

ESTABLISHING LEGITIMACY: PERSUASION AND
ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY

ALYS HUMPHREY

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

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ESTABLISHING LEGITIMACY: PERSUASION AND
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Alys Humphrey

Boğaziçi University

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Thesis Abstract

Alys Humphrey, "Establishing Legitimacy: Persuasion and Organisational Identity"

Studies of institutions have shown that legitimacy and credibility are important aspects of institutional identity, particularly in the case of NGO. Given that identity is established and reflected largely through linguistic means, legitimacy and credibility are constructed and maintained through the discourse of an NGO. Thus the discourse of an NGO works to persuade readers' of its legitimacy. Through a CDA based analysis of organisational newsletters, it is observed that two large and well-known NGOs, Open Society Institute and Amnesty International establish legitimacy through appeal to rather different qualities. In the former case, a subjective view is presented, with the institution's attitude and opinion paramount in establishing legitimacy and credibility. In the latter case, that of Amnesty International, the institution is cast as legitimate and credible through appeal to objectivity.

These differing approaches to establishment of legitimacy are manifested through different discursive patterns and devices. Hedging is a major feature of Amnesty International's discourse, playing a central role in the establishment and maintenance of an objective stance. Meanwhile the discourse of Open Society Institute is characterised by a lack of hedges and indeed by boosters, creating their subjective route to legitimacy and credibility. Thus, the analysis indicates that differing distribution of linguistic features in the respective institutions' newsletters are central to the construction of the two identities. Furthermore differing generic choices are also powerful in contributing to the divergent persuasive techniques employed by the organisations. In particular genre integrity and genre variation are powerful enactors of the respective organisational identities.

Tez Özeti

Alys Humphrey, “Mesruiyetin Sağlanması: İkna Edicilik ve Kurumsal Kimlik”

Kurumlar üzerine yapılan arařtırmalar meşruiyet ve inanılrlığın kurumsal kimliğin, özellikle de sivil toplum kuruluşlarının (STK) kimliğinin önemli birer ögesi olduğunu göstermektedir (Suchman, 1995; Beyer, 1981; Sproull, 1981). Kimliğin temelde dilsel araçlarla kurulup yansıtıldığı göz önünde tutulduğunda, meşruiyet ve inanılrlığın da bir STK'nın söyleminde kurulup korunacağı açıktır (Foucault, 1978; Giddens, 1984; Fairclough, 1995) Diğer bir deyişle bir STK'nın söylemi okuyanı kurumun meşruiyetine ikna etme amacını taşır.

Bu çalışmada iki tanınmış STK, Açık Toplum Enstitüsü (Open Society Institute, OSI) ve Uluslararası Af Örgütü'ne (Amnesty International, AI) ait duyurular (newsletters) Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi temel alınarak incelenmekte ve bu iki kurumun oldukça farklı özellikleri kullanarak meşruiyet sağlama yoluna gittikleri görülmektedir. Bunlardan Açık Toplum Enstitüsü, metinlerinde daha öznel bir yaklaşım seçerek, kurumun tutum ve görüşünü açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Uluslararası Af Örgütü'nde ise kurum nesnelğe yapılan vurgu yoluyla meşru ve inanılır kılınmaktadır. Meşruiyetin sağlanması konusunda izlenen bu farklı yaklaşımlar söylemsel izlek ve araçlarla gerçekleşmektedir. İhtiyatlı anlatım biçimleri (hedging) Uluslararası Af Örgütü metinlerinde nesnel bir yaklaşımın oluşturulmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Buna karşılık Açık Toplum Enstitüsü metinlerinde bu tür ifadeler yer almamakta, tam tersine anlamı güçlendirici biçimler (boosters) göze çarpmakta, ve böylece meşruiyet ve inanılrlık öznelik yoluyla sağlanmaktadır. Her iki kurumun duyurularında gözlenen farklı söylemsel ve dilsel özellikler, söz konusu kurumların kimliklerinin oluşturulmasında etkili olmaktadır.

Bunlara ek olarak duyurularda yer alan metin türü tercihleri bu kurumların kullandığı farklı ikna yöntemleri arasında önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Özellikle metin türlerindeki tutarlılık ve tür farklılaşması kurumsal kimlik oluşturulmasına yardımcı öğeler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to emphasise and elucidate the relationship between language, identity and non-governmental organisations. Linguistic analysis provides the backbone for the study although it is also informed by principles from a variety of disciplines. The benefit of such a multi-faceted view is that it allows an exploration of the social work that language does and how manipulations of language contribute to the construction of social reality and social identities. Keeping a firm foundation in the tradition of discourse analysis the study focuses on persuasive linguistic devices and generic conventions and their role in establishing, shaping and positioning identities of non-governmental organisations in the public eye.

1.1. Theoretical Framework and Concepts

1.1.1. Persuasion

Persuasion - which has always occupied a central role in the discourse of society, most prominently in the domains of politics, the judicial system and religion – has become ubiquitous, largely as a result of modern advertising and the rise of efficient mass media. The study of persuasion can be approached from both a linguistic point of view – under which the features of persuasive language are defined and discussed; or from a cognitive or

psychological point of view under which the effects of persuasive language and symbols on human subjects, and therefore optimal conditions and methods of persuasion are investigated. While the focus here will be on the linguistic aspects of persuasion, the psychological aspect will be touched upon as studies in this area have provided valuable insights into the consequences and efficacy of persuasive language.

For the purposes of this study, as per Halmara & Virtanen, I take persuasion to constitute “those linguistics choices that aim at changing and affecting the behaviour of others, or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviours of those who already agree, [.....] persuaders included” (2005: 5). Halmara and Virtanen see persuasion as interactive – audiences interact with and respond to persuasion; and intentional – persuasion is geared towards a well-defined discourse community or sub-section of that community. That persuasive language can be a feature of a number of different genres, and thus is not a genre in and of itself is clear when we consider that persuasive language can be found in such divergent genres as religious sermons, television and radio commercials, political speeches and public service announcements. Genre and its relation to persuasion will be elaborated in more detail later.

No discussion of persuasion would be complete without reference to Aristotle who was a pioneer in the development of a theory of persuasion. Aristotle divided persuasion into three components - *ethos*, concerning the credibility and moral competence of the source of the message; *logos*, concerning the rationality and logicity of the message itself; and *pathos*, the emotions of the audience. For Aristotle, in order to persuade an audience one needs to establish the author as reliable and ethical, to appeal to audience rationality and also to have an understanding of the emotions of the audience. All or some of these components may be present in a persuasive piece, often depending on the genre and subject matter concerned.

While Aristotle discussed persuasion in the field of rhetoric, studies in the field of cognitive sciences have also succeeded in offering worthy insights into the nature of persuasion. Hovland et al, (1953) provided a model for persuasion based on controlled experiments, providing empirical support for conclusions made by Aristotle. While neither Aristotle nor Hovland et al are primarily concerned with the linguistic aspects of persuasion, it is important to remember that the components of persuasion outlined by them are manifested linguistically. Thus their conclusions are significant to the study of persuasive discourse.

Numerous linguistic features of persuasive discourse have been identified by Kinneavy (1971). Kinneavy bases his conclusions on the analysis of a political speech by Roosevelt. Among those linguistic techniques identified by Kinneavy are repetition, metaphor, emotionally loaded lexical choices and the logical organisation of the argument – an appeal to Aristotelian *logos*. More recently Halmari (2005), also looking at American political speeches expands upon Kinneavy's linguistic strategies of persuasion. To the list, she adds rhetorical and topical questions, vocatives, and choice of personal pronouns. In a study of persuasion in televangelism in the Philippines, Suarez-Crizaldo (2005) also found that choice of first person pronouns and repetition were persuasive linguistic devices. Additionally she identifies imperatives, causal conjunctions and choice of adjectives as linguistically persuasive techniques.

In this study the insights gleaned from linguistics, cognitive science and philosophy will provide the background for an investigation of the use of persuasion by non – governmental organisations. Identification and analysis of the specific persuasive linguistic devices employed in the sector will contribute to a more comprehensive view of how persuasion is effected in various institutional contexts. Furthermore, this study attempts to

understand the effect of the characteristics of individual organisations on the nature of persuasive rhetoric.

1.1.2. Genre

The analyses mentioned in the previous section are similar in that they attempt to identify common linguistic features of persuasion. They are different however with respect to the genres on which they focus. A genre is defined by Swales (1990: 58) as a category of communicative event which performs a definite communicative purpose and whose structure and content is highly constrained by the conventions of its class.

The concept of intertextuality is central to the concept of genre. Intertextuality refers to interlocutors' instinctive propensity to evoke knowledge of previously encountered texts when interpreting or constructing texts. That is to say that we, whether intentionally or unintentionally, compare and contrast texts, making sense of them with respect to one another. It is through this cognitive process of comparison that genres are discerned.

Along with intertextuality, interdiscursivity is also a prevalent concept invoked in discussions of genre. Interdiscursivity refers to multiple genres, or elements of multiple genres occurring in a single text. This may be manifested as mixing, embedding or indeed as Bhatia (2005, 2006) points out,

bending of genres. These processes are instances of deliberate exploitation and manipulation of conventions belonging to other genres.

Bhatia, like Swales, takes communicative purpose to be central to the definition of genre while also pointing out that genre is a dynamic concept – inter-textual and inter- discursive processes lead to variation. As such, it is helpful to think of genre in terms of proto-types. Minor variation or modification in communicative purpose can be classified using a system of sub-genres, while considerable variation merits the establishment of a new, separate genre. Significant here is that while certain linguistic features and rhetorical strategies may be characteristic of a genre, these aspects do not determine generic type. Analysis of linguistic features and rhetoric, however does contribute to the identification of communicative purpose and to the understanding of inter-discursive processes.

Bhatia (2005) emphasises the importance of generic structure in genre analysis. Focussing on promotional discourse, he characterises generic structure in terms of a series of rhetorical moves. He notes that some rhetorical moves may be skipped, that is not all rhetorical moves need be present in every text of a genre, particularly when looking at texts from different sources. He points out that the omission or inclusion of rhetorical moves constitute exploitation of the generic structure in order to achieve the

relevant goal. However, while a rhetorical move may be skipped, the basic order of the rhetorical moves must be fixed. Therefore, if rhetorical move 3 is skipped, for example, it is still required that rhetorical move 2 precede rhetorical move 4. As such, communicative purposes are fulfilled through careful permutation of rhetorical moves.

Persuasion, as mentioned previously does not constitute a distinctive genre. While persuasion is a communicative purpose, it is manifested across different genres. Furthermore, persuasion itself does not determine the discursive strategies or structural conventions of a text. Genre analysis however can lead to worthwhile insights into how persuasion is achieved. Specifically, through studying how genre conventions affect persuasive strategies and how interdiscursive processes are used to persuasive effect. Intertextuality is also pertinent to persuasion, as point out Bauman and Briggs (1992) in their discussion of the manipulation of intertextual gaps to establish authenticity and authority. An intertextual gap is an example of genre deviation. That is to say maximisation of intertextual gaps constitutes the use of a rhetorical element which is not characteristic of the genre; while minimizing intertextual gaps results in a more prototypical example of the genre. For them, minimizing intertextual gaps is a strategy aimed at increasing interpretability by establishing a text as belonging to certain

genre. On the other hand, maximizing intertextual gaps creates the impression of originality thus establishing authority. Principles of genre analysis, then, are a valuable tool in an examination of persuasion.

Genre theory is an approach which sees language as simultaneously constructing, representing and signifying social reality. As Bhatia (1993, 2004) points out this means that those who are expert users of language within a given professional context can exploit language use in order to establish a desired identity or to position others. In order to uncover these “private intentions”, one must implement thorough linguistic analysis but also have an understanding of the context, in our case an institutional context. Thus through careful analysis of texts within their socio-cultural contexts, we can better understand how language is manipulated in order to enact a desired identity, to influence opinion or to establish power.

Bhatia (1993) breaks linguistic analysis within genre theory down to three levels. These are lexico-grammatical analysis, textual analysis and structural analysis. Lexico-grammatical analysis focuses on those lexical and grammatical choices made by authors of texts. Lexical choices obviously encode meaning both subtle and obtuse. Grammatical features are significant in that certain structures allow for focusing of a noun, such as in topicalisation or even for the omission of an actor such as in passivisation or

nominalisation. Through attention to lexico-grammatical features, the styles and grammatical conventions of genres can be more precisely pinpointed. Structural analysis is concerned with organisation of a text. This type of analysis focuses on the structure of a text in terms of rhetorical moves, which are exploited by the author in order to maximize persuasive effect.

Textual analysis refers to the contextually situated interpretation of texts. In this area of analysis disciplinary norms are taken into account. Thus language use in a genre may be restricted by the conventions of a discipline, as pointed out in Swales (1974) discussion of the en- prefix in chemistry textbooks. As such, a language feature may have a function which is specific to a genre in a particular institutional setting. This phenomenon is pointed out by Bhatia (1993) with reference to noun phrases in advertising, stating that they in fact act as “carriers” for positive adjectives. The same feature, noun phrases state Huckin and Olsen (1983), function to facilitate succinct and logical discourse in scientific research. These context- specific functions may be implicit as in the case of noun phrases in advertising discussed above, or they may be explicit. Either way they are instances of institutional context and generic conventions influencing the use and interpretation of language.

Genre analysis is a beneficial framework for the present study because it situates texts within textual and social contexts thus allowing texts to be seen in relation to textual conventions and communicative purposes. This means that apparent adherence, violation or bending of conventions can be read as revealing the intentions of writers. Accordingly, through analysis of the linguistic features and conventions of non-governmental organisational discourse, the identity attributes it chooses to claim are laid bare.

A few words are required as to the wider framework into which this study fits. Given that the central concept is that of persuasion - which as previously mentioned entails influence or power and organisational discourse, it is into the domain of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that this study sits most comfortably within. While CDA itself does not provide a distinct methodology in the traditional sense - that is it does not impose a particular method of analysis - it does oblige a certain focus and require specific underlying tenets. Primarily, CDA focuses on language's role in the construction, maintenance and alteration of power relations. Thus it is compatible with genre theory in which, as mentioned, language signifies and constructs social reality and relations.

1.1.3. Organisational Identity

The concept of identity as applied to organisations has recently been a topic of some interest for those concerned with the humanities and social sciences. For the large part, research into organisational identity has become the province of organisational studies and marketing studies. However approaches to organisational identity draw variously on the theories of linguistics, social psychology, psychology, sociology, corporate communication and management studies. This has resulted in a large body of literature featuring often disparate hypotheses and definitions. Pratt and Foreman (2000) however point out that this is in fact a strength of the field, bringing contributions from many theoretical backgrounds to bear on the topic, thus providing a deeper grasp of the relationship between organisations and identity. In fact the concept of identity was only fairly recently applied to the organisation (Albert and Whetten, 1985), having previously been applied only to individuals. This early definition, in characterising identity as static, bears similarity to the conceptualisation of organisational identity adopted in marketing studies. That the concept differs in the field of organisational studies is largely the result of differing tenets held about identity.

Work on identity in the field of marketing studies assumes that an organisation's identity – more commonly referred to as corporate identity – constitutes its central and unchanging nature. This nature is either determined by the members collective understanding as per Stimpert (1998), Pratt (2003) and Sillince (2006) or by the organisation's deliberate positioning and promotion of itself to the public (Van Riel, 1995, Soenen and Moingeon, 2002; Cheney and Christensen, 2001; Simoes et al, 2005). Communication, action and symbolism act as conveyers of the shared self-definition or self-representation of an organisation and thus its identity arises.

