

**University Of Maysan
College of Education for Human sciences
Department of English**



Feminism Attitude in Political Speeches in The Context of Hyland's Model :A Pragmatic Study

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BY

Mawj Khalil Ibrahim

SUPERVISED BY

Asst.Prof. Iqbal Sahib Dishar

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قال الله تعالى :

﴿ يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا
الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ ۗ وَاللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ ﴾

(المجادلة: 11)

*"ALLAH will raise up, to (suitable) ranks (and degrees),
those of you who believe and who have been granted (mystic)
knowledge. And ALLAH is well acquainted.*

(ALMUJADILAH: 11)

Dedication

To my mother

Throughout my life , you have always been near .At first you were a hand to hold , the person who came running to pick me up when I fell.I am so thankful for your wisdom , advice , your words of encouragement and your silent prayers .If I am strong ,it's because you showed me how to pick my self up ,to move on and learn from my mistakes. Thank you so much for every thing .

I love you

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Allah, the creator is thanked for everything before all. I thank Almighty Allah for giving me all what I have achieved in all my life. I would like to express my grateful thanks to my supervisor Asst.prof. Iqbal Sahib for her guidance, advice, invaluable discussions and constructive comments, which greatly improved the structure and presentation of this thesis. I am also very grateful to Assist Prof. Dr. Tahseen Ali Mhodar, Head of English Department at the Faculty of Education, Maysan University for his support. I would like to thank the faculty members of the Department of English Language, Faculty of Education, Maysan University for their cooperation, encouragement and support throughout the writing of this thesis .

Thanks are due to my family, especially my mother, my father, my brother and my sisters for their help. They always support me to achieve my ambitions and never forget me in their prayers. Thanks are due to my husband and my daughters Rawan & Roz who were beside me in anything.

Certification

I certify that this thesis entitled **Feminism attitude in political speeches in context of Hyland's model :Pragmatic study** was prepared under my supervision at the University of Mysan , the College of Education for Human Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English language and Linguistics.

Signature:

Supervisor's Name: **Asst.prof. Iqbal Sahib Dishar**

Date:

In view of the available recommendation, I forward this thesis for debate by the examining committee.

Signature:

Name: **Assist Prof. Dr. Tahseen Ali Mhodar**

Head of the Department of English

Date:

Examining Committee's Report

We certify that we have read this thesis (**Feminism Attitude in Political speeches in The Context of Hyland's model :A Pragmatic study**), written by (**Mawj Khalil Ibrahim**) and as Examining Committee have examined the study in its content, and in our opinion, it is adequate as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in English.

Signature:

Name: Prof. Dr. Abdulkarim Fadhil Jameel

Chairman

Signature:

Name: Asst. Prof. Iqbal Sahib Dishar

Member & Supervisor

Signature:

Name : Asst. Prof. Dr. Najm Abdullah Burhan

Member

Signature:

Name: Asst. Prf. Sarab Kadir Mugair

Member

Approved of by the Council of the College of Education for Human Science

Signature:

Name: Assist Prof. Dr. Tahseen Ali Mhodar

Head of the Department of English

Date:

Abstract

This thesis interests with a Pragmatic analysis of Margaret Hilda Thatcher and Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton speeches with the help of attitude marker analysis. This study aims to show the differences between Clinton and Thatcher in their use of attitude markers and ,modify Hyland's model to be applicable for the data analysis to show the feminism attitudes and the differences between them. Four attitude markers are used for analysis (Hyland, 2005): Attitudinal adjective, Cognitive verb, Attitudinal adverb and Deontic verbs are used to analyze the speeches. The researcher also analyze the pragmatic meaning of these markers. These markers and their analysis show how the two speakers construct feminism and its differences in the two speeches. The ranges of markers identified in the speeches of the two speaker in the analysis are: Deontic verbs, Attitudinal adverbs, Attitudinal adjectives Cognitive verbs in the speeches of Thatcher and in the speeches of Clinton .

The analysis shows that their speeches are feminist. Part of the aim of this work is building a version of the Hyland's model that assists in showing the depiction of feminism in their speeches. Hyland's model can be applied to the data, with some modifications and/or additions meaning that some markers can be expanded because of the difference between the data from which the markers are invented and the data that used in this study. The researcher use Hyland's (2005) model and add any necessary modification to build a complete model for the analysis of the data. The model can show the depiction of feminism which this work aim to show. The markers work to build coherent perspective of feminism in the data. The linguistic images of the feminism in both speeches include repetition of the markers and there are some similarities between the two politicians. Although both

groups uses approximately uses the same sets of attitude markers, they are different in the frequency of each marker.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preliminary

Many linguists and discourse analysts such as Kopple (1985), Crismore et al. (1983, 1989, 1993), Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001), Hyland (1998, 1999, 2005), and Dafouz (2003, 2008) believe that the study of metadiscourse markers plays a role in the use of the linguistic expressions and the success of the entire process of communication. According to Hyland (1998: 438), metadiscourse is a feature of the text that clearly regulates speech, engages audiences, and indicates the writer's position. To Crismore, et al. (1998: 93), metadiscourse markers help to make the text coherent and convey the writers to convey their personality, credibility, reader sensitivity, and message. Generally, metadiscourse is any interaction between the addresser and the addressee (Amiryousefi and Rasekh, 2010, Dehkordi and Allami, 2012). A bulk of research works on metadiscourse have actually been conducted not only to examine attitude markers but also to propose some applicable models on metadiscourse analysis. However, no studies have investigated the description of feminism by the use of metadiscourse analysis. Therefore, the present study attempts to explore feminism attitudes by the use of ‘interpersonal metadiscourse’ markers in some political speeches. One of the main purposes of feminism attitude in political speech is to find the ways in which the feminism attitudes are depicted by the use of language for specific political effects.

1.1 The Problem

Attitude markers can show the writer/speaker's opinion or proposition assessment such as I agree, I am happy, appropriately, correctly, dramatically, hopefully, or unfortunately. They can show how someone behaves towards someone else in a particular situation, especially they show how the former feels (White, 2001:83). The term attitude refers to the values by which speakers pass judgments and associate emotional/affectual responses with the participants and processes. In the present study, this term is a label used to cover all the attitudinal meanings of feminism in the political speeches in the context of Hyland's model (2005). Feminism, a movement that has turned very popular these days, dates back to nineteenth century when the word "féminisme" in 1837 was coined by the French philosopher Charles Fourier (Goldstein, 1982:33).

The most common association with the word "feminism" is women aiming to raise their social status equal to men. In fact, it supports their rights and wants them to be equal to men. Feminism is based on the belief that a woman is now capable to occupy all positions such as in politics as she can be a politician such a *president, minister etc.* In the present study, 'feminism attitude' is a label used to cover all the attitudinal meanings in the speeches of prime minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Hilda Thatcher and *Hillary Rodham Clinton*. It studies how the audiences interact with political speeches by certain expressions of feminism attitudes. Thus, the research problem lies in the lack of a clear model (method) to show feminism attitudes in these political texts and the effect of these markers on the interpretation by their audiences.

Accordingly, and for a better understanding of feminism attitudes within the context of political speeches, this study answers the following questions:

1-What are the most frequent attitudinal categories employed in political speeches with respect to feminism?

2-What is the role of the feminism to interpret the attitude in the political speeches and determine their style?

Since, to the researcher's best knowledge, no study has so far been conducted to account for feminism attitude in political speeches in context of Hyland's model, the present study adopts this model.

1.2 Aims

The current study aims at:

1. Making some modifications to Hyalnd's model that fits the data analysis to investigate how metadiscoursal attitudes of selected political speeches are affected by speaker's identity.
2. Showing how different is the use of the feminism attitude markers in both Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Hilda Thatcher's and Hillary Rodham Clinton's speeches to have a better understanding of the political speeches.
3. Identifying the role of attitude markers in the description and achievement of the political speeches of both Hillary's and Thatcher's speeches.

1.3 Hypotheses

The study suggests the following hypotheses:

- 1-The language of political speeches is different in expressions and vocabularies from ordinary language.
- 2-The pragmatic interpretation of feminism attitudes in political speeches plays a crucial role in expressing what is intended by the prime minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Hilda Thatcher and Hillary Rodham Clinton.
- 3-Hyland's model is applicable to the data that used in this study with modifications.

1.4 Procedures

To support the hypotheses and achieve the study aims, the study follows the following procedures:

1- Presenting the theoretical background to key concepts of the main points of the study such as metadiscourse, metadiscourse markers, attitude marker *given by different scholars and feminism with its ideologies in political speeches.*

2-Analyzing the political speeches under investigation with respect to feminism attitudes in terms of Hyland's (2005) model.

3-Interpreting how feminism influences the attitude of the politicians.

4-Drawing conclusions based on the results of the analysis and suggesting recommendations for possible further studies.

1.5 Limits

The study is limited to the pragmatic analysis of feminism attitudes in the discourses of ex-prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Hilda Thatcher and Hillary Rodham Clinton by adopting Hyland's (2005) model. These characters were selected based on some factors that related to the topic ,these factors are politics and feminism.

1.6 Methodology

In this study, the researcher uses a descriptive method combined with quantitative method. The descriptive method describes and analyses what the selected texts means and their importance to feminism in the data. The analysis depends on attitude markers and the contribution of each to the depiction of women and their suffering. The data are selected speeches from the two selected speakers. The analysis of the data is performed by in-depth description and

observation of the texts that express feminism based on textual evidences. This is followed by the interpretation of the overall results.

The quantitative method involves calculating the percentages of each attitude markers and the ratios of each. This means the approach is supported by showing frequencies and percentages in tables. However, the quantitative data analysis is conducted manually meaning that the percentages and frequencies are calculated by counting the attitude markers by hand rather than using any software. The reason for choosing this method is because no software can identify such types of structure that are only feminism related. In addition, these two figures, Clinton and Thatcher, are selected because they support women in their social and political life. Given that they are leaders in two countries, they represent the perspectives of their followers.

1.7 Value

Based on the information, the study draws conclusions about the use of metadiscourse. It is expected that this study will be of use to those who are working in the study metadiscourse markers in general and feminism in political speeches in particular. It also benefits thinkers who are interested in feminism attitudes and feminist in political discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Preliminary

Chapter two is a review of literature that sheds light on the linguistic concept of metadiscourse and the types of meta-discourse, Attitude markers. Moreover, this chapter provides comprehensive details of all relevant topics within the field of metadiscourse and some of the topics related to Attitude markers.

2.1 The Notion of Metadiscourse

Metadiscourse is described by Hyland (1999: 5), as “discourse about discourse” or “talk about talk” which can also be considered “a linguistic aspects of the author in text”. As a term, it is used to analyze discourse and to study applied linguistics, in a reference to the context of situation. It is an interesting approach to visualizing interactions among producers of text and texts and between producers of these text and their users.

According to the definition given by Hyland (1998: 438), metadiscourse refers to the aspects of a text that clearly regulate speech, engage audiences, and indicate the writer's position. Most of the interpretations of metadiscourse in text mentioned by Crismore, et al. (1998: 93) help to organize the word (s) as a coherent text and convey the writer's personality, credibility, reader sensitivity, and message relationship.

Writing is a complex process that allows writers to explore thoughts and ideas, and make them visible and concrete. It encourages thinking and learning for it motivates communication and makes thought available for reflection. When

thought is written down, ideas can be examined, reconsidered, added to be rearranged, and changed. Views of writing are most commonly classified into product oriented views, process oriented views, and a comprehensive view of the integration of both product and process views (Jinfen, 2011:124).

Writing consists of two levels: discourse and metadiscourse. The first level provides the reader with suggested contents while the second guides the reader through the text. Metadiscourse can be a language practical use to reflexively comment on the letter itself. It alters attention from communication and puts some discourse into a context or framework to impact the meaning and communication practical behavior (ibid:122).

As indicated by Vand Kopple (1985: 82) & Crismore (1984: 279) and Hyland and Tse (2004: 156), Metadiscourse consists of words and phrases, each with a stable practical role. It mainly enhances the communication efficiency.

When discourse analysis rises as an essential element to understand language use, the writing interaction significance has become more clear. Also, metadiscourse has appeared as a means to access this feature of interaction. Accordingly, speakers and writers not only produce a text to express what they think of, but they also stress the understandable and reasonable aspect of their texts. These aspects can help to attract the attention of the audience and facilitate an effective communication. In other words, speakers and writers aim to meet the needs, interests and abilities of the audience in their texts to influence their understanding (Hyland and Tse, 2004: 156-177).

Therefore, metadiscourse is part of its rhetorical context. Precisely, the metadiscourse analyses pay attention to the definite norms, conventions and cultural expectations in certain context.

Based on the above discussion, the anticipation of audience's expectations, needs, interests and abilities requires authors to try to put them in their texts and influence their understanding. In reference to the functions of language, language can be classified into three categories; namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Ideational function refers to the information the writer or speaker communicates, the interpersonal function is concerned with the way language establishes, maintains, and signals relations among people. Finally, the textual function of language aims at creating coherent written and spoken texts related to its audience as well as its context. However, the focus of the present study is on the textual and interpersonal functions of the language known as metadiscourse (Halliday, 2004:69).

Vande Kopple (1985:82), when discussing metadiscourse, argues that “the linguistic contents which does not add propositional information but which signals the presence of an author”. Metadiscourse has played an interesting role in the philosophy of language in modern times and aroused the widest interest among pragmatists. According to Crismore (1983:2), it is “the author's intrusion into the discourse, either explicitly or non-explicitly, to direct rather than inform, showing readers how to understand what is said and meant in the primary discourse and how to take the authors”.

According to literary theory, a text is any object that can be "read", whether this object is a work of literature, a street sign, an arrangement of buildings on a city block, or styles of clothing. It is a coherent set of signs that transmits some kind of informative message. This set of signs is considered in terms of the informative

message's content, rather than in terms of its physical form or the medium in which it is represented. Metadiscourse has an important value in text and it is described as “text elements which comment about the main information of a text, but which themselves contain only inessential information” (Hui & Na,2008:55).

Textual metadisocurse, to Hyland (1999:7), is used to organize propositional information in a coherent way for a particular audience and appropriate for a specific purpose. The writer/ speaker takes care of the audience in the text in relation to the writer’s assessment of the difficulties of processing, intertextual and interpretative guidance requirements. Also, according to Hyland, interpersonal metadiscourse is used by writers for expressing a viewpoint on a propositional and their readers. It is a discourse evaluative form, although it is disciplinary circumscribed. Thus, metadiscourse is linked with personality, or *tenor*, of the discourse. It also impacts the author’s intimacy and remoteness, attitude, commitment to propositions and involvement of the reader (ibid). Furthermore, Metadiscourse is linked with the personality level text producer, or tenor of the discourse influencing some matters such as the author’s intimacy and remoteness, attitude expression, commitment to propositions and the reader involvement degree. Linguistic features are used to perform different functions and there are inevitable overlaps which make the categorization of metadiscourse challenging (Adel, 2006:86). According to the different texts, metadiscourse items play different functions or can at times be used to perform two functions simultaneously (Nash, 1992: 100).

2.2 Metadiscourse markers

In the field of discourse analysis, researchers, like Hui and Na (2008:58), point out, "when we talk about the use of metadiscourse in a text, we are talking about metadiscourse features. They are actually those linguistic markers which, while not inherently necessary to the topic, show that the writer is aware of the needs of the audience in order to communicate the semantic content". Yet, Hyland (2004, 2005) and Hyland and Tse (2004:161) suggest that metadiscourse is considered interpersonal because it includes the following three elements: (1) the knowledge of the reader, (2) textual experiences and (3) processing needs. Therefore, those scholars do not follow Hallidayan textual and interpersonal levels and involve in Thompson's (2001:58) illustration of interactive and interactional modes which are inter-linked.

According to this, discourse choices of the text are developed from the relationship between the speakers and their peers in a specific community of discourse. So, the interactive metadiscourse characteristics establish the material in terms of the desires of the readers while the interactional metadiscourse properties allow the depiction of the scholars as authors and create a unity between the writer and reader together. These features substitute the writing interpersonal elements.

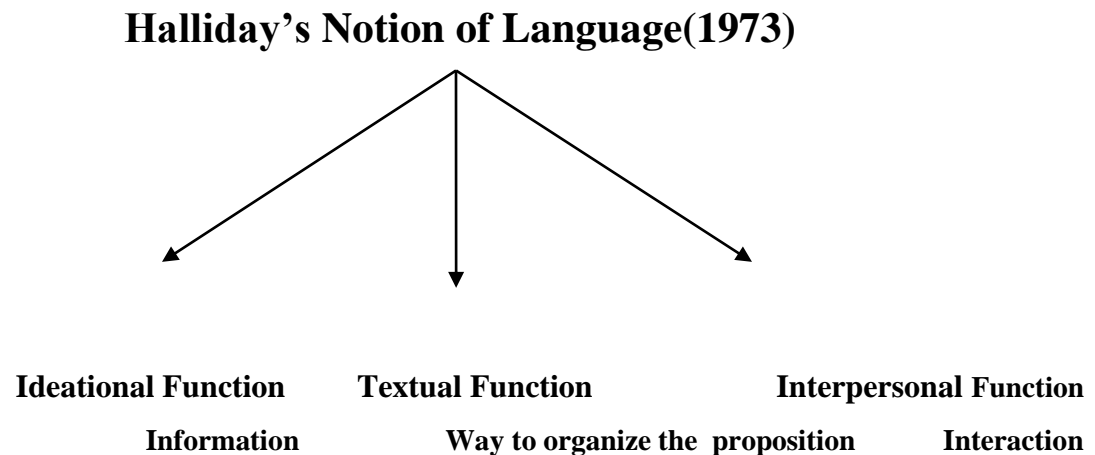
Crismore et al. (1993:40) depict metadiscourse markers as "a linguistic material in texts, written or spoken, which does not add anything to the propositional content, but that is intended to help the listener or reader organize, interpret, and evaluate the information given".

2.3 Taxonomies of metadiscourse markers

There are several taxonomies which aim to classify metadiscourse markers, most of them start from Halliday's concept (1973: 30) of language. According to Halliday the uses of language helps to fulfil three functions: ideational, the

information one has; textual, the way to organize a proposition; and interpersonal, the interaction between the producer and the receiver to understand what is a spoken or written.

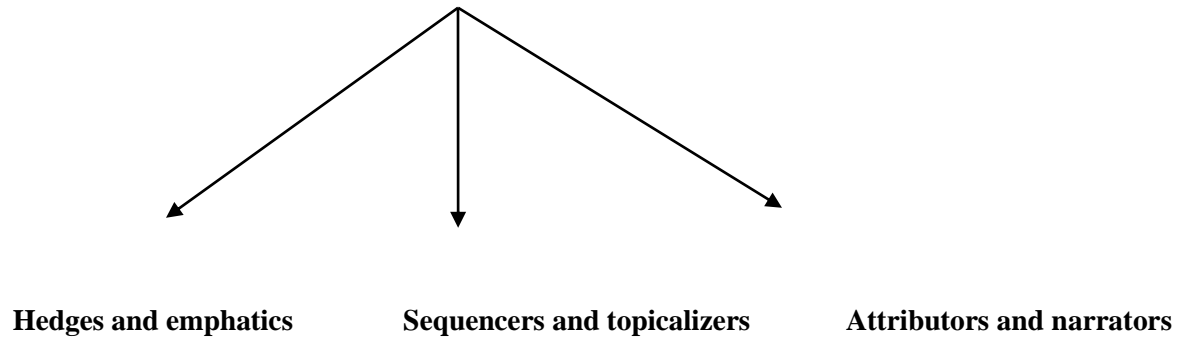
As in the following diagram: -



Figure(1) Hallidy's notion of language(1973)

Some scholars use the textual interpersonal functions to categorize metadiscourse markers because these markers have a big role in text organization and audience engaging. For example, Williams (1981:60) uses hedges and emphatics; sequencers and topicalizers; and attributors and narrators as classes of metadiscourse. Hedges show certainty and uncertainty in terms of Halliday's interpersonal function. The second category directs the readers, while the third, tells readers about the information source called the Hallidayan textual function as in the following diagram:

Williams's Classification of Metadiscourse Markers (1981)



Figure(2) Williams's classification of Metadiscourse markers

Kopple (1985:33), who follows Hallidayan terms totally, classifies metadiscourse markers textual and interpersonal. The former is subclasses into (1)connectives, (2)code glosses, (3) illocution markers, and (4) narrators. The latter contains marker of validity, commentaries and attitude, as in flowing diagram:

Vande Kopple's Classification of Metadiscourse Markers (1985)

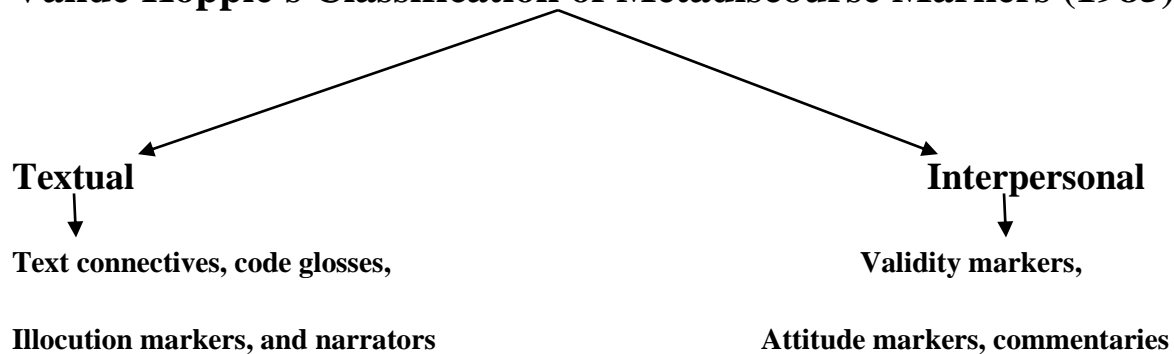


Figure (3)Vande kopple's classification of metadiscourse markers

This means that this classification taxonomy is more developed than that of William's. However, there are still some overlaps within its subtypes due to its limited types.

