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Editor-in-chief

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FOREIGN RESEARCHES

Legitimization through Proximization in Anti-Immigration Speech

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Abstract

The present research aims at exploring one of the biggest aims the political speaker tries to arrive at, which is legitimization. The research starts with establishing the term legitimization by reviewing the researchers' definition of it in political speech. Legitimization along with delegitimization "which is a presentation of the self and the other, respectively, is being presented. After that an analysis of legitimization with its relation to assertion is being considered since legitimization is originally an assertion. The last component of the research tries to show how legitimization is used in anti-immigration speech which is one of the major concerns within political speech especially in countries that witness big waves of immigration. The research concluded that legitimization is one of the indirect goals of a political speaker which has been achieved through proximisation to arrive at the direct goal of gaining support of his audience .

Keywords: Legitimization, Delegitimization, Proximization, Assertion, Anti-Immigration.

1. Introduction

Political speech is characterized as aiming to passing the speaker's values, and beliefs, through making them near or matching those of the audience. In attempting to do so, legitimization is evolving as a major goal for any activist, whether social or political. Legitimization is characterized as coercive in not being presented as free to accept for the listener, but as attempting

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to influence his ideas and beliefs. Legitimization is going to be considered first and then to be connected with its effective method i.e., proximization. In proximizing bad effects, the political speaker will be able to legitimize his actions and will do so by having his audience agree with him since they will find a congruence between what he is saying and what they believe or adopt as their own system of thinking towards political issues. The area of anti-immigration speech counts as one of the most debated areas within the sociopolitical perspective. Political speakers will try their best to act according to their own beliefs and ideas towards these people in one of the highly anticipated topics for speeches. The study tries to shed light, even if not wholly, on this area through establishing a link between anti-immigration speech and the use of proximization and the STA model that may best exemplify political speeches. So, the research tries to answer the question of whether legitimization is used by politicians or not. If so, for what reason. Another question is that: Is it applicable in anti-immigration speech or not? It is hypothesized that it is used and applicable in the chosen field, i.e., anti-immigration speech.

2.1 What is Legitimization?

Chilton (2004:46) connects legitimization with the right to be obeyed in a coercive atmosphere. It is characterized as a strategic use of language that best describes how interests distort communication. Wieczorek (2008:31) thinks that legitimization is another facet for the face theory of Brown and Levinson (1978,1987) especially in minimizing the effects of face threatening acts and adopts the view of coercion within the topic. Hart (2010:90) engulfs legitimization within the process of persuasion in which the reader is being tempted to accept the writer's claim(s). It is an activation of the logico-rhetorical module of the speaker to be in tandem with the module of the receiver. Cap (2010:32) defines legitimization as the right of the political speaker to be obeyed along with the linguistic justification to do so. Reyes (2011:782) defines legitimization as the process of accrediting social behaviour through justification. Accordingly, this enactment happens through argumentation which is produced to explain thoughts, ideas, and beliefs.

2.2 Legitimization and Delegitimization

Legitimization is the process of seeking legitimacy which works alongside with physical force. It is classified as a near concept to coercion, since it leads to making people obey a certain agenda or a politically motivated act, (Hart, 2010:65). It works generally on overestimating positively for desired attitudes based on the content of speech. The term positive politeness is linked with legitimization while negative politeness is linked with delegitimization in characterizing "in group, out group" memberships. Legitimization is characterized by an unfair description of the other in all the relevant words "those who are with us, those who are against us, invaders, people with destructive agenda, (for ordinary opposition parties), foreigners, immigrants (using strategies like, scapegoating, attacking, marginalizing) all revolving around originating positive self-presentation and self-praise, (Chilton;2004:45,64), (Dunmire;2011:66). Van Dijk (2005:67) considers legitimization within political implicature in which not only usual global strategies of legitimization are discussed such as legal, moral, political justification for participation, but also well-known semantic strategies of self-presentation and negative presentation of others. "us, them", "inside deictic center, outside deictic center" are also considered. Wieczorek (2008:31) says that legitimization in political speech has a principal goal of seeking justification and support for future actions or already performed actions, as being in the best-interest of the addressee.