In the field of organisational studies communication and more specifically language is seen as playing a more constructive role with regards identity. Drawing on the tenets that identity is enacted and constructed through symbolism (Mead, 1934), social interaction (Goffman, 1959), and language (Foucault 1978; Giddens, 1984; and Fairclough, 1995), this approach sees organisational identity as constructed by members' shared language and behaviour. Consequently, language from this perspective is not merely a vehicle in representing identity but plays an active role in creation and transformation of identity. If identity is seen as enacted through language and social interaction, as a consequence it must be characterised as dynamic

and fluid. Since communicative events and social interaction are ongoing, resulting identity must also be constantly constructed and reconstructed.

Taking this social constructionist view of identity, some have approached organisational identity with a focus on the internal culture of organisations (Balmer and Greyser, 2002, 2003; Schultz, Hatch and Larsen, 2000) while others have been concerned with identity in relation to the perceptions of stakeholders or customers (e.g. Simoes, Dibb and Fisk, 2005, Bhattacharya and Sen, 2003). Scott and Lane (2000) point out that organisational identity should be seen as emerging from interactions between members and stakeholders, thus both the internal culture and external perceptions are central to identity construction. Hatch and Schultz (2002) also incorporate organisational 'others' into the process of identity construction. For them this is parallel to the contention that a self, an individual identity emerges through interaction with others. In this study the category of organisational others is complex, being comprised of a number of different member sub-categories. These include the audience – readers of the newsletter, and those featured in the newsletters. The latter group refers to the victims and perpetrators whose stories are told through the newsletters.

Czarniawska (1997) highlights the interactional nature of the emergence of organisational identity through narrative. Czarniakwska's

narrative view stresses the involvement of both the organisation and audience in the ongoing narration of organisational identity. Brown and Humphrys (2002) similarly see identity, both individual and organisational as constituted through self-narrative. In their view organisational and individual narratives overlap and interweave to create complex and ever-changing identities. Both Czarniewska and Brown's views draw attention to the existence of multiple identities. As members and audiences narrate many stories, many and multiply faceted identities may emerge. Thus the concept of a unified self or subject is supplanted by a more fluid and componential concept of identity. The result is a complex, multi-layered, ever influx conception of identity which is borne out of the ongoing linguistic and symbolic interactions between members themselves and also between organisations and audiences.

In the present study the role of such highly planned, highly structured publications such as newsletters in identity construction is focussed. The aim is to reveal the linguistic mechanisms which contribute to the creation of identities in the context of non-governmental organisations. That the subject matter covered by non-governmental organisations involves telling others' stories as well as self-narration provides an opportunity to examine the role and interaction of both in organisational identity construction.

1.1.4. Non-governmental Organisations

The types of institution that are of interest for the present study are non-governmental organisations. A non-governmental organisation is a coordinated group of people, not affiliated with but often working alongside governments, which perform humanitarian services and advocate and monitor public policy on a not-for-profit basis. Many take a specific issue, or geographical area as the focus of their efforts. According to the approach described in previous paragraphs, As with any organisation a non-governmental organisation is socially constructed and reconstructed through its discourse – both private and public. The public discourse of a non-governmental organisation may consist of many genres– from reports, speeches, interviews, fund-raising letters, television and newspaper adverts and newsletter articles. This public discourse is representative of the unique position of non-governmental organisations in the institutional landscape. They are unique with respect to their relationship to the public – they do not provide a product or service in exchange for money as does a commercial business, nor do they canvass for votes as do political parties and candidates. Nevertheless non-governmental organisations exist in a competitive environment - many competing for donations, all competing for the moral support of the public.

The discourse of non-governmental organisations is usually discussed from a development studies perspective, with a view to understanding the non-governmental organisations position on a certain issue and their efficacy in effecting change. There are however a large number of works in the management studies and business studies disciplines concerning the legitimacy and morality of organisations. Legitimacy for Suchman (1995) and others (Beyer, 1981; Sproull, 1981) is based on level of congruence with the values of the social system. Legitimacy is relevant because it affects to what extent the public will lend support to an organisation. As Suchman (1995) points out audiences will be more likely to provide resources and place their trust in organisations which are perceived to be highly legitimate. Furthermore, apparent legitimacy is essential in order to ensure the organisation is not seen as negligent, irrational, or unnecessary (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

In the specific case of a non-governmental organisation in which the organisation expects active support, then the perceived level of legitimacy need be higher. Venable et al (2005) investigated which perceived organisational identity traits were important for non-governmental organisations to gain public support. Those that proved fundamental in garnering support for non-governmental organisations were integrity,

nurturance, sophistication and ruggedness. This means that respondents were more likely to lend support to those non-governmental organisations that they deemed to be honest and committed (integrity); compassionate and caring (nurturance); well-presented and prestigious (sophistication); and tough and reliable (ruggedness). Since it is through communication and language that legitimacy and morality and indeed all identity attributes are established, the discursive and rhetorical strategies of a non-governmental organisation should establish them as worthy of the public's support, be it financial or moral.

As previously alluded to, there is not a body of literature on the discourse of non-governmental organisations from a socio-linguistics perspective. Consequently, this study attempts to provide impetus to such a discussion, through asking the following research questions.

- What persuasive rhetorical strategies are employed by non-governmental organisations?
- What is their role in organisational identity construction?
- What is the effect of the nature of the individual institution on the types of rhetorical strategies employed?

In order to provide thorough answers to these questions the following questions will also be pertinent:

- What generic choices are made by non-governmental organisations in communicating with the public?
- Are these choices constrained by the nature of the individual institution?
- How are organisational others and their stories involved in the identity work of non-governmental organisations?

In researching these questions I highlight some of the unique identity concerns of non-governmental organisations and how language is manipulated to manage and maintain identity in this context.

CHAPTER 2

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Amnesty International and the Open Society Institute

This study focuses on two well-known international non-governmental organizations, Amnesty International (henceforth AI) and the Open Society Institute (henceforth OSI). Both organizations have local sections, specialising in the issues facing their relevant geographical regions. Amnesty International focus specifically on the issue of human rights protection as reflected in their slogan “Working to protect human rights”. In order to defend human rights, Amnesty International lobby for protection of human rights on an individual case basis while also campaigning for public policy change. In their mission statement, they emphasise their impartiality, accuracy, promptness and persistence in achieving their goals. Thus they project an image of a strong, thorough organisation not aligned to any government, body or political movement. Amnesty International is overseen by a democratically elected committee and has both professional and voluntary personnel. For funding it relies on donations from supporters. Thus accountability and transparency in financial matters are imperative to Amnesty International’s survival.

The Open Society Institute has a broader focus, with human rights protection being just one aspect of their goal to proliferate democracy and more specifically a certain brand of democracy: open society. Their slogan is “Building vibrant and tolerant democracies”. This means that, unlike Amnesty International, the Open Society Institute is visibly partial to a certain political agenda. To this end, they concern themselves with improving public infrastructure and institutions, fighting injustice and promoting freedom of speech. The Open Society Institute is a network of regional autonomous institutions, under the umbrella of the Open Society Foundations which are ultimately headed by George Soros, founder and chairman of the Open Society Institute. The website states that their local sections use the “expertise of boards composed of eminent citizens” to create agendas based on regional priorities. They make no mention of how board members are elected. They also make no mention of voluntary opportunities on their website. Funding is provided by George Soros, although it is stated on the website that donations are accepted in “certain circumstances” and that some institutes also receive funding from “other sources”. As such the financial survival of the Open Society Institute is independent of reputation and public support.

The reputation of each organisation is important to their ability to be successful effectors of social change. In the case of Amnesty International as mentioned, their public image is also pertinent to their financial situation. Thus the way these organisations are represented in the media is also relevant. Amnesty International is presented in the British and American print media as a staunch authority on the status of human rights globally. They are often described as condemning governments' treatment of human rights and their recommendations are often reported in newspapers such as The Guardian, The independent, The New York Times and Time Magazine. Indeed whole articles are devoted to the findings in their reports on the state of human rights in various locations. Furthermore, representatives of the organisation are often quoted in sound bite sections of the various publications. As such they are presented as a reliable and trusted commentator on the issue of human rights protection. This presentation in the print media is in accordance with and gives weight to their self-description as accurate and impartial.

The Open Society Institute's representation is more mixed than that of Amnesty International. While the work of Open Society is generally represented in a positive light, they are not attributed the same level of authority as Amnesty International. Additionally, the Open Society Institute

is usually mentioned in the British and American print media in connection with its backer and founder George Soros. This constitutes a significant difference in the public images of the two organisations. Amnesty International is not connected with any personality whereas the Open Society Institute is connected with a well-known personality. This means that George Soros' reputation is intricately linked with that of the organisation. When Soros is represented positively this benefits the organisation, however if represented negatively, this of course damages the reputation of the Open Society Institute. Soros is presented as somewhat of an authority in the field of economics and financial markets, thus in this arena he is well-respected. However he is not without controversy. He has been implicated in the orchestration of coups in Croatia, Georgia, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia. Thus he has a reputation of using all methods, including unofficial means, to agitate social and political change. While the Open Society Institute emphasise their use of conventional methods to advance democracy, they are, through their affiliation with Soros linked to the use of more dubious methods.

As outlined above the two institutions are very different examples of non-governmental organisations. These differences are not limited to one aspect of institutions nature, but instead are manifest on a variety of different levels – structural, financial, political and dignitarian. Indeed, in the case of

the Open Society Institute a number of ambiguities remain. For example, the mechanism for selection of board members is not divulged on the website. This can be interpreted as a difference in the transparency of the institutions, with Amnesty International offering more immediately accessible information into its internal structure. It is this disparity between transparency versus opacity, privately funded versus publicly funded, impartiality versus overt political alignment which make Amnesty International and the Open Society Institute well-placed as subjects of an investigation of the effect the nature of an organisation has on its rhetoric.

2.2. Corpus

The data used in this study is taken from the organizations' newsletters which are distributed to members in print, by email or downloaded from their websites. *The Wire*, Amnesty International's newsletter is a monthly publication, while *OSI News* is a quarterly publication. The corpus consists of articles from twenty-one issues of *The Wire* and twelve issues of *OSI News* published between the years 2000-2008, downloaded for the study in October 2008. While there seems to be a discrepancy between the volume of data from each organisation in the corpus, the length and the format of the respective newsletters eliminates this discrepancy. *The Wire* is generally four pages in length, although on rare occasions it spans five pages. There are

several articles per page, and articles are often accompanied by small colour photographs. *OSI News* is between eighteen and twenty two pages, excluding a cover and back page. The cover is adorned with a page-size picture along with a headline which outlines the topic of the issue. The text of articles spans a full page at minimum, two pages at maximum. Interspersed with the text are half page and full page colour and black and white photographs. *OSI News'* presentation and format resemble a glossy news magazine or company prospectus, while *The Wire* resembles more closely a newspaper.

While it is the institution which is ultimately responsible for the content of the newsletters, it is of course, individuals within the organisations who are responsible for the preparation of the newsletters. *OSI News* has a consistent team of members who prepare the newsletter and are acknowledged for their contribution on the second page. In the case of *The Wire*, those who prepare the newsletter are not credited; however it is assumed that it is prepared by professional, experienced members of the institution. This assumption is based on the fact that a newsletter is a highly formal mode of communication which is accessible to wide audience, whose content and presentation should reflect positively on the institution. To this end, those who create the newsletters must have significant experience of

publication and a great deal vested in the institution. As such we can assume that newsletters represent a direct avenue of communication between readers and professional institution members.

On both websites, the newsletters and indeed links to them are not immediately visible. The left hand column contains a text box in which users can subscribe to email newsletters. However, immediate one click access to the newsletters is not provided, suggesting that they are intended as circulars for those who deliberately request them, as opposed to being browsing material. This indicates that the audience to which the newsletters are directed are those who are relatively familiar with, and actively seek out regular updates on the work and mission of the organizations. In subscribing to a newsletter, the reader initiates an interaction with the organization, fuelled by the reader's interest. Thus when a reader subscribes to the newsletter, they have an idea as to the stance and identity of the organization. The assumption is that subscription to a newsletter reflects the reader's acceptance of and, to a certain degree consensus with the organizations work and values.

The newsletters are, therefore, the site of elaboration and expansion of the work and values of the organization, directed at a relatively sympathetic audience. Analysing the content of the newsletters as opposed to the more

introductory material on the website therefore provides a more detailed portrayal of the organization, their work and their stances. That the newsletters represent a different mode of communication than the website provides is made physical by the computer program in which it is presented. While the main website content is presented as a continuous media connected by hyperlinks, the newsletter opens in a separate Adobe Acrobat (PDF) document. Thus the newsletter is construed as a separate discourse outside but connected to the confines of the website through its presentation in a different user platform. The presentation of the newsletter and the user interface characteristic of PDF documents, which is not typical of web design establish a noticeable division between newsletter and website.

2.3. Methodology

The analytical approach employed is based in critical discursive linguistics, but is also informed by social theory, emphasising language as social practice. Fairclough (1992) points out that this has a number of implications. Language in this sense enacts power relations and establishes social identities. This approach sees language as simultaneously constructing, representing and signifying social reality. As Bhatia (1981, 1993, 2004) points out this means that those who are expert users of language within a given professional context can exploit language use in order to establish a desired

identity or to position others. In order to uncover these “private intentions” one must implement thorough linguistic analysis but also have an understanding of the context, in this case an institutional context. Thus through careful analysis of texts, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, within their socio-cultural contexts, we can better understand how language is manipulated in order to enact a desired identity, to influence opinion or to establish power.

In genre analysis, close reading of texts reveals their communicative purposes, thus their generic type can be identified. Having identified the genre, more analysis takes place in order to uncover more features of the genre, thus making the genre easier to identify and allowing a comprehensive insight into how communicative purposes are achieved. That is, these rhetorical move structures are meaningful in that they offer a means to closer observe how communicative purposes are achieved in different discursive contexts. It is worth noting that rhetorical moves are often in turn made up of steps – much like sub-moves. While rhetorical moves are fixed – essential to the genre, steps are optional and interchangeable within a given rhetorical move. This variation, at the sub-rhetorical move level, accounts for slight differences which may occur in texts of the same genre. This should not, however, be confused with genre embedding, genre mixing or

hybridisation in which whole rhetorical moves are borrowed or supplanted from other genres, thus producing new genres (in the case of hybridisation) or resulting in genres which are difficult to interpret.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF *THE WIRE*

3.1. Overview

The discourse of *The Wire* is characterised by gently persuasive and seemingly objective rhetoric. While this may seem to be a contradiction in terms, it is through their seeming reluctance to take responsibility for statements that AI persuades its readers', as will be shown. This is achieved through a complex combination of the lexico-grammatical features and the genres which make up the newsletter. Significant lexico-grammatical features include the convergence of semantic roles and lexical choice which establish power relations among those featured in the stories; reference patterns, both in relation to characters in stories and AI self-referencing contribute to the creation of a sense of objectivity on the part of AI and; modal verbs speak to necessity and obligation while also emphasising objectivity. Both the aforementioned lexico-grammatical features and the logical organisation of the various rhetorical move structures in achieving communicative purposes persuade the reader that AI is an empathetic, successful, objective and indispensable organisation.

3.2. Lexico-grammatical Features

3.2.1 Semantic Roles

Semantic roles play an integral role in sentence interpretation. They allow us to organise referents as to their interaction with the verb of a sentence.