Crismore et al. (1993:55) adopt the same major types of Kopple (1985:33) but they use the subtypes either by adding or deleting classes. They further divide the textual into textual and interpretive in order to separate the organization function (textual) from evaluative function (interpretive) which helps readers to understand the writer's point of view by offering a further explanation and clarification. So, both of them are used in organizing the text in order to be coherent for the audience. Hyland (2005:78) argues that there is no need for such a division and merges them under one 'textual' term. Crismore et al. (1993:50) include the subtypes: logical connective, sequencers, reminders, topicalizers under textual. They subdivided the interpretive function into code glosses, illocution, and announcements. However, the interpersonal category is subcategorized into hedges, certainty markers, attributors, attitude markers, and commentary.

2.4 Approaches of Metadiscourse

Vande Kopple (1985) recognizes two approaches to describe metadiscourse markers. The distinctive features that separate broad and narrow approaches are the stance – or “attitude” – and validity markers in the former.

2.4.1 The Narrow Approach

This approach specifies metadiscourse to only linguistic concepts used in accomplishing the textual functions as stated by Schiffrin (1980), Mauranen (1992; 1993a; 1993b), Dahl (2004), Bunton (1999), Valero-Garcés (1996), Moreno (1998;

2008), Ädel (2006), Peterlin (2005), and Toumi (2009). According to Hyland (2004) and Hyland & Tse (2005) the basic border between textual and interpersonal markers is rather vague. Also, the lack of clear standards to distinguish metadiscursive instances from other kernels prevents functional analyses of metadiscourse occurrences.

There is also another distinction in metadiscourse, i.e reflexivity of the current text, writer and reader. In this way, “text connectives”, “code glosses” illocution markers” and “commentaries” are reflexive while “validity” and “attitude markers” become nonreflexive as they refer to the writers’ internal of mind state as an experiencer in the real world, or as other text writers. “Narrators” are also non-reflexive as they are other text writers or current writers (Hyland & Tse, 2004:156).

2.4.2 The Broad approach

According to Ädel (2006:180), the broad approach delimits the concept of metadiscourse strictly through ignoring the writer-reader interaction.

Hyland & Tse(2004:161) clarify that:

“the separation of textual from interpersonal functions by the narrow approach fails to recognize that all metadiscourse is interpersonal in that it takes account of the reader’s knowledge, textual experiences, and processing needs”.

Functionally, some scholars use the broad approach to metadiscourse, by Williams (1981), Crismore (1983), Vandepol, Crismore et al. (1993), Markkanen et al. (1993) and Hyland (1998; 2004). According to Williams (1981:84) there are three written metadiscourse large common types: hedges (possibly) and emphatics (certainly); sequencers (in the coming part) and topicalizers (in terms of); narrators and attributors (according to X).

Crismore (1983:96) recognizes written metadiscourse into two general categories: informational and attitudinal. The first category includes goals (the purpose of this study), pre-plans (this chapter is about), postplans (in the previous section), and topicalizers. The second category includes saliency (still more important) emphatics, hedges, and evaluatives (unfortunately). These two categories are similar to the textual and interpersonal functions of metadiscourse.

In the same context, Vandepol (1985:59) categorizes metadiscourse into seven types, among which the first four are textual and the remaining three are interpersonal. His textual category includes: text connectives (however), code glosses (this means that), illocution markers (to conclude), and narrators. The interpersonal category includes: validity markers (hedges, emphatics, and attributors), attitude markers (surprisingly), and commentaries (you might not agree with that).

Crismore and Farnsworth (1990:39) extend the scope of metadiscourse to include a new category: scientific commentaries. Scientific commentaries include textual and typographical marks such as quantitatives, source (Gould et al, (1974), graphics (table 5), captions (converted from original data in micrometer units), and Latin terminology (post scriptum).

2.5 The notion of attitude markers

Language has two aspects: spoken and written, by these aspects there are certain expressions that convey humans' attitudes and stances. These expressions are called *Attitude markers* such as *I think*, *luckily*, and *happily*. They are used at sentence discourse levels to represent addresser's stance.

Ädel (2006: 174) defines attitude markers as “the importance of something, the interest of something, its appropriateness, and the personal emotional concomitants of linguistic material”. Schiffrin (1987:268) claims that attitude markers these markers express affective values of text producers towards the receivers and the content of the text. Ostman (2011:225) describes pragmatic markers as a "window" to make the addresser's attitudes and opinion visible in specific situations. He says "discourse markers (being subclass of pragmatic markers) have emotive and expressive function rather than referential, donatives, or cognitive function". Thus attitude markers are part of pragmatic markers sharing similar properties.

To Crismore et al. (1993:53),

“Attitude markers express writers’ affective values – their attitudes towards the propositional content and/or readers rather than commitment to the truth–value. At times writers use attitude markers to show their attitudes about the style of the text or about themselves as the writers of the texts. The attitude expressed can be of many different types: expressions of surprise, of thinking that something is important, or of concession, agreement, disagreement, and so on...”.

This category also includes modal verbs of obligations, as well as verbs expressing attitudes like I hope, I agree/disagree, and sentence adverbials like unfortunately, most importantly, etc. They may appear both with the positive meaning

(outstanding, fortunately), and the negative one (with little justification. The main function of attitude markers is to —serve as a means by which the user of the language makes obvious what his feelings, emotions, or views are about the propositional content of the utterance being made. Attitude markers signal **happiness, desire, like, love, hatred, surprise**, etc. In addition, they are used for directing the interlocutor, and to speak politely (Dafouz, 2008:87).

Moreover, Schiffrin (1987:220) reveals that participation framework is one of the discourse levels. This framework uncovers the text producers' attitudes and feelings in context. Halliday (2004:139) shows that these expressions help to express worldview to a proposition as a whole or to a particular speech function.

Fraser (1996:173) clarifies the use of that lexical basic markers stating that they convey speaker/writer's propositional attitudes in the next sentence such as their desire, politeness, etc. Moreover, he (1996: 179-188) says that commentary and parallel expressions uncover attitudes and emotions. They are also used to express solidarity between the producers and receivers by words like: *frankly, brother, etc.* They also show how the speaker/writer evaluates and thinks about a message. Linguistically, Schiffrin (1987:268) proposes the following form:

A-Deontic verbs such *should* and *must*....)

B-Attitudinal adverbs such as *luckily*..)

C-Adjectival constructions such as *it is impossible*. . .)

D- Cognitive verbs as in *I expect, I consider*. . .)

In grammatical terms, attitude markers include verbs such as (***stress***) adverb (***luckily***), nouns (***chairman***), or adjectives (***outstanding***). In addition, they can be idioms like *please* and *Ok* conveying the addresser's intention and attitudes. Similarly, Fraser (1990:32) argues that pragmatic markers are linguistic elements which are not identical with their grammatical categories as they can be nouns,

verbs, adverbs, adjective, and interjection. Furthermore, discourse markers and attitude markers falls within pragmatics. They are interpreted on the basis of their context of use (De Bryum, 1998:134).

Attitude markers indicate the writer's stance, rather than epistemic and attitude to propositions. Instead of commenting on the status of information, its probable relevance, reliability or truth, attitude markers convey surprise, agreement, importance, obligation, frustration, and so on. While attitude is expressed by the use of subordination, comparatives, progressive particles, punctuation, text location, and so on, it is most explicitly signaled metadiscoursally by attitude verbs (**e.g agree, prefer**), sentence adverbs (**unfortunately, hopefully**) and adjectives (**appropriate, logical, remarkable**) (ibid).

2.6 Related Studies

Feminism has gained prominence among Western feminists as an attempt to eliminate sexism in the daily life. Feminism has been studied from different perspectives. In the feminist studies, there are power relations of such practices in which voices are already marginalized and obscured in the knowledge production for understanding them. For example, in feminist studies, power, agency, and resistance have been studied and the absence of participants' first-hand experiences are analyzed in the wider discursive accounts (e.g., Lafrance & McKenzie-Mohr 2014; Saukko 2008). Also, Feminist Relational Discourse Analysis (FRDA) studies experience and discourse at the same time (Thompson, 2018).

Some scholars also use linguistics for the analysis of gender and feminism. For example, Mills and Mullany (2011) address feminism issues through language and discourse developing the legacy by giving more insights on the relation between language and gender. They offer a clear explanation of postfeminist, gendered critique in critical ways of a social and moral order that disadvantages women and

simultaneously avoids the kind of negative moral association that has been attached to feminism. Feminism has also been studied from political perspectives. This study falls within the scope of feminist discourse analysis which is part of linguistics whose center is text and talk as such as gendered interactions. Feminist discourse analysts, like Tilley (2007), examines the different manifestations of difference between men and women in power in "media texts, conversations, advertisements, novels, films, political speeches, meeting minutes, interview transcripts, or wherever they may occur". There are other studies such as (Lazar, 2005a, 2007 and Ringrow, 2016) which apply critical discourse analyses to examine feminism.

However, no studies have analyzed attitude markers in the analysis of feminism, although attitude markers have been studied in different fields. For example, Abdul-Qadir and Shakir (2015) studied discourse markers in EFL classrooms from a pragma-stylistic perspective. They found that students are able to develop their performance by using attitude markers in their writings. In the same trend, Khedri et al (2013) analyze interactive discourse markers in academic articles and found out there are differences in the use of these markers in different academic fields. Metadiscourse has also been studied in political discourse and news such as Oda and Abdullah (2018) who studied discourse markers in news items. To the best of my knowledge no studies have analyzed feminism from the perspective of discourse markers.

CHAPTER THREE

Feminism and Politics

3.0 Preliminary

The notion of feminism has taken up a fundamental position in the study of the philosophy of language. Feminism is a belief that males and females are inherently equal. As most societies privilege men over women, social movements are required to equalize the two genders, with the understanding that gender always intersects with other social hierarchies. Feminism exists as an intellectual tendency with no movement. Consequently, it has different forms as it enables various viewpoints in the movement.

Thus, this chapter aims at providing an overview of the relationship between the concept of feminism and attitude of female politician. Then, the notion of feminism in linguistics is investigated in terms of attitudinal perspective. However, this chapter ends with the procedures of the analysis of the selected political speeches.

3.1 Feminism Definition

The origin of the term —feminism is the word "feminine". It is the opposite to "masculine", referring to female and male, respectively. It is a modern phenomenon originating the school of political dating back to 1970s. It could be seen as "the doctrine that favors more rights and activities for women in their economic, social, political and private lives" (Bernhart, 1978: 784). Feminism, is a movement that has become so popular these days has its roots back to the nineteenth century. Charles Fourier, is a French philosopher, attributed with having coined the word "féminisme" in 1837 Goldstein (1982:87). What comes to one's mind by hearing the words "feminism" is that's its associated with women, with an aim to raise their social status equal to men. It supports women's right and wants

them to achieve a balanced status as men. Feminism is a belief that women and men are inherently of equal worth. Because most societies privilege men as a group, social movements are necessary to achieve equality between women and men, with the understanding that gender always intersects with other social hierarchies (Freedman, 2007: 94).

In feminism which is culture in which "women are treated differently". Thus, they "are at a disadvantage", "feminism assumes that such treatment is cultural and thus possible to change and not simply "the way the world is and must be". He further says that feminism makes "personal and social change towards that most desirable culture" (Lewis, 2015:90).

Feminism is misunderstood as a movement which spreads the idea of hatred against male, rather it supports equal right for both women and men. It also confirms the full humanity of women, and it does not play down man's humanity. "Rather, it is a critique of patriarchy as a system that distorts the humanity of both women and men. Men are distorted by patriarchy, both in being socialized into aggression, but also shamed when they seek their other creativities" (Ruether,2011:35).

Feminists do not hate men rather feminism is about cultural, political, economic and social equality. Feminists believe in the equal availability of opportunities, and equal treatment for both genders. Thus feminism is a movement to recognize women claims for rights. In other words, women aim to establish their rights and status as those of men. Feminism is also defined as a "system of political, economic and social equality between sexes" (Millett, 1970: 74).

According to Weedon (1987:90), feminism is described as "politics directed at changing existing power relations between women and men in a society". Here, the term "politics" does not refer to a narrow world of meetings of chairmen and parties, rather it means the power organized relationships between males and females. In this sense, it aims to radically transform a society to reform women specific areas of education and political system. Also, the term "politics" could stand for t movement related to an opportunity within which any community aims to civilize in terms of education, welfare, rights, equality and patriarchy oppression against women. It stands against men dominance over woman who compose about half of man power in the world. From a feminism point of view, the term "patriarchy" mean women's subordination and male's dominance over female. Moreover, it also stands for the elder male domination over the younger.

In her book *Faces of Feminism*, Banks simply defines feminism as "a social movement that studies the position of women in their society" (Banks, 1980: 1). This definition is adopted by the study of Delmar who adopts the same concept stating that feminism is a valid aim to change women social status. In this sense, the feminist task is the responsibility to hold women's suffering of discrimination by their society because of their gender. Also, feminists have search for the needs that negated and made them unsatisfied. Therefore, to satisfy these needs, a social, economic and political radical change or a revolution must take place.

Delmar refers to Starchy's *The Cause* where whole feminist ideal extent is shown. Starchy claims that feminists are people centrally concern and preoccupy the women position and their aim to emancipate. Here the people involved are males and females. She states that feminists can be leaders, publicists and organizers of women's movement (Delmar, 1986: 8-1-16).

de Beauvoir (1972:89) defines the feminists as women or even men fighting for changing the position of women, in connection with and, yet outside the class struggle, with no total subordination to change the society. This means feminism as a theory and women's movement are interlinked.

Therefore, theories must be converted into practices. Also, Starchy claims that feminism can be an intellectual trend with no movement. Therefore, it has different forms because it enables the placement of different viewpoints in the movement itself. So, Starchy believes that feminism is an activity targeted at given end. It is a group who plans an activity around issues that seem to downplay the approach to general debates about issues of women. The group also discusses the way feminists are engaged in organizing its terms. In other words, feminists must resist the fight against debates which agrees with idea that women are subjugated. This is show the ways in which woman is able to end the problem of subjugation and/or subordination (Mitchell, 1986: 27).

3.2 Historical Background of Feminism

Woman for centuries were treated as inferior all around the world until they realized that they too are human and thus should be equally treated as men. Women at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century were given no civil status by law, they could not sign the will or contract, had no control over wages, were less educated, were reserved to homes and household domestic duties (Kahle, 2010: 4).

"In the past two centuries, a revolution has transformed women's lives. Unlike national revolutions, this social upheaval crosses continents, decades, and ideologies".(Freedman,2007:75).

"The word *féminisme*, meaning women's emancipation, was initially used in political debates in late-nineteenth-century France and the first woman to proclaim herself a *féministe* was the French women's suffrage advocate, Hubertine Auclert" (Hannam, 2007: 4).

Along with the word "**feminist**" a word "**suffragist**" has also been used to refer to women who stood for women's right. This word refers to a person supporting the extension of suffrage to women. Women in Europe even after 1900 has been more preferred the word feminist . Feminists at different times and places use different labels to describe their goals and objectives, the most common were: Women's rights, women's emancipation and the women's or woman movement. Women's rights champion demands equality with men in law, political and civil society and women's emancipation campaigners require a broad equal right in all spheres of life at home and outside. Also, women's or woman movement refers to those women who challenge women's subordination (Hannam, 2007: 5-6).

The women's movement has gone through different developmental stages which are named as "waves". The number, timing and duration of these waves/period varies from country to country. The history of feminism commonly identifies two periods of activism "first wave" feminism, 1860s to 1920 and "second wave" feminism in the 1960s and 70s" (ibid : 8).

3.2.1 First Wave

The first wave of feminism took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by "middle class, Western, cisgender, white women". It appeared out of an atmosphere of "urban industrialism and liberal, socialist politics" with the goal to provide women opportunities similar to that of men. "The wave formally began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 when three hundred men and women rallied to the cause of equality for women" (Rampton, 2015:56).

The first wave was called "the woman movement" because of its concentration on women's educational and property rights along with their motherhood authority (Freedman, 2007:70). Its aim, as Magarey states, was not only the right to vote, but also it has multiple aims and its pioneers were "entirely reasonable and thoroughly political" (Magarey, 2001: 16). Those pioneers asked for women's rights to cast votes, equal pay, equality before the law and to divorce (Higgs & Smith, 2006: 40). Contrary to these explanations, Epstein states that this wave is "single issue focused" and it had "abandoned any broader agenda and had distanced itself from other progressive movements" (Epstein, 2001:87).

3.2.2 Second Wave

This wave started in the 1960s to 1990s. This wave had two contrasting beliefs and liberal feminists believe that "men and women were basically the same" to stress the changes in the status, while radical feminist focused on the belief that "differences between women and men were deep and rooted in nature" (Nicholson, 1997: 3).

The feminists of this wave start out a universal request for equal-pay and antidiscrimination laws. The biggest achievements of this wave is it was a political landmark in the feminism history during the 1960s, when women politics thrived in the West with the log of "women's liberation". Then, the Feminist Magazine *Ms* was founded in 1972 by journalist Gloria Steinem. This magazine aimed at equal-pay. It also attempted to rule antidiscrimination laws. Then the equal-rights strategy finally appeared. Then the Women's Educational Equity Act and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (1974) rules against discrimination in schools and lending. On the behalf of workers who complained for gender equality, the EEOC brought suits against hiring, training, and promotion discrimination (Freedman, 2007:43).

Epstein argues that the standpoint of the second wave feminists is "in the intoxicating early years of the movement, tended to believe that they could speak for all women" .This means that there is a small truth ignoring the movement composition. This was a new overwhelming, white, college educated, heterosexual composition drawn from the post-World War II middle class (Epstein, 2001:29).

3.2.3 Third Wave

This wave started in 1990s until today. This wave has enormous potential for women empowering through helping them shatter the "glass ceiling" in many fields such as politics, business, which women have no free access. In this wave, the feminists individually aim to finding out, experiencing, and concentrating on personalities and careers .Iannello argues that the thirdwavers pursue the individual opportunity for exploring, for experimenting, and focusing on their own personalities and careers(Iannello, 2010: 71).

Third wave pioneers require a feminism variety to tackle the contests they encounter in the modern world which mass media and technology governs. They believe they are more cultured feminist in comparison to their parent generation. They argue that they have a wider political concept with a concentration on only more than women's problems. They appear to adopt any style which sympathizes with gender problems and aims for social equality (Snyder, 2008:180-181).

In terms of youth, Hammer and Kellner state that youth is active feminism theoretically and practically and it is said the "plurality of visions, ideas and lived experiences is especially relevant to, and alive within, contemporary youth" (Hammer and Kellner, 2009:107).

The history of feminism since the 1790s has zigzagged and curved through these incomplete oppositions upon which it is itself precariously erected" (Riley, 1988: 112).

3.3 Feminism Ideologies

Over the years, different varieties of feminism ideologies have developed. They differ in approach, policies and objectives. Wood (2008:95) includes both liberal and cultural feminism of the first wave and liberal feminism, womanish and power feminism in the second. In the third wave, she draws feminism from multiple branches of second wave feminism. Few of the most important feminist theories are as follows:

3.3.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism appeared in the second feminist movement wave. It was based on equality of men and women through political and legal reforms without altering the structure of the society. Liberal feminists believe that women have similar

mental abilities as men and thus they must have the same social, political and economic opportunities. Wood (2008: 78) explains that this feminism advocates gender equality in all every domain of life and thus believe that they must have equal rights and opportunities like males. the rhetorical strategies of this movement include politicization, speaking at public forums, drafting, legislation and conventions favoring women's rights. Initially, it focused on white, young, middle class women, although then it included non-white women, such as diverse women and their daily encountered issues.

3.3.2 Radical Feminism

This feminism considers 'male controlled capitalist hierarchy' as the defining feature of women's oppression; and the total uprooting and reconstruction of society necessary to reach their goal. McLaren (2012:49) evaluates the approach of radical feminists asserting that they believe in the radical transformation of all established institutions i.e. political, legal, economic, social, cultural, and medical. They believe that equality on the basis of sameness between both genders can have disadvantages for women as they are fundamentally different from men. Radical feminists believe in women's equal access to opportunities and resources, although they do not consider it enough and believe in the development and maintenance of intuitions that serve women's need. They consider the sex system as a general cause of women's repression (ibid:8).

Radical feminism declared that "the personal is political". They played an important role in identifying the structural basis of women's oppression and launched health movement that is raise women's awareness to become knowledgeable about their own bodies (Wood, 2008 : 73- 74).

3.3.3 Cultural Feminism

Cultural feminism brought the death of radical feminism, it is "based on essentialist view of the differences between women and men and advocates separatism and institution building" (Taylor & Rupp, 1998:57).

Cultural feminists believe that as men and women are basically different, therefore they "should have different rights, roles and opportunities" (Wood, 2008: 66). Cultural Feminists believe in female supremacy, they argue that men and women are not only different from each other, but that women's values are superior to men's (Zohrab, 2002:39). They believe that women are inherently kind and gentle thus if they rule the world they would make it a better and peaceful place to live as there will not be any wars and bloodshed.

3.3.4 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminists believe that class structure and the oppression of women are directly linked. They believe that domestic jobs of women make them inferior to men who work outside and are economically strong and thus superior. Socialist feminism emerged when socialism was on rise. Socialists favors feminism from the very beginning for the reasons that socialism arose when feminism was already an emerging ideology while socialism was generally opposed to the institution of the family which attracted feminists who wanted to disconnect women from their family role. "In most forms of Socialism, there was to be no private property for the family to own and pass on to later generations. So there would be no need to rear children privately or tie women to the home" (Zohrab, 2002:110).

3.4 New Directions of Feminism

Women compose more than 50% of the population of the world. Their social, political and economic roles in the societies also constitute more 50%. This is because of their productive and reproductive roles. Their existence balance power worldwide. Today, decision makers in the economy, society, politics, education and arts men and women in an equally. However, this decision making distribution way not even years before. In this time, woman attempted find their rights with the help of feminism to make them active partners in all the society domains because it demanded rights socially and the politically. Women have proved that their efficiency is the same as that of men in their roles indoors and outdoors (Ghorfati, 2014:28).

3.5 Definitions of Political Speeches

Political speeches, like any other kinds of speech, have many definitions. For example, Spolsky (1998: 58) states that the:

" Language is regularly used in the exercise of political power. Politics is a discipline that is related to sociolinguistics, the study of ways in which different groups of people use language".

