al-Sisi was a guest in this program as a candidate of the presidential election. This interview was published in the fifth of May 2014.

" انا كان معي احد القيادات بتاعتهم في تلاتة وعشرين يونيو وكان طلب لقاء في اطار تدارس الموقف
وانا لما بقول ده مبذبعش سر ولا حاجة لكن بقول للناس اللي بتسمع تدبروا كلامـي كـويس قعد خمسـة
واربعين دقيقة يكلمني ويقوليحييجوا مقاتلين من سوريا حييجوا مقاتلين من افغانستان حييجوا مقاتلين من
ليبيا حييجوا مقاتلين من كل الدنيا يقاتلوا اللل المصـريين ويقـاتلوكم يـااااااه كده يعنـي خمسـة واربعين
"دقيقة وانا

Ibrahim Iessa:" ده تحذيرا من التدخل والانحياز للشعب المصري ولا كانوا بيكلموك بصدد ايه ؟ "

Al-Sisi: " نعم نعم"

Lamees Hadidi: " ده تهديد واضح"

Al-Sisi: " صحيح وانا بطبيعتي بخاف لا لا والله لا لا والله لا اسمح ابدا ان حد يـروع النـاس ويفـزعهم
واحنا موجودين وانا قلت فخطـاب قبـل كـده ان نـروح نمـوت احسـن قبـل مـا المصـريين يبقـوا قاعدين
"فبيوتهم عشان حد لا لا لا

Translation:

I had one of the leaders in a meeting with me on the twenty third of June. And, he requested a meeting to discuss the situation. And, when I say this I don't disclose any secret. But, I'm saying to the people who listen to contrive my words very well. For forty five minutes, he was talking to me and telling me that fighters will come from Syria, Afghanistan, Lybia, and from all

over the world. They will fight ahhhh the Egyptians and fight you, yaaaaaaah. Forty five minutes and I was.

Ibrahim Issa: This is a warning of intervening in aligning in the favor of Egyptian citizens, or what were they talking about?

Al-Sisi: Yes, yes.

Lamees Hadidi: This is a clear threat.

Al-Sisi: Right, and I'm scared. No no on the name of Allah. I will never allow it that someone scare the people and dread them while we are here. Recently, I said in a speech that we had better die before Egyptians sit at their homes because of anyone no no.

6. In Aswan, Al-Sisi delivers a speech in a conference that holds the title of The Future of Scientific Research and Health Care. The participants are one thousand and five hundred young Egyptian and African. He discussed the issue of Education and distinctive Egyptian minds and their role in Egypt.

"ما تيجوا نتكلم معاهم ونقولهم لما يكون عندنا عقل متميز نبعتهولكم، ولما ينجح في بحث علمي أدونا نسبة من عقله، ابننا وعلمناه عندنا وأتاحناه ليكم، خلوا المنتج اللي هيطلعه تكلفته علينا محل نظر"

"Let's discuss with them and tell them when we have a distinctive mind, we will send him to you, and when he succeeds in a scientific research, you give us a proportion of his mind. He is our son. We taught him, and made him available to you".

7. In an interview with lames Hadidi and Ibrahim Iessa on CBC Egypt, the program's name is "Egypt Elects the President". Al-Sisi was a guest in this program as a candidate of the presidential election. This interview was published in the fifth of May 2014.

"حصل اساءة بالغة جدا في حق المصريين والاساءة البالغة مش بس شهور دول لا التجاوزات اللي حصلت خلال السنة هما تعاملوا هما تعاملوا مع المصريين في اطار قيم وفهم وعقائد اخرى غير العقد اللي المصريين اختاروا على اساسه المصريين اختاروا على اساس عقد دستوري وقانوني عايشين بيه ده كويس هما كان المفروض يحترموا هذا العقد الدستوري والقانوني اللي المصريين اختاروا على اساسه فمحصلش هم حصل ابتدوا يحطوا افكارهم ورؤيتهم بالادارة من منظور شرعي من وجهة نظرهم ويستخفوا بفكرة القانون وفكرة الدستور رغم ان ده الاساس اللي بني عليه العلاقة بين الحاكم والمحكوم"

"A massive offense to the Egyptians' rights has occurred. Not only in these eight months, no, the encroachment that occurred throughout the year. They dealt with the Egyptians with a framework of values, and concepts other than what the Egyptians chose. They chose the basis of a constitutional and legal contract living good with it. They should have respected the constitutional and legal contract which the Egyptians chose as the basis. And it didn't occur. They started to put their thoughts and vision in management from a legitimate from their perspective and underestimate the ideology of law and constitution although it is the basis which is the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is built on."

8. President Al-Sisi in an interview with Portuguese channel RTP in the twenty second of November2016 describes Muslims in Arab countries as terrorists. The interview was translated into English by the channel and published in English language. Another version of the interview was published in the Arabic which is the language of Al-Sisi. in this research, the English translated version has been verified for the analysis.

Interviewer: "Don't you think it prompts Mr. Trumps statements against Islam were reflectingIslamophobia?"

Al-Sisi: "Well I think there has been a campaign worldwide against terror. This campaign actually, terror well, Islamophobia actually terror is strolling all over the world across the world, across the world has been a source of concern for all."

Interviewer: "There have been reports about nasty behaviors toward Muslims because of this discourse by Mr. Trump."

Al-Sisi: "Well this is true, but every country, every country is attempting to save guard its nationals and I understand this follow."

9. In the first national youth conference, Al-Sisi addresses Egyptian young people for the first time in a conference held on the twenty fifth of October 2016. This conference is held in Sharm El-Sheikh. The conference has the title of Exchange Rate Crisis, Monetary Policy, and causes and solutions.

"السيسي: خلي بالكم وما تنسوش انه الي بكلمكم ده واحد منكم، طب والله العظيم انا اعدت 10 سنين تلاجتي كانت فيها مية بس وماحدش سمع صوتي 10 سنين تلاجتي كان فيها مية بس وماحدش سمع صوتي ماحدش سمع صوتي وانا من اسرة غنية جدا وانا اسف اني بقول عن نفسي لكن عايز اقولكم انه الموضوع اكبر من كده بكثير، عزة النفس وعفة النفس ده امر ما بيجيشبالساهل انك انت تعتمد على نفسك امر مش سهل ...شكرا

"

Al-Sisi: you should take in consideration and shouldn't forget that the one who speaks is one from you. I swear to the Mighy Allah. I stayed ten years with my refrigerator has nothing but water, and no one heard my voice, Ten years, my refrigerator has nothing but water. And, no one heard my voice. In addition, I'm from a very wealthy family, and I'm sorry that I'm speaking about myself, but I want to tell you that the issue is far bigger than this. Self-esteem, self-honor, this

matter doesn't come easily. You depending on your self is not an easy thing,

thank you.

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