Specifically, the semantic roles of agent and theme define which referents perform actions and which undergo actions, respectively. The distribution of semantic roles in sentences thus has an effect on the perception of characters in the text. Lexical choice compounds the perception of referents through positioning them in relation to the action concerned. Thus if a referent is the agent of a verb with positive connotations such as *donate*, they are likely to be perceived more positively than if they were the agent of a verb with negative connotations such as *steal*. In AI reports, victims are frequently the themes of such verbs as *disallow*, *deny*, *detain*, *arrest*, *torture*, *mistreat*, *kill* and *kidnap* while the oppressors are the agents, when there is one.

- 1) European agents have *detained* suspects and turned them over to US custody without judicial process.
State of denial: Europe's role in rendition and secret detention, July 2008, Vol. 38, No. 6, Pg 1
- 2) Sergei Gurgurov was *arrested* by police from Rîțcani district in Chișinău, the capital of Moldova, on 25 October 2005, accused of stealing a mobile phone.
Torture by police remains widespread in Moldova, October 2007, Vol.37, No. 9, Pg. 3

- 3) Armed groups continue to *kidnap, torture and kill* civilians.
Carnage and despair in Iraq, April 2008, Vol. 38, No. 3, Pg. 3

Significantly all of these verbs involve the denial of freedom, harm or torment of those referents that are the semantic themes at the hands of those who are the semantic agents. Thus semantic themes of these predicates will be perceived as victims, in need of aid while semantic agents will be perceived as aggressors whose actions presumably need to be prevented. Thus, in this context, the distribution of semantic roles enhances the perceived victimhood of those who are oppressed.

Victims are not exclusively semantic themes in AI reports; they are assigned the role of semantic agent in some cases. In these cases, they are agents of discursive verbs as opposed to active verbs. That is, verbs which do not encode physical action such as *claim, appeal* and *allege*. This abeyant agency is in stark contrast to the agency attributed to the oppressors which is active and powerful.

- 4) Vakhtang Guchua and Zaali Akobia *allege* that they were ill-treated by at least a dozen special police officers in Zugdidi, western Georgia, in April 2005.
Ill-treated by police, November 2007, Vol. 37, No. 10, Pg. 2
- 5) He is currently *appealing* against a three year sentence imposed in July 2007 after being convicted of “propaganda against the system”, among other charges, in relation to his defence of Iranian Arabs sentenced to death after unfair trials.
Jailed for promoting democracy, February 2008, Vol. 38, No. 1, Pg.2

- 6) All three *claim* they were forced to sign confessions incriminating each other for the murder of Vusal Zeynalov.
Teenagers ill-treated in pre-trial detention, July 2007, Vol. 37, No. 6, Pg. 2

As agents of these verbs, the victims are cast as characters who have been wronged by a force more powerful than themselves. Yet, all they can do about it is to voice their complaints. The use of the verbs *claim* and *allege* also allows AI to evade total responsibility for the truth of the statements made by victims.

This consistent pattern of semantic roles and semantic verb type with regard the protagonists of the article is a highly emotive device, positioning them in relation to one another. Specifically, the result is establishment of a power relation with victims cast as helpless while the powerful and brutal nature of perpetrators is emphasised. This serves to convince readers of victims' neediness and in particular their need for defence and protection against violation of their rights. Thus it justifies AI's existence and affirms their work as worthy.

3.2.2. Adverbs

Throughout articles adverbs modify verbs in such a way as to avoid direct accusations on the part of AI. That is lexical choice of adverbs such as *allegedly*, *supposedly* and *apparently* are used to modify epistemic modality. In

this manner AI can remain seemingly unbiased but also avoids the repercussions of unwittingly making false claims. Examples of such instances are detailed and discussed below.

- 7) They *allegedly* threatened to tear out his fingernails, slam his genitals in a door, kill his mother and give him electric shocks.
Teenagers ill-treated in pre-trial detention, July 2007, Vol. 37, No. 6, Pg. 2

In 7, 'they' refers to police investigators whose custody three teenagers were in. The allegations against them are threats of extreme violence, torture and intimidation. AI successfully avoids taking responsibility for the allegations through the placement of the adverb *allegedly* modifying the verb phrase.

The adverb *reportedly* is used to similar effect in 8.

- 8) He and the prisoner were *reportedly* pinned to the ground and shot, killing the latter instantly.
Escaping prisoners killed in cold blood in Cameroon, September 2008, Vol. 38, No. 8, Pg 1

Example 8 relays the events that occurred when a man found a prisoner hiding in his house. Once again, AI communicates the horror of the events to the reader without taking full responsibility for the truth of the statement.

This time this is achieved through the insertion of the adverb *reportedly* with similar effect to that of *allegedly*.

Apparently, can be used to similar effect although, its meaning does not contain the sense that something has been reported to AI. This is demonstrated in example 9.

- 9) Lawyer Bui Thi Kim Thanh is detained in a mental hospital where she has been forcibly injected with unknown drugs which have *apparently* left her unable to talk.

Lawyer detained in mental hospital, July 2007, Vol. 37, No. 6, Pg 2

In 9, it is not the human rights abuse – that of being forcibly injected with drugs – which is uncertain but the effects. In contrast to the previous two examples the cause and effects are not uncertain with relation to their occurring or not, but rather it is the connection between cause and effect which is left ambiguous by the use of *apparently*. Nevertheless, this presents another example of AI's discourse reflecting a carefulness in making outright statements about events which could have consequences for their image if found to be untrue.

The use of the adverbs discussed above represents a method of discursive protection of AI's image. Through refusing to make outright statements as to the nature of events AI is able to retain the sense that it is unbiased. It also avoids any possible adverse repercussions should victims' allegations turn out to untrue or exaggerated. In terms of persuasion, this maintains their ethos. That is to say that any threat to AI's credibility is

minimised through the exploitation of adverbs which decrease the organisation's responsibility for the truth value of statements.

3.2.3. Reference Patterns

The term 'reference patterns' pertains to the lexical items employed in specifying characters, including AI as an organisation itself. These items include pronouns, nouns and proper nouns such as names. The distribution of these items with reference to certain types of characters – victims and perpetrators – contributes to the establishment of empathy, or lack of it, in the eyes of the reader. Pronouns, in particular, depict alliances or discords through their encoding of deictic meaning. This offers valuable insights into the stance of the organisation.

Interestingly, there are no first person pronouns in *The Wire*. This serves to depersonalize the voice of the organization and allows them to appear as an objective reporter of events. This is further emphasized by the reference to the organization in the third person. Thus the narrator of the articles is not Amnesty International, which is a player along with the oppressors and victims but it is an anonymous voice, a transmitter of information.

10) AI urges all members of the medical profession not to participate in executions and to support the campaign to abolish the death penalty.

US Courts rule lethal injection inhumane, February 2007, Vol. 37, No. 01, Pg. 1

- 11) *Amnesty International* calls on the new government of Pakistan – which has pledged to improve Pakistan’s human rights record – to end the policy of denial, investigate all cases of enforced disappearance and hold those responsible to account.
Denying the undeniable: enforced disappearances in Pakistan, September 2008, Vol. 38, No. 08, Pg. 01.

Consider this use of the third person in light of Goffman’s (1974) work on footing in which he identifies three possible roles that a speaker can adopt. The animator – that which delivers the utterance, the author – that which is the origin of the content and form of the utterance and the principal – that which is responsible for what is being said. In this case, AI is responsible for what is being said, and is the origin of the content, thus they are author and principal. However, the use of the third person, as opposed to the first person gives the impression that the animator is a third anonymous, reporter’s voice which both reports on the issues and on AI’s response to them. This emphasises the dual role of AI – as both actor and objective observer. That is to say that in the discursive context of the newsletter AI is both a character involved in the action, and a narrator. However its narrator role is downplayed through the use of third person pronouns – thus creating an impression of objectivity.

Equally important is how AI refers to the other participants in the texts. A clear pattern is observable throughout the genres with regards to references to victims and perpetrators. Namely victims are specified by their first names or full names where appropriate, while perpetrators remain nameless collective identities. Often perpetrators go unnamed through employment of the passive as shown in 10.

12) *Truong Quoc Huy* is serving a six-year prison sentence for his peaceful political beliefs.

He had previously been arrested at his home in October 2005, along with two brothers and a female friend, by 50 police officers who beat and kicked them.

Critic of government silenced, July 2008, Vol. 38, No. 06, Pg. 2

13) Two of *Weti Bibello's* children have been abducted by *bandits* since 2005. Twelve-year-old *Idi Weti* and seven-year-old *Moussa Weti* were held hostage until their father handed over huge ransoms. *Idi Weti* was kidnapped twice.

Fear and violence in the wild north, October 2007, Vol. 37, No. 09, Pg. 1

The effect of this is to give the victims a human face and identity, while perpetrators remain without an identity in the eyes of the reader. This rhetorical device creates an imbalance between the two participants, with victims identified as individuals for the readers while perpetrators are unnamed and therefore individually unspecified. This serves two purposes: firstly it provides readers with a basis for empathy; secondly it allows AI to maintain relatively unaccusing position with regards perpetrators. The result is two-fold – AI retains a more objective stance while shielding it from the

repercussion of possible inaccurate accusations. In light of Aristotle's model of persuasion, this simultaneously fulfils the persuasive requirements of respectively, ethos and pathos.

Reference patterns in the *The Wire* encode and create a number of complex social relations. The complementary distributive manner in which victims and perpetrators are referred to subtly encourages empathy for the former and apathy for the latter. Given that AI is attempting to help victims, the observed reference pattern fosters support for their cause and bolsters their status as a considerate and necessary organisation in the fight against human rights abuses. Furthermore, complex social relations between reader and organisation are created through the exploitation of lexical items and grammatical constructions which allow AI to remain seemingly objective for the most part. An important point to note is that all of this is achieved not only through reference items themselves but also through grammatical constructions such as the passive voice.

3.2.4. Modal Verbs

Modal verbs are those concerned with the expression of modality. In this study, it is those modal verbs pertaining to obligation which are of interest. When reporting on human rights abuses, AI inevitably outlines the desired outcome for a given situation. In calls for action, this is achieved through

imperatives. In other pieces modal verbs are often used to convey the obligation of the powers-that-be to respect the generally accepted notions of morality. Modal verbs in this context indicate AI's stance regarding a certain issue.

It is the modal verbs *must* and *should*, in particular, which are employed, as shown in the following examples.

14) It (the Iranian government) *should* announce an immediate moratorium on all executions of child offenders and urgently revise the law so that it explicitly prohibits the death sentence for people aged under 18 at the time of the crime, as an important step towards abolishing the death penalty altogether.

Iran – the last executioner of children, July 2007, Vol. 37, No.6, Pg. 3

15) All plans for the return of any Lao Hmong asylum-seekers *must* stop until a fair and satisfactory procedure has been put in place to allow these individuals to exercise their human right to seek asylum.

Thai government must uphold the human rights of refugees, June 2008, Vol 38, No. 5, Pg. 2

Both *must* and *should* are modals of necessity or obligation. Both words are concerned with “the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents” (Papafragou, 2000; 3). Modals of necessity or obligation are divided along two scales: the scale of weak/strong obligation and subjectivity/objectivity (Coates, 1983; Palmer 1986). It is through the conflation of differing values along the scale that various subtleties of meaning are created. Beginning from the wider view of obligation modals

collectively, *should* is primarily associated with weak obligation – thus it comes with no expectation of abeyance, while *must* is primarily associated with strong obligation, thus expects to be obeyed. Thus in the former, using *should* AI admits that the Iranian government may not fulfil their obligation while in the latter with *must*, about the Thai government, no such admission is made. In addition, separately, both *should* and *must* can range along the weak/strong obligation. In its strongest form *should* expresses moral obligation while in its weakest form it offers advice. *Must* on the other hand is more demanding in its meaning, ranging from being paraphrased as ‘it is imperative that x’ in expressing strong obligation and ‘it is important that x’ when expressing weak obligatory meaning (Coates, 1983: 32).

Must and *should* can also express a range of meanings with respect to another variable – objectivity/subjectivity. Both *must* and *should* can be interpreted as articulating objective obligation and subjective obligation. This is most relevant in terms of the variant meanings of *must*, as *should*, as used by AI expresses strong obligation, that is, moral obligation. The objective obligatory meaning of *must* can be paraphrased as ‘it is necessary that x’, while the subjective meaning in its strongest form is paraphrased as ‘I order you to x’ (Coates, 1983: 32). Palmer admits that it is often difficult or impossible to decipher between objective and subjective *must*. This is

significant here as it allows AI to express its opinions, a subjective meaning in the guise of objectivity. In fact AI is communicating, subjectively, their stance as to what ought or ought not to be. Palmer (1986: 116 -117) calls this use of modals of obligation/necessity in the volitive mood. That is they express the hopes, wishes or desires of a speaker albeit in this case, implicitly. The fact that this is not immediately obvious to the reader is significant and is perhaps best exemplified through contrast with a clear example of the volitive mood. Take example 15 above, reproduced below for clarity.

- 16) All plans for the return of any Lao Hmong asylum-seekers *must* stop until a fair and satisfactory procedure has been put in place to allow these individuals to exercise their human right to seek asylum.

Thai government must uphold the human rights of refugees, June 2008, Vol 38, No. 5, Pg. 2

If the subjectivity of this assertion were to be latent, that is, if it were expressed in a transparent volitive manner, we might find the following statement, with the made up entry underlined.

- 17) AI wants/hopes all plans for the return of any Lao Hmong asylum-seekers to ~~must~~ stop until a fair and satisfactory procedure has been put in place to allow these individuals to exercise their human right to seek asylum.

Thai government must uphold the human rights of refugees, June 2008, Vol 38, No. 5, Pg. 2

In the previous made-up example, the obligation of the Thai government is assigned by AI and this is clear to the reader. However in the data, the obligation is conveyed as a strong obligation, assigned perhaps by a moral code and which carries an expectation of abeyance. Through making this statement appear to be an objective necessity, AI downplays the existence of any other plausible alternative. Thus this use of a modal verb represents a persuasive tactic which not only attempts to convince the reader of the moral correctness of the given suggestion but in doing so, also reflects on the good moral integrity of AI itself.

Modal verbs, as employed by AI in *The Wire* thus have a number of functions. They allow AI to communicate effectively their stance on any given issue. However this is couched in an objective manner through the use of modal verbs *must* and *should*. Additionally the use of *must* creates the impression that their stance and suggestion is in fact the only morally viable course of action. This creates the sense that AI's stance in fact correlates with a larger moral order, strengthening AI's ethos; while appeal to reader emotions establishes pathos, both important aspects of persuasion.

3.3. Genre Analysis

There are three genres in *The Wire*: calls for action, feature reports and activity reports. These genres are easy to identify due to a high level or

generic integrity. In general genres are grouped with like genres in terms of physical location. For the most part feature reports are found on the first and second page of the newsletter with calls for action and activity reports appearing in the following pages. Across all genres, articles may be accompanied by photos relevant to the issues they discuss.

3.3.1. Call for Action

The goal of this genre is, as its name suggests is to prompt action from the reader. Calls for action aim to prompt direct, immediate and specific action from the reader and are characterised by a direct appeal to the reader. In some cases the appeal is the initial call for an issue, while others represent calls for repeated or expanded action from the reader. All examples of the genre display a four-step rhetorical move structure. The basic rhetorical move structure is shown in 18.