From the social point of view, politics is a social activity that can be defined, first and foremost, as a struggle for power, between those who are in power and those who are not but would like to be. It can also be defined as a set of cooperation strategies by some social institutions with a view to solving some social conflicts.

A clash of interests in persuasion and manipulation, imposition of opinions as commonsensical, defining allies and opponents are inherent characteristics of politics (Chilton 2004:3).

Political speech is used to persuade voters and supporters of party to take action by political party leader or to change or weaken their current attitudes, stances and beliefs. Political discourse composes or example, speeches, interviews, social conference and panel discussions and contains a number of rhetorical features that are worth studying from the sociolinguistic point of view (Van Dijk 1997:165).

Moreover, language in political discourse is used to perform power enforcing imbuing practices and demonstrates in what way it is "deployed for communicating decisions". The language of politicians is characterized and used as a weapon and an effective instrument to gain political support (Okulska & Cap 2010: 96).

One of these features in which the language is geared into this direction is the use of rhetoric to create specific convictions in the audience. The language by politicians is affected by the personal development of the political career and what it reflects to elicit its social settings. The individual's educational experience, parental influence, social circles, political party, economical status...etc. The factors have their tremendous impacts on the personal development. Politicians use a unique technique in politics that is called 'targeting strategy' in which they try to persuade their audience that they themselves and their ideas are originated from one source, e.g., they are of the people (Grice, 1987 :92).

According to Zheng (2000:1), presidents of USA always tend to introduce themselves as ordinary citizens in their electoral campaigns although they are men of wealth. Politicians always enumerate their performances or achievements to persuade the audiences in the political situations.

The linguistic properties of discourse are similar in spoken and written texts in terms of lexis, grammar, cohesion and Imps. Public speaking differs according to subject matters used in these texts in specific situations (Stubbs, 1998: 211).

Price (2000: 343) states that in political speeches, speakers attempt to have power and controls over the hearer by the power assigned to them. Therefore, they need to attract the attention and the attitude of the audience by an effective persuasive language. They majority of the acts are used indirectly in political texts for some social and political purposes related to the speaker.

This feature plays a role in creating and continuing a continuous interaction between speakers and their audience. Political theorists are interested in the way metaphors are used persuasively. Here, those theorists presuppose that metaphors are persuasive. They have emphasized the need of interaction in politics (Ibid:90).

Spolsky (1998: 58) states that the metaphors help to achieve effective communication in political speeches through addressing latent symbolic ideas existing in part of public minds. They fit with the new way of processing of information in political knowledge where metaphors explain difficult things in terms of simple ones that are simple to understood by the public.

Politicians can use language effectively in politics, explicitly and implicitly and can use a regional or social dialect, which is often regarded a claim to specialized ethnic identity.

3.6 Political Language

Charteris-Black (2005: 1) studies language in circumstances and takes into accounts all functions and variations. It is possible study how language influences perceptions, convictions and identities. In political speeches in election campaigns, beliefs and ideologies are expressed by language so receivers adopt as well as by others who could partially read/ hear the speech later in the media. Words and expressions are added some are deleted to change the meaning to the required ideology.

Additionally, political speeches are prepared by professional speech writers, who are educated construct persuasive messages by language. More elaborately, the writers of political speeches have the professional skills for using language persuasively. To get better election results, the addition of rhetorical devices to a pre-composed text is very important because a political speech does not necessarily succeed due to a fact or reality, rather it is a possible matter of showing valid arguments (Beard 2000: 18).

There are different definitions of political speeches (Baranov and Kazakevich, 1991; Demyankov, 2002; Parshin, 1999; Pocheptsov, 2000; Chudinov, 2007; Shahovskii, 1998; Sheygal, 2004 and etc.). For example, political discourse consists of speech acts, public laws, traditions and experiences expressed and determined verbally, and by the contents, subjects and the addressees of the political domain. It is a type of institutional communication, and it is proposed to take into account the details of content discourse. The details of institutional discourse are shown in its type and in public institution. Also, in terms of its keys, it has general concepts such as the function of political discourse as a power (Karasik, 2000:99). So, this discourse is more than a mere communication. It combines clear purposes and members who are chosen according to the particular discourse. Thus, the political discourse aims to conquest and deduce power in which politicians and society participate.

Furthermore, the political discourse is not only an interaction; but it is with clear aim and certain participants. The aim and a selection of participants rely on specific types of a discourse and a specific situation. So, this discourse is more than a mere communication. It combines clear purposes and members who are chosen according to the particular discourse. Thus, the political discourse aims to conquest and deduce power in which politicians and society participate (ibid:63).

3.7 Features Political Speeches

According to the classification of political speeches by various linguists and philosophers (Alekseeva, 2001; Karasik, 2004; Konkov, 2011; Hlevova,1999), the most common semantic-pragmatic categories. This means the inherited properties are components of political discourse:

1-The Image of the Writer

This point is an important feature to characterize the personal-oriented and the status-oriented discourse. With reference to an interaction situation, the image of the writer includes (Charteris-Black ,2005: 19):

- a) the writer's abstraction when his personal characteristics and psychological states have no communicative priority.
- b) the writer's personification when personal features of the interlocutor and his/her psychological state considerably influence on communication process. Also, the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity correspond to these two situational features. The addressers employ their own personality and professionalism to show their identity in selecting factual material, and language means in political debates exchanging information about political events and decisions.
- c) style of a statement
- d) para-textual components (image of the writer, a brief information about writer).

2-The skeleton of Discourse

The addressee's ability indicates two roles: the speaker and the addressee. So, in the analysis of a discourse, the mental world of communicants, details and reality assessments from two points of views can be recreated such as the creation of a discourse (production) and understanding (recognition). Therefore, the addressee ability is a type of discourse which is prioritized. The creating of specific text

entails removing some abstract models of the addressees with complex of features to ensure the message normal perceptions. This category is represented by the followings:

a) communicative leadership such as interaction. Here, the communicative leader regulates the communication process through directing it to achieve the communicative aims).

b) communicative equality (in interaction, it is possible to speak about equality of speakers and listeners if allocation of the leader seems formal or non-existent).

Furthermore, in political situation, the first, and second type of the addressees' ability can be found based on the political discourse genre. For instance, political interviews, political documents (such as the text of the law and the decree of the president) are more communicative leadership peculiar. However, polemic genres - televised debates and discussions are specific to communicative equality (Karasik, 2000:90).

3-Informational Content

This feature recognizes a more or less extent characteristics of any interaction. Political discourse and its social mission aims at suggesting the need of politically correct actions to the addressees (Price,2000: 349).

4-Intentionality

Hudson (1978:1) states that the authors' verbal/linguistic works (texts) have specific intentions for specific purposes. This class is in close link to political discourse.

5-Estimation

Estimation is the formation of situation in a specific society to a political event with its evaluation. Thus, in the political discourse, the speakers/writers can utilize axioms. This vocabulary is a center type of gravity that emphasizes the attentions and influences of the readers'/listeners' minds(Kampf,2007:86).

6-Conventionality

In most cases, conventionality is manifested in three forms:

a) cliché is being clear and accurate in terms of logicity, information, and statement simplicity. cliché and stamps can create stereotypes in the mind of the listeners to make information concise and easier for understanding.

b) being terminological is the existing terminology that meets all the needs such as meaning accuracy, brevity, linguistic correctness, system entry, and using terminological definitions which help to provide more complex, branched definitions of the terms and make it possible to fill them with new connotations(Chilton,2004:94)

c) rituality (i.e. stereotyping of behavior) is essential to give statement concerning clichés and speech stereotype Alkebayeva claims "the difference between clichés and speech stereotypes can be observed in meta-text (target-text), which is a necessary condition for communication. It means the transformation of speech signals by the addresser and the addressee directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, explicitly or implicitly" (Alkebayeva, 2014:98).

7-Emotiveness

In emotiveness, syntactic elements are combined in concrete discourses and texts as discourse productive embodiments. Functionally, in a political discourse, expressions depend on the purpose of their use to show semantic characteristics and can vary from friendly popular to somehow sarcastic. Therefore, standard institutional canons, i.e. official formulation etiquette are usually broken. Mazayev

shows that the discourse of politician has always been brushed by emotions because these performances aim persuade the listeners implying some political discourse language characteristics (2005:74).

8-Modality

Fetzer and Weizman (2006: 143) maintain that modality is the speaker's attitude towards reality. By the use of modality, speakers can judge the content of expressions according to reality/unreality, possibility, necessity or desirability, the degree of certainty, and the qualitative evaluation of the statement contents characterized by being applicable to both the discourse participants and the whole discourse. To express modality, need and desirability expressions are used in the modality component. This can be prescriptive and prescription reasonable expressions.

9-Inter-textuality

Public and linguistic structures are link and this link is realized in the universal text as some general and specific text features. Intertextuality is revealed in creation and reinterpretation and continuous absorption and transformation of the text and the insertion of other texts or its elements. It is often peculiar to literary discourse. In contrast, any life (social or spiritual) presumes the at least two consciousnesses and two texts intersected with each other for full absorption each other therefore, each is a total context of another and the supporter of its existence(Van Dijk,1997:52)

10-Socio-cultural context

According to Adetunji (2006: 168), socio-cultural context is ability of activating

and involving complex socio-cultural contexts (knowledge) of the recipients in the perception. To understanding political oral and written texts relies on the readers' capability to immediately recognize the subject, the subject matter and to allude whenever required to understand the content. All these semantic-pragmatic categories existing in the text are characteristic features of texts in a political discourse (Filonenko, 2005:74).

11-Means of communication

This feature consists of verbal/nonverbal communication means while communication forms are divided into four types:

-based on the information transfer methods: oral / written aspects.

-based on the number of communication participants: polylogue / dialogue

Thus poly-logicality versatility and a poly-orientation of composition are features of poly-logicality while poly-logical are communication forms. This means that the specific speech communication multilateral mediated forms, structural and compositional address to different interlocutors and polyphony of many authors are features of political discourse (Pine, 2009:76).

Thus, all these main discursive features will be elements of the political discourse contents. Although these features function within a political discourse, they could exist in the structure and other types of a discourse. Therefore, they can be the basis for comparing and contrasting different discourse types (Alekseeva, 2001:60).

Language is used in combination to gain certain effects. This means the effectively and persuasively use language is rhetoric in politics, social life and religion (Brandt, 1970: 3).

Filonenko (2005:74) states that :

" The relationship between rhetoric and political speech is noticed in the use of some powerful rhetorical techniques manipulated by political speakers and writers. Politics has traditionally been dominated in which formal or conventional language is required, and historically, as well as ritualistic and ceremonial aspects have been reserved".

As Wilson (2001: 408) points out, in most cases it is the context, or a reflected form of words which carries the political message. With these in mind, we should note that a PD constructed for public consumption and the selection of words tends to be strategic or tactical (Fairclough, 2000: 17).

Generally, the manipulation of language at the level of words or phrases needs to be achieved at all. True, the deliberate selection of emotionally charged vocabulary to label people or processes involved in politically sensitive issues is still evident in the press, particularly when political opinions are sharply divided, as in the case of a shift in immigration policy or an unpopular war. Political interviewing is a highly regarded journalistic art. Pragmatic analyses, which focus on the way we produce and understand language in the context of a speech situation, reveal that, for example, interviewers construct their questions carefully to place politicians in particular positions. Politicians are obliged to use an evasive technique give unclear responses or contrive not to provide straight answers. Also, claims and their counter come one after another successively and quickly, and arguments will usually add to what has or has not been said or meant (Chilton, 2003: 24).

3.8 Woman and Politics

Mazayev (2005:79) points that insuring personal safety and fair treatment in legal terms are central civil society aspects. However, it is difficult for both developing and developed nations to implement the act of insuring those rights to all society members regardless of their economy, social life, race and religion. In the same context, many societies face difficulties to make women similar to men in the duties and rights because old stereotypes about women are still present. In politics, woman roles improved when compared with the recent years occupying all the fields and positions.

Although 40 to 50% of party members are women, only about 10% of the women are leaders in those parties. It is significant to ensure that women equally participate in the decision-making structures for the promotion of gender equality. Nowadays, this is reason that international and local organizations such "Woman Rights Organization, United Nations Development Programmers (UNDP) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI)" worldwide try to give woman opportunities to prove their capabilities to leave impacts and alter the political trend. In their roles, women in any country are always in the second place following men. Few decades ago, women were not able to participate in any ceremonies in the society, in politics and in religion and were totally controlled by men such as fathers, husbands and brothers. Overall, women were only servants in the houses; their only jobs were cleaning, cooking and raising children (Beard,2000:94)

Sapiro(1993:10) states that

“There is already a body of academic work which suggests that women politicians across the world are stereotypically seen as mothers, housewives or sex objects and that none of these roles is viewed as compatible with political leadership”.

Today, women are significant members in the society and can be wives or mothers and also leaders and heads. Given more details about the subject matter of woman's role and position in political situations, Sapiro(1993:10) maintains that **"When speaking about woman's role and position in any country we will find that woman is always in the second position after man. Decades before, woman was not allowed to participate in any social, political and religious ceremonies in her society and she was under the total control of man (as father, husband and brother)".**

3.9 Status of Woman in Politics

Almost 40 years, there has been a modern global women's rights and politics discussion. In the recent years, many countries began adopting new working programs for the inclusion of both genders. In this time, people started to change the way they think and begin to eliminate all discrimination against woman (Duverger, 2010: 55):

"The equality of men and women in the matter of political rights is established by a large number of constitutions, codes and laws. Few indeed are the modern countries that have not proclaimed it Many nations, which have adopted the system of representative government at a later juncture, and whose customs and traditions maintain women in a secondary and subordinate position"

Activating woman participation politically allowed women to vote and to become party members, candidates and office holders. More importantly, women nowadays are engaged more politically more than years before. Political equality in several countries has increased considerably in the past fifty years. Many women became members of parliaments and a record number of women became executive leaders in their nations and government (Duski, 2005: 55).

However, in many countries, a political representation gap still exists and it is

difficult for women fill them and secure their places. Some scholars claim that the overall women engagement in politics is less than that of men. Others argue that there is a noticeable woman effectiveness in the first order politics in any country universally. Women have the right to join political parties they wish to join and aim to be elected in office. The available data shows that a number of women candidates for the national office increases. For example, USA woman candidate for Congress noticeably increased in 2012. There is a similar trend in some parts of Europe such as the United Kingdom. At the end of 2012, the universal parliament women percentage was 20.3 while it was 19.5 in 2011. Thus, many countries and their governments encourage woman political participation such as in voting (Ghorfati, 2014:36).

3.10 Famous Women in politics

3.10.1 Margaret Hilda Thatcher

Thatcher is a British woman born in 13 October 1925 in Grantham, Lincolnshire. In 1959, she was Conservative Member of Parliament for Finchley. In February 1975, she defeated Edward Heath for a leadership challenge and lead the British Conservative Party. In 4th of May 1979. She started chairing The Conservative Party in 1975 until 1990. In 1979, She became the elected Prime United Kingdom Minister until 1990 as longest-holding office (11 years) as a first female British Prime Minister of the 20th century. She was described by a soviet journalist —Iron Ladyll, a nickname linked with her politics, which is uncompromising, and style of leadership. Here political ideas and policies, especially the idea that industries and services should be owned by private companies, not by the state is known as Thatcherism. She died when she was 87 in 2013.

Her life was full of accomplishments and challenges. She was stressing social, economic, political, and educational equality for all people especially woman (Ghorfati, 2014:46).

3.10.2 Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton

Clinton was born in October 26, 1947 in the USA. She was an American politician, diplomat, lawyer, writer, and public speaker. She was the First Lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001. She was also elected as a United States senator for New York from 2001 to 2009 and was the 67th United States secretary of state from 2009 until 2013. Clinton became the first woman candidate for office of the United States by a major political party as she won the Democratic Party nomination in 2016 and win the popular vote in an American presidential election. However, she lost to Donald J. Trump.

Clinton's style exemplifies a political feminist style in which public and private realms are combined to attract attention to a more social political cause. Her style is liberal feminism and feminist politics which is a combination of the social and cultural domain with the traditional politics(Burrell, 2001:140).

To Butler and Scott, feminist deconstruction of political discourse demands rethinking and reusing the primary political discourse terms to include women and relocate them within history and law .The First Lady is particularly able to perform this deconstruction because she plays both public and private roles. As the First Lady, Clinton was a clear feminist in remaking the political discourse through shifting the public and private domains(Butler and Scott, 1992: xiv). However, she succeeded, in remaking the political discourse on the problems of women's rights. In these issues, she was able to bring women and their demands to the political stage and into political discourse. Burrell illustrates that the First Lady is an institutionalized cultural position .Over the years, this position has been a part of

the political discourse, and thus has had the abilities for combining the social and political fields to bring women's concerns to political institutions(Burrell, 2001:146).

3.11 Proposed Model

After surveying a general view of theoretical background concerning the term attitude in general and feminism attitude in particular, it is essential to draw a suggested modal which can be used to analyze the eight selected political speeches. The most workable modal is Hyland's Model (2005) which operates on two levels: Interactive and Interactional. He (2005:50) remarks that the interactive markers can be utilized for the organization of the propositional information to target the reader coherently and persuasively.

According to Hyland, metadiscourse has the following categories:

1. Interactive features that organize propositional content information so the target reader realizes their coherence and persuasion (2005: 50).
2. Interactional features used to draw readers/hears into the discourse help them to contribute and respond to it by showing writer's perspective on propositional content, orientation and intention towards the receiver (2005: 52).

3.11. 1 Interactive metadiscourse

Interactive metadiscourse includes five interactive properties with the following examples:

1. **Code glosses** provide more information by rephrase, illustration or explanation. They reveal the assumptions of the text producers on the cognitive environment of the readers such as named, defined as, e.g., this means, particularly.

2. **Endophoric markers** include other text elements to more available information. They add supporting arguments. Therefore, they guide text receivers toward a preferred interpretation. Instances of these include in Chapter; see part X, Diagram X, page X; as mentioned earlier.

3. **Evidentials** include —metalinguistic representations of an idea from another source and help to establish authorial command of the subject (Hyland, 2005:25) such cited in x, to X.

4. **Frame markers** are used by text producers to sequence parts or arrange an argument in the text. They have four aims:

I. to combine things in a specific order — (in) Chapter X, first, next, lastly, I start with, I recap.

II. to label phases — all in all, here, to conclude, overall.

III. to reveal aim — my main focus, aim, objective is to, I look to.

IV. to change topic — returning to, in terms of, return to, regarding.

5. **Transition markers** are mainly conjunctions and conjunctives text producers use to identify any logical relationships between propositions. Linguistic such as Halliday and Hasan (1976:120) use the following classification:

I. additive — also, for instance (also an endophoric), likewise.

II. causal — so, consequently, it follows that.

III. adversative — in contrast, as mentioned, nonetheless.

IV. temporal — first, next, then, lastly.

3.11.2 Interactional Metadiscourse

The following are five features of interactional metadiscourse:

1. **Attitude markers** are used by the writer to give their opinion or assess a propositional content such as I confirm, I am happy, proper, correctly, significant, hopefully, unluckily.

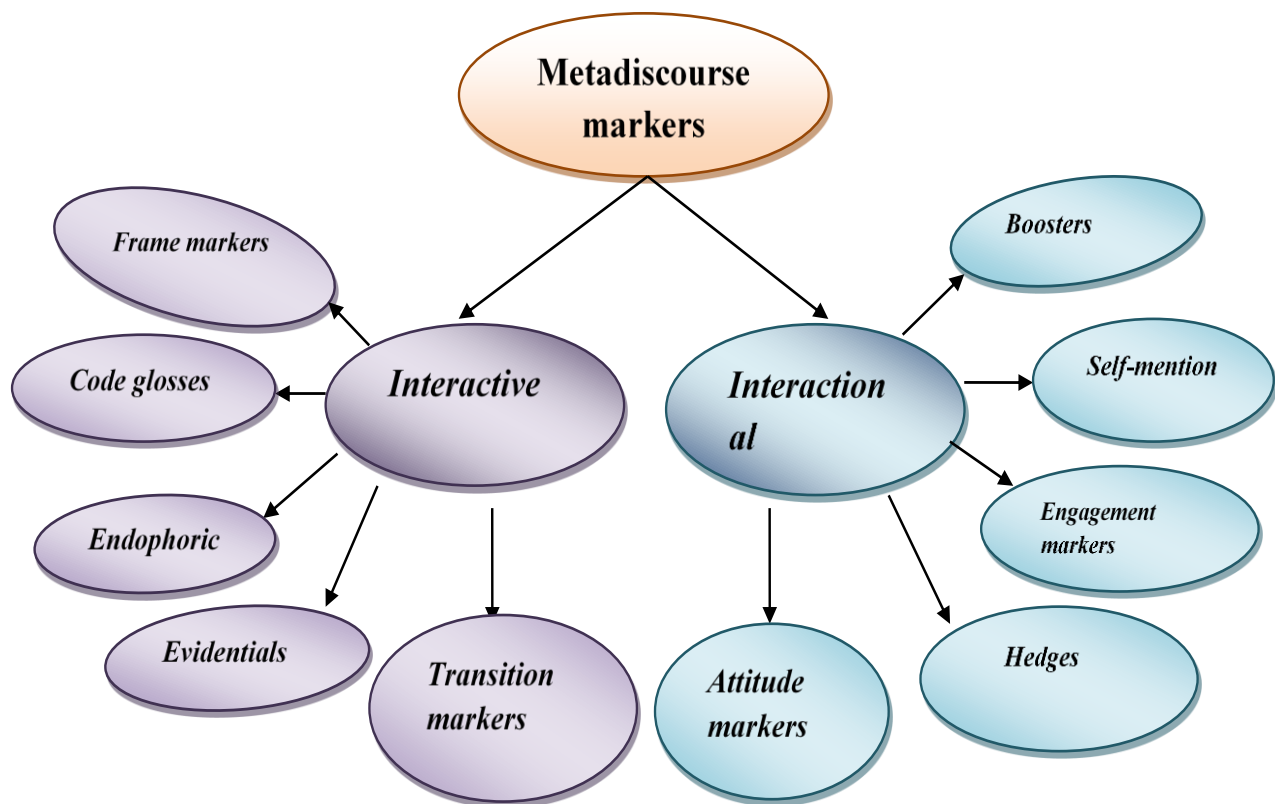
2. Self-mention is used to express explicit authorial presence in a written or spoken piece and show their people and stance such as I, we, the researcher.