1. *"The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the Presidency under extraordinary circumstances never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts. (…) In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end. My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over"* (Wieczorek;2008:34)

The above text is extracted from a speech of Gerald Ford "former president of the United States" in the 1970s after the resignation of his predecessor, Richard Nixon. Two indicative utterances are of importance; " this is an hour of ……. hearts", "our long nightmare is over". These two examples are cases of temporal proximization. They are followed by a positive proximization in the form of implied promise in saying "in all my public and private acts….", then followed by the implicature trigger "in the end" accompanied by "honesty is the best policy" to refer to the disgraceful deed of the former administration. All these instances of proximizations and implicatures with their triggers help to legitimize the need for a president who can do the job of this exact moment, (Wieczorek; 2008:34). Cap (2013:51) sketches credibility as the basic component in legitimization being motivated by Sperber (2000) who believes that an important aspect of credibility that should be taken into consideration is the logico-rhetorical devices which are to be activated in investigating credibility. It is a double-faced operation in which the speaker activates certain devices to penetrate the filters of the listeners, while the addressee uses certain devices to filter any piece of information, the whole operation of its two sides is called "the cheater -detection module. Legitimization occurs legally here in having a conflict between the two types of devices, the speaker's trick and the listener's filter. The pragmatic aspect of legitimization comes from implicature, where cancellability is accounted for here as with the case of cancelling earlier implicatures and enacting others just like the case with weapons of mass destruction as a first implicature then cancelled and turned into implicature of bringing democracy and freedom to Iraq, before and after 2003 by the Bush administration, (Hart;2010:91), (Cap;2013:55). Delegitimization is the case when the political speaker is trying to set apart all the actants, events, places as occurring outside the deictic center, the private circle of the politician and his own supporters, or the main area of beliefs and values of the speaker and his proponents. Delegitimization is the counterpart to the positive self-presentation portrayed in legitimization in which a negative presentation of the others is the

case highlightening differences and boundaries using speech acts of blaming and accusing, (Chilton; 2004:46).

> **2.** Crime in this area has gone up since they [asylum seekers] arrived. (Hart; 2010:93)

The above example is a case of delegitimization in which the negative presentation of a specific group of people. i.e., "asylum seekers" is being highlighted by presenting them as a source of damage to the society achieved by their separation from the society due to their actions.

2.3 *Legitimization is an Assertion*

Searle's categorization of assertions is that they are related to the true/ false conditions of the utterance and the direction of fitting in them is the one related to fitting words into the world. The dimension of these "assertives" is being stretched in words just like "belief, commitment", and the verbs used to express this use of speech acts could be "conclude, deduce", (Searle;1979:12-13).

> **3.** *The opposition deduced that the move was aiming to dismantle the agreement.*

Van Dijk (2005:69-70) is in favor of considering assertion away from its conventional limits. Accordingly, an emphasis shouldn't be directed to the semantic assertion of the act but to the pragmatic assertion of legitimizing the act and delegitimizing the act of others, -the opposition to the political speaker in this case. Analyzing the speeches of the Spanish prime minister "Aznar", Van Dijk dwells in the strategies used by Aznar not only to go to war but to the legitimization of political aims from a pragmatic perspective. The example collected from his speeches is the one in which Aznar claims that although he is going to participate in the war in Iraq, but his policy is a peaceful one. Cap (2010:32) gives assertion the status of the most salient linguistic act since it is a prerequisite for successful legitimization. Assertions are regarded as beliefs, principles which are in line with the predispositions of the addressee. The speaker is going to follow a concept called "latitude of acceptance" in which the new conception is going to be parsed with the earlier predispositions of the speaker. Then, after internalizing the message, everything that comes after it is going to

be dealt with as matching the preconceptions and beliefs of the audience.

2.4 Legitimization Through Proximization

Cap (2010:38) claims that legitimization is a genuine outcome of applying the STA model of proximization to political speech. Proximization is a discursive strategy of bringing remote events near to make the audience better accept the stands of the speaker and act accordingly. Proximization is of three types: spatial proximization which tries to make remote incidents, and people, from the place of the listener become nearer due to political reasons being triggered by words, phrases, sentences, and even full texts, to bring about the desired result. Temporal proximization is the bringing of past events to the present moment of speaking and to attempt to affect people's beliefs of future actions and intentions, it is a forced construal of "now", (Opeyemi;2017:140). Axiological proximization is the type that tries to bring elements which are far from the values, beliefs of the audience to influence the audience's values by imposing their values on the audience for political reasons. This is done when elements outside the deictic center encroach to the center.   The political speaker uses proximization to arrive at an assertion of the facts, values, ideas, that he wants to impose on his supporters to finally legitimize his acts and speeches, (Cap;2018:7).