18)

Move 1. Animate the victim as real

- Victim's personal details

and/or

- Victim's actions – portrayed as normal

Move 2. Describe the problem

- Description of abuse

and/or

- Detailed account of occurrence

Move 3. Expand the scope of the problem

- General details of severity or challenges

and/or

- Recent developments

Move 4. Call for action

- Request for readers' appeal

and/or

- Instructions (specific content of appeal, recipient details)

Animating the victim as real involves providing personal details of the victim. Details such as full name, nationality, profession, age and marital status may be given in the first sentence. The following examples represent typical introductory sentences in calls for action. In each example a different element of the identity of the victim is given. The reason each particular element should be chosen for inclusion gives clues as to the image AI wishes to create of the victims.

19) Suliamon Olyfemi, a Nigerian national, is feared to be at imminent risk of execution.

At risk of execution, October 2007, Vol 37, No. 09. Pg 2

In example 19, the victim's nationality is given probably due to the headline which reads 'Saudi Arabia/Nigeria'. That is the providing of information

concerning nationality makes clear how the two countries are involved in the story – with the events taking place in Saudi Arabia while the victim is Nigerian.

20) Lee Si-woo, a photojournalist and peace campaigner, was arrested on 23 April on charges under the vaguely worded South Korean National Security Law (NSL).

Journalist denied freedom of expression, September 2007, Vol 37, No. 08. Pg 3

In 20, details as to the profession and politics of the victim are given. Given that journalism is a well-respected profession requiring training, this portrays the victim as reasonably well educated. The fact that he is also a peace campaigner paints him as striving for an admirable goal, at least in many people's eyes, thus hinting at his good intentions This information provides the basis for later elaboration of the 'crimes' with which he is charged.

21) Eduard Furman, who is married with one son, was arrested and allegedly tortured in police detention in April 2007 to force him to confess to a series of murders in Dnipropetrovsk and the capital Kyiv.

Tortured for a confession, June 2008, Vol 38, No. 05. Pg 3

The personal information given in 21 that the victim is married with one son, is particularly interesting in that it appears to have no relation to the events described. The effect is to portray the victim as a family man, presumably of good moral standing. It also creates a basis for empathy, in that the man's

child is without his father while he is incarcerated. While each of the examples is different, the result of them all is that a piece of the victim's personal identity is presented for readers. It's placement, before details of the injustice they face results in a strong basis for empathy.

Further animation of the victim as real may include describing the victims' actions at the time of the human rights abuse.

22) Oleg Orlov was in Nazran to meet colleagues at the local office of the human rights organization, Memorial.

Human Rights Defender and Journalists Abducted, April 2008, Vol. 38, No.3. Pg. 2

In 22, the actions of the victim at the time of the alleged human rights violation are in keeping with his profession. In this case his profession is also significant in that it itself entails fighting human rights violations – thus reflecting positively on the victim's character.

23) On 4 December 2006, Dionisio Díaz García, a lawyer working for the ASJ, was shot dead as he was driving to the Honduran Supreme Court to prepare for a hearing of a case that had been taken up by the ASJ.

Human Rights Defenders At Risk, November 2007, Vol. 37, No. 10 Pg. 2

In 23, the very ordinary actions of the victim are juxtaposed with the extreme violence meted out to him. He is represented as fulfilling the duties relevant to his position as a lawyer and additionally he was just beginning his work on a case – thus his work, as well as his life, were violently cut short before they should have been. Significantly the actions described in each example

are ordinary everyday actions and are befitting of the victim's profession thus emphasising that they were not deserving of bad treatment and were in fact just going about their everyday lives when their lives were suddenly and often irreversibly changed by outside agents.

Closely following or often interspersed with the animation of the victim is the description of the problem. This includes details as to how, why, where, when and for how long the human rights abuse occurred or has been occurring, as is the case in 24. Often the perpetrators are also mentioned – with differing degrees of specificity.

24) In April 2008, Amine Sidhoum was handed down a six-month suspended prison sentence and fined 20,000 dinars (over US\$300) for “bringing the judiciary into disrepute”. The conviction relates to a 2004 newspaper article in which he is quoted as saying that the 30 months one of his clients spent in prison without trial amounted to “abusive judgement”.

Human Rights Lawyer Sentenced, September 2008, Vol. 38, No. 8 Pg. 2

In 24, a detailed description of the issue is given, including details about date, reason for conviction and punishment are given. That the reason for conviction seems a natural right for these living in nations in which freedom of speech is valued makes the conviction seem outrageous. Furthermore, in combination with details of the fine amount, this information makes the punishment seem extreme. The use of quotation marks in the example is of interest. Those placed around the finding of the court, seems to make a

mockery of the charge. Conversely the combination of the verb 'quoted' and use of quotation marks in the final sentence, outlining the pretext for the charges has a different effect, that of mere direct quotation. While the sub-text is quite different in both cases, the common thread is that AI is responsible for neither. Additionally, AI does not explicitly name the perpetrators in this example, thus not directly placing blame. However, describing the issue – handing down of a sentence and being convicted – carries the necessary implication that the perpetrator is the Algerian justice system.

Example 25 is an interesting example of hedging used for divergent rhetorical effect.

25) He was taken away by plainclothes police officers thought to be from the National Intelligence Agency, which has denied any involvement in his arrest or subsequent detention.

Journalist held in secret detention, February 2008, Vol. 38, No. 1, Pg. 2

In 25, While the assertion as to the identity of the perpetrators seems to be a direct accusation, this is tempered with the phrase 'thought to be' which casts doubt on their identity. The doubt is then countered with the revelation that the alleged body denies involvement. This latter information does more than just convey facts. In fact given that people may falsely deny involvement, it raises suspicion as to the veracity of their denial.

Often in this rhetorical move, describing the problem, highly detailed descriptions of the focussed event are provided, as exemplified in 26.

26) On 31 October, the day after the second round of the presidential elections, she was lured, along with her mother, Anne-Marie Lisasi, Chantal Wantami and a fourth woman, to a restaurant in the centre of Kinshasa to collect allowances for their work as election monitors. When they arrived at the restaurant the four women were arrested by police officers from the Special Services and Intelligence unit and driven to the headquarters at Kin-Mazière police station. They were beaten by police officers, who also took Coquette Nsinga's money, party membership card, mobile phone and jewellery and interrogated her about her political activities.

Student raped in police custody, December 2007, Vol. 37, No. 11 Pg. 2

This example describes the occasion of the victim's arrest in minute detail.

Instead of merely conveying that it occurred in Kinshasa we are told that it was a restaurant in the centre of Kinshasa. We are also told the pretext that the women went there under, where they were taken following their arrest, and exactly which possessions were confiscated from them. It highlights the fact that the women were the victims of a calculated plan, a trap, laid by the authorities, into which they innocently and unknowingly walked. This enhances the image of the victims as unsuspecting, going about their daily business when they are captured by the police. The details as to the possessions – which are ordinary possessions – emphasises that she was denied of her rights. This example sees the police as denying the victims of

their rights in a number of ways – denial of freedom, denial of wellbeing and denial of belongings.

Providing details of the human rights abuse closely following or intertwined with the animation of the victim emphasises the injustice done to victims. Highly detailed accounts of the abuses enhance this effect through making the events more real to the reader and juxtaposing a victim's rights with their treatment at the hands of perpetrators.

Having established the focus and cause of the call for action, the next move in the rhetorical structure details the scale of the problem. In expanding the scope of the problem, there is a shift from a focus on the individual to the more general. Here details about how many people are affected, government policy, and complicating factors may be given.

27) The Iraqi government reinstated the death penalty in August 2004 for several offences. The first executions were carried out on 1 September 2005 and during 2006 at least 65 people, including two women, were executed. More than 300 people have been sentenced to death to date.

Women on death row, October 2007, Vol. 37, No. 09 Pg. 2

In 27, the issue is given a temporal context with dates given as to the cause of the issue, first executions and the number of people executed. This conveys to the reader just how many people have been affected over, in this case, a relatively short course of time thus increasing the sense of urgency. This urgency is compounded by the revelation that a large number of people have

been sentenced and are awaiting execution. Peculiarly, women are expressly mentioned. In combination with the article's topic – women on death row, as opposed to people on death row – this seems to point to convey that AI believes women are particularly deserving of readers' empathy.

Expanding the scope of the problem in updates entails slightly different steps than those of appeals. The main point in this rhetorical move for updates is to emphasise the scope of the problem through conveying that it is ongoing.

28) Following the stay of execution, the family of Sina Paymard managed to collect the US\$160,000 demanded by the family of the victim. However, at the time of writing, over three weeks later, the family of the victim have yet to accept the blood money. Sina Paymard's lawyer has reported that the family of the victim may now want the execution to go ahead, and that a court will make a final ruling.

Iran – juvenile offenders execution delayed, September 2007, Vol. 37, No. 08, Pg. 3

In 28, the victim is portrayed as still waiting for a final decision as to his fate. That it is a long time to wait is emphasised through the use of the phrase 'over three weeks later', and 'yet' modifying the awaited acceptance of the blood money. It is implied that his family's payment of the blood money presented a hardship – they 'managed' to collect it -, thus that they were able to pay it at all is admirable and an indication of their commitment to save him. In the final sentence, the uncertainty of his fate is outlined, suggesting the need for continued action. This move leads naturally to the final move,

the call for action, as it provides support for and validates the need for action.

The final rhetorical move represents the crux of the communicative purpose of the genre. The previous rhetorical moves build a case and provide support for the final move – the call for action. That the final move requests action from the reader is further emphasised through nomenclature. The call for action is presented in a different colour and often surrounded by a box. This makes a visual barrier in a sense creating a ‘case-building section’ and the ‘reader action section’. The call for action is highly formulaic, with only the details as to the specific issue changing in each case. The reader is asked to appeal and given details as to the content of the appeal, to whom it should be addressed, with which salutation and how and where it should be sent.

- 29) Please write, calling for legal provisions which prevent investigations into enforced disappearances to be repealed so that Louisa Saker and thousands of others like her can learn the truth about the fate of their relatives.
Send appeals to: His Excellency Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Président de la République, Présidence de la République, El Mouradia, Alger, Algeria.
Fax: +213 21 609618 or +213 21 691595.
E-mail: president@el-mouradia.dz
Salutation: Your Excellency
Fate of thousands still unknown, August 2007, Vol. 37, No. 07, Pg. 2

The call for action makes it specifically clear what action needs to be taken and how it should be done. This has a dual effect. Firstly, it makes it very easy for the reader to take action – they are provided with explicit instructions, including the appropriate salutation. Secondly, it conveys AI as a possessor of expert knowledge. This increases the sense that AI is deeply involved with the campaign, providing the link between the individual cases and the readers.

This structure represents a logical argument development in which the final aim is to stir the reader to action. As such the initial three moves - those which appeal to the emotions of the reader, work together with the final move to rouse the reader to join AI's campaign. This represents the most blatantly persuasive genre in the newsletter. With regards Aristotle's model of persuasion these first two moves, introduction of the individual and description of the human rights violation, represent an appeal to pathos, providing a basis for reader empathy. The third move, expansion of the problem is an appeal to logos – the line of reasoning being that the extent of the problem warrants action. The final move, call for action, in which AI provides instruction to readers, corresponds to Aristotle's ethos in that it establishes AI as knowledgeable and competent. Consequently, calls for

action, containing all aspects of Aristotle's model and using evocative language to provoke action are powerful instances of persuasive rhetoric.

The following analysis of a full example breaks down the text through identification of the rhetorical move structure and the specific lexicogrammatical features which are employed in making each move.

This call for action is reproduced in Appendix A with rhetorical moves marked.

30)

1 ZIMBABWE
2 Abuses against opposition politicians
3 Nelson Chamisa and Paul Madzore, members of parliament for the
4 opposition Movement for Democratic Change, were severely
5 assaulted in March 2007 by men believed to be police officers or
6 other state agents. Nobody has been brought to justice for these
7 crimes more than one year after they occurred. Nelson Chamisa was
8 on his way to an international meeting when he was attacked by
9 eight unidentified people outside Harare International airport on 18
10 March 2007. His assailants beat him on the head with iron bars,
11 resulting in a fractured skull, damage to his eye and lacerations to
12 his face. In spite of the high profile of the case Amnesty International
13 is not aware of any investigations into the attack. Paul Madzore was
14 arrested at his home on 28 March 2007, along with his wife and
15 children, and taken to Harare Central police station. After his arrest
16 he was called into a room at the police station and confronted by
17 eight men in plain clothes who he suspected were from the Law and
18 Order section of the police. He was beaten on the feet with a metal
19 rod and a rubber baton for around 30 to 40 minutes. Charges against
20 him were later dropped because of insufficient evidence. Following
21 elections on 29 March 2008, there has been a sharp increase in state-
22 sponsored violence against supporters of the political opposition.
23 The police have failed to investigate these abuses and have also been
24 implicit in abuses themselves.

25 Please write to the authorities, calling for an immediate investigation
26 into the reports of torture and other ill-treatment of Paul Madzore
27 and the attack on Nelson Chamisa; call for those found responsible
28 to be brought to justice. Send appeals to: Commissioner-General of
29 Police,
30 Zimbabwe Republic Police,
31 Police Headquarters, PO Box 8807, Causeway,
32 Harare, Zimbabwe. Fax: +263 4 253 212.
33 Salutation: Dear Commissioner-General
June 2008, Vol 38, No. 05. Pg 2

Initially, in rhetorical move one (lines 1-9), the victims are animated – through offering their full names and professions. In fact, the use of references reveals the intended positioning of the reader with regards the characters in the article. Only the victims are referred to by their full names. While this is partly due to the nature of the subject matter – the victims’ names are known to AI, the assailants’ are most often not – it does have an effect on the readers’ perception of the case. The victims are real people whose names provide us with a reflection of their identity, while the assailants are collective identities such as ‘state agents’ and instigators of violence. The aggressors, when not described as men ‘believed to be state agents’, or ‘police’ are described in terms of their relationship to the victims, ‘his assailants’. This positions the victim as the point of reference for the other characters of the narrative. The aggressors’ only identity is in relation to the victim and their behaviour towards him. This representation further emphasises the victim as a character to be empathised with while depersonalising the aggressors.

Furthermore, and still in rhetorical move one, the victims and assailants' actions are represented as polar opposites with regards to normality. It is emphasised that the victims were going about their lives in a normal, expected fashion for men of their position: 'Nelson Chamisa was on his way to an international meeting'. Their actions are represented as decent and not in any way out of the ordinary: 'Paul Madzore was arrested at his home on 28 March 2007, along with his wife and children'. These normal actions are suddenly interrupted by actions from outside forces which are not only out of the ordinary but also morally questionable. The absence of any representation of the assailants engaged in normal everyday lives is significant when juxtaposed with the regular activities of the victims. The victims are represented as being the innocent victims of violence, brutality and miscarriage of justice. The assailants are represented as violating the rights of the ordinary man. The intention being that the reader is left with no doubt as to where their sympathies should lie.

In rhetorical move two (lines 9-20), the questionable actions of the assailants are further accentuated by the detailed descriptions of the assaults. We are not only told that the victims were beaten, we are told which part of their bodies were beaten (head and feet respectively) and what instruments were used to administer the beating (iron bars and metal rod, respectively).

In the case of Nelson Chamisa, we are told specifically what injuries this resulted in (a fractured skull, damage to his eye and lacerations to his face). While we are not given such details in the case of Paul Madzore, we are told the duration of the beating (30-40 minutes). This high level of detail serves to make the extremity of the violence in the cases more real to the reader. The highly detailed nature of the description of the attacks, points to the account being a piece of reported speech. On the one hand we have the impression, due to the details given, that the events reported are based on real testimony, from the victims or those close to them. However there is no linguistic signalling of this. That is there are no reported speech verbs, no direct quotes marked by quotation marks. This gives the impression that AI itself has close contact with the victim, thus establishing them as closely involved.