3. Engagement markers are markers used to draw text receivers into the discourse such as we, us (inclusive) and the imperative mood.

4. Hedges help to recognize other voices and perspectives and become ostensibly open to argument with the reader such as clearly, claim, and expect.

5. Boosters are used to anticipate and preclude other choices and conflicting arguments. They express certainty rather than doubt such as by no means, obviously, definitely, we find, and we confirmed.

The following diagram clarifies Hyland's model with all its major and minor types:



Figure(4) :Hyland's Model

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA AND RESULTS ANALYSIS

4.0 Preliminaries

Chapter four presents a detailed analysis of feminism attitudes in political speeches by applying Hyland's model (2005). It contains four samples for each political speech i.e. the texts selected for the analysis. Moreover, it includes how feminism influences the attitude of the politicians. Finally, the results and discussions of analysis of the feminism attitude in political speeches are presented.

In this study, attitude markers present the addresser's stance in a particular situation or event at sentence level and discourse level, i.e. the attitude of political women in the level of feminism's political speeches. The researcher attempts to focus on the types of attitude markers which are a macro category of the interpersonal model of metadiscourse, interactional markers in feminism political speeches. In Hyland's model (2005), attitude markers can be divided into four sub categorizes; Deontic verbs, Attitudinal adverbs, Attitudinal adjective and Cognitive verbs.

Table(1) Interpersonal Metadiscourse Categories (Hyland, 2005:77).

Macro category	Sub category	Examples
Attitude markers	Denotic verbs	Have to, must ,need to
	Attitudinal adverbs	Unfortunately ,remarkably ,pathetically
	Attitudinal adjectives	It is absurd , It is surprising

	Cognitive verbs	I feel , I believe , I think
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4.1 Data analysis

In this section, the data analysis is described. The research data consists of eight feminism political speeches: Four by **the prime minister of United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher** and Four by **the United States secretary of state Hillary Clinton**. These characters were selected based on some factors that related to the topic , these factors are politics and feminism. These speeches are analyzed depending on the classification of metadiscourse markers by Hyland (2005); attitude markers, and the role of the feminism to influence the attitude in the political speeches.

4.1.1 Group A

In this group, a number of speeches and extracts are analyzed by the use of Hyland’s model (2005). These texts are from Thatcher’s speeches.

4.1.1.1 Thatcher's Speeches

4.1.1.1.1 Sample1:

As a prime minister of UK in her speech, Thatcher uses attitude markers to express her affective values towards the audiences and the content presented in the text. Her attitudes for protecting the Flkland Islands from Argentinean invasion empowers women as political leader. A common style in her speech is the use of the first person pronoun “we”.

“We have the first pre-requisite. We know we can do it—we haven't lost the ability. That is the Falklands Factor. We have proved ourselves to ourselves. It is a lesson we must not now forget. Indeed it is a lesson

which we must apply to peace just as we have learned it in war. The faltering and the self-doubt has given way to achievement and pride. We have the confidence and we must use it”

Also, when she uses the plural pronoun "we" to equate between male and female, she says that "we must ", does not say "men must "or" women must " to confirm her attitude towards gender equally. The use of the first-person plural pronouns “we” to make generalization, and consequently to include her audience, herself and the readers. Thus the audience feel that the power of women is ‘normal’. In addition to the use of “we”, the normality of women power is also created by the use first person possessive pronoun “our” as in the following extract:

“Today we meet in the aftermath of the Falklands Battle. Our country has won an important victory and we are entitled to be proud. This nation had the resolution to do what it knew had to be done—to do what it knew was right and good . We fought to show that aggression does not pay and that the robber cannot be allowed to get away with his swag. We fought with the support of so many throughout the world. The Security Council, the Commonwealth, the European Community, and the United States. Yet we also fought alone—for we fought for our own people and for our own sovereign territory. Now that it is all over, things cannot be the same again for we have learned something about ourselves—a lesson which we desperately needed to learn. When we started out, there were the waverers and the fainthearts. The people who thought that Britain could no longer seize the initiative for herself.”

In these lines she uses present and past simple verbs to give value judgements (“good” and “important”) about specific behaviors (“meet”, “entitled to be proud”). This resembled the differences between epistemic and deontic modality, where the same set of models are used. Thus, the distinction facts and personal or cultural opinion of women power is blurred. Therefore, women power is presented as facts, and yet is in a logical described outlook of what is good to politicians. This concept is also supported by the use of less modal verbs such as can, could, may etc., and more simple tenses which express facts.

Then Thatcher criticizes others who do not agree a new topic about others in the following:

“There were those who would not admit it—even perhaps some here today—people who would have strenuously denied the suggestion but—in their heart of hearts—they too had their secret fears that it was true: that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an Empire and ruled a quarter of the world. Well they were wrong. The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history. This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed. When the demands of war and the dangers to our own people call us to arms—then we British are as we have always been: [end p1] competent, courageous and resolute.”

Linguistically, there are many adverbs (*strenuously, in their heart of hearts, too*) in the above extract. These adverbs emphasize the actions expressed in Thatcher’s speech showing confidence in her claims. In contrast, fewer hedge expressions

such as (*would* and *perhaps*) are used and are only used to soften others' claims that she opposes.

In addition, Thatcher used noun phrases as attitude markers as in the following excerpt:

“By working together—each was able to do more than his best. As a team they raised the average to the level of the best and by each doing his utmost together they achieved the impossible. That's an accurate picture of Britain at war—not yet of Britain at peace. But the spirit has stirred and the nation has begun to assert itself. Things are not going to be the same again.”

Here use of the pronoun “each” and collective noun “team” also shows that Thatcher does not want to show that men and women are different. In this ways, she creates an equivalent relationship between males and females. Furthermore, she depicts the two genders as equivalent. In a new interview, the PM continues discussing women”

4.1.1.1.2 Sample 2

Thatcher's 1969 speech to the Conservative Party is one of the most feminism remarks. She notices here that there are no equal wages for men and women, and that women need equal opportunities.

“ We must make provision for all of these circumstances, but let us recognise that perhaps the most important job of all is the creation of family and family life. Home is where the individual matters, and, as we move into an economy where size seems to dwarf the individual, the home and the atmosphere there becomes more and

more important, not less. Although more married women are going out to work, no one is pushing them outside the home. We wish to recognise the very valuable contribution which they already make....”

Therefore, Thatcher expresses the feminism attitude when she refers to equality of work between males and females, and her affective attitude towards the audience by highlighting the importance of women in the workforce. Thus, Thatcher is able to incorporate the growing importance of women into the workforce, while still realizing the importance of domestic work. Domestic work is more important and difficult than job work, because a woman’s work in her home taking care of her family is the building block of the society.

When Thatcher differentiates between men and women, she uses hedging mostly by the use of verbs as in the following speech:

“This debate has been unexpected in some ways. Some of the men have been provocative and have, perhaps, raised points which will enable me to reply. I think the best claim for greater and better treatment for women came from Mrs. Sell, who proposed the Motion. She was competent, relevant, direct and to the point. She was followed by an equally competent speech by Miss Beryl Cooper. Then some of the men came in and later on one of the women said that not all women need or deserve complete equality with men. May I reply that not all men need or deserve complete equality with women. I think it was Socrates who said long, long ago that when woman is made equal to man she becomes his superior, and I would not dissent from anyone as wise as Socrates.”

She uses cognitive verbs like “think” and “unexpected” to mark epistemic stance to comment on the information.

In addition to the above attitude markers, Thatcher also uses deontic verbs. These verbs are used to describe a world in which the authority can express their opinion on whether guilty wives would keep their husbands or not. This is clear in her use of “I should”, “I would” and “I can” as in the following extract:

“I should also like to make one preliminary observation on the speech of the solicitor, Mr. McBryde, who said that he did not think a guilty wife would in any circumstances be ordered to maintain her husband. I would not dream of replying only on my own authority, but I can call in aid the authority of the Law Commission who, on page 25, said this”

There are many attitudinal adjectives in Thatcher’s speech conference. These adjective have positive meanings.

“welcome this Motion and I hope the Conference will accept it. I think that our thanks are due to those whose work resulted in this document, whatever its name. All right, it might have been better to have called it ‘Fair Deal for Women’, but it is not what it is called that matters, it is the contents which matter. It is a very valuable study, as you have heard from Mrs. Sell, who gave an excellent report of some of its contents. I should also like to thank the people who produced a similar document which followed called, Opportunity for Women, which is an excellent discussion of the problem of equal pay, to which I shall refer in a moment or two.”

Adjectives like “better”, “similar” and “valuable” are used in her speech to describe a document that discusses and solves some problems that women encounter. These lexical items can determine the degree of the evaluativeness of the

conference. The analysis in this speech shows there are no co-textual factors– that can also affect and modulate this degree of ‘evaluativeness’. This could confirm my argument that the language of political speeches is different in expression and vocabulary from ordinary language.

4.1.1.1.3 Sample 3

“Recently, Madame Chairman, this summer, we have seen that philosophy abundantly fulfilled by our people when called up to defend freedom and justice, many thousands of miles away. [end p10] The achievements for which we honour Dame Margery today, although great in themselves, have been a comparatively small of the enormous changes which have transformed our lives over the years.”

The extract above shows how Thatcher uses the inclusive technique in her speech. she uses the inclusive pronoun “we” and “our”. This could be attributed to the nature of feminism speech. This pronoun is extensively used to unify men and this extensive use removes the gender variance.

The use of the first-person plural pronouns “we” make generalization the freedom defendants, and thus to include her audience as well as herself and the readers in the generalizations. This usage is to make the audience feel that defending women freedom and justice is ‘normal’. This reflects her feminism attitude:

“It was a world of political change where not only women were deprived. It is obvious that the issue of women's right to vote arises only when people's right to vote has been established, or at least is on the agenda. And for most of human history it has been absent. In 1882 only 33%; of men had the right to vote. Two years later The Reform Bill doubled that percentage, extending civil rights to an extra two million men.”

In the above extract, adjectives like “deprived” and “obvious” and “absente” are used in her speech to describe a women and their problems respectively. These adjectives show the feminism altitude of the speaker because they show her opinion about the suffrage of women. Revealing their suffering means she wants to defend them. These lexical items can determine the degree of the existence of the women suffering. These adjectives are not affected by other textual factors in terms of existence degree.

“In 1881 some 27%; of the female population of the United Kingdom already worked outside the home. It's interesting that today the percentage is only 32—not so very different from or not so very many more than that time. We think that women going out to work is a new thing. We tend to forget that during those extremely difficult years of the last century, so many had to go out to work and often do work which was distasteful to them.”

Linguistically, there are many adverbs in the above speech. These adverbs are divided into time adverbs (already, during, often), place adverbs (out, outside) and manner adverbs (very, only, extremely). They emphasize the suffering of women showing confidence in her claims and feminism. The use of time, place and

manner adverbs to describe women's work shows that women suffer in the place, time and manner in which they work.

In the next speech, the speaker recalls how women campaigned for the right to vote early 20th century. The use of modal verbs “will”, “must”, and “could” is to show the strength of her commitment to her feminism and her opinion to defend women in terms of necessary remembering (will recall) the suffragette. She also stresses the idea of recognizing women's right (must now see women's right, we could see human rights...) to show that women should have equal rights as men do. This reflects her feminism attitude that women should have the same social, legal and political power.

“Some of you will recall that women first got the vote in 1918, but only women who were aged over thirty. I think it's the only time in legislation when the year 30 has been of legal significance in a woman's life. And then in 1928 on the same terms as men. The Battle is largely won, but we must now see women's rights in perspective and turn our attention to how we could use human rights to build the kind of world we wish our children to in.”

4.1.1.1.4 Sample 4

“The older generation in our country, and generations before them, have made sacrifices so that we could be a free society and belong to a community of nations which seeks to resolve disputes by civilised means. Today it falls to us to bear the same responsibility, we shall not shirk it. What has happened since that day, eight weeks ago, is a matter of history—the history of a nation which rose instinctively to the needs of the occasion.”

In her speech, Thatcher uses attitude markers to express her affective feminism values towards the audiences and the content presented in the text. She aims to empower women. For example, a common style in her speech is the use of the first person pronoun “we”. Also, when she uses the plural pronoun “our” in "our country" and “we” in “we could”, she creates equivalent relationships between males and females, confirms her attitude and blurs the boundaries between the two genders. The use of the first-person plural pronouns “we” makes generalization, and thus including her audience, herself and the listens/readers. This usage makes the audience feel responsible to solve the disputes. This confirms the hypothesis that The language of political speeches is different in expression and vocabulary from ordinary language.

In addition to the first person pronoun, in Clinton’s speech, cognitive verbs are also used:

“And sometimes I feel people need reminding of that fact more often. We want peace restored. But we want it with the same freedom, justice and democracy that the Islanders previously enjoyed. For 15 seven weeks we sought peace by diplomatic means; through the good offices of our close friend and ally, the United States; through the unremitting efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations.”

In the above text, these verbs are used to express Thatcher’s stance on peace and freedom of women; she believes that the women want of peace and freedom is a fact.

She also uses adverbs to express feminism by the use of adverbs. Clinton then turns to describe women by the use of adverbs of such as “often”, “almost” and “only”.

“It cannot be said too often: We are the victims; they are the aggressors. We came to military action reluctantly. But when territory which has been British for almost 150 years is seized and occupied; when not only British land, but British citizens, are in the power of an aggressor; then we have to restore our 30 rights and the rights of the Falkland Islanders.”

The adverb “often” is used to show women are in most cases victims. This reflects Thatcher’s opinion and the need to defend them. The adverb “reluctantly” is used to play down the women’s wish to go into wars. The third adverb shows the long period of occupation. This entails that she condemns wars because no one wants to be in wars and she depicts how women are peaceful. Thus, the hypothesis that *in political speeches, politicians try to mean more than what is literally expressed by using feminism attitudes* is confirmed.

Thatcher continues her discussion by the use of deontic verbs such as “could” and “would” as in the following text:

“we could not sail by on the other side. And let me add this. If we, the British, were to shrug our shoulders at what had happened in the South Atlantic and to acquiesce in the illegal seizure of those far-away islands, it would be a clear signal to those with similar designs on the territory of others to follow in the footsteps of aggression.”

The use of negative modal verb (could not) is to show the lack of ability to sail. She also used “would” to refer to a future situation that can be imagined where other can be aggressors.

“Surely we, of all people, have learned the lesson of history: that to appease an 50 aggression is to invite aggression elsewhere, and on an ever-increasing scale? Other voices—again only a few—have accused us of clinging to colonialism or even imperialism. Let us remind those who advance that argument that we British have a record second to none of leading colony after colony to freedom and independence. We cling not to colonialism but to self-determination of peoples everywhere.”

Thatcher uses adverbs of manner “Surely” to show that she is certain about what people have learned from the past. She uses the adverb “only” to undermine the accusations of wanting to control other countries. She also uses adverb of place “elsewhere” and “everywhere” to indicate that she and her people in all places were self-determined rather than attackers.

The table below shows all the attitude markers used by Thatcher. The analysis was conducted based on Hyalnd model (2005):

Table(2) Attitude Markers of Thatcher's Four Speeches

Macro category	Sub category	Type	N0.
Attitude markers	Deontic verbs	have to	22
		need to	2
		Used to	3
		Has to	3
		Must	9
		Ought to	1
		I would	2
		I should	1
	Attitudinal adverbs	Desperately	1
		Strenuously	1
		Superbly	1
		Differently	1
		Normally	1
		Openly	1
		Surreptitiously	1
		Increasingly	1
		Brightly	1
		Astonishingly	2
		Enormously	1
Absolutely	3		

		Naturally	1
		Certainly	2
		Automatically	1
		Instantly	1
		Kindly	1
		Properly	1
		Seriously	1
		easily	2
		Unfortunately	3
		remarkably	1
		pathetically	1
		Obviously	1
		Difficulty	1
		Quickly	1
		Ironically	1
		Reluctantly	1
		Surely	1
		Elsewhere	1
		Already	2
		Out	2
		Equally	1
		Recently	1
		Abundantly	1
		During	1
		Often	4
		Only	3

		Extremely	1
		Previously	1
		Everywhere	1
		Perhaps	1
	Attitudinal adjectives	It is absurd	1
		Incomparable	1
		Valuable	1
		Ordinary	2
		Pleased	2
		Demanding	2
		Honored	2
		Marvellous	3
		Wonderful	2
		Homey	1
		Harsh	1
		Horrid	1
		Wooden	1
		Shabby	1
		Lovely	2
		Furnished	1
		Beautiful	2
		It is surprising	2
		Big	2
		Orderly	2
		Reprehensible	1

		Guilty	2
		Grateful	2
		Difficult	2
		Large	2
		Smaller	1
		Wonderful	1
		Hopeful	1
		Complimentary	1
		Deprived	1
		Similar	1
		Unexpected	1
		Courageous	1
		Important	1
		Great	1
		Small	1
		good	1
	Cognitive verbs	Believe	8
		Propose	2
		Suppose	2
		I feel	3
		I wondered	1
		Tend	1
		I believe	2
		I think/thought	46
		I wish	5

		I hope	1
		I understand	1
		I think	3

4.1.2 Group B

Group B contains Hillary’s speeches and extracts and are analyzed by using Hyland’s model (2005).

4.1.2.1 Hillary Clinton's speeches

In this section, sixteen excerpts are analyzed by the model used in this study. The linguistic devices Clinton used to create an effect on the audience are analyzed.

The first text is analyzed below:

4.1.2.1.1 Sample 1

“... We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected. Our goals for this Conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments - here and around the world - accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights...”

This text is collected from Clinton's speech in the world conference on women plenary session. She stresses that women's rights must be the same as human rights. This indicates her feminism attitude; she wants women to be equal with men in many positions. She also mentions some violations of women's rights in many countries and must be curbed. Therefore, her feminism stance is that women

will never obtain their full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected. Likewise, she emphasized empowering families and societies through empowering women and give them a bigger control over their destinies.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution. It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small. It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war. It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes. It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation. It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

In the above speech, Clinton then continues her discussion about women' right by the use of attitude nouns as modifiers which functions as adjectives. She uses the cleft sentence "It is a violation" six times followed by a clause which in which women are constructed as passive victims.

This shows her belief that women should be allowed the same rights, power, and opportunities as men. She also believes that women be treated in the same way, not be victimized. She claims that women should have the set of activities intended to achieve this state. This makes her commitment to feminism.

“Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.”

In the above text, Clinton then makes her claims clearer in the following excerpt by the use of “It means...” followed by a subordinate clause which shows how to treat women fairly.

Therefore, her focus was women’s preference and seek to produce effects on the public's by her feminism because of the reasons stated in the following extracts:

“As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world; as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes; the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.”

She uses the adverb “less” and “last” to modify positive actions such as “valued”, “fed” along other (underlined) adverbs. These adverbs are used to raise awareness of how women suffer in her attitudes of feminism.

Hillary then concludes her speech by calling for actions by using some adjectives as in the text speech:

“And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future. God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.”

These adjectives help us to imagine a world in which males and females are equal. In this created world, she hopes for equal care, love and bright future. This demand for equal treatment reflects her feminism. Her belief is that women should be allowed the same rights as men and be treated in the same way, or perform a number of activities intended to achieve this equality.

4.1.2.1.2 Sample 2

Clinton emphasizes her feminism stance by empowering women as complete and equal in every step with men, and assuring that the world will be better, more peaceful, and more a prosperous place if women assume leadership positions.

“...when women are included in peace negotiations, agreements are less likely to fail and more likely to last. And we know that women’s rights and physical safety are often the very first targets of fundamentalists. We also know that women are often the first to spot conflict on the horizon, coming their way. And when their insight and information is ignored, it often leads to consequences that might have been averted...”

In the above quotation, women's participation in peace and security promotes peace prospects based on traditional assumptions about women the traditional understanding of women is that they are inherently different from men, At the same time it is moving towards increasing the inclusion of women in the peace and security sector. Through this discourse we see Clinton's style denote feminism and an attempt to prove equality between men and women and the type of feminism that she used is liberal feminism.

“Now, some of you may have been here back in 2011 when we announced the creation of this institute. It came about for an ultimately profoundly simple reason. About a decade earlier,

there had been a landmark resolution passed in the UN Security Council affirming women’s crucial roles in peace and security. But the promise of that resolution has, with very few exceptions, remained largely unfulfilled. This is something that I talk often about with my close friend and predecessor, Secretary Madeleine Albright, who bleeds blue and gray.” [applause]

The speaker also describes an institute for women by describing its actions through the use of adverbs. The underlined adverbs indicate how the women in the institute consistently, extremely and earlier working at all measures to improve the situation. Then, the addresser states the aim of the institute in the below excerpt:

“It seems self-evident. It’s not only the right and moral goal for us to be pursuing. After all, women represent half of humanity, and we do have a fundamental right to participate in the decisions that shape our lives. But — and this is what I want to really impress upon you — this is strategic and necessary for matters of peace, prosperity and security. It is not a partisan issue. It’s a human issue. A rising tide of women’s rights lifts entire nations. So each year, when I’ve had the chance to come back for these awards, I am inspired, although increasingly not surprised to see how far this institute has come.”

Another, related, tendency, in the expression of feminism is in the occurrence of (underlined) adjectives which express positivity of feminism. These adjectives stress the canny features of the scene. For example, the adjectives “human” and “partisan” which describe the issue refer to a superficial benignity of feminism. Then, Clinton continues on the feminism issue in the following by the use of adverbs:

“Georgetown is very fortunate, in my highly biased opinion, to have my dear friend, Ambassador Melanne Vermeer, at the helm and backed up fully by the leadership of the university because the leaders — as President DeGioia just read out — that you’ve recognized, women and men alike, have come from different backgrounds, certainly different countries, but united in the belief that women are not only victims of war, but must be viewed and helped to become agents of change, makers of peace and drivers of progress.”