> ***4.*** *"We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people".*   "President G.W. Bush, 19/ March/ 2003"

The "threat" expressed in the above example is a good sign of using spatial proximization in which the country which is far from America is being treated as a close threat which is near to the place of the speaker alongside his audience. It is an attempt made to legitimize the action of going to war in Iraq which is a political aim. Apart from this, some axiological proximization is made in presenting the regime of Iraq as elements occurring outside the deictic centre and are encroaching by stating some ideological

differences between the current regime compared to the American values. Kowalski (2018:127) concludes that when proximization is used for legitimization, it enables the political speaker to seek the the understanding and support of his audience in controversial topics especially those related to geopolitically or culturally distant settings.

2.5 Legitimization in Anti-Immigration

Anti-immigration speech is characterized by being coercive and tries to highlight the bad effects of immigration on the country of the political speaker, in most of the cases, over the social, economic, and political aspects of the scene.

5. *"They are not sending their best " Donald Trump "The Washington Post" "8/July/2015*

It is an obvious case of bringing the bad effects of immigration over the good effects since in the above example, the presidential candidate is trying to proximize the results of accepting immigrants from communities which are sending people who are characterized as not the best. Axiological proximization in anti-immigration speech is the case in which the nature of the people who are coming to the United States is being evaluated and measured politically so as to legitimize future actions of refusing them.

6. *"This is our country" Tony Abott/ Prime Minister of Australia "Fox News" "15/Aug/2013"*

The above example is an example of spatial proximization in which the political speaker is trying to maintain the boundaries between the people of his country and the immigrants. These boundaries are highlighted in emphasizing the fact that the people of this country are separated from those who are coming to them seeking refuge and that they compose elements outside the deictic center legitimizing future actions of not accepting them and even deportation acts.

7. *"Syrian Refugees a 'Trojan horse' "Donald Trump"/ "cnn.com"/ 16/Nov/2015*

This example is regarded as a case of temporal proximization in which a past event is being recovered from the memory of the people to best simulate a current situation. Bringing an earlier event

from the memory of the people to be recalled and proximized to a current situation is made to legitimize future actions against these refugees. It is a good use of words to bring to life an almost dead incident from the long-term memory of the people to activate the frames of fear and suspicion in order to accept the message of taking a negative position towards refugees.

3 Conclusions

Legitimization is a means to an end for the political speaker in which the use of certain words and expressions is being highlighted to do so, i.e., to legitimize future actions. In legitimization, the political speaker is not presenting us with the aim he is after in a very simple or direct way, but the case is that some strategies are being activated such as predication, coercion, and scapegoating. Proximization is a workable strategy for legitimizing future events in which it is a means that enables the speaker to achieve the desired result through persuading the audience of the effectiveness of his policies. The picture of anti-immigration speech is not an exception from the general nature of Legitimization. Political speakers try to legitimize their actions against immigrants, and refugees by showing the bad effects of having these people in the country of the speaker and his audience. It aims at making people think about these effects on their country and to align with the political speaker in refusing these movements of people outside the deictic center towards that center.

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الشرعنة بالتقارب ضمن الخطاب المناهض للاجئين

عدي طلال نجيب *

مروان نجيب توفيق **

المستخلص

يهدف البحث إلى دراسة إحدى أبرز الأهداف في الخطاب السياسي ألا وهي الشرعنة، وفي بدء البحث يتم تقديم مبدأ الشرعنة في الخطاب السياسي بتعريفها من الكتاب الذين تحدثوا عن الموضوع في أدبيات الخطاب السياسيّ، وبعد ذلك يهدف البحث إلى إجراء مقارنة بين الشرعنة ونزع الشرعنة بوصفهما مفهومين دارجين ضمن الخطاب السياسي، ويتم بعد ذلك تقديم مفهوم التأكيد أو الالتزام الَّذي يعدُّ الأساس للشرعنة، ويهدف الجزء الأخير من البحث إلى تقديم مفهوم الشرعنة من ضمن الخطاب المناهض للاجئين الَّذي يعدُّ أحد أبرز الميادين في الخطاب السياسيّ ولاسيَّما لدى الدول الَّتي تشهد موجات نزوح كبيرة إليها ممَّا يجعل الموضوع ذا قيمة عالية للخطابات السياسيَّة، واستنتجت الدراسة أنَّ الشرعنة هي فعلًا إحدى الأهداف غير المباشرة للخطاب السياسي؛ إذ استعملت للوصول للهدف الرئيس للسياسيّ ألا وهو الحصول على الدعم من قاعدته الجماهيريَّة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الشرعنة، نزع الشرعنة، التقارب، التأكيد، الخطاب المناهض للاجئين.

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