In rhetorical move three (lines 20-24), the detailed accounts of the assaults are juxtaposed with an immediate change to the more general. Switching focus from the specific case of appeal to the wider issue, the discourse becomes general in its assertions. We are told that this problem has increased in recent times, but no specific figures or time frame is given. The effect of the previous candid descriptions of violence and injustice are intended to strengthen the more general claims that follow. The abuse is *state-sponsored* but no specific name or body of people is named as

responsible. The effect of this very general labelling of the perpetrators as a collective identity rather than as individuals, is to decrease agency thus reducing the attributed responsibility. Through being non-specific about perpetrators' identities, AI avoids explicit accusations with the result that they maintain their neutrality while still campaigning for victims.

In rhetorical move four, (lines 25-32), the comprehensive instructions given to the reader for appealing, highlight the urgency with which action needs to be taken. This urgency is conveyed through the use of imperatives in directing the reader as to how to act: 'Please write to the authorities', 'call for', 'send appeals to'). The imperative also gives the impression that there is no doubt that an appeal should be made, that is, it presents the grounds for appeal as legitimate. The isolation of the call for action from the rest of the text marks a boundary between two different kinds of appeal. In the main body of the text AI appeals to our empathy and our sense of morality. In this part of the piece the audience is expected to read and to feel. In the boxed area, AI appeals to us to take action based on the feelings evoked by the text before. Thus there is a clear boundary between an appeal to emotions and an appeal for action. Although, as previously mentioned, despite being visually divided, rhetorically they work together.

The rhetorical moves and lexico-grammatical features of this genre create a complex composition of appeals to pathos and ethos. The highly emotive descriptions of events, coupled with the very detailed – and carefully selected - information provided about victims and the portrayal of victims as going about their ordinary lives at the time of the violation, combine to persuade the reader to empathise with the victim rather than perpetrator. Simultaneously the exceedingly detailed accounts of individual cases paired with thorough descriptions of the extent of the issue cast AI having expert knowledge with regards the issue. The result is a decidedly persuasive genre which casts AI as not only an expert but also as an important agitator for the defence of human rights.

3.3.2. Feature Report

The most prominent genre, often occupying a large part of the first and second page of *The Wire*, are feature reports. The goal of feature reports is to call attention to an issue and to present AIs recommended course of action in addressing the situation. They are characterised by the use of direct quotes and by direct assertions as to the morally correct course of action as deemed by AI. A four move rhetorical structure is outlined in 31.

31)

Move 1. Introduce the issue

- Exemplify with an individual case

and/or

- Describe the issue, in perspective

Move 2. Attribute responsibility/cause of issue

- Name group of perpetrators

and/or

- Name policy or event which caused/exacerbated problem

Move 3. Desired resolution to issue

- Unequivocal statement as to AIs stance on issue

Introduction of the issue includes such information as the extent of the problem, who it affects, date and time, location of the abuse, how many people it affects and detailed accounts of the effects on people's lives.

32) At 600,000 – seven per cent of the total population – Azerbaijan's internally displaced population is one of the largest per capita of any state in the world. The majority of the displaced come from territories surrounding the former autonomous region of Nagorny Karabakh, which are now occupied by Armenian forces. A minority comes from Nagorny Karabakh itself, now an unrecognized republic inhabited by its Armenian population.
Displaced people denied rights in Azerbaijan, August 2007, Vol. 37, No. 07, Pg.1

In 32, the most striking quality is that of the focus on quantity in perspective.

The number of the minority is given and then quickly put in perspective through representation as a percentage of the nation's population.

Additionally, the numbers are put into a global perspective through a per

capita estimation. This gives a comprehensive perspective – with reference to both local and global frames - of the issue to be established. Coupled with the information concerning region, this gives readers a clear image in their imagination as to the scale and location of the issue.

The other step in the first move, introducing the issue, has a narrower focus – that of the individual, as shown in example 33.

33) Usama Mostafa Hassan Nasr, usually known as Abu Omar, was walking down a street in Milan, Italy, on 17 February 2003 when he was abducted. He was then handed over to US agents, taken to Aviano airbase in northern Italy and flown, via Germany, on a CIA-chartered jet to Cairo, Egypt. There he was secretly detained for 14 months. He says that he was tortured up to 12 hours a day for seven months. He was finally released in February 2007.

State of denial: Europe's role in rendition and secret detention, July 2008, Vol. 38, No. 06, Pg. 1

In 33, the information given is highly specific. The victim, whose full name and nickname are given, was doing nothing unusual – walking down the street – when he was kidnapped. In a device often used by AI, the normal actions of the victim at the time of the human rights infringement are focussed. The specific details as to where he was taken, using which mode of transport, at whose hands and length of torture indicate that this information is reliable, probably with the victim as the source. That several European countries are mentioned as being involved in some way serves to increase the sense of European culpability in such events. So, in both steps in the

introducing the issues move, the reader is given a clear image of the human rights violation, with the effect that both broader aspectual insights and individual personal insights are gained.

Often information about individual cases is conveyed with the aid of a direct quote, thus providing a direct, albeit mono-directional communication between victim and reader.

34) "On 24 February, the police broke into my house at 4am and beat me up," an activist of the Young People's Union of Guinea told AI. "They accused me of being a leader of the strikes [asking for the departure of President Conté]. They continued to beat me in their vehicle and later at the police station." He was released without charge after paying a sum of money but was rearrested on 21 March and detained in the capital, Conakry.

"I was handcuffed with my hands behind my back using a method called 'Chinese handcuffs' [see drawing]. The police trampled me saying: 'You want change, you'll have it now.' They then put a stick in my back with a rope around my elbows and they tied up my arms. Other detainees were suspended from the ceiling with a rope."

Systematic use of torture in Guinea, June 2007, Vol. 37, No. 05, Pg 1

In 34 the fine detail of one individual's experience is conveyed through his own words. This allows for the inclusion of specific information regarding the event. AI acts as reporter of the direct quote in example 31, thus establishing them as a link between reader and victim. AI also conveys the information that the police accepted a bribe from the victim, thus casting the police as not only brutal but also corrupt. That the victim can recount the date and time of the attack, suggests that he is a reliable source. The main

content of the direct quote concerns description of the treatment he received at the hands of the police. This description is given in such detail, that it allows the reader to form an explicit picture of the abuse in their imagination. The description evokes disgust and outrage at the actions of the police. If the description were not sufficient, the accompanying drawing makes very clear the type of treatment the victim was subjected to. This example is a blatant example of the use of highly detailed accounts of violence to arouse the compassion of readers.

In attributing responsibility, AI at times makes direct accusations and at times places blame more implicitly. In either case, responsibility and/or cause are attributed.

35) Government forces, Ethiopian troops backing the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), and armed groups opposing the TFG have all committed serious human rights abuses and have violated the laws of war.

Bodies in the streets, June 2008, Vol. 38, No. 05, Pg. 1

In 35, AI explicitly names the public bodies which are responsible for human rights violations thus directly placing blame. Significantly here, not all the bodies work together, in fact they are opposed to one another – thus maintaining AI status as not politically aligned.

36) The violence is in part the continuing aftermath of a conflict in 2002-2003 in which President Ange-Félix Patassé was overthrown by an armed opposition group led by former army Chief of Staff General François Bozizé.

Unlike in 35, in 36 it is not responsibility which is attributed but rather causing factors. Thus while in this example individuals' names are provided, it is the context of causation rather than assigning of accountability to an individual. Even so, in this rhetorical move, an event, policy of person is identified as the cause of the problem. This rhetorical move lays groundwork for the following move by outlining the source of the problem. It follows naturally that with the source established, a suggested solution can be provided.

The final rhetorical move is an unequivocal statement as to AI's beliefs about the morally correct course of action. Sometimes in this statement AI is mentioned in the third person as in 37.

37) AI is calling on the government of the Central African Republic to fulfil its obligations to protect the civilian population from this continuing fear and violence. AI is also urging the UN Security Council to authorize the deployment of an international presence in the Central African Republic mandated to protect civilians, including the internally displaced persons and children.

Fear and violence in the wild north, October 2007, Vol. 37, No. 09. Pg. 1

The effect of presenting the statement of belief in the third person is that AI appears simultaneously as a character in the article and as author. The result is that the actual work of AI, in conjunction with its beliefs are outlined.

In contrast in 38 and 39, it is AI as author who is responsible for the statement. Example 38 shows the use of the modal verb *should*.

38) No individual *should* be exposed to torture or other ill-treatment under any circumstances and ISAF countries should stop transferring detainees until they have assisted the Afghan authorities in stamping out these practices.
International forces fail Afghan detainees, November 2007, Vol.37, No.10, Pg. 1

As discussed previously, *should* can express assertions as to morality or, in its weaker form merely offer advice. Here the subject matter, coupled with the phrase *under any circumstances* indicate that this is intended as a morality judgement. As such AI's stance is couched in the context of the wider frame of generally accepted moral judgment.

Other times, as in 39, the suggested resolutions are offered by the author without recourse to morals.

39) It is time to ensure that federal and state governments remove the barriers that many women across the country currently face in accessing safety and justice and deliver the real improvements in the investigation and prosecution of those responsible for committing crimes of violence against women.
Violence against women in home continues in Mexico, August 2008, Vol. 38, No. 7, Pg. 1

In 39, in contrast to 38, the statement of belief is attributed solely to AI, without implied correspondence to a system of morals. In this example it is urgency which is emphasised – as indicated by the phrase *it is time*. These

30 Bassy spent almost three years in prison, sleeping on the floor in a
31 cell with 11 women, before a Nigerian NGO enabled her transfer to
32 hospital.
33 The Nigerian government has often said it will reform the criminal
34 justice system, but it has failed to do so. Despite many presidential
35 commissions and committees recommending reform, the
36 recommendations have not been implemented. Instead, the
37 government has merely set up new committees and commissions.
38 In a scathing 50-page report, Nigeria: Prisoners' rights systematically
39 flouted (AMR 44/001/2008), Amnesty International details a prison
40 system that is utterly failing the Nigerian people, calling it a
41 "conveyor belt of injustice, from beginning to end". The report also
42 highlights the plight of prison staff, who work long and stressful
43 hours for low wages that are often paid late. Poor pay often leads to
44 petty extortion from prisoners, and staff shortages create security
45 risks for both staff and inmates.
46 Urgent prison improvements and reforms are needed to ensure
47 anyone detained is either tried within a reasonable time or released.
48 Promises are not enough: reform of Nigeria's prison system is long
49 overdue.
April 2008, Vol 38 No.3, Pg 1.

In this example, rhetorical move one (lines 1-25), begins with the lead-in which is a direct quote from an inmate, thus establishing a direct interpersonal communication between one of the many victims and the reader. Moreover, the direct quote is highly emotive, evoking their suffering, unnoticed. In the continuation of rhetorical move one, the specific conditions which these people are exposed to are outlined thus describing the issue. Then in lines 26 through 37, rhetorical move two, an individual case is introduced as an example of a specific instance of the issue. Information such as age and name establish a personal link with Bassy, the victim. These details serve to involve the reader on a personal level with the protagonist thus building a basis for empathetic feeling on the part of the reader.

Empathy is important here in stirring the reader to offer support for the cause. The failure of the government to follow through on their promises is then described, thus divulging to the reader that the authorities are aware that there is a problem.

In rhetorical move three (lines 38-45), AI expresses direct criticism of the authorities. They also point out 'the plight of the staff', thus casting the workers at the prisons as victims of the authorities' negligence as well. This allows AI to appear objective in that they are not only concerned for the inmates but also for the staff, who represent to some extent the side of the perpetrators. In lines 46 through 49, rhetorical move four, an explicit explanation is offered as to AI's stance on the issue. In this case reform and prison improvements are detailed as the only course of action and they are urgent, as emphasised by the final sentence: 'Promises are not enough: reform of Nigeria's prison system is long overdue'. This statement once again highlights the empty words and inaction of the government, while emphasising the urgency of the matter.

Various linguistics devices are employed in this piece which when combined, make AI's stance most clear. Throughout the piece adjectives and adverbs are employed to express the stance of AI, first regarding the conditions inmates are subject to and later in directly criticising the

government. 'Appalling' (line 6), 'shameful' (line 6) and 'overcrowded' (line 12) are used to describe the conditions under which prisoners are kept, clearly showing not only AI's disapproval of the conditions but also a level of distaste. The extent of the physical and mental harm the victims are experiencing is emphasised with the use of the adverb 'seriously' to modify the verb 'damaging' in line 12. The inadequacy of conditions and services available to victims is further highlighted by the use of 'only' in presenting figures regarding the legal aid and trials available to victims in line 17. This reflects AI's judgement that essential services are insufficient. In criticising the authorities, adverbs are again indicative of AI's stance, as they emphasise the failings of the government using the adverb 'merely' (line 35) – thus suggesting a deficiency in the government's response; and 'utterly' in line 38 highlights the complete failure of the government to remedy the situation. In referring to its own report on the issue, AI makes explicit its highly critical nature, describing it as 'scathing' (line 36). Earlier in the piece AI's criticism and distrust of the government was obviated by the use of quotation marks surrounding the word confessions – thus revealing that they do not consider these statements legitimate. AI again questions the legitimacy and morality of the authorities' actions, with the use of quotation marks, this time attached to the labels coined by the authorities such as "civil lunatic" in line 27.

While not attempting to persuade the reader to act as in calls to action, feature reports are nevertheless persuasive in nature. The persuasive goal is to convince readers of the good intentions of AI and of the continued need for organisations such as AI. Providing detailed accounts of extreme examples of human rights violations through appealing to pathos, demonstrates the need for an organisation such as AI to campaign on behalf of victims. Simultaneously, the presence of detail and direct quotes is a testament to the credibility of AI – thus ethos is appealed to. In providing the cause, directly followed by a suggested resolution AI appeals to the logic of the reader – thus logos is also present. Consequently while in providing explicit admissions as to its beliefs in response to an issue and with appeal to a wider moral framework, AI not only conveys its opinions, it also attempts to influence readers’ opinions. Lastly, it should be noted that AI takes an unusually accusatory tone in this example, suggesting that they are certain about the subject matter. This assumption is supported by their mention of a published report, implying that they are committed to their statements in this case.

3.3.3 Activity Report

This genre aims to inform readers of AI’s activities in campaigning in defence of human rights. This may include outlining organisation and

participation in activities, or may focus on the positive effect of a campaign through reporting the improvement of a situation. In this genre, AI is cast as a very real character in the events. They allow us to see the positive, active attitude of AI in fighting human rights issue. Significantly, despite reports of positive progress, all success stories conclude with an assertion that further work remains to be done, thus affirming the need for organisations such as AI. Their rhetorical structure is as follows.

41)

Move 1. Gain interest

- Direct quote from those involved

and/or

- Limited details in introductory clause

Move 2. Outline issue

- Figures concerning issue

and/or

- Description of issue

Move 3. Report AIs participation/involvement

- AI contribution – past, present, future

and/or

- AI as an international collective united for a cause

Gaining interest is commonly achieved through a direct quote from a victim or activist.

42)“We will come back again and fight for the rights of lesbians, gay men and bisexual and transgender people in Latvia.”