The most notable classes of adverb are those of degree “highly, fully, certainly, only” etc. and of manner “alike”. These adjectives tend to combine with verbs to emphasize the good qualities of activities of some women.

Hillary also is involved with self-disclosure by the use of cognitive verbs such as “seen” and “recognize” as in the following excerpt:

“I know we’ve seen positive results of that theme being actually implemented ever since the U.N. Women’s Conference in Beijing in 1995. But I’m here also to say we are seeing signals of a shift that should alarm us all. This administration’s proposed cuts to international health, development and diplomacy would be a blow to women and children and a grave mistake for our country. Some of you may have seen the recent letter from more than 120 retired generals and admirals to Congress and the administration, urging the Congress and the White House not to retreat from these programs, which represent our values. These distinguished men and women who served in uniform recognize that turning our back on diplomacy won’t make our country safer.”

These cognition verbs express Clinton's feelings and thoughts about women. The cognitive verb "see" and "recognize" are transitive verbs that require objects. The object is a clause that indicates a positive change in the situation of women. This entails that women were suffering. Given that Hillary describes the change, expressed in the object of the verb, she believes that women were in physical and mental pain. In this way, she expresses her feminism by states that people should not remain idle seeing the women suffer.

4.1.2.3 Sample 3

Hillary opens her speech with words the praise women by the use of attitude adjectives:

"I'm so proud to be your mother and so proud of the woman you've become.

Thanks for bringing Marc into our family, and Charlotte and Aidan into the world."

The adjective "proud" is used to described women and mother. She expresses her pleasure and satisfaction because she feels that women have done or got something good such as becoming women or giving birth to Charlotte and Aidan.

"...In this campaign, I've met so many people who motivate me to keep fighting for change. And, with your help, I will carry all of your voices and stories with me to the White House. I will be a President for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. For the struggling, the striving and the successful..."

In the above speech, she confirms that women are able to play key roles in some of the public spheres. Her work is a depiction of liberal feminist thought. Liberal feminism has reasonable goals, and their opinions do not drastically challenge current values. consequently, it aims to gradually change the political, economic and social systems. This feminism supports women to be brave to play a role in

any in society, and insists that women must know that they can do it well. Clinton fought Donald Trump in 2016 presidential election. She continued her move to become first lady of all Americans following her fight with Barack Obama in the earlier election. Although she couldn't get to the step she wanted through the two elections, but her spirit shows that she struggles to reveal feminism to speak in front of the audience.

Clinton tends to show a prominent use of adjectives as follows:

“It became clear to me that simply caring is not enough. To drive real progress, you have to change both hearts and laws. You need both understanding and action.”

These adjectives carry positive connotations and are used to show the prerequisites for changing the status quo. In addition, these adjective are adjectives of quality, meaning that they depict the quality of actions (caring, changing hearts and laws and understanding and action) to put feminism into effects.

“Standing here as my mother’s daughter, and my daughter’s mother, I’m so happy this day has come. Happy for grandmothers and little girls and everyone in between. Happy for boys and men, too — because when any barrier falls in America, for anyone, it clears the way for everyone. When there are no ceilings, the sky’s the limit. So let’s keep going, until every one of the 161 million women and girls across America has the opportunity she deserves.”

This extract, however, she uses the simple present verbs to give value judgments (“happy”) about certain kinds of human beings such as “grandmothers”, “little girls” and “everyone”. Thus, the distinction between what facts and opinions of

women happiness is blurred. Therefore, women happiness is presented as facts. Therefore, the hypothesis *that the hypothesis that Hyalnd's (2005) model is applicable to my data with modification* is confirmed.

This concept is also supported by the use of less modal verbs, and more simple tenses which express facts. Then, Clinton continues with her feminism the second person plural pronoun “we”:

We will reform our criminal justice system from end-to-end, and rebuild trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve.

We will defend all our rights — civil rights, human rights and voting rights ... women's rights and workers' rights ... LGBT rights and the rights of people with disabilities!

In addition, to the previously mentioned attitude devices, the analysis of these speeches and interviews shows that Clinton uses the inclusive pronoun “we” and “our”. This could be attributed to the nature or feminism speech. This pronoun is the most dominant among the other devices used to unify men and women. This pronoun is used predominantly that it removes any differences between male and females.

4.1.2.4 Sample 4

Clinton uses her no Ceilings initiative to advance women and girls around the world. She thinks that “giving women tools to completely participate in their economies, societies, and governments” is that the unfinished business of the twenty-first century.

“...There’s never been a more important woman than the woman who stands up and says not just for herself but for everybody else, “we want diversity and inclusion in everything we do in our country...”

Feminists need to work from the lowest up where most women are found—hauling water, collecting wood, standing on assembly lines, providing a food, working low-paid service jobs. This refers to Clinton's attitude towards women's right in work and business.

Clinton’s feminism attitude also appears in her use of adjective of size:

“Because just look at what you represent. The Professional Businesswomen of California is now the largest women’s organization in the state which probably means its the biggest in the country — I don’t know that but it seems reasonable to assume if you’re the biggest in California.”

These adjectives refer to the physical appearance of a women company in California. These adjective are used in the superlative forms to maximize the size of the company. This entails that women can do actions that are biggest than any others’ actions such as men’s actions.

In addition to adjectives, in Clinton’s speech, cognitive verbs are also used, although they are rare:

“And some days, I admit, it seems like it may be even more unfinished than we hoped. Because while we women have made strides in education and careers, there’s still a woeful lack of women in the upper reaches of science and

technology, business and education, not to mention politics and government.”

These verbs are used to express her stance on the business, education, political and governmental circumstances of women; she believes that the actions are still not complete.

She keeps discussing the issue of women by using deontic verbs as in the texts below:

“But even that’s not enough. We can’t stop there. We need to reset the table so women are no longer required to accept or adapt to discrimination or sexism at work. We need to think beyond corporate boardrooms, beyond corridors of companies or elected bodies, beyond our own lives and experiences to lift up women of all incomes, experiences and backgrounds in every corner of our country.”

The use of negative modal verb (can’t) is to show the lack of ability to stop. She also used the negative form of the verb (“required”) to show that women should not suffer discrimination or sexism. She also states that women should expand their wages. This reflects her feminism attitude that women should have equal social, political and economic power.

Clinton then turns to describe women by the use of adverbs of such as “actually”, “possibly” and “recently”.

“I mean, it's not like I didn't know all the nasty things they were saying about me. Some of them were actually quite creative, ones I hadn't heard before. But you just have to

keep going. And even when sexism and exclusion are out in the open, it's sometimes hard to believe they could possibly be deliberate. Recently, photos have been making the rounds on social media showing groups of men in Washington making decisions about women's health."

The first is used show that what others said about here were supersizing. The second is used to play down the deliberation of sexism. The third adverb shows that at a time not a long a go, women were tyrannized by being stripped off their pregnancy coverage. This entails that she condemns these acts because no one wants to be tyrannized. This is a clear feminism by Clinton.

The table below shows the number of attitude markers in Clinton's speeches:

Table(3) Attitude Markers of Clinton's Four Speeches

Macro category	Sub category	Type	NO.
Attitude markers	Deontic verbs	have to	10
		Has to	8
		Must	4
		Attend	1
	Attitudinal adverbs	Certainly	1
		Actually	1

Obviously	1
Quickly	1
Fully	1
Ahead	5
Truly	1
Openly	2
Deeply	1
Increasingly	1
Highly	1
Persistently	1
Elderly	1
Regularly	1
Simply	1
Freely	1
Recently	1
Tragically	1
Fiercely	1
Especially	1

Actually	2
Clearly	3
Inherently	1
Likely	1
Intently	1
Tirelessly	1
Totally	1
Simply	1
Inner	1
Overseas	1
Now	1
Closely	1
Possibly	1
Especially	1
everywhere	1
precisely	1

Attitudinal adjectives	Pretty	1
	Great	1
	Good	1
	Empty	1
	Clear	1
	Hard	1
	Closer	1
	Right	3
	Failed	5
	Bright	1
	Bloody	1
	Personal	1
	Strong	1
	Rising	5
	Positive	5
	Long	2
Anxious	1	

	Steady	1
	Highest	1
	Proud	1
	Pleased	1
	Big	1
	Grateful	1
	Difficult	1
	Critical	1
	Secure	1
	Cooler	1
	Successful	1
	Healthy	1
	Free	1
	Necessary	1
	Peaceful	1
	Important	1
	Proud	1
	Strong	1

	Happy	1
	Grateful	1
	Hard	1
	Remarkable	1
	Better	1
	Big	1
	Young	1
	Easy	1
	Quick	1
	Affordable	1
	Super	1
	Rich	1
	Closer	1
	Representative	1
	Powerful	1
	Diverse	1
	Tolerant	1
	Generous	2

	Young	1
	Powerful	1
	Innovative	1
	Enduring	1
	Long	3
	Small	1
	Courageous	1
	Successful	1
	Happy	2
	Important	1
	Worst	1
	Frustrated	1
	Furious	4
	Better	2
	Dangerous	1
	Affordable	1
	Smart	1
	Nagging	1

	Unrivaled	1
	Nasty	1
	Pink	2
	Wrong	1
	Hardworking	1
	Rough	1
	Cool	1
	Tough	1
	Best	1
	Black	1
	Disposable	1
	Necessary	1
	Great	1
	Pretty	1
	Revolutionary	1
	Reasonable	1
	Toughest	1
	Important	1

	Fast	1
	Disappointed	1
	Industry	1
	Worse	1
	Disastrous	3
	Better	1
	Perfect	1
	Hate	1
	fear	
Cognitive verbs	Believe	23
	Propose	1
	Suppose	1
	I feel	2
	I think	10
	I hope	7

4.2 Results and Discussions

In this section, results and discussions of the analysis of the two groups are presented in the order they are presented in this chapter:

4.2.1 Attitude Markers in Group A

After analyzing the data in Margaret Thatcher's four speeches, it turns out that it contains (191) attitude markers in total, the most frequent used attitude markers are cognitive verbs with a rate of (68) occurrences (35.6%). The second attitude marker is attitudinal adjective with a rate of occurrence (45) amounting to (23.5%). The third attitude marker is deontic verb with a rate of occurrence (44), in a ratio of (%23.0). The least used attitude marker is attitudinal adverb (34 uses).

Table (4)Distribution of Attitude Markers in Group (A)

Attitude markers	Total number	Percentage %
Cognitive verb	68	%35.6
Attitudinal adjective	45	%23.5
Deontic verb	44	%23.0
Attitudinal adverb	34	%17.8
Total	191	100

4.2.2 Attitude Markers in Group (B)

The analysis of the data reveals that (225) attitude markers are used. Attitudinal adjective use (118 uses) is the most frequently used in Clinton's speeches with a rate of occurrence (%52.4) followed by (68) cognitive verb (%30.2). The third attitude marker is attitudinal adjective with a rate (46 instances) (%20.4). The least used deontic verb (23 occurrences) with frequency (%10.2).

Table(5) Distribution of Attitude Markers Group (B)

Attitude markers	Total number	Percentage %
Attitudinal adjective	118	%52.4
Cognitive verb	68	%30.2
Attitudinal adverb	46	%20.4
Deontic verb	23	%10.2
Total	225	100

4.3.3 Attitude Markers in Groups (A) and (B)

Attitudinal adjective is identified as the most frequent used attitude marker in all eight selected speeches with a rate of occurrence (163) of (416) attitude markers (%39.1). The second rank is occupied by cognitive verbs (106) of (416) attitude markers (%25.4). The third attitude marker is attitudinal adverbs with occurrence (80) attitude markers (%19.2). The least used attitude markers in the two groups

are deontic verb with frequency (67) of (416) attitude markers (%16.1) as in the table below:

Table (6) Distribution of Attitude markers in two groups(A)and (B)

Attitude markers	Group (A)	Group (B)	Total (A)and(B)
Attitudinal adjectives	45 (%23.5)	118 (%52.4)	163 (%39.1)
Cognitive verbs	68 (%35.6)	38 (%30.2)	106 (%25.4)
Attitudinal adverbs	34 (%17.8)	46 (%20.4)	80 (%19.2)
Denotic verbs	44 (%23.0)	23 (%10.2)	67 (%16.1)
Total	191	225	416

All these frequencies, thus, the hypothesis the language of political speeches is different in expression and vocabulary from ordinary language is proved. They also answer the research questions restated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.0 Preliminary

This chapter is dedicated to cover the results obtained from the data analyzed in the previous chapter. It further includes conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further consideration.

5.1 Conclusions

The application of the pragmatic model of attitude markers to the data under study is a new approach in linguistics and feminism. This application is the first to be performed on the data particularly political feminism data in this work. This study combined linguistics and feminism together systematically by the use of a toolkit whose center is the political text. It attempts to show the underlying feminism beliefs of such texts. The main motivation for this work is Hyland's (2005) model of attitude markers whose aim is to reveal the different kinds of attitudes.

Similarly, this research fits into the linguistic in its explanation of textual expressions in political speeches. The four attitude markers are used in a coherent framework which is useful to find the pragmatic meanings of expressions that are used to express stances. To offers an objective method to showing attitudes, random texts are selected from the speeches and ratios of each attitude markers is

calculated. The ratios also compare the markers used by Thatcher with that of Clinton. The present study contributes to the linguistics. It is different from previous literature in using a set of tools of pragmatics uncover feminism via the pragmatic meaning of the text. The method used in this work shows that feminism is a predominant concept in the speeches of Thatcher and Clinton because the two speakers are women. Using the attitude marker tools to analyze of the data needed new modification because these modifications are found in the data. The new modifications include adding simple present and past tense to the deontic verbs because they resemble them and the addition of collective pronoun (each)and collective noun (team)to show that the similarities between men and women are facts not opinions. These modifications proved the overall hypothesis the language of political speeches is different in expression and vocabulary from ordinary language.

All the attitude markers used in the data under study are 416. The most frequent attitude marker is attitudinal adjective (163) (%39.1) in both groups. It is followed by 106 cognitive verbs (%25.4). The third attitude marker is attitudinal adverbs (80 instances) (%19.2). The least frequent in the two groups is the deontic verbs (67 examples) (%16.1).

The overall picture of the circumstance in which women live in is therefore contradictory; on the one hand, the boundaries between men and women are blurred, on the other women are suffering and exert efforts two times than men do for one pay. Also, Thatcher describes her acts, which in turn speaks on the behalf of women, as right and free of mistakes.

Although Thatcher and Clinton share some devices of attitude markers, their ratios are different. Also, the overall picture is somehow different. Clinton states

that women are strong although they face discrimination and tyranny which she condemns. Similar to Thatcher, Clinton uses devices to equalize men and women such as the use of the pronouns —we and —us.

5.2 Recommendations

1- Linguists, researchers and feminist people are recommended to pay attention to pragmatics and attitude markers to produce accurate structures that can leave an impact on the audience.

2- Speakers such as feminists should pay a great attention to attitude markers to form very effective speeches. They are supposed to listen to speeches of speakers who are very influential and leaders of large societies.

3- English language students must study the use of attitude markers and apply them in daily live utterances and check their effects. This means the curriculum must include these markers so that learners can speak effectively.

5.3 Suggestion for Further Studies

In the light of conclusions stated above ,some further studies can be suggested:

1-A pragmatic analysis of feminism stance in different political speeches.

2-A pragmatic study of attitude in American inaugural speeches is also useful for the field of linguistics.

3-As a consequence, I propose that future research include different data as a valuable extra type for the model such as literary data.

4- Further studies of the attitude makers of the speaker in different periods would benefit a comparative analysis between the description of feminism in each period because this construction might change over time. This with enough appropriate data for answering the question of how feminism is described in political speeches in different periods. Future studies of such speeches would also help to completely comprehend the practices of the description of feminism is understood by their audiences.

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APENDIX

1.6 Group (A)

1.6.1 Margaret Thatcher's speeches

1. Speech to Conservative Rally at Cheltenham.

(Delivered 3 July 1982)

2. Speech to Conservative Party Conference.

(Delivered 10 October 1969)

3. Speech on *Women in a changing World* (1st Dame Margery Corbett-Ashby Memorial Lecture.

(Delivered 26 July 1982)

4. Speech to Conservative Women's Conference.

(Delivered 26 may 1982)

2.6 Group (B)

2.6.1 Hillary Clinton's speeches

1. Women's Rights Are Human Rights

(Delivered Sept. 6, 1995)

2. Speech on Women's Inclusion in Peace and Security

(Delivered March 31, 2017)

3. Speech at the Democratic Convention

(Delivered 28 July , 2016)

4. Remarks at a Conference for Women in Business

Group (A)
Sample1
MARGARET THATCHER
Speech to Conservative Rally at Cheltenham



Today we meet in the aftermath of the Falklands Battle. Our country has won a great victory and we are entitled to be proud. This nation had the resolution to do what it knew had to be done—to do what it knew was right.

We fought to show that aggression does not pay and that the robber cannot be allowed to get away with his swag. We fought with the support of so many throughout the world. The Security Council, the Commonwealth, the European Community, and the United States. Yet we also fought alone—for we fought for our own people and for our own sovereign territory.

Now that it is all over, things cannot be the same again for we have learned something about ourselves—a lesson which we desperately needed to learn. When we started out, there were the waverers and the fainthearts. The people who thought that Britain could no longer seize the initiative for herself.

The people who thought we could no longer do the great things which we once did. Those who believed that our decline was irreversible—that we could never again be what we were.

There were those who would not admit it—even perhaps some here today—people who would have strenuously denied the suggestion but—in their heart of hearts—they too had their secret fears that it was true: that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an Empire and ruled a quarter of the world.

Well they were wrong. The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history.

This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed. When the demands of war and the dangers to our own people call us to arms—then we British are as we have always been: [end p1] competent, courageous and resolute.

When called to arms—ah, that's the problem.

It took the battle in the South Atlantic for the shipyards to adapt ships way ahead of time; for dockyards to refit merchantmen and cruise liners, to fix helicopter platforms, to convert hospital ships—all faster than was thought possible; it took the demands of war for every stop to be pulled out and every man and woman to do their best.

British people had to be threatened by foreign soldiers and British territory invaded and then—why then—the response was incomparable. *[Beginning of section checked against BBC Radio News Report 2200 3 July 1982:]* Yet why does it need a war to bring out our qualities and reassert our pride? Why do

we have to be invaded before we throw aside our selfish aims and begin to work together as only we can work and achieve as only we can achieve?

That, ladies and gentlemen, really is the challenge we as a nation face today. We have to see that the spirit of the South Atlantic—the real spirit of Britain—is kindled not only by war but can now be fired by peace. *[End of section checked against BBC Radio News Report 2200 3 July 1982.]*

We have the first pre-requisite. We know we can do it—we haven't lost the ability. That is the Falklands Factor. We have proved ourselves to ourselves. It is a lesson we must not now forget. Indeed it is a lesson which we must apply to peace just as we have learned it in war. The faltering and the self-doubt has given way to achievement and pride. We have the confidence and we must use it.

Just look at the Task Force as an object lesson. Every man had his own task to do and did it superbly. Officers and men, senior NCO and newest recruit—every one realised that his contribution was essential for the success of the whole. All were equally valuable—each was differently qualified.

By working together—each was able to do more than his best. As a team they raised the average to the level of the best and by each doing his utmost together they achieved the impossible. That's an accurate picture of Britain at war—not yet of Britain at peace. But the spirit has stirred and the nation has begun to assert itself. Things are not going to be the same again.

All over Britain, men and women are asking—why can't we achieve in peace what we can do so well in war?

And they have good reason to ask. [end p2]

Look what British Aerospace workers did when their Nimrod aeroplane needed major modifications. They knew that only by mid-air refuelling could the Task Force be properly protected. They managed those complicated changes from drawing board to airworthy planes in sixteen days—one year faster than would normally have been the case.

Achievements like that, if made in peacetime, could establish us as aeroplane makers to the world.

That record performance was attained not only by superb teamwork, but by brilliant leadership in our factories at home which mirrored our forces overseas. It is one of the abiding elements of our success in the South Atlantic that our troops were superbly led. No praise is too high for the quality and expertise of our commanders in the field.

Their example, too, must be taken to heart. Now is the time for management to lift its sights and to lead with the professionalism and effectiveness it knows is possible.

If the lessons of the South Atlantic are to be learned, then they have to be learned by us all. No one can afford to be left out. Success depends upon all of us—different in qualities, but equally valuable.

During this past week, I have read again a little known speech of Winston Churchill, made just after the last war. This is what he said:-

“We must find the means and the method of working together not only in times of war, and mortal anguish, but in times of peace, with all its bewilderments and clamour and clatter of tongues.”

Thirty-six years on, perhaps we are beginning to re-learn the truth which Churchill so clearly taught us.

We saw the signs when, this week, the NUR came to understand that its strike on the railways and on the Underground just didn't fit—didn't match the spirit of these times. And yet on Tuesday, eight men, the leaders of ASLEF, misunderstanding the new mood of the nation, set out to bring the railways to a halt.

Ignoring the example of the NUR, the travelling public whom they are supposed to serve, and the jobs and future of their own members, this tiny group decided to use its undoubted power for what?—to delay Britain's recovery, which all our people long to see. [end p3]

Yet we can remember that on Monday, nearly a quarter of the members of NUR turned up for work.

Today, we appeal to every train driver to put his family, his comrades, and his country first, by continuing to work tomorrow. That is the true solidarity which can save jobs and which stands in the proud tradition of British railwaymen.

But it is not just on the railways that we need to find the means and the method of working together. It is just as true in the NHS. All who work there are caring, in one way or another for the sick.

To meet their needs we have already offered to the ancillary workers almost exactly what we have given to our Armed Forces and to our teachers, and more than our Civil Servants have accepted. All of us know that there is a limit to what every employer can afford to pay out in wages. The increases

proposed for nurses and ancillary workers in the Health Service are the maximum which the Government can afford to pay.

And we can't avoid one unchallengeable truth. The Government has no money of its own. All that it has it takes in taxes or borrows at interest. It's all of you—everyone here—that pays.

Of course, there is another way. Instead of taking money from our people openly, in taxation or loans, we can take it surreptitiously, by subterfuge. We can print money in order to pay out of higher inflation what we dare not tax and cannot borrow.