Amnesty International delegate Anders Dahlbeck.
Act for equality! Pride 2008 in Latvia, July 2008, Vol. 38, No. 06, Pg. 3

This direct quote demonstrates AI’s long term commitment to fight for human rights. It also allows the reader to hear directly from an AI representative, thus giving a rare connection with the individuals who make up AI.

In other cases an introductory clause, providing limited details is used to establish interest.

43) Cousin Zilala, the dynamic new Executive Director of AI Zimbabwe, knows exactly how he wants to mobilize people to defend human rights in his troubled country – through the theatre.

Activists mobilise through the theatre, September 2007, Vol. 37, No.08, Pg. 4

In 43, excitement is created as to the newly-appointed manager of a project through description of him as ‘dynamic’ and ‘new’. Furthermore he is depicted as determined and creative through introduction of his idea to defend human rights through theatre. Given the novelty of this idea, it serves to provoke interest as to the details of his plan. In both cases, the devices

serve to ignite curiosity as to the content of the article before the issue is outlined.

In outlining the issue, crucial details as to the issue are given in a brief and informative manner.

44) Some 25,000 delegates gathered in Mexico City between 3 and 8 August at the VII International AIDS Conference to discuss all aspects of HIV and AIDS, including legal, social and human rights issues.

Mexico: AIDS conference affirms human rights, September 2008, Vol. 38, No.08, Pg. 3

In 44, the matter of fact manner in which the issue is outlined serves to inform the reader of important information succinctly. The condensed nature of clauses in this rhetorical move signal that these facts are not the focus of the article but rather necessary background, providing a basis for the action of AI, which is in fact the focussed item of news.

The final move details the involvement of AI in the activity or in bringing about change.

45) Amnesty International members from every region of the world are planning to promote the campaign by organizing tournaments using Control Arms footballs.

International footballer promotes Control Arms, April 2008, Vol.38, No. 03, Pg. 3

In 45, the different sections uniting to contribute to a campaign is stressed.

Thus the ability of the many arms of AI across the globe to amalgamate in

aid of a good cause is introduced to the reader. In 46, it is AI's complicity with other human rights focussed organisations which is focussed.

46) The Prime Minister's statement is a testament to the work of Amnesty International Australia and other organizations who have long campaigned for a formal apology. Amnesty International has also called on the government of Australia to follow up this important gesture with effective and timely implementation of the report's recommendations.

Australian Prime Minister says sorry, April 2008, Vol.38, No. 03, Pg. 4

Asides from its work with other organisations, AI's determination and commitment to campaigning is demonstrated through the phrase 'long campaigned'. The success of the campaign is tempered by the need for further modification of policy. This validates the actions of AI, while also providing justification for its ongoing existence.

It is in this genre that AI's grassroots action is presented. In other genres, AI beliefs and stances are stated but they remain inactive in terms of actual participation in events. In this genre rather than being only the semantic agents of discursive verbs such as *believe* and *call*, AI are agents of verbs such as *participate*, *take part* and *produce* and *launch* which involve direct action. As such AI becomes visible as an organisation which is out there involved with the community and taking action on the issues of which it speaks. This is in striking contrast to the other genres in the newsletter in which AI is presented as a commentator and observer rather than actor.

The least overtly persuasive genre in nature, this genre's purpose is seemingly to inform. This is reflected in a relative lack of emotive language and brief manner in relaying facts about the issue. The latter, coupled with the comparatively longer descriptions of AI's work, focus the work of AI as opposed to the issue itself. In providing such a focus, nevertheless, aspects of Aristotle's model of persuasion are evident. Moves one and two, gaining interest and outlining the issue appeal to pathos albeit in a moderate manner when compared with other genres. Simultaneously they also establish AI as an expert, thus appealing to ethos. Together move two and move three, reporting AI's participation appeal to logos, with the logical reasoning being that as AI's campaigns have a positive effect, and problems still exist then this justifies their continued existence. Although not specifically requested in this case, given that they rely largely on public support to exist and operate, this genre subtly encourages support.

Example 47 is a full activity report showing the progression of rhetorical moves. It is reproduced in Appendix C with rhetorical moves marked.

47)
1 Day for Darfur's displaced children
2 "How many are dead and who will look after the families? Look at
3 the camps — there is no security and no secondary schools. This
4 generation will be the generation of anger, boys and girls."
5 A Darfur political activist

6 Of the 4 million people affected by the conflict in Darfur, 1.8
7 million are children. Around 1 million children have been
8 displaced. Displaced girls living in camps remain at particular
9 risk of abuse when venturing outside in search of firewood or to
10 go to the market.
11 Amnesty International sections and structures from 23 countries
12 across the world participated in the Global Day for Darfur on 13
13 April 2008 to call for the effective protection of children in
14 Darfur by the UN-African Union peacekeeping forces.
July 2008 Vol 38. No.6, Pg 4

Rhetorical move one (lines 1-5) begins with the headline, in which, the event and its cause are announced. This is followed by a direct quote attributed to an anonymous activist. The quote begins with a direct rhetorical question to the readers, imploring the reader to consider the situation in Darfur. The reader is then implored through an imperative to 'look at the camps – there is no security and no secondary schools'. Given that the reader probably cannot look at the camps, the purpose of this imperative is to focus the readers' imagination on the lack of security and schools. The magnitude of the effect is then emphasised with the casting of a whole generation as one of anger. That this information is given as a direct quote from an activist is significant in that a direct connection is established between the reader and a person who has presumably witnessed firsthand the situation in Darfur.

Rhetorical move two (lines 6-10), outlines the cause for the action, the event, time of event, participants and specific goals of the event. The facts and figures given here are large – in the millions – thus presenting the magnitude of the problem. The numbers first refer to people in general,

however quickly focus on the plight of children. Given that children are vulnerable members of society, whose rights are usually protected and defended by adults, that 1 million children have been displaced is an emotive statistic. The particular dangers facing girls, who are merely going about their everyday business, business they need to carry out in order to survive are equally emotive, providing a strong basis for reader empathy. That AI knows such details as the numbers and specific dangers facing certain members of the community establishes them as having expert knowledge, making them seem well-informed and involved, and thus emphasising ethos.

In rhetorical move three (lines 11-14), the specific and very public action taken as part of AI's campaign to tackle the issue previously introduced is described. This action is on a global level with the number of different sections involved provided. This gives readers a sense of the large size of the organisation while also emphasising that they can co-ordinate their efforts at a global level. Not only does this present them as highly professional and organised body, but it is also a testament to their commitment and determination to deploy for a common goal. Their goal, as stated in the article, is subtly critical of the UN peace-keeping force. As a peace-keeping force, their job is to protect the people in the region and maintain peace. If AI is calling for the 'effective protection' of children by the

force, the implication is that they are not already doing so. Thus the UN peace-keeping force is cast here as failing to fulfil its obligations, although AI does not place blame explicitly. This is characteristic of this genre, in which it is in fact the campaign and actions of AI which are the focal point.

Through focussing on AI's actions and campaigns this genre contributes to creating a well-rounded view of the organisation. That is, it allows the reader to see the organisation as not only a commentator and reporter but as an active participant. Simultaneously, this genre provides a platform for establishing that AI is spread worldwide and demonstrating its united commitment to causes. While emphasising the success of their campaigns, emphasis is always placed on the continuing problems, thus affirming the need for AI to remain active. The result is to persuade the reader that AI is not only active and efficient but also crucial for the ongoing defence of human rights.

3.4. Conclusion

Comparison of the genre's rhetorical move structures shows that some similarities are present. The rhetorical move structures of calls for action and feature reports are similar in their progression from specific to wider contextual information. This reflects their overlapping purposes of calling attention to an issue and indeed inciting a reaction from the reader. This is in contrast to activity reports in which the focus is from general information to specific, reflecting their purpose being less focused on inciting a reaction

from the reader as opposed to informing them. Returning to calls for action as compared to feature reports, the former's very overt aim to prompt specific action from readers is reflected not only in the content and nature of rhetorical moves but also in the progression of the structure.

As is clear from the analysis in this chapter, appeals to Aristotelian aspects of persuasion are evident throughout genres, not only through rhetorical moves but through the consistent distribution of lexico-grammatical features across genres. Various rhetorical moves have the effect of establishing ethos, pathos and logos, while the logical organisation of the structures overall appeals to logos. Turning to lexico-grammatical features the distribution of semantic roles across semantic types of verbs portrays victims as lacking in power while perpetrators are cast as powerful and violent thus appealing to pathos – the emotions of the audience. Reference terms for victims and perpetrators are patterned as to give victims a more elaborate identity than those of perpetrators emphasising the appeal to pathos with respect the victims. Additionally, AI's referring to itself with the third person creates a sense of objectivity thus enhancing persuasion through appeal to ethos – establishing the morality and credentials of the source. The distribution of modal verbs not only makes AI's recommendations and therefore its stance clear but also contributes to the sense of AI as an objective

reporter. The overall result is a rhetoric which is gently persuasive through appeal to AI's objectivity, while simultaneously attributing them an identity as an empathetic, effective, active and expert organisation.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF OSI NEWS

4.1. Overview

OSI News is characterised by overt statements as to the belief and ideology of the organisation. This coupled with the lexico-grammatical features and generic choices displayed in the newsletter create a much more subjective rhetoric than that of *The Wire*. With respect to lexico-grammatical features the chosen reference patterns for both characters in stories and the organisation; lexical choice of adjectives, adverbs and verbs; and the high frequency of metaphors contribute to the subjective view presented. The effect is strengthened by the generic variation allowed in the articles, representing a willingness to break the mould. Overall both generic and lexico-grammatical features combine to persuade readers of OSI's identity as a powerful, effective, highly-organised organisation albeit one that does not shy away from bending conventions in the name of democracy and open society.

4.2. Lexico-grammatical Features

4.2.1. Reference Patterns

Each article in the OSI newsletter is written by a different contributor or contributors, usually an expert in the field or a senior member of an OSI project. This contributor is always named, and their authority with regards

the issue is always established in the lead-in to the article. In most cases this is achieved through the use of their title within the organisation as in example 1 below.

- 1) *Julia Harrington, Justice Initiative senior legal officer for equality and citizenship, examines how citizenship continues to be a crucial but under-acknowledged ingredient for protecting and expanding fundamental human rights.*
Citizenship: A Key to Rights and Justice, Julia Harrington, Winter 2006-7, Pg 8.

In other cases, where the author is not an employee of OSI or its affiliated foundations, the author's authority on the issue is introduced through their connection to the region or issue in question.

- 2) *Celebrated Burmese author Pascal Khoo Thwe reflects on the Burmese government's repression of the country's ethnic groups and what can be done to restore and protect their rights.*
Ethnic Minorities and the Future of Burma, Pascal Khoo Thwe, Fall-Winter 2002 – 03, Pg 8

The introduction of authors in this manner means that the reader is offered an insight into the inner structure of OSI rather than just viewing the organisation as a whole. It also establishes the author's expertise and knowledge of the issue, thus establishing ethos.

Elsewhere in the articles, first person plural pronoun *we* and the corresponding possessive pronoun *our* are used to refer to authors and the organisation collectively.

3) *We* are equally committed to addressing the exclusion experienced by other historically marginalized groups—including Latinos, Native Americans, immigrants, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered persons, women, and poor people.

The Equality Myth, Ann Beeson, Fall 2007, Pg. 4

4) If *we* really believe in a nonviolent, democratic process of change for Burma, *we* must create and expand independent spaces in *our* society.

New Roads for Transition in Burma, Min Zin, Fall – Winter 2002-03, Pg

12)

This is indicative of the fact that contributors, and thus members of OSI are often those who have experienced the featured problem firsthand or are natives of the featured region. This reinforces the sense that the reader has a direct connection with a person who has the authority, through experience, to report and advise on the topic. The use of third person plural pronouns also reminds the reader that although an individual is responsible for the piece, they present a united front with the organisation and the views expressed and projects described are to be attributed to the organisation as a whole.

Where first person singular pronouns are used it is by authors who are not members or employees of the organisation itself. These articles are introduced with a lead-in similar to that in 2, establishing the author's connection to the issue. In these articles, the authors offer firsthand insight into the issue or region.

- 5) *I was born a member of the Kayan Padaung, perhaps best known to the outside world as the tribe whose women are often compared to giraffes because of the brass rings they wear around their elongated necks.*

Ethnic Minorities and the Future of Burma, Pascal Khoo Thwe, Fall-Winter 2002 – 03, Pg 8

In example 5, first person singular pronoun signals that the author is telling a self-narrative, he is recounting his own experience. This direct communication to readers with no third person in the position of narrator enhances the credibility of the content. Further, that OSI's newsletter is the vehicle for this text by an author with firsthand experience emphasises OSI as an organisation with good connections in the region. This further builds upon their reputation as an expert in the field – thus contributing to their perceived ethos.

The pattern of references in *OSI News* has the combined effect of establishing the credentials of authors and presenting OSI as united under a common goal. This creates the impression of an organisation made up of expert members, who despite their different regional focuses are nevertheless committed to the morals, goals and projects inherent in promoting democracy and open society.

4.2.2. Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions are those in which the answer is implicit in the question.

Rhetorical questions have long been a feature of persuasive rhetoric and

there are several theories as to their effect. The prevailing view is that rhetorical questions enhance persuasion through focussing the reader's attention on message arguments provided that argument quality is strong (Petty et al, 1981). Conversely, when message arguments are weak in quality rhetorical questions, their persuasive effect is reduced. Zillman (1972) and Zillman and Cantor (1974) attempted to account for these effects through attributing them to 'source pressure', contending that rhetorical questions reduce perceived source pressure thus enhancing persuasive effect. Their evidence for this conclusion however was inconclusive. Recent work has focussed on two possible respondent responses to rhetorical questions; focus on message arguments, or focus on source motives. Which response is evoked is determined by relevance according to Sperber and Wilson (1995), and effort according to Shiv, Edell and Payne (1997). Combination of these two conclusions produces the contention that reader's scan for relevance, and if the message in the rhetorical question is deemed relevant to the overall argument, message arguments will be focussed, while the more 'effortful' response of focussing source motives is only arrived at if message relevance is deemed low.

In cases where the message source is focussed, there has been little consensus on what effect this might have on persuasion. Some argue that

inclusion of rhetorical questions creates the impression that the source is confident of their arguments and thus perceived source pressure is kept to a minimum resulting in lowered reader defences and thus higher persuasive susceptibility (Newcombe and Arnkoff, 1979). Others (Swasy and Munch, 1985) argue that rhetorical questions make the persuasive nature of an argument more obvious, resulting in raised reader defences and therefore decreased persuasive effect. Ahluwalia and Burnkrant (2004) provide a model for the effects of rhetorical questions which unify these divergent views under the variable of reader's source attitudes. Where a reader has positive agent attitudes, persuasive effects of rhetorical questions will be high, conversely should readers have negative attitudes concerning sources, persuasive effect of rhetorical questions will be decreased.

In OSI newsletters, rhetorical questions are often used in headlines, lead-ins and in the opening paragraphs of an article.

6) Should they still be called transitional societies?

Looking Beyond Transition in Central Eurasia, Anthony Richter, Spring 2001, Pg. 3.

7) Islam and Open Society: An Inevitable Conflict?

Headline of article, Hakan Altinay, Winter 2002, Pg. 18

In both examples 6 and 7, the content of the rhetorical questions is highly relevant to the message argument thus according to the dominant view, readers will respond by focussing on message content. Whether persuasive

effects will be enhanced or diminished will depend on the strength of contiguous arguments. In the case of example 7, due to it being a headline, contiguous arguments constitute the whole article. Given the expert nature attributed to the author, the use of facts, figures and references and the author's articulate writing style, the article presents a strong argument for the potential co-existence of Islam and Open Society. Thus this rhetorical question as a headline has a high persuasive effect. In the case of 6, the surrounding text is presented below in 8.