But that disreputable method is no longer open to us. Rightly this Government has abjured it. Increasingly this nation won't have it. Our people are now confident enough to face the facts of life. There is a new mood of realism in Britain.

That too is part of the Falklands Factor.

The battle of the South Atlantic was not won by ignoring the dangers or denying the risks.

It was achieved by men and women who had no illusions about the difficulties. We faced them squarely and we were determined to overcome. That is increasingly the mood of Britain. And that's why the rail strike won't do.

We are no longer prepared to jeopardise our future just to defend manning practices agreed in 1919 when steam engines plied the tracks of the Grand Central Railway and the motor car had not yet taken over from the horse.

[end p4]

What has indeed happened it that now once again Britain is not prepared to be pushed around.

We have ceased to be a nation in retreat.

We have instead a new-found confidence—born in the economic battles at home and tested and found true 8,000 miles away.

That confidence comes from the re-discovery of ourselves, and grows with the recovery of our self-respect.

And so today, we can rejoice at our success in the Falklands and take pride in the achievement of the men and women of our Task Force.

But we do so, not as at some last flickering of a flame which must soon be dead. No—we rejoice that Britain has re-kindled that spirit which has fired her for generations past and which today has begun to burn as brightly as before.

Britain found herself again in the South Atlantic and will not look back from the victory she has won.

Sample2

MARGARET THATCHER

Speech to Conservative Party Conference



This debate has been unexpected in some ways. Some of the men have been provocative and have, perhaps, raised points which will enable me to reply. I think the best claim for greater and better treatment for women came from Mrs. Sell, who proposed the Motion. She was competent, relevant, direct and to the point. She was followed by an equally competent speech by Miss Beryl Cooper. Then some of the men came in and later on one of the women said that not all women need or deserve complete equality with men. May I reply that not all men need or deserve complete equality with women. I think it was Socrates who said long, long ago that when woman is made equal to man she becomes his superior, and I would not dissent from anyone as wise as Socrates.

I am still mystified about one of Councillor Tuckman 's observations. He said that women get married and have children, but men do not. This must upset the statisticians somewhere.

I should also like to make one preliminary observation on the speech of the solicitor, Mr. McBryde, who said that he did not think a guilty wife would in any circumstances be ordered to maintain her husband. I would not dream of replying only on my own authority, but I can call in aid the authority of the Law Commission who, on page 25, said this,

“The present law can be briefly summarised as follows: Ordering a Settlement. On the grant of a divorce or judicial separation to the husband on the ground of the wife's adultery, cruelty or desertion, the court can order her to settle any of her property for the benefit of the husband and children or either of them” . Then it goes on to say,

“There is no power in any circumstances to order the husband to settle his property for the benefit of his wife and children” .

There is one case in which the wife can be ordered to make provision for the husband and children under circumstances when the husband cannot do the reverse.

I welcome this Motion and I hope the Conference will accept it. I think that our thanks are due to those whose work resulted in this document, whatever its name. All right, it might have been better to have called it ‘Fair Deal for Women’, but it is not what it is called that matters, it is the contents which matter. It is a very valuable study, as you have heard from Mrs. Sell, who gave an excellent report of some of its contents. I should also like to thank the people who produced a similar document which followed called, *Opportunity for Women*, which is an excellent discussion of the problem of equal pay, to which I shall refer in a moment or two.

May I come to some of the proposals in *Fair Shares for the Fair Sex*. The purpose of this document was two-fold: first, to urge changes in the law where the law is unfair to women and, secondly, where the rights are adequate the purpose of the document was to consider better methods of enforcement. We all know that there are many cases when people have a right at law, but having a right at law is quite different often from being able to enforce that right. This is particularly so with regard to matrimonial rights.

A number of speakers have referred to some of the provisions with regard to family law. It is quite true what one of our men speakers said, that the right to maintenance derives from the married woman's right to support for herself and her children. This, of course, has been a principle which has extended a long time back [end p1] and it has always been a principle which is necessary to face the realities of the situation, that the wife frequently works entirely in the home, has children and has to have a long spell off from work in order to carry out her duties in the home. This is the reality and this is why the wife has always been entitled to the right of support. Of course, the whole fallacy of Mr. McBryde 's argument about the wife being self-employed and, therefore, being paid to meet her responsibilities is quite simply this: that husbands do not pay their wives. Of course, if they did, the wives would line up and say, 'I want pay as a cook. I want pay as a cleaner. I want pay as a laundress. I want pay as a baby-sitter', and so on. The husband would very soon be bankrupt. It was a very interesting and provocative speech, but I think that is about all. I am concerned and we are all concerned with the reality of the situation, which is that the wife frequently is not able to do any work or does not wish to do any work or does not wish to do any work outside the home, but is very hard-

working in the home itself. This document does nothing to disturb the wife's right to support, and I am very glad that it does not.

I sometimes fear that talk about equality goes so far that it might one day upset this right, and I am certain that if it did it would be very much to the disadvantage of all those wives who carry out such a marvellous job creating the homes of our nation.

A number of speakers have referred to certain problems with collecting maintenance. I heartily endorse what they said. It is quite absurd that a woman who wants maintenance or who has an order for maintenance should have to wait in a long queue at the magistrates' court. I also endorse the other methods for improving the collection of maintenance. You will notice that we have concentrated in this Report on trying to make people meet their obligations. There would be an argument for saying that the support of deserted wives should pass to the State. If that were to be done, it would encourage more and more people to “rat” on their responsibilities and pass them on to others. Our task is to try to persuade people to meet their obligations and responsibilities, and we are therefore more concerned to make arrangements to this end than to pass on those responsibilities to the State. In fact, already social security payments to deserted and divorced wives and children are running at the rate of £50 million a year. Those are commitments which are not being met by the people who created them, and the suggestion that the attachment of earnings order should be recorded on the tax PAYE form should help to secure more payments from the people who created those obligations.

While I am on the attachment of earnings point, may I pay great tribute to Dame Joan Vickers, who did such hard work in trying to secure this right in the first place. Eventually, our own Government took over her Bill, but now we have certain problems with enforcing the collection of payments under the orders.

I should like to say a few words about tax changes with regard to maintenance payments. The document also proposes some changes here. When a wife is deserted she often has to go out to work to keep the children. The tax law at the moment assumes that she will get the amount of maintenance on her order and takes it into account in her coding for PAYE purposes. Therefore, she is often in the difficult position that she is paying tax on money which she has not received. This is very wrong and it falls on that section of the community which can least bear it and must be changed.

There are certain other suggestions in the Report about which I would like to comment. One is the concept of family property and non-family property. The Report suggests that there should be further debate on this issue before we accept its recommendations, and the Law Commission Report which has also recently come out says that it would not like to come to a conclusion without very much further consideration. But we are all agreed on one principle: that the work which the wife does in the home which cannot be assessed financially should always be fully taken into account on the break-up of marriage and the disposition of the matrimonial home, and that her right to stay in the matrimonial home should be as strong as possible.

I have not, in dealing with some of these points, concentrated on equality. When one is dealing with this sphere of law, equity is a very much better

principle than equality and one which, in fact, treats women very much more generously and takes into account all the varying circumstances which the principle of equality would have to ignore. One of our own Members pointed out in the debate in the House of Commons on this subject that at present all the assets of a man that can be traced are available for making provision for his wife and all the separate assets of the wife are her own. That is not quite right, even though he was a lawyer. There are certain circumstances when the wife can be called upon to support the man, but, on the whole, the law has attempted to take into account the position of the married woman but there has been a gap between her rights and enforcing those rights.

There is a long section in the document about tax and one or two small comments about estate duty. The chapter on tax is one of the most valuable I have ever come across and I urge every one of you to read it. It gathers together in one small chapter all the disabilities and some of the anomalies which should never exist, and I hope that a large number of them will be remedied. Mr. Iain Macleod, two years ago, gave a pledge about taxation on married women who go out to work, and that pledge will, of course, be honoured.

But there is one point on which I do not think the document goes far enough, although it was raised yesterday morning in debate. It is about estate duty. In my view, the present structure of estate duty is such that it is really a tax on widows. Although capital gains tax makes special provision for transfers of property between spouses, estate duty makes no such provision. I think that the widow should have prior rights to the Exchequer and there should be special provision made for her. I think we should make our views on that very clear. After all, ladies, this is a problem which the men will never have to face.

There were other suggestions about extending [end p2] small income relief and age exemption allowances. May I mention the marvellous work which is always being done by Dame Irene Ward in this connection? When we think of all the work which she has done, we are always reminded of the song “There is nothing like a dame” .

Equal pay has been mentioned, and I would like to make reference to it because it is bound to come up in Parliament when we return. Equal pay does not necessarily give rise to increased opportunity. May I first go back quickly over the history of equal pay? The point first came up in 1944, and Sir Winston Churchill then appointed a Royal Commission on the problems of equal pay. It reported in 1946, while we were in Opposition. It found that in the non-industrial Civil Service and local government service and teaching the work performed by men and women was more or less identical. The then Chancellor did not feel that economic circumstances permitted the introduction of equal pay—that was Hugh Dalton in 1946. Then came the 1950 election, and our manifesto said this:

“Conservatives have examined carefully the claim of women for equal pay with men. We consider that there should be one rate for the job, provided that the services rendered and the results achieved by men and women are the same. With this in mind, the next Government will proceed with the application of the principle as it affects the Government service” .

That was our pledge in 1950. We were not the Government in 1950, but when we were returned to power that pledge was implemented by Rab Butler in 1955. He made an announcement in January of that year that the Government had decided that the time had come to apply its principles on the rate for the job in the Government service. Equal pay was introduced over a series of

years in the non-industrial side of the Civil Service, and its implementation was supported in the teaching profession and local government services.

One of our young lady speakers said that she thought a woman should not have the same pay as a man who has children to support. I think that this is a fallacious argument. On that basis, a man who has ten children should have more pay than a bachelor. But you cannot deal with pay in industry or in public service or pay for a job in that way.

I could see no justification for advertising, say, for a town clerk or for a solicitor and saying, "If it is a man who gets the job he will get £X thousands and if it is a woman who gets the job she will get £X thousands minus several hundred pounds." That is why we not only supported, but implemented the pledge of the rate for the job in Government service. That was done. Until that time women had been earning up to 20 per cent less than men in the same grade. We did not touch the private sector, because we believed that that should be left to the machinery of collective bargaining.

I should like to point out one thing. In those spheres where equal pay has been implemented, it does not mean that there have been equal opportunities to get those jobs. This is not an argument against equal pay; it is an argument for enlarging opportunities for women, including, of course, more women Members of Parliament.

The next stage in the equal pay saga came in the Prices and Incomes legislation in 1968. On the report stage of the Bill we moved an amendment to exempt from the standstill powers of the Bill any awards or settlements designed to implement equal pay. This amendment was rejected by the Government. From the limited information that we have been able to glean

since the announcement at the Labour Party Conference last week, neither the new proposals nor its full implications have yet been worked out. When the results of the surveys and negotiations have been completed and the precise proposals are before us, we shall be in a better position to consider our approach. In the meantime, the view that we take has been quite clear from our past actions. We enunciated the principle, we then got the economy expanding, we then assessed the effects, and we then applied the principle and kept our promise. Our record on this is an extremely good one. I think that it was because of this that this Government is anxious to catch up with our own record.

There have been a number of valuable suggestions in the report on *Fair Share for the Fair Sex*. I think there are two factors which we must keep in mind. Many women will still make their main job in life the creation of a home. Others at some time in their life will go out to work and possibly seek a part-time job suitable to their special circumstances. Yet others—some married women and some single women—will carry out the same jobs with equal competence and under the same conditions as men. We must make provision for all of these circumstances, but let us recognise that perhaps the most important job of all is the creation of family and family life. Home is where the individual matters, and, as we move into an economy where size seems to dwarf the individual, the home and the atmosphere there becomes more and more important, not less.

Although more married women are going out to work, no one is pushing them outside the home. We wish to recognise the very valuable contribution which they already make. I believe that both of these reports make a very good contribution to enhancing the status and dignity of women. If you accept this

Motion, then we shall have to see that each and every one of those points is considered. I hope very much that you will accept the Motion and pass it with acclamation.

Sample3

MARGARET THATCHER



Speech on *Women in a changing World* (1st Dame Margery Corbett-Ashby Memorial Lecture)

Madame Chairman, my Lords Ladies and Gentlemen, as you know July is a particularly busy month for politicians and ministers but I agreed to come and give this lecture out of supreme respect for Dame Margery Corbett-Ashby Dame Margery and because I was very honoured to be invited to be the first person to give this memorial lecture.

The life and work of Dame Margery spanned almost a century, from her birth in 1882 to her death last year. And rarely, I think, has a century so exemplified Disraeli's maxim that in a progressive country change is constant. Dame Margery who was instrumental in bringing about so much change, was herself born into a world of change. And I want just to develop the theme.

1882 was a world of change. She was born into a world of change. She brought about so much change and what now are we going to do in the future, to transmit the very best of the truths that have been handed down to us, to future generations?

Let's have a look at the kind of changes that were taking place in 1882—when she was born.

It was a world of political change where not only women were deprived. It is obvious that the issue of women's right to vote arises only when people's right to vote has been established, or at least is on the agenda. And for most of human history it has been absent. In 1882 only 33% of men had the right to vote. Two years later The Reform Bill doubled that percentage, extending civil rights to an extra two million men.

It was a world of educational change. Elementary education had just been made compulsory by an act of 1880. Schools and [end p1] colleges for women were springing up. Newnham College Cambridge where Dame Margery was to take a degree in classics, had been founded in 1871.

It was a world of scientific and religious change. In 1882 Charles Darwin, whose Theory of Evolution had challenged many accepted beliefs and disturbed many faiths and brought about a radical change in all human thought, was buried in Westminster Abbey, to the disgust of many Churchmen. Some years earlier, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford, in his argument with the Darwinians, had shown the typically Victorian chivalrous attitude to women. He said that he could accept that his grandfather might have been descended from an ape, but not his grandmother.

It was a world of social change, much of it generated by the numerous voluntary organisations founded at that time. Their names read like a roll-call of compassion. The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children founded in 1884, the St. John Ambulance Association in 1887, the Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Families Association in 1885, the Church Army in 1890—and many, many more. They were years of voluntary activity. They were years of enormous confidence in the future.

It was a world in which we were just beginning to see the first glimmer of change in the professional status of women—for example, in nursing and medicine. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson had qualified in 1865. You'll recall Madame Chairman that the suffragettes did not fight for the right of women to [end p2] work because so many women had of necessity to go out to work. Indeed Shaftesbury had commented adversely on that trend when he said:

'Domestic life and domestic discipline must soon be at an end society will consist of individuals no longer grouped into families.'

In 1881 some 27%; of the female population of the United Kingdom already worked outside the home. It's interesting that today the percentage is only 32—not so very different from or not so very many more than that time. We think that women going out to work is a new thing. We tend to forget that during those extremely difficult years of the last century, so many had to go out to work and often do work which was distasteful to them.

What Dame Margery and her generation did fight for was the right of women to be admitted to the professions—the law, the Civil Service and the Diplomatic Service.

It was, also that year, a world of legal change—and those of you who are lawyers will remember that it was the Married Women's Property Act that was passed in 1882. It affected a major advance in women's rights. Before that time no married woman had been allowed to hold property of her own. It automatically passed to her husband on marriage. From that time, women were then allowed to retain and own property independently of their husbands. This reasonable measure, which stopped the married woman from being a mere chattel of her husband, caused much distress in its passage through Parliament. And I did one or two very interesting bits of research.
[end p3]

One Member felt that its enactment should be delayed until 1885:

‘In order,’ he said, ‘to give men who were contemplating matrimony, time to change their minds when they found the law altered.’

Another feared that:

‘No man would marry a woman with property, knowing that she could set him at defiance—the Bill was against Scripture.’

He had obviously never reflected on the words of the marriage service when, as the man said:

‘... with all my worldly goods I thee endow.’

Until then, for women who had property, it had really been the other way round.

So Dame Margery was born into a world of change, the educational change, the social change, the political change, the legal change, the scientific change.

And really change is an essential characteristic of the human condition. But history is shaped by the way in which men and women respond to that change. They may resist it absolutely, so that all its opportunities are wasted, like the religious sect who will not use buttons because they regard them as a product of a decadent modern civilization. Or they may accept change so wholeheartedly that novelty becomes a virtue in itself and all the lessons of history and experience are just dismissed. This attitude has caused much political upheaval, as whole regimes and civilizations have sometimes been swept away in the name of change which is assumed to be beneficent just because it is change.

Then there is another response, that is one which welcomes and uses change, but refuses to be ruled by it, testing each new development against the eternal verities. [end p4]

I believe that this last was the attitude of Dame Margery in her great contributions to the century of change through which she lived, in her services to women and society, in Britain and throughout the world. She was co-founder of the Townswomen's Guilds, of the Commonwealth Countries League and The National Women Citizens Association. She was President of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance from 1923 to 1946 and an office-bearer in it for seventy years. She gave her first presidential speech at the Sorbonne in 1926, soon after I was born. She presided at Berlin in 1929, Istanbul in 1935, Copenhagen in 1939 and Interlaken in 1946. What a fantastic record she had.

Her first concern was that women should have the same political rights as men. With that end in view she became Secretary of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage Societies as far back as 1907 working tirelessly until full adult female suffrage was achieved in 1928. Some of you will recall that women first got the vote in 1918, but only women who were aged over thirty. I think it's the only time in legislation when the year 30 has been of legal significance in a woman's life. And then in 1928 on the same terms as men.

The task was not made easier—the task of women's suffrage when Dame Margery took it up—wasn't made easier by the fact that the leader of her chosen party, Mr. Asquith, was resolutely opposed to votes for women. He followed the tradition of Mr. Gladstone, who in 1884 and then Prime Minister, had spoken against women's suffrage. He—and I quote—‘feared that voting would trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, the elevation of their whole nature’ . [end p5]

Dame Margery is proof that it did none of those things. It is of course true—and I should make a clean breast of it—that Winston Churchill had often felt the same way about women in political life. And when I went to see Lady Churchill, shortly after I became Leader of the Party—because I wanted to see her, she was a wonderful woman in her own right—and she reminded me of this; and she said, ‘... . but you know I always used to argue with Winston over it.’ And I guess she did.

I am very conscious of the fact that it is due to the efforts of Margery Corbett-Ashby and others like her, that women today are able to play such a major part in political life. All women received the vote in 1928 and 1929 saw the appointment of the first woman Cabinet Minister, Margaret Bondfield. But this wasn't enough for Dame Margery. In her speech of that year to the British Commonwealth League, she deplored the fact that women did not

have the right to sit in the House of Lords. Almost 30 years later, in 1958, the Life Peerages Act, gave women that right. This was extended in 1963 when the same Government admitted hereditary peeresses to the House of Lords.

Last year we achieved another ‘first’ when I asked Baroness Young, who has done so much for public life, to become the first woman leader of the Upper House. I like to think that Dame Margery would have approved.

In the House of Commons, more than half a century after all women got the vote, there are only twenty one women Members of Parliament out of a house of 635 Members. And I think this would have been a great disappointment to the early suffragettes whose [end p6] main fight was for the rights of women to full participation in politics, local Government and the community. They did this partly because it is just and equitable that women should have such rights; but also because they wanted public life to be shaped and influenced by the special talents and experiences of women.

To quote Dame Margery again, in her 1926 Presidential Address to the Congress of the International Alliance at Paris:

‘No woman is so busy in her home or profession that she can't by a better adjustment of her time, spare some energy to work for neighbours, her town and her country. We seek to deepen a woman's sense of responsibility and to widen her sphere of activity from the home to the city, from the city to the nation.’

My generation put it in virtually the same way, when we say that the home should be the centre but not the boundary of a woman's life.

Now what are these special talents and experiences which women have to bring to public life? Are they any different in kind from those of men? Yes—I think they are, because we women bear the children and create and run the home. It is noticeable Madame Chairman, that many of the suffragettes were very womanly. Like Dame Margery, they had the inestimable privilege of being wives and mothers and they pursued their public work against the background of full and happy domestic lives. They neglected no detail of those lives—so that they were warm as well as immensely capable women. And it was these enriched lives, with their breadth of experience that they devoted to public service. [end p7]

The many practical skills and management qualities needed to make a home—and I often stress to audiences that you have to be a manager to run a home. Those many management qualities give women an ability to deal with a variety of problems and to do so quickly. And it's that versatility and decisiveness which is so valuable in public life. And I may say that I think I am able to make decisions at a tremendous speed in public life because I have been used to doing that in the home. It also means that one is able quite naturally, to deal with an enormous volume of work and to switch your mind to whatever problem is at hand. Indeed I sometimes think it wouldn't be a bad maxim in life if you said, “what we have to do, and do well, is the very next job that comes to hand.”

Now, after the victory for women's suffrage had been won here Dame Margery went on to work for it in other countries, through the International Alliance. Their 1935 Congress was held in Turkey where, despite promises and statements of relevant legislative intent in 1930, 1931 and 1934, Turkish

women had still not received the vote. So, on her arrival in Istanbul, Dame Margery told the Mayor that it was a pity:

‘... that women will come from all over the world to Turkey and find Turkish women without the vote.’

That remark found its way to the President of Turkey—President Ataturk—and very soon Turkish women had been granted the vote on the same terms as men and seventeen women Members of Parliament were elected. What quiet power Dame Margery had.

It was also after 1928 that she turned to the second great [end p8] strand of her work, your Guilds, the Townswomen's Guilds, born in 1929 out of the earlier suffrage societies. The significant achievements of the Townswomen's Guilds in the last half-century owe much to her example and her vigour. And it is useful to remind ourselves of the objectives which guide your work:

‘To advance the education of women, irrespective of race, creed or party, so as to enable them to make the best contribution towards the common good: To educate women in the principles of good citizenship and to provide facilities for women to improve their own social conditions and those of their fellows.’

I understand you've modified that latter part a little now. It reads in a much more modern way; but you know so many things they're not always quite so clear as the older ones. So I thought I would take the older one. You know, it still expresses really what we stand for and what we set out to do.

Now of course Dame Margery worked hard for legislative change. She and others knew that only legislation could give women the vote and certain

fundamental rights. But she knew too that legislation is not enough. As she said when I was privileged to share a platform with her in Westminster Hall in 1978, at the celebration of fifty years of women's suffrage.