- 8) In 2001, the states of the Caucasus and Central Asia will mark their first decade of independence. Should they still be called transitional societies? The idea of a transition can be an appealing notion, but it's a relative one, depending on how long it takes and where the country is located. Sharing a border with Germany or Afghanistan can influence the stakes for the would-be reformer set on political openness and liberal trade. And whether a transition takes two centuries or five years makes a great deal of difference to people buffeted by political and economic change.
Looking Beyond Transition in Central Eurasia, Anthony Richter, Spring 2001, Pg. 3.

In 8, following the rhetorical question, the author immediately throws the very definition of the terminology into question, calling the the concept of transition a relative one. He then provides support for this contention through appeal to geo-political location and time. Given that he elaborates logically and convincingly on his initial statement, this represents a strong

argument. Thus according to Ahluwalia and Burnkrant's model this rhetorical question contributes positively to persuasion.

Without conducting an empirical survey on the persuasive effect of rhetorical question on readers of *OSI News*, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions. This is especially true if reader's existing attitudes to OSI have a bearing on the perception and effectiveness of rhetorical questions in persuading the reader. However when examined in light of previous studies, data such as that in *OSI News* represents the use of rhetorical questions to high persuasive effect. This is achieved through rhetorical question content being highly relevant to the given message and couched within rational and articulate arguments.

4.2.3. Adjectives and adverbs

Across the newsletter adjectivals and adverbials fulfil two roles. They are frequently used as boosters – that is to emphasise the force of statements thus demonstrating the author's commitment to their statements. In other places they are used in the description of situations, people or self-descriptions. In both roles they are indicative of OSI stance.

The differing use of adjectivals in the description of people and situations will be discussed with reference to individual examples in the

course of the genre analysis. The use of adjectivals to self-describe and as boosters is discussed here as they represent common feature across genres.

Throughout the newsletter it is emphasised that OSI is at the forefront of efforts to foster democracy and justice. Adjectives used to describe the organisation such as *leading*, *prominent* and *substantial* play a role in constructing this image, emphasising the active and successful nature of OSI's projects and initiatives.

- 9) In both cases, OSI's founder and Chairman George Soros has played a *leading* role, helping to mobilize significant support for these campaigns from political leaders and within international financial institutions.

Rooting Out Corruption to Allow Democracy to Grow, Summer-Fall 2003, Pg 4

- 10) The Justice Initiative plays a *prominent role* in promoting clinical law programs worldwide.

Confronting Flawed Justice Worldwide, Winter 2006-07, Pg 3

- 11) In a relatively brief period, the Justice Initiative has made a *substantial contribution*.

Confronting Flawed Justice Worldwide, Winter 2006-07, Pg 3

These adjectives either describe OSI as 'at the front' or they describe their undertakings as considerable, thus their maximal involvement in the struggle against injustice is underscored.

Elsewhere, adverbs such as *clearly*, *substantial*, and *significantly* boost the force of statements. Given that in using boosters, the presence of alternatives is minimised, this is a powerful persuasive device. The result is

that OSI appears sure of both its facts and opinions thus impressing upon the audience that their stance is both reliable and logical.

12) This is *clearly* an attempt by nationalist leaders to introduce the notion of collective guilt and use it against their own people.
With Truth Comes Reconciliation, Veran Matic, Fall 2000, pg 12

13) People who are HIV positive in Swaziland face *substantial* stigmatization and have very little direct involvement or participation in the development of Swaziland's HIV/AIDS policies.
Swaziland and HIV/AIDS, Page 8, Winter 2007 – 2008, Pg 8

In the first example in 12, the opinion of the author and OSI – that it is an attempt to introduce the notion of collective guilt - is presented as obvious and indisputable. The effect is that any contention to the contrary appears illogical and unreasonable. Consequently, the reader is subtly encouraged to accept this opinion as they would a fact: unquestioningly.

In 13, the adjective 'substantial' modifies the noun 'stigmatization' to the effect of increasing its magnitude. Not only does this impress upon the reader the severity of the situation thus evoking sympathy, it also reflects upon OSI's willingness to take responsibility for its statement. They appear to be well-informed enough to be aware of the magnitude of the stigmatization. That is they are involved in the region to such an extent that they know that stigmatization is not localised or on a small scale but is instead widespread and considerable.

Adjectives thus are used to varying effect in OSI newsletters. On the one hand they are used to promote OSI as a principal contributor to efforts to endorse democracy and improve standards of living worldwide. Other times adjectives and adverbs increase the intensity of statements, thus presenting them as incontrovertible. Additionally the relative absence of hedging adverbs further contributes to the persuasive effect of statements. The effect is that the scope for debate on these matters is narrowed, allowing OSI to appear as an authority, when in many cases they are in reality presenting opinions rather than fact.

4.3. Metaphor

Metaphor is the understanding of one concept in terms of another. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10) point out, metaphors are not merely a matter of language but rather a means of structuring our conceptual system. Our conceptual system of course affects the way we see the world and in turn our everyday behaviour and interactions. Thus metaphors are central to our social realities and experience. The nature of metaphor – as understanding a concept in terms of another - is such that some aspects of a concept will be emphasised while others will be understated. This means that the use of a metaphor will focus a certain aspect of a given concept. Thus looking at OSI's

use of metaphors is revealing in that it demonstrates their preferred focus on a given issue or event.

The examples below show OSI's use of a conventional metaphor – that is, one which is firmly established and accepted within Western language and culture.

14) In both cases, OSI's founder and Chairman George Soros has played a *leading* role, helping to mobilize significant support for these campaigns from political leaders and within international financial institutions.

Rooting Out Corruption to Allow Democracy to Grow, Summer-Fall 2003, Pg 4

15) It has *led the way* in challenging racial profiling internationally and in addressing racial segregation in Europe.

Confronting Flawed Justice Worldwide, Winter 2006-07, Pg 3

16) As OSI *moves forward* with its justice-related grant-making and activities, it will continue to be guided by the fundamental belief that rights must be defended and the shortcomings of legal systems must be addressed in open and closed societies alike.

Confronting Flawed Justice Worldwide, Winter 2006-07, Pg 3

17) OSI's International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD) has long been *at the forefront* of efforts worldwide to provide prevention and treatment services to populations particularly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, including injection drug users (IDUs).

Thailand's Dirty Little Secret: Death and Neglect for Drug Users, Spring-Summer 2004, Pg 9

The metaphor here is that of progress being forward moving, with those most engaged with effecting progress and change being those at the front.

The use of this metaphor not only portrays OSI as an agent of change in

effecting justice reform, but also characterises them as a leader, being ahead of others working in the field.

Frequent metaphors in the rhetoric of the OSI newsletter concern open society and democracy itself. A frequent metaphor is that of the process of the establishment of democracy and open society as akin to the construction of a building or structure.

18) Ultimately, truth about the events of the last ten years in the former Yugoslavia will be *a necessary foundation* for any kind of normal and honest life in the region.

With Truth Comes Reconciliation, Fall 2000, Pg 13

19) Independent media and freedom of information are essential to *building open societies* in Southeast Asia.

Challenges and Opportunities for Open Society in Southeast Asia, Fall – Winter 2002-03, Pg 4

20) But as yet there is little clear thinking about what that means in practice and how we can ensure a broader victory by helping *to build a genuinely free, open and prosperous society* in Afghanistan.

Assembling Afghanistan, Winter 2002, Pg 16

21) Should efforts *to build open societies* take a back seat to fighting terrorism?

Open Society as a Response to Terrorism, Winter 2002, Pg 3

This is a conventional metaphor; we often hear about building societies, communities or nations. As such we might take this metaphor for granted, without thinking much about how this metaphor shapes our view of the process of creation of a society or political system. On closer inspection, we can see that it emphasises the planning, work and composite parts needed to

create such systems. After all, the construction of a building or large structure necessitates well-defined goals, many parts and a large amount of co-operative manpower. Thus construction is highly agentive, with OSI being the agent of the actions. Furthermore, these actions are directed towards creating something larger than the workers themselves, thus attributing power to the agents – which in the case of this metaphor, is OSI.

The other common metaphor with relation to open society is that of democracy and the principles needed for open society as things that need to be raised with care or cultivated, much like a child or plant.

22) Maureen Aung-Thwin, director of the Open Society Institute's Burma Project describes *the Soros foundations network's growing efforts to foster open societies in Southeast Asia*.
Challenges and Opportunities for Open Society in South-East Asia, Fall – Winter 2002-03, Pg 3

23) *The Subprogram for Southeast Europe* has helped nurture this process through exchanges of people and the creation of networks to resolve social, economic, and political problems in the region.
Regional Co-operation Begins with People Working Together, Fall 2000, Pg 16

24) *Fostering Peace and Democracy in a Volatile Region*
Headline, Fall 2000, Pg 3

This metaphor emphasises the fragile nature of the process of establishing open society and democracy. The implication is that like a delicate plant or a small child, the process requires constant and prudent attention. In most of the examples above, it is OSI who is the agent of the nurturing action, thus

they appear as the concerned parent or devoted carer of open society and its ideals. There are similarities between this metaphor and the previous one in that both construction and nurturing are goal-oriented activities and both emphasize the power of the agent. In this metaphor OSI, as the 'parent' or 'grower' is in a position to direct and knows better than the object of its nurturing.

A fourth metaphor which is common throughout the newsletter is that of the effort to deal with the problems and challenges to open society as akin to a war or a battle.

25) In Indonesia, for example, the Tifa Foundation, an OSI grantee and partner, has coordinated a national advocacy network for media law reform to combat the ingrained legacies of corruption and patronage.
Challenges and Opportunities for Open Society in Southeast Asia, Fall – Winter 2002-03, Pg 4

26) There is little doubt that changes need to be made to fight corruption in the region and that public institutions must regain people's trust.
Fighting Corruption from the Bottom Up, Fall 2000, Pg 9

In each of these examples the perceived obstacles to open society are made clear through their placement as the opponent in a battle or war. Thus they become the enemy, while OSI's work to establish democracy and open society becomes a battle. As such, the concepts of physical power, victory and loss are connected to the mission of establishing the principles of democracy and open society. More specifically, use of the word 'combat'

invokes the implication that the semantic theme should be defeated, thus further justifying OSI's work.

Through the manipulation of metaphor OSI is able to discuss their work while emphasising certain identity attributes. The commonly occurring metaphors discussed here together paint OSI as a highly-organised, powerful, experienced and effective force in the effort to establish democracy and open society. In terms of Aristotle's persuasion model, these metaphors, despite the different attributes they evoke, are all instrumental in establishing the ethos of OSI, thus contribute to the persuasive effect of the rhetoric of *OSI News*.

4.4. Genre Analysis

The genres in *OSI News* are at times hard to identify due to the tendency for genre variation. That is the conventions of genres are often subject to genre-bending, embedding and mixing. Nevertheless, with careful analysis, three genres can be identified: case studies, project outlines and issue discussions. Genres appear freely interspersed with one another in terms of location in the newsletter. Across all genres, articles are accompanied by large, often colour photographs relevant to the given issue.

4.4.1. Case Study

Case studies are those articles which focus on a particular example of the featured issue, usually in a single country, and involving a specific individual or body of people. The communicative purpose is to present a particular example of an event or issue which requires attention of those in favour of democracy and open society. This genre is characterised by the in-depth description of a situation which is unsatisfactory as deemed by OSI. Once again, OSI's active role in events is apparent although not as heavily emphasised in case studies as in other genres. While explicit statements as to OSI's beliefs are rare in this genre, their evaluation of the issue is still clear.

Rhetorical move structure for Case Studies is as follows:

27)

Move 1. Gain interest

- Introduce issue

and/or

- Set the scene

Move 2. Describe individual case

- Introduce protagonists

and/or

- Relay story

Move 3. Put case(s) in context

- Illustrate the predominant climate

and/or

- Detailed explanation of implications

Move 4. Suggested resolution

Gaining interest sometimes entails introduction of the issue, providing a general idea as to what exactly the following case study pertains to.

Sometimes this is achieved with a brief introduction of protagonists along with the general issue.

28) The cases of James Robinson and Andrew Klepper illustrate how unfettered exercise of prosecutorial discretion is producing substantial race and class disparities in the American criminal justice system.

Prosecutors Making the Punishment Fit the Crime: A Question of Race and Class, Angela Davis, Fall 2007, Pg 10

In 28, the issue to be demonstrated by the case studies is immediately and succinctly established along with the stance of the author – that the current justice system in America is unfair. This author’s device for gaining interest is in stark contrast to that in 29, in which a literary style is presented.

29) Ever so gently, the undertaker folded back the few yards of gold-trimmed fabric covering the casket and lifted the lid. A male voice rose to lead other mourners in a song of farewell. Just the slightest timbre of sadness shook the otherwise steady sound, filling the chapel with a tune popular at funerals in Zimbabwe.

Who Defends the Defenders?, Isabella Matambanadzo, Winter 2007-08, Pg 4

In 29, interest is gained through setting the scene for the following case study. This is a particularly poetic example. The author narrates in detail a story which is presented in the present tense. This device creates the illusion that they are observing an event unfold in real time. The use of adjectives and adverbs – ‘ever so gently’ and ‘slightest’ in the example further the sense that the reader is observer of the events through providing explicit details as to the quality of the actions and sounds in the scene. While the scene is presented clearly the author does not reveal too much – we know that the scene is a funeral in a church in Zimbabwe, but we do not know whose, or under what circumstances they died. This creates a desire to read on, to complete the picture which has begun to be drawn for us, the readers.

Describing the individual case involves introducing the protagonists, their current predicament and events causing or leading up to their present situation. A detailed example of this is presented in 30.

30)

1 James Robinson, a poor, young African American man, was charged
2 with felony murder in the District of Columbia in 1991. He was
3 accused of robbing a man at gunpoint and killing him during the
4 course of the robbery. Felony murder is one of the most serious forms
5 of homicide, but there was nothing noteworthy or more heinous
6 about this felony murder than any other. The only remarkable detail
7 was that the victim was a young white college student from the
8 Midwest. In 1991, the vast majority of the over 400 murder victims in
9 the District of Columbia were young black men.
10 Andrew Klepper was a white middle-class teenager who lived in a
11 Maryland suburb. When he was 15, he joined two friends from his

12 prestigious high school in hiring a sex worker and inviting her to his
13 house. The boys proceeded to beat her with a baseball bat, sodomize
14 her with the handle and a large ink marker, and rob her of over
15 \$2,000. Andrew was charged as an adult with a first-degree sex
16 offense, conspiracy to commit a first-degree sex offense, armed
17 robbery, and conspiracy to commit armed robbery. All of these
18 charges except the armed robbery carry a maximum penalty of life in
19 prison in the state of Maryland.

20 Robinson's case immediately attracted the attention of the press,
21 undoubtedly because of the victim's status and the fact that the
22 victim's family contacted a congressman from their state. Media
23 attention and the involvement of the congressman assured that
24 Robinson would be prosecuted expeditiously.

25 In the midst of the trial, Robinson's dedicated and experienced public
26 defender was incapacitated by a stroke. The prosecutor opposed a
27 motion for a mistrial despite the fact that Robinson was left with a
28 young cocounsel who had never tried a jury case before. The judge
29 appointed an attorney who had no prior knowledge of the case to
30 assist the defense. Robinson was convicted of all counts and
31 sentenced to life in prison.