‘It’s comparatively easy to change the law. What is difficult is to change the attitudes of the community.’

She set out to change those attitudes through the Townswomen's Guilds, and her work in them illustrated the belief that legislation can provide only a foundation for action. And the rest [end p9] is up to us. To give a person a vote is a remarkable achievement, but to help people to understand how democracy works and its dependence on the exercise of personal responsibility, is much harder. And is that not part of the role of the Townswomen's Guilds?

The benefits which law is intended to promote can only be actually achieved by the effort of individuals. A Government may provide incentives for industrial development, but it is the brains and hands of men and women which must translate that into action and industrial health—and success.

A Government may provide a framework of social services, a safety net through which none may fall. But the many deeds of mercy, the myriad acts of human kindness which give life its dignity and meaning, these are the work of individuals. And no State can ever play the part of a good neighbour. The loving care which should generate and inform such activities, is a feature, not of legislation but of the human spirit. It cannot be manufactured or decreed by politicians.

‘What's the Government going to do about it?’, is a common phrase. I hear it often! I shall hear it when I get back to Number 10 tonight! But surely the better approach was that expressed by President Kennedy in his Innaugural Address:-

‘Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.’.

Recently, Madame Chairman, this summer, we have seen that philosophy abundantly fulfilled by our people when called up to defend freedom and justice, many thousands of miles away. [end p10]

The achievements for which we honour Dame Margery today, although great in themselves, have been a comparatively small of the enormous changes which have transformed our lives over the years.

Changes in transport, in communications, automation, fuel and energy, science and medicine, in the environment and the of our cities. Above all, changes in the standard of prosperity so that the luxuries of the few, have become the necessities of the many. It is not therefore possible to isolate the effect of the changing status of women in our society. Nevertheless if we are to shape our future, we must take a dispassionate look at what has happened to the structure of society across century.

Throughout history, great emphasis has been laid upon the importance of the family. But in family matters today, there are some very disquieting features. For example, in 1882 there were 43,000 illegitimate births in England and Wales. Some eighty years later, in 1960, there were approximately the same number and proportion. In 1980 the numbers had risen from 43,000 to 77,000.

Worse still, the number of girls who conceived children under the age of sixteen, had risen from 6,600 in 1970 to 8,100 in 1979. Further, the number of juvenile offenders has doubled in less than twenty years, rising from 100,000 in 1965 to nearly 200,000 in 1979. Moreover, today, one in ten marriages is expected to break down after five years and one in three after thirty years.

It is, of course, difficult to make valid comparisons with a century ago. But the figures do tell us what has happened [end p11] in the last twenty years and we can't fail to be worried by them. Indeed, I wonder whether the family has been sufficiently highly regarded in recent years? Much emphasis has been placed on individual rights, less on our duties to each other.

Children have been encouraged to grow up faster and to see themselves as independent of parents. Parents have been told by self-appointed experts, that their duties to each other and to their children should be balanced by more emphasis on self fulfilment. In other words, we have seen the birth of the permissive society. Has that benefitted women? Far from it.

Women know that society is founded on dignity, reticence and discipline. We know instinctively that the disintegration of society begins with the death of idealism and convention.

We know that our society as a whole and especially for the children, much depends upon the family unit remaining secure and respected. It is significant that so many women who have reached the top have families of their own, like Dame Margery and as I can personally testify, they are our greatest joy and our strength.

It is of course true that women of our generation are often still comparatively young by the time our children are grown up and therefore we have an opportunity further to develop our own talents, an opportunity which in Dame Margery 's day, was rarely available. For many, that experience can enhance their lives and enlarge their interests. But I remain totally convinced that when children are young, however busy we may be with practical duties inside or outside the home, the most important thing of all is to devote enough time and care to [end p12] the children's needs and problems. There are some things for which only a parent will do. I'll never forget the comment of a headmaster of a school I visited when I was Secretary of State for Education. He said to me that as many problem children came from rich as poor homes. Some were from homes where the children had everything they could wish for, except, perhaps enough of their parents' attention. Madame President, material goods can never be a substitute for loving care. Too much money can create problems as well as solve them.

The battle for women's rights has been largely won. The days when they were demanded and discussed in strident tones should be gone for ever. And I hope they are. I hated those strident tones that you still hear from some Women's Libbers'.

The Battle is largely won, but we must now see women's rights in perspective and turn our attention to how we could use human rights to build the kind of world we wish our children to in.

It's no use looking through rose-tinted spectacles or pretending that human imperfections and evil will disappear if we get the economy right. They won't. They are as old as humanity itself and we have to fight them constantly. Fight

them by making and enforcing laws to protect the weak; by upholding conventions and customs which serve the larger purpose and which limit the selfish purpose.

In international affairs the only protection for civilized values against the tyrant is a sure defence. Dame Margery 's generation learned that so vividly and at so great a price. It is a tragedy that since the last world war there have been [end p13] I'm going to tell you how many conflicts since the last World War. You will be amazed when I say the number, as I was amazed when I did the research. Since the last World War, there have been over one hundred and forty conflicts in various parts of the world and they continue even as we meet here today.

The danger for democracy is that too many people will say, what can one person do among 55 million? Dame Margery never took that view. Nor does your society of Guilds. Politicians will know that Burke put it so well, so long ago:-

‘All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men (and women) to do nothing.’

But our generation has reason to be thankful that those noble and brave acts which brought fame and renown to Britain's name are matched by deeds of courage and valour in our time. And we saw that over the Falklands story.

Madame Chairman, it's a rare honour to be Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. It is a supreme privilege to occupy that high office when great human causes have to be defended. It has been an inspiration to witness the

young generation of today set the most glorious standards for the young of tomorrow.

I'm very much aware of how much I owe to Dame Margery. I honour and thank her for her sense of purpose, for her selfless service and for that tireless spirit which sustained her until her works were well and truly accomplished.

That was where I had finished writing this Lecture and as I looked up, on my desk, at Chequers, I opened the top of the ink [end p14] stand. There is there, a saying in Latin, which fortunately is translated into English, which I thought was so appropriate, both for Dame Margery and, for those principles by which I try to guide my stewardship and I finish with it:

'To stand on the ancient ways

To see which is the right and good way,

And in that way to walk.'

Sample4

MARGARET THATCHER

Speech to Conservative Women's Conference



Madam Chairman.

Our Conference takes place at a time when great and grave issues face our country. Our hearts and minds are focused on the South Atlantic. You have been debating defence policy at a time when our fighting men are engaged in one of the most remarkable military operations in modern times.

We have sent an immensely powerful task force, more than 100 ships, and 27,000 sailors, marines, soldiers and airmen, some, 8,000 miles away in the South Atlantic.

In a series of measured and progressive steps, over the past weeks, our forces have tightened their grip of the Falkland Islands. They have re-taken South Georgia. Gradually they have denied fresh supplies to the Argentine garrison.

Finally, by the successful landing at San Carlos Bay in the early hours of Friday morning, they have placed themselves in a position to retake the islands and reverse the illegal invasion by Argentina.

By the skill of our pilots, our sailors and those manning the Rapier missile on shore they have inflicted heavy losses on the Argentine Air Force—over 50 aircraft have been destroyed.

There have, of course, been tragic losses and you will have heard of the further attacks on our Task Force. HMS Coventry came under repeated air attack yesterday evening and later sank. One of our Merchant ships supporting the Task Force, the Atlantic Conveyor, was also damaged and had to be abandoned. We do not yet know the number of casualties but our hearts go out to all those families who had men in these ships.

Despite these grievous losses, neither our resolve nor our confidence is weakened. [end p1]

We in Britain know the reality of war. We know its hazards and its dangers. We know the task that faces our fighting men.

They are now established on the Falkland Islands with all the necessary supplies. Although they still face formidable problems in difficult terrain with a hostile climate, their morale is high.

We must expect fresh attacks upon them, and there can be no question of pressing the Major-General Sir Jeremy Moore /Brigadier Julian Thompson Force Commander to move forward prematurely—the judgement about timing must be his and his alone, and we have confidence in his judgement.

Madam Chairman, the theme of this Conference is “Living with our Neighbours” and it may seem inappropriate to be debating such a thing when there was open conflict between Britain and Argentina, and the lives of young men on both sides are being lost. But the whole basis of our foreign and defence policy, and indeed of the international political order depends on the friendship of neighbours, co-operating with them and abiding by the rule of law.

These are the very things which the illegal invasion of the Falkland Islands had it gone unchallenged would have subverted and destroyed. The Falkland Islands are British. The Falkland Islanders are British. They don't want to be ruled by Argentina, as those pictures of the welcome given to British marines and soldiers showed more clearly than a thousand words.

The phlegmatic matter of fact welcome to our troops by the Falkland Islanders: “We were expecting you. We only wondered why you didn't get here sooner” . That is entirely characteristic of British people wherever they may be.

There is another wider aspect of neighbourliness which has been revealed by this crisis. It is the strength of our links with our friends and allies in the Commonwealth and NATO, and we are most grateful for their support. No nation these days can stand completely alone. [end p2]

It was eight weeks ago today Wednesday, that information reached us that the Argentine Fleet was sailing towards the Falklands.

8,000 miles away from home. At that stage there were only two ways of trying to stop it—through President Reagan—whose appeal to Argentina was rebuffed, and the United Nations, whose plea was also rejected.

Now there were those who said we should have accepted the Argentine invasion as a fait accompli. But Madam Chairman whenever the rule of force rather than the rule of law is seen to succeed, the world moves a step closer to anarchy.

The older generation in our country, and generations before them, have made sacrifices so that we could be a free society and belong to a community of nations which seeks to resolve disputes by civilised means.

Today it falls to us to bear the same responsibility, we shall not shirk it. What has happened since that day, eight weeks ago, is a matter of history—the history of a nation which rose instinctively to the needs of the occasion.

For decades, the peoples of the Falkland Islands had enjoyed peace—with freedom,—peace with justice, peace with democracy. They are our people and let no one doubt our profound longing for peace. But that peace was shattered by a wanton act of armed aggression by Argentina in blatant violation of international law. And everything that has happened since has stemmed from the invasion by the military dictatorship of Argentina. And sometimes I feel people need reminding of that fact more often. We want peace restored. But we want it with the same freedom, justice and democracy that the Islanders previously enjoyed.

For seven weeks we sought peace by diplomatic means; through the good offices of our close friend and ally, the United States; through the unremitting efforts of the Perez de Cuellar Secretary General of the United Nations.

We studied seven sets of proposals and finally we drew up our own. Without compromising fundamental principles, we made a variety of reasonable and practical suggestions in a supreme effort to avoid conflict and loss of life.

We worked tirelessly for a peaceful solution. But when there is no response of substance from the other side, there comes a point when it is no longer possible to trust the good faith of those with whom one is negotiating.

Playing for time is not working for a peaceful solution. Wasting time is not willing a peaceful solution. It is simply leaving the aggressor with the fruits of his aggression. [end p3]

It would be a betrayal of our fighting men and of the Islanders if we had continued merely to talk, when talk alone was getting nowhere.

And so, seven weeks to the day after the invasion, we moved to recover by force what was taken from us by force. It cannot be said too often: We are the victims; they are the aggressors.

We came to military action reluctantly.

But when territory which has been British for almost 150 years is seized and occupied; when not only British land, but British citizens, are in the power of an aggressor; then we have to restore our rights and the rights of the Falkland Islanders.

There have been a handful of questioning voices raised here at home. I would like to answer them. It has been suggested that the size of the Falkland Islands and the comparatively small number of its inhabitants—some 1,800 men, women and children—should somehow affect our reaction to what has happened to them.

To those—not many—who speak lightly of a few Islanders beyond the seas and who ask the question: “Are the few worth fighting for?” Let me say this:- Right and wrong are not measured by a head-count of those to whom that wrong has been done. That would not be principle but expediency.

And the Falklanders, remember, are not strangers. They are our own people. As the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Rob Muldoon and what a marvellous friend he is. He went to the heart of the matter in his usual straightforward way. “With the Falkland Islanders” , he said “it is family” .

When their land was invaded and their homes were overrun, they naturally turned to us for help, and we, their fellow citizens, 8,000 miles away in our own much larger island, could not and did not beg to be excused.

We sent our men and our ships with all speed, hoping against hope that we would not have to use them in battle but prepared to do so if all attempts at a peaceful solution failed. When those attempts did fail, we could not sail by on the other side.

And let me add this. If we, the British, were to shrug our shoulders at what had happened in the South Atlantic and to acquiesce in the illegal seizure of those far-away islands, it would be a clear signal to those with similar designs on the territory of others to follow in the footsteps of aggression.

Surely we, of all people, have learned the lesson of history: that to appease an aggressor is to invite aggression elsewhere, and on an ever-increasing scale?

[end p4]

Other voices—again only a few—have accused us of clinging to colonialism or even imperialism. Let us remind those who advance that argument that we British have a record second to none of leading colony after colony to freedom and independence. We cling not to colonialism but to self-determination of peoples everywhere.

Still others—again only a few—say we must not put at risk our investments and interests in Latin America; that trade and commerce are too important to us to put in jeopardy some of the valuable markets of the world.

What would the Islanders, under the heel of the invader, say to that?

What kind of people would we be if, enjoying the birthright of freedom ourselves, we were to abandon British Citizens for the sake of commercial gain? We would never do it.

Now we are present in strength on the Falkland Islands.

Our purpose is to re-possess them and we shall persevere until that purpose is accomplished.

When the invader has left, there will be much to do rebuilding, restoring homes and farms, and above all renewing the confidence of the people in their future.

Their wishes will need time to crystalise and of course they will depend in some measure on what we and others are prepared to do, to develop untapped resources and to safeguard the Islands' future.

Madam Chairman, our cause is just.

It is the cause of freedom and the rule of law.

It is the cause of support for the weak against aggression by the strong.

Let us then draw together in the name, not of jingoism, but of justice.

Finally, let our nation, as it has so often in the past, remind itself—and the world:- “Nought shall

make us rue, If England to herself do rest but true”

Group (B)

SAMPLE 1

Hillary Clinton's speeches

Hillary Clinton's Women's Rights Are Human Rights



I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of the Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration - It is also a coming together...

Our goals for this Conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments - here and around the world - accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture. Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. When women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words. The voices of this conference must be heard loud and clear: It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights - and women's rights are human rights. Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely - and the right to be heard. Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere. If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world - as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes - the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this Conference be our - and the world's - call to action.

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future. God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.

Thank you very much.

SAMPLE 2
Hillary Clinton's speeches
on Women's Inclusion in Peace and Security



Good morning! [applause]

Thank you! Thank you so much. [applause]

Thank you. [crowd chanting "Hillary"]

Thank you. Wow, let's do that again. [laughter] [applause]

This warm, warm welcome is one of the many reasons that I always appreciate coming to this campus, to this great university. And I am so pleased to have a chance to talk with you today about an issue that, as President DeGioia said, is one that has really provided the impetus for a lot of the work that is being done here at the university, particularly in the institute

that has been the first of its kind anywhere in the world studying women and security and the contributions that can be made.

And I'm grateful to President DeGioia's visionary leadership and to this university for your commitment to nurturing diplomats, peacemakers and leaders. I am one of those who thinks we need more peacemakers, diplomats and leaders who are devoted to the ongoing and difficult work of bridging divides, of bringing people together, of trying to find common ground.

Now, some of you may have been here back in 2011 when we announced the creation of this institute. It came about for an ultimately profoundly simple reason. About a decade earlier, there had been a landmark resolution passed in the UN Security Council affirming women's crucial roles in peace and security. But the promise of that resolution has, with very few exceptions, remained largely unfulfilled. This is something that I talk often about with my close friend and predecessor, Secretary Madeleine Albright, who bleeds blue and gray. [applause]

Because we thought back in the '90s that we needed to do more to elevate the rights and opportunities of women and girls on every level -- obviously, education and health and economic opportunity, but also to unleash the potential for involvement in ending conflicts, in creating more secure environments for all people to live in and thrive. So on that day, back in 2011, we came here to Georgetown to declare that the issue of women's full participation in peace and security could no longer be relegated to the margins of international affairs. [applause]

I believed then --and, I have to tell you, I believe even more fiercely today -- that advancing the rights and full participation of women and girls is the great, unfinished business of the 21st century. [applause]

It seems self-evident. It's not only the right and moral goal for us to be pursuing. After all, women represent half of humanity, and we do have a fundamental right to participate in the decisions that shape our lives. But -- and this is what I want to really impress upon you -- this is strategic and necessary for matters of peace, prosperity and security. It is not a partisan issue. It's a human issue. A rising tide of women's rights lifts entire nations. So each year, when I've had the chance to come back for these awards, I am inspired, although increasingly not surprised to see how far this institute has come. Georgetown is very fortunate, in my highly biased opinion, to have my dear friend, Ambassador Melanne Verweir, at the helm and backed up fully by the leadership of the university because the leaders -- as President DeGioia just read out -- that you've recognized, women and men alike, have come from different backgrounds, certainly different countries, but united in the belief that women are not only victims of war, but must be viewed and helped to become agents of change, makers of peace and drivers of progress.

That was the principle behind our efforts at the State Department in the first term of President Obama. We wanted to set a standard, and I'm proud of it because I do see it as strategic and necessary. Not just a nice thing to do on the margins somewhere deep in the bowels of the State Department, but front and center. Because standing up for the rights and opportunities of women and girls must be a cornerstone of American global leadership. And therefore, it must be woven throughout our foreign policy with the resources, staffing, accountability and attention needed to back up that commitment. [applause]

What I was very pleased by and excited to know is how the U.S. military also recognizes the role of women in peace and security. Over the years, I've had the privilege of working alongside and standing beside some of our military leaders right on this stage. Admiral Sandy Winnefeld, former vice chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Michele Flournoy, former undersecretary for defense for policy, helped to put new emphasis on stopping rape and gender-based violence in conflict zones and post-conflict areas and empowering women to help make and keep peace.

This is especially important now, when we have, across the globe, more than 60 million refugees fleeing not only conflicts, but famine and drought and disease. And we have to come to terms with that because, again, it's not just somebody else's problem. It will affect the stability of nations and regions, which in turn, could very well bring problems, whether it be conflict and terrorism or disease and criminal activity to our shores. Global progress depends on the progress of women. I know we've seen positive results of that theme being actually implemented ever since the U.N. Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995. But I'm here also to say we are seeing signals of a shift that should alarm us all. This administration's proposed cuts to international health, development and diplomacy would be a blow to women and children and a grave mistake for our country. Some of you may have seen the recent letter from more than 120 retired generals and admirals to Congress and the administration, urging the Congress and the White House not to retreat from these programs, which represent our values. These distinguished men and women who served in uniform recognize that turning our back on diplomacy won't make our country safer. It will undermine our security and our standing in the world.

Defense Secretary Mattis said it well when he said, "If you cut funds to the State Department, that means he has to buy more ammunition." So the work that is done here at this institute, here at Georgetown, making the evidence-based case for the role of women and peace in security is incredibly important. It's always mattered, but today, it's even more critical. As this institute has grown, so too has the body of evidence showing that when women participate in peacemaking and peacekeeping, we are all safer and more secure. Studies show -- here I go again, talking about research, evidence and facts -- [laughter] [applause]

But in fact, when women are included in peace negotiations, agreements are less likely to fail and more likely to last. And we know that women's rights and physical safety are often the very first targets of fundamentalists. We also know that women are often the first to spot conflict on the horizon, coming their way. And when their insight and information is ignored, it often leads to consequences that might have been averted. At a time when sexual violence continues to be used as a strategy by terrorist groups, when women are being recruited by ISIS and Boko Haram, evidence suggests leaders who want to do more to guard against terrorism and violence should work even harder to help support and enable the participation of women. Now, before anybody jumps to any conclusions, I will state, clearly, women are not inherently more peaceful than men. That is a stereotype. That belongs in the alternative reality. [laughter] [applause]

But, history does show that when women are at the peace table, they bring together coalitions, and they work really hard to build consensus. And they are the ones most likely to shine a bright light on issues of human rights, transitional justice, national reconciliation and economic renewal. I've seen

this. Over the years, I worked with the women of Northern Ireland and watched as they reached across sectarian divides to forge a lasting peace.

And when that process started back in the '90s, who would have ever predicted that Martin McGuinness, who just passed away, would ever shake hands with Queen Elizabeth? We've seen the women of Liberia force an end to a bloody civil war. If you've never seen the movie *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, I highly recommend it because it shows, in very personal ways, the points that I am making from this podium today. The women of Liberia went to where the men had been talking about ending the conflict for weeks and weeks, a hotel in Ghana. They surrounded it, and they would not leave. They wouldn't let those who had met to negotiate the peace out of a window or a door until they came to agreement. And then, of course, they ended up electing Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first woman president on the continent of Africa. [applause]

I have seen women in the Democratic Republic of Congo survive the most horrific, almost unimaginable abuse and cruelty and then summon the resilience to rebuild and help others go on. In Colombia, which you will hear much more about in a few minutes, a country whose trajectory I have followed intently for years, we've seen women organize, agitate and negotiate to help bring to a close more than 50 years of bloodshed. While conflict raged and efforts to stop the violence failed, women not only took their places at the table, they opened up the peace process to women across Colombia and urged over and over again that all parties not walk away until they reached an agreement.

So if we are to build more just, free and peaceful countries and indeed a world, it's not enough just to pay lip service to empowering women. We have to take seriously their concerns and give them the tools to be equal partners in helping to shape the world they inhabit. The leaders we are honoring here today have seen that firsthand. From Humberto de la Calle, the rock of the peace negotiations in Havana. [applause] Yes, a round of applause for Humberto. [applause]

María Paulina Riveros, one of two women appointed to represent the Colombian government in the talks. [applause]

Elena Ambrosi, who has worked tirelessly behind the scenes, like so many women, to help make peace a reality. [applause]

And Jineth Bedoya Lima, a journalist who continued her pursuit of the truth and her advocacy for victims of sexual violence in the face of her own horrors. [applause]

Now like so many peace agreements, as hard as it was to get to it after 50 years of war, it is just the first step. Implementing peace will be a constant task. As hard as it is to imagine letting go of the peace that is so hard-won, there will be forces at work in the country from all sides to undermine it, to act as if it didn't apply to them. To do everything possible to prevent it from becoming the reality in the lives of Colombians that it can be. Yes, the work will require difficult decisions, transitional justice and economic viability. But peace is truly within reach.

So, from peace processes, like the one we celebrate today, to important steps that nations and institutions are taking to recognize the role of women in

confronting violent extremism and addressing climate change and standing up against terrorism and conflicts of all kinds, we've got to continue this work. And I am pleading that our government will continue its leadership role on behalf of peace in the world because the world must continue this work with or without U.S. involvement. [applause]

And the choice is ours to make. In this complicated, interconnected, interdependent world of ours, it's not as though you can pick one or two, three things that you say, "Well, that's all I'm going to work on." Events move too quickly. Borders dissolve in the face of pressures. The great connectivity of the internet can spawn both opportunity and despair. So we have to ask, will we be left behind or will we continue to lead the way? I hope the answer is that we will do whatever it takes to make our country and the world stronger and more secure. Standing up for our values, for human rights, and opportunities, security for all. And continuing to finish the business of making sure that girls and women have the same rights as men and boys. And by extending and guaranteeing those rights, unleashing human potential, the likes of which the world has never seen. That is what I hope your generation, students of Georgetown, will be committed to actually making a reality.

SAMPLE 3

Hillary Clinton's speeches

At the Democratic Convention



Following is a transcript of Hillary Clinton's address to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia on Thursday, as prepared for delivery by her campaign.

Thank you! Thank you for that amazing welcome.

And Chelsea, thank you.

I'm so proud to be your mother and so proud of the woman you've become.

Thanks for bringing Marc into our family, and Charlotte and Aidan into the world.

And Bill, that conversation we started in the law library 45 years ago is still going strong.

It's lasted through good times that filled us with joy, and hard times that tested us.

And I've even gotten a few words in along the way.

On Tuesday night, I was so happy to see that my Explainer-in-Chief is still on the job.

I'm also grateful to the rest of my family and the friends of a lifetime.

To all of you whose hard work brought us here tonight.

And to those of you who joined our campaign this week.

And what a remarkable week it's been.

We heard the man from Hope, Bill Clinton.

And the man of Hope, Barack Obama.

America is stronger because of President Obama's leadership, and I'm better because of his friendship.

We heard from our terrific vice president, the one-and-only Joe Biden, who spoke from his big heart about our party's commitment to working people.

First lady Michelle Obama reminded us that our children are watching, and the president we elect is going to be their president, too.

And for those of you out there who are just getting to know Tim Kaine — you're soon going to understand why the people of Virginia keep promoting him: from City Council and mayor, to Governor, and now Senator.

He'll make the whole country proud as our Vice President.

And ... I want to thank Bernie Sanders.

Bernie, your campaign inspired millions of Americans, particularly the young people who threw their hearts and souls into our primary.

You've put economic and social justice issues front and center, where they belong.

And to all of your supporters here and around the country:

I want you to know, I've heard you.

Your cause is our cause.

Our country needs your ideas, energy, and passion.

That's the only way we can turn our progressive platform into real change for America.

We wrote it together — now let's go out there and make it happen together.

My friends, we've come to Philadelphia — the birthplace of our nation — because what happened in this city 240 years ago still has something to teach us today.

We all know the story.

But we usually focus on how it turned out — and not enough on how close that story came to never being written at all.

When representatives from 13 unruly colonies met just down the road from here, some wanted to stick with the King.

Some wanted to stick it to the king, and go their own way.

The revolution hung in the balance.

Then somehow they began listening to each other ... compromising ... finding common purpose.

And by the time they left Philadelphia, they had begun to see themselves as one nation.

That's what made it possible to stand up to a King.

That took courage.

They had courage.

Our Founders embraced the enduring truth that we are stronger together.

America is once again at a moment of reckoning.

Powerful forces are threatening to pull us apart.

Bonds of trust and respect are fraying.

And just as with our founders, there are no guarantees.

It truly is up to us.

We have to decide whether we all will work together so we all can rise together.

Our country's motto is e pluribus unum: out of many, we are one.

Will we stay true to that motto?

Well, we heard Donald Trump's answer last week at his convention.

He wants to divide us — from the rest of the world, and from each other.

He's betting that the perils of today's world will blind us to its unlimited promise.

He's taken the Republican Party a long way ... from "Morning in America" to "Midnight in America."

He wants us to fear the future and fear each other.

Well, a great Democratic President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, came up with the perfect rebuke to Trump more than eighty years ago, during a much more perilous time.

"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Now we are cleareyed about what our country is up against.

But we are not afraid.

We will rise to the challenge, just as we always have.

We will not build a wall.

Instead, we will build an economy where everyone who wants a good paying job can get one.

And we'll build a path to citizenship for millions of immigrants who are already contributing to our economy!

We will not ban a religion.

We will work with all Americans and our allies to fight terrorism.

There's a lot of work to do.

Too many people haven't had a pay raise since the crash.

There's too much inequality.

Too little social mobility.

Too much paralysis in Washington.

Too many threats at home and abroad.

But just look at the strengths we bring to meet these challenges.

We have the most dynamic and diverse people in the world.

We have the most tolerant and generous young people we've ever had.

We have the most powerful military.

The most innovative entrepreneurs.

The most enduring values. Freedom and equality, justice and opportunity.

We should be so proud that these words are associated with us. That when people hear them — they hear ... America.

So don't let anyone tell you that our country is weak.

We're not.

Don't let anyone tell you we don't have what it takes.

We do.

And most of all, don't believe anyone who says: "I alone can fix it."

Those were actually Donald Trump's words in Cleveland.

And they should set off alarm bells for all of us.

Really?

I alone can fix it?

Isn't he forgetting?

Troops on the front lines.

Police officers and fire fighters who run toward danger.

Doctors and nurses who care for us.

Teachers who change lives.

Entrepreneurs who see possibilities in every problem.

Mothers who lost children to violence and are building a movement to keep other kids safe.

He's forgetting every last one of us.

Americans don't say: "I alone can fix it."

We say: "We'll fix it together."

Remember: Our Founders fought a revolution and wrote a Constitution so America would never be a nation where one person had all the power.

Two hundred and forty years later, we still put our faith in each other.

Look at what happened in Dallas after the assassinations of five brave police officers.

Chief David Brown asked the community to support his force, maybe even join them.

And you know how the community responded?

Nearly 500 people applied in just 12 days.

That's how Americans answer when the call for help goes out.

20 years ago I wrote a book called "It Takes a Village." A lot of people looked at the title and asked, what the heck do you mean by that?

This is what I mean.

None of us can raise a family, build a business, heal a community or lift a country totally alone.

America needs every one of us to lend our energy, our talents, our ambition to making our nation better and stronger.

I believe that with all my heart.

That's why "Stronger Together" is not just a lesson from our history.

It's not just a slogan for our campaign.

It's a guiding principle for the country we've always been and the future we're going to build.

A country where the economy works for everyone, not just those at the top.

Where you can get a good job and send your kids to a good school, no matter what ZIP code you live in.

A country where all our children can dream, and those dreams are within reach.

Where families are strong ... communities are safe.

SAMPLE 4

Hillary Clinton's speeches

At a Conference for Women in Business



Hello! Thank you, thank you all so much. It is great to be back in San Francisco, a place that has a big big spot in my heart and to be able to speak with all of you this afternoon.

Please be seated and you can jump up and down its been a wonderful but long day I hear.

I want to thank Anne not just for her kind introduction but for exemplifying the kind of creative entrepreneurial leadership that she has demonstrated and that so many of you are also part of. I want to thank Alexandr Roddy for her leadership and all she's done and to make this event such a success.

I am thrilled to be out of the woods and in the company of so many inspiring women and there is no place I'd rather be than here with you other than the White House. (Cheers)

But lets remember what brought all of us here for the 28th convening of this event. Back in the 1980s my friend Congresswoman Jackie Speier started bringing together groups of women for networking and professional development, for support. Now that might not seem radical at all today but at the time it was pretty revolutionary and Jackie Speier herself exemplifies a life of commitment and service. She has to be in Congress for votes but lets show our appreciation for her visionary leadership with a round of applause she can hear all the way back in D.C.

Because just look at what you represent. The Professional Businesswomen of California is now the largest women's organization in the state which probably means its the biggest in the country — I don't know that but it seems reasonable to assume if you're the biggest in California.

But your members are transforming the way we do things, the way we deliver healthcare. You're running cities and Fortune 500 companies. You're making Oscar-nominated films and leading in every industry from finance to fitness, empowering the next generation of women and girls and taking on some of the toughest problems that we face. That's why I was thrilled that the theme for this year's conference is "inclusion now" because that is spot on.

There's never been a more important woman than the woman who stands up and says not just for herself but for everybody else, "we want diversity and inclusion in everything we do in our country."

And in fact, its not only the right thing to do, its the smart thing. You understand this. These are not just buzzwords to throw around or boxes to check. The best way to solve problems is to bring together a wide range of people to crowdsource solutions. And guess what? Bringing different perspectives and experiences into professional offices brings not only fresh ideas but higher revenues. And I've been saying for a long time, as many of you have, that advancing the rights and opportunities of women and girls is the great unfinished business of the 21st century.

(Cheers)

And some days, I admit, it seems like it may be even more unfinished than we hoped. Because while we women have made strides in education and careers, there's still a woeful lack of women in the upper reaches of science and technology, business and education, not to mention politics and government. Women's representation in the current administration in Washington, for example, is the lowest its been in a generation. But even in a state like California, that is ahead of the curve in so many ways, the number of women serving in the state legislature is at a twenty year low. And women in the private sector, particularly women of color, still struggle for representation in the c-suite and boardroom.

But I am here today to urge us not to grow tired, not to be discouraged and disappointed, not to throw up our hands because change isn't

happening fast enough. Or to even take a pass because we think we've done our part. We need more women at any table, on any conference call or email chain where decisions are made. And a big part of that is encouraging more women to run for office and pushing the private sector to do a lot better than it currently is.

But even that's not enough. We can't stop there. We need to reset the table so women are no longer required to accept or adapt to discrimination or sexism at work. We need to think beyond corporate boardrooms, beyond corridors of companies or elected bodies, beyond our own lives and experiences to lift up women of all incomes, experiences and backgrounds in every corner of our country. And a crucial part of solving these problems is recognizing that as important as it is, corporate feminism is no substitute for inclusive concrete solutions that improve life for women everywhere. Because as challenging as it is to climb the career ladder, its even harder for women at the margins unable to get on or stay on even the lowest rung. And for too many women, especially low-wage workers, basic things, like a livable wage or a predictable work schedules or affordable childcare are still way out of reach.

We know from decades of data that encouraging women's full participation is both right and smart. This data comes not just from our own country but from across the world. When I was Secretary of State I made it part of my mission to try to educate governments that including women in the economy was not only good for them and their families but poverty went down and gross domestic product of the entire county went

up. And companies with more women in upper management do achieve higher profits.

Yet we also know, many of us from our own lives, that women still face barriers that hold us back. I meet talented women everywhere I go who are squeezing every minute out of their 24 hour day. They love their jobs but they can't escape the nagging feeling that its a lot harder than it should be to get ahead. I bet just about everyone in this room has had the experience of saying something in a meeting that gets ignored. Ten, twenty minutes later a man says the same thing and everyone thinks its genius. And I think we should pool our respective reactions so that you have right at your fingertips exactly what to say. Nice thought. Little slow on the uptake but good idea.

And where everyday sexism and structural barriers were once blatant, today they're sometimes harder to spot but make no mistake, they're still with us. Just look at all thats happened in the last few days to women that simply were doing their jobs. April Ryan, a respected journalist with unrivaled integrity, was doing her job just this afternoon in the White House press room when she was patronized and cut off trying to ask a question. One of your own California congresswoman, Maxine Waters, was taunted with a racist joke about her hair. Now too many women, especially women of color, have had a lifetime of practice taking precisely these kinds of indignities in stride. But why should we have to? And any woman who thinks this couldn't be directed at her is living in a dream world. (Applause)

I mean, its not like I didn't know all the nasty things they were saying about me. Some of them were actually quite creative, ones I hadn't heard before. But you just have to keep going. And even when sexism and exclusion are out in the open, its sometimes hard to believe they could possibly be deliberate. Recently, photos have been making the rounds on social media showing groups of men in Washington making decisions about women's health. Decisions to rip away coverage for pregnancy and maternity care, or limit access to reproductive healthcare around the globe. We shake our heads and think, how could they not have invited any women to the table? Well, a provocative opinion piece in the *New York Times* this week argues that it may not be an oversight at all but an intentional signal: don't worry, the men are in charge of everything.

My favorite sort of take on these pictures, maybe you saw it, was the one of dogs sitting around an oval table and the caption was discussing feline care, I liked that. But it is a cruel irony that stereotypes and bias run rampant even at companies that pride themselves as being forward thinking. More and more women have been sharing stories of their experiences in Silicon Valley. Stories of consistently being asked to take notes in meetings or get the coffee, of being undermined, interrupted and criticized in a way that never seems to happen to their male colleagues. Those may seem like small things, but over time they take a toll, don't they?

And for some women, the hostility is even more direct, like the Uber engineer who spoke out about her experiences with sexual harassment and spurred the company to publicly admit to addressing this problem. It

is disheartening to hear women at the highest level of their profession say things are no better for the young women beginning their careers today. Women hold just a quarter of computing jobs in the U.S. and that number has gone down instead of up. Women are hired at lower numbers in the tech industry and leave at more than twice the rate men do. And for women of color, the situation is even worse.

Beyond issues of bias and discrimination, the game is often still rigged against working women in major ways. What kind of message does it send the world that the United States is the advanced economy with no national paid family leave policy? And less than 15% of workers have access to paid family leave, and those benefits are concentrated among the highest-income workers. You know, it was actually a little better before people knew what was going on. I remember I was a young law partner when I was pregnant and that was a long time ago and my partners just didn't want to talk about it. I'd walk down the hall, getting bigger and bigger, they'd turn their heads (laughter), and Chelsea came early.

You know, I kept raising the idea of well what kind of time off do I get? Well it never happened before, so nobody was talking about it. So Chelsea comes early, I have her late one night, next morning, early morning, my phone rings and it's our managing partner. He doesn't say congratulations. He doesn't say hope you and the baby are fine, he says when are you coming back to work? I said, well I don't know and just out of the air I said I don't know, maybe four months. Well he had no idea, because he had never talked about it with anybody before. I said,

you know, I can probably, you know, pick up some work and do some things in a couple months, but lets say 4 months. That was the beginning of our paid leave policy. (Cheers).

But then I was discouraged to read a recent survey that despite the progress in some industries, companies on the whole are actually offering less paid time off then they were a decade ago. And for too many companies that do offer family leave, it doesn't apply to fathers or LGBT couples or adoptive parents, and thats kind of strange for people in California because you've had more than a decade of evidence that offering paid family leave doesn't hurt business; in fact, it helps companies compete for top talent and to retain employees. The benefits outweigh the costs. So why is it that companies still aren't doing all they can to support working parents? As a candidate for President, I put out a comprehensive plan, I don't expect you to remember that, in fact there was a recent study showing none of my plans were really publicized or talked about, so that gives me something for speeches for at least a decade. (Applause).

Obviously the outcome of the election wasn't the one I hoped for, worked for, but I will never stop speaking out for common sense benefits that allow mom and dads to stay on the job. After all, I think its fair to say no good idea has ever become a reality overnight. As our friends in startups know, it takes time and hard work. And I'm heartened by the fact that even as we struggle at the federal level, cities and states across the country are looking to California and a few other places to pass paid family leave.

There are a growing number of businesses in the country that are leading by examples. Companies from Salesforce to Gap are making real commitments to their employees by guaranteeing equal pay and paid family leave, respectively. And we're seeing exciting initiatives across industries like the EDGE certification program, which was designed to help companies measure and hold themselves accountable for creating a more equal workplace. Google it, EDGE, and see what you can do to advocate for it within your own company.

The private sector can and must be an engine of change on these issues, especially in a place like Silicon Valley. Because when you're on the cutting edge of how people work and learn you have both an opportunity and an obligation to institute workplace policies that help employees meet their responsibilities at home and on the job. And then leaders in other industries will take notice and try to match what you do. After all, you're the people who figured out how to put computers in the palms of our hands and you have the tools and the creativity to take on big problems like implicit bias and make the case for those in elected office to follow suit.

So despite our stumbles and our setbacks, we've never been better positioned to take on this vital work. In fact, I don't think our country has ever been better positioned to take on the challenges of the future. Where some see a dark vision of carnage, I see a light shining on creativity and opportunity. (Cheers)

Now, we saw that in real time the day after the inauguration when millions of women and men from all walks of life marched for women's equality, visibility and inclusion. It was the biggest march in our country's history and I delighted at every sign I saw quoting my 1995 speech that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights once and for all.

Now, afterwards, there were plenty of people as you might expect, who wondered whether that level of energy and enthusiasm could be sustained and whether it would make any difference. Well I am here to tell you. Last week we saw the first indication that the answer to both of those questions is yes. When Congress and the administration tried to jam through a bill that would have kicked 24 million people off their health insurance, defunded Planned Parenthood, jeopardize access to affordable birth control, deprive people with disabilities and the elderly and nursing homes of essential care, they were met with a wave of resistance. People who had never been active in politics told their stories at town hall meetings, flooded the congressional switchboard with calls speaking out for affordable health care. These were not only activists and advocates, they were people who had something to say and were determined to be heard. Yes, some were new to the fight and others, like Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi have been on the front lines for years. And when this disastrous bill failed it was a victory for all Americans. (Cheers)

But let me let you in on a little secret. The other side never quits. Sooner or later, they'll try again. We will need to fight back twice as hard, not for the sake of politics but because these are bad policies that will hurt

people and take our country in the wrong direction. You know, there's a little mantra I've been repeating to myself lately, a little silly, the kind of thing that pops into your heads when you take a lot of long walks in the woods. But as I think about the outpouring of activism we're seeing, despite all the noise and the nonsense, four words keep coming back to me: resist, insist, persist, enlist.

We need to resist actions that go against our values as Americans, whether that's attacking immigrants and refugees, denying climate change or passing bogus laws that make it harder for people to vote in elections. We need to resist bias and bullying, we need to resist hate and fear. And we need to insist on putting people first, including by working together to make healthcare more affordable, to build on what works, to create better and more upwardly mobile education and employment ladders. To insist that we can do better. That's who we are. We're always pushing towards that more perfect union. And then we need to persist, as we saw so dramatically in the Senate when Mitch McConnell went after Senator Elizabeth Warren and said, nevertheless she persisted, in being told she could not read a letter from Coretta Scott King. So we need to persist to approach future challenges with the passion we've seen these last few months and then bring that to the voting booth in 2018. To tell yourself, to tell your friends and your colleagues, no matter how you vote, show up and vote for goodness sake. Be there. Make sure your voice and your vote count.

And we need to enlist, enlist in this effort, get in the arena. Now that can mean many things. Running for office, which I hope some of you will

actively consider. Starting and running a business, which many of you have done and are doing. But a business that takes care of its employees. Mentoring and championing other women and girls, giving time to volunteer outside of work. Standing up and speaking out. There's not just one way to do this, there are so many – there's something for everybody here to become involved in. So sure, the last few months haven't been exactly what I envisioned, although I do know what I'm still fighting for. I'm fighting for a fairer, big hearted, inclusive America. The unfinished business of the 21st century can't wait any longer. Now is the time to demand the progress we want to see and to work together to make it real in our own lives, in our businesses, in our government, in our families, our country and the world. And I'll be right there with you every step of the way. Thank you all very much.

المستخلص

تجري هذه الأطروحة تحليلاً تداولياً لخطابات مارجريت هيلدا تاتشر وهيلاري ديان رودهام كلينتون بمساعدة تحليل علامة الموقف. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إظهار الاختلاف بين كلينتون وتاتشر في استخدامهما لعلامات الموقف وتعديل نموذج هايلاند ليكون قابلاً للتطبيق لتحليل البيانات لإظهار المواقف النسوية والاختلافات بينهما. يتم استخدام أربع علامات موقف للتحليل (Hyland، 2005): تستخدم الصفة الموقفية، والفعل المعرفي، وظرف الموقف، والفعل Deontic لتحليل الخطاب. كما يقوم الباحث بتحليل المعنى الواقعي لهذه العلامات. تظهر هذه العلامات وتحليلها كيف تبني المتحدثان النسوية واختلافها في الخطابين.

نطاقات العلامات المحددة في خطابات المتحدثين في التحليل هي: الأفعال الأخلاقية، الظروف السلوكية، الصفات السلوكية، الأفعال المعرفية في خطابات تاتشر وفي خطابات كلينتون. يظهر التحليل أن خطابتهن نسويه جزء من هدف هذا العمل هو بناء نسخة من نموذج هايلاند الذي يساعد في إظهار تصوير النسوية في خطابتهن لذلك يمكن تطبيق نموذج هايلاند على البيانات، مع بعض التعديلات و / أو الإضافات مما يعني أنه يمكن توسيع بعض العلامات بسبب الاختلاف بين البيانات التي تم اختراع العلامات منها والبيانات المستخدمة في هذه الدراسة.

استخدم الباحث نموذج هايلاند مع إضافة أي تعديل ضروري لبناء نموذج كامل لتحليل البيانات. يمكن أن يُظهر النموذج تصوير النسوية الذي يهدف إلى بناء منظور متماسك للنسوية في البيانات. تتضمن الصور اللغوية للنسوية في الخطابين تكرار العلامات وهناك بعض أوجه التشابه بين السياسيين. على الرغم من أن كلا المجموعتين تستخدمان تقريباً نفس مجموعات علامات الموقف، إلا أنها تختلف في تكرار كل علامة.



جامعة ميسان
كلية التربية
قسم اللغة الانكليزية

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رسالة تقدمت بها

الى مجلس كلية التربية جامعة ميسان جزءا من متطلبات درجة ماجستير في
الآداب في اللغة الإنكليزية و اللغويات

الطالبة

موج خليل ابراهيم مهدي

بإشراف

الأستاذ المساعد أقبال صاحب دشر