32 In the Klepper case, the evidence of the defendant's guilt was
33 overwhelming, including a confession by Klepper himself. Yet despite
34 the evidence and brutality of the crimes, Klepper never served a day
35 in prison. The prosecutor offered him a deal that allowed him to
36 plead guilty to less serious offenses. The prosecutor also agreed to
37 support a five-year term of probation so that Klepper could
38 participate in a six-to-eight week program in a secure treatment
39 facility for troubled youth in Tennessee. As part of the agreement,
40 Klepper would spend an additional 18 months at the facility before
41 enrolling in a boarding school. Klepper's parents agreed to pay for the
42 cost of the treatment.

Prosecutors Making the Punishment Fit the Crime: A Question of Race and Class, Angela Davis, Fall 2007, Pg 10

In 30, we are presented with a highly detailed account of the experiences of two young men from different racial and class backgrounds. From the outset their different experiences are juxtaposed. Details as to the identities of the

boys are the first details given when introducing the boys (lines 1-2, 10-11). This is followed by details of their crimes respectively (lines 2-6, 11-14). Note that the seriousness of James Robinson's crime is downplayed – the killing occurred 'in the course of a robbery', thus removing intent. In fact his very involvement is thrown into doubt in line 2, in which he is described as being 'accused' of the crime rather than committing it. Furthermore, although accused of a felony, his crime is described as not 'noteworthy', making it seem just like any other murder. But the author implies that the boy is a victim of racial politics as he is a black boy accused of killing a white man. In contrast, Andrew Klepper's crime is described in much more detail – in lines 10 – 14 we are presented with the exact events that took place, instruments used and items stolen- thus highlighting its brutal nature. Moreover that the boys planned the attack is implied through the revelation that they invited the woman to the house. The effect is that Klepper's crime is painted as more shocking and brutal than that of Robinson.

Lines 20 through 40 present the advantages and disadvantages of the two boys throughout their trials. Robinson is portrayed as not only the victim of a great misfortune – the stroke of his highly skilled and committed attorney – but also a victim of the judge's choice of replacement. Klepper meanwhile is portrayed as having the advantage of the support of a high-

ranked politician and the benefit of media attention, presumably because of his race and class. The harsh sentencing of Robinson, compared the light sentence handed to Klepper, create an image of glaring injustice when one reflects on the imbalance of advantages and the brutality of Klepper's crime as opposed to the seemingly accidental nature of Robinson's. This serves to provide highly supportive evidence for the author's argument that race and class are a deciding factor in the trying of cases in America. As a rhetorical move this provides the backbone of the argument and paves the way for the broader perspective which is offered in the next move: putting the case in context.

In order to put cases in context, often the focus is expanded from the individuals previously described, to other instances of the issue. These are brief but explicit in nature, providing an overview of the scope of the problem. This may, although does not necessarily, contain information as to the work of OSI in the field.

31)

1 He and other members of the society documented and challenged the
2 relentless and unjustified harassment lawyers faced at police stations
3 and in courtrooms.
4 In one incident, a police officer slapped Tafadzwa Mugabe of the
5 Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. Mugabe filed a complaint, but
6 has yet to be notified of the status of his case. The year before,
7 Mugabe's mother, herself a police officer, was hounded out of her
8 police housing because of her son's political activities. She is now
9 unemployed.

10 Another time, a police officer crumpled a court order, served by Otto
11 Saki, now studying law at Columbia University, and threw it into his
12 face, saying he would “disappear” mysteriously if he kept bothering
13 the police with his human rights work. The spouses of lawyers have
14 received anonymous phone calls and threats to their lives for
15 supporting their partners’ human rights related activities.
16 Today, with elections expected in March 2008, activists in Zimbabwe
17 are under constant intimidation and surveillance and face a wide
18 variety of violations of their fundamental freedoms of expression and
19 association.

*Who Defends the Defenders?, Isabella Matambanadzo, Winter 2007-08, Pg
4*

In 31 we see the shift of focus from the individual concerned to the general climate in which he existed. The predominant conditions in which the protagonist lived are described as being a climate of ‘relentless and unjustified harassment’. This assertion is then supported by specific instances of harassment. In one case the harassment is so severe that it extends to the victim’s mother, resulting in her losing her job. That harassment often extends to the families of victims is later revealed thus completing the picture of far-reaching persecution. In another case, the well-respected and highly-educated nature of the victim is introduced through mention of his attendance at a highly-regarded university. This, when compared to the treatment he received at the hands of Zimbabwean police makes it seem all the more outrageous. Finally, that the conditions are continuing at present, even after a man’s death is explicitly stated. This establishes that the problem is not solved, that the climate of harassment

continues and thus requires attention. In this case, this move provides a perfect prologue for the next move – suggestion of a resolution.

In offering a resolution to the problem, OSI expresses directly their belief as to what is the most just and appropriate solution to the problem.

32)

1 States' objections to granting citizenship based on residency – that
2 members of certain ethnic groups or that those who enter illegally do
3 not “belong” – ring hollow in the face of long-term residence. Nubians
4 like Adam Hussein Adam have lived in Kenya for a century. Sonia
5 Pierre and many other ethnic Haitians have now lived in the
6 Dominican Republic for generations. To deny citizenship to these
7 groups is to deny them the protection of the only state relevant to
8 them.
9 Citizenship based on effective links to a country could be applied so
10 that illegal entrants could be subject to deportation before they formed
11 strong links – for example, within the first three years of entry.
12 However, if these individuals remain as productive, law-abiding
13 members of the society, each additional year of residence would
14 strengthen their right to stay and they should eventually be entitled to
15 citizenship.
16 If citizenship were properly treated as a right, another important
17 principle to adopt would be for states to bear more of the burden in
18 disputes about nationality and citizenship. Currently, most states place
19 the burden on individuals to “prove” their entitlement to citizenship.
20 States have the power to impose any requirement for citizenship and
21 to thereby selectively deny citizenship by withholding necessary
22 documents or changing the requirements. The result is often that
23 citizenship is determined not by an individual's presence in and
24 commitment to a country, but rather by his or her ability to cajole or
25 bribe bureaucrats into issuing the necessary papers.
26 The ideas above provide a starting point for dialogue on how to end
27 citizenship's status as the orphan of human rights thinking and
28 activism. The sooner advocates, legal scholars, and politicians come
29 together and develop a comprehensive citizenship norm, the sooner
30 we will be able to bring rights and justice to those who continue to
31 suffer in the limbo of statelessness.

In 32, the fact that long-term residence should be the criterion for citizenship rather than ethnicity is emphasised, through focus on the temporal connection two people have with a country. The length of this time is highlighted through the use of words such as 'centuries' and 'generations'. The injustice is further underlined through the use of 'only' in line 7, portraying them as not even being allowed citizenship to the sole country to which they have a connection. In this example, OSI's beliefs are conveyed through the conditional 'if' and use of the modal verbs 'could' and 'would'. These 'hypothetical' structures have in common several features. Firstly they have a negative implication – that is that 'x' is not the case at the moment. Secondly, and particularly in the case of 'could' these modals imply that something prevents 'x' from being the case. Significantly, they emphasise and suggest a possible change in circumstances which might lead to 'x' being the case. Thus OSI is here not only suggesting an ideal outcome, but identifying the obstacles to that outcome and providing a method of circumventing them. This casts them as being a well informed and erudite player in the field thus enhancing their ethos.

This rhetorical move structure represents a well-rounded persuasive argument as laid out by Aristotle. Throughout the structure OSI's ethos is established through their detailed knowledge of not only the case study but also the more general conditions pertaining to the issue. This is further compounded by their proposal of a suitable resolution, which of course also belies their stance. The initial three rhetorical moves provide an appeal to pathos – with the issue, individual case and the wider context all providing a basis for the establishment of reader empathy. Often the use of adjectives plays a central role in appeal to pathos. Logos is appealed to through the third rhetorical move, with the implication being that the wider context justifies a further work to achieve a more satisfactory outcome. While serving different communicative purposes, the rhetorical move structure for case studies bears some resemblance to that of AI's calls for action.

In Appendix D a full example of a case study is provided, the full analysis of which, with reference to rhetorical move structure and lexicogrammatical features follows here. Early in rhetorical move one (lines 1-15), both the headline and lead-in gain interest, through introducing the issue - that the European Court has not upheld its responsibilities. This is established through its placement as agent subject of verbs and of complex verb collocations with the semantic meaning denoting a failure to protect, or

a failure to live up to responsibilities – ‘fail’, ‘fail’ ‘to advance’, ‘shied away...from defending’, ‘decline to overturn’ - in lines 1, 4, 4 and 13 respectively. In the two latter examples, the court is cast as not only failing to protect equal rights, but of doing so intentionally as suggested by the verb collocations ‘shied away..... from vigorously defending human rights’ and ‘declined to overturn’. The adverb in the former clause emphasising the magnitude of the potential change they could have effected. The latter clause in particular denotes a strong sense of deliberate refusal to act on the part of the court. This leaves no doubt as to the concerns of OSI pertaining to this issue. The highly accusative content of the rhetorical move in this case, is tantamount to OSI sitting in judgement of the European Court – thus emphasising their ethos.

Turning to the second rhetorical move (lines 16-62), describing individual cases, we notice that there are in fact two cases relevant to the issue. In describing the first case, that of Leyla Sahin, she and the women of Turkey are very clearly specified as victims, with they or their preferences and rights being semantic themes of such verbs as ‘ignore’ - line 18, ‘bar’ – line 21, and ‘violate’ - line 29, ‘deny’ line 31. All these examples accentuate the women’s right to wear a headscarf being repudiated or disregarded, hence their helplessness is underscored. The use of ‘violate’ in line 29 is

particularly interesting in that paired with the negative markers 'neither' and 'nor', it acts in an evaluative function, signalling the authors disagreement with the courts decision, that is, the author believes that her freedom and rights were indeed violated. The introduction of the Roma is characterised by a lack of agency attributed to them through their repeated placement as semantic theme of the verb 'assign', in lines 40 and 51. As semantic themes of 'assign', the Roma are represented as deprived of their own will, allocated to schools with little regard for their best interests.

Additionally, turning now to semantic agency, where an agent does occur it is the authorities who are assigned semantic agency. Either the Turkish authorities or the court itself are agents thus highlighting the power dynamics of the situation. The authority of the court and its power to positively affect the situation of the victims is highlighted through its position as grammatical subject and semantic agent of such collocations as 'made..a decision' – line 17 and 'gave...carte blanche' – line 18

In these cases it is the court that holds the power to make decisions, the outcome of which is the permittance or forbiddance of the Turkish government's actions. Similarly with reference to the Roma case, the court is the agent of such power-attributing verb collocations as 'issue a judgement' – line 38 and 'recognize' – line 56 and 'held that' - line 58. The result is that the

court is clearly the most powerful player in this case, making their 'failure' to uphold expected standards of human rights all the more patent.

In rhetorical move three (lines 63-88), the inadequacy of the court's decision is further accentuated through comparison with recent progress in the fight against discrimination. Recent improvements in conditions for those who are discriminated against are described using positive adjectives, and using adjectives which encode a growth in positive actions on victims' behalf, as exemplified by the use of 'increasing' and 'growing' in the sentence on line 64 through 65. 'Expanding' is used to similar effect in line 68. That progress in recognizing and fighting discrimination has been substantial is once again emphasised through the inclusion of 'significant' in line 77. Furthermore, that standards pertaining to discrimination are both unambiguous and regulated is emphasised through the phrase 'clear and high' in lines 71-72. In line 79, OSIs disappointment with the court's decision is blatantly expressed through description of it as 'flying in the face' of 'promising' developments elsewhere in Europe. The picture here is of a widespread improvement in circumstances for those who have faced discrimination, largely effected through the implementation of programs and institutional decisions. When compared with these, the decision in the two cases described in the current article becomes glaringly inadequate in

defending those at risk of prejudice. The description of the positive progress in the area provides a natural lead in to the provision of a solution in move four. Additionally OSI's thorough knowledge of the predominant climate supports its image as an expert, creating ethos.

In this case the suggested resolution in rhetorical move four (lines 89-100) is straight-forward and brief. In fact, further explication is not necessary because the content of rhetorical move three establish clearly the stance of OSI with regards the issue. In rhetorical move four, however OSI emphasises the pressing nature of the matter through describing the appeal as the final chance for justice to be done, while simultaneously stressing once again the power of the court. This is done repeatedly with the phrases 'one more chance' - line 80, 'raises the possibility of revising it's all too narrow concept of anti discrimination' – lines 87-88 and 'gives an opportunity to reaffirm and clarify' - line 89-90. All these phrases underscore the last-chance nature of the decision while casting the court as in control. Furthermore, the use of adjectives throughout the piece make more than clear OSI's recommended course of action.

Throughout the text, adjectives are unmistakable indicators of OSI's stance with regards the issue. They contribute considerably to the representation of the European Court as an institution which has power and

a responsibility to serve those who are victims of discrimination. The European Court tribunal is described using adjectives which attribute esteem, power and dependability such as 'most respected tribunal in the world' in line 10 and 'most authoritative body' in lines 16-17. Moreover, these adjectives are modified by the superlative marker thus setting the relevant sections of the European Court above all others in these respects. In the previous of the two examples it is the whole noun phrase complete with the complement 'in the world' which serves to further convey the high degree to which the court is venerated. Thus the court is depicted as an honourable, trustworthy body whose responsibilities to the vulnerable are great. The victims on the other hand are described as quite the opposite. Adjectives used to describe Layla Sahin, Turkish women and the Roma highlight their powerlessness. In addition, their predicament is characterised as widespread and difficult for them to escape. The description of the groups as 'long-oppressed' (line 36), 'vulnerable' (line 15) and living in a 'pervasive reality of racial disadvantage' (line 59-60) casts them as defenceless victims of discrimination. Thus they are clearly the less powerful and therefore in need of protection. The court's failure to defend the defenceless when they indeed have the authority and influence to do so is also highlighted with the use of adjectives throughout the piece. The court's decision is repeatedly described

as 'disappointing' and at one point also 'sweeping', and they are described as having missed two 'major opportunities' to fight inequality. OSI's attitude to the court's decision is thus clearly conveyed.

This genre's communicative purpose, to outline a specific example of an issue which presents a challenge to advocates of democracy and open society, is achieved through a combined appeal to ethos, pathos and logos. Rhetorical moves and lexico-grammatical features such as semantic agency and lexical choice multiply contribute to establishment of the three aspects of Aristotelian persuasion. Detailed accounts of individual cases in rhetorical moves one and two establish ethos and pathos. Furthermore, descriptions of the wider context in rhetorical move three continue to institute ethos while also appealing to logos. The result is a decidedly persuasive genre which highlights OSI's expert knowledge and leaves the reader with no doubt as to the organisation's stance.

4.4.2. Project Outline

The communicative purpose of project outlines are, as the title suggests, intended to focus specifically on OSI's projects and programs, justifying their existence. In these articles OSI's work in the geographical region or in tackling the featured issue are described, along with the challenges that they face. In this genre, quotes from those working in the projects are frequent.

This gives the reader a sense that they are being presented with a first-hand, and therefore very real, account of the work of OSI.

This genre's rhetorical move structure is as follows:

33)

Move 1. Gain interest

- Introduce theme

and/or

- Set the scene

Move 2. Describe program

- Outline aims

and/or

- Provide details – location, people, scope

Move 3. Establish need for program

- Provide background information

and/or

- Outline challenges and/or observed impact

Gaining interest may be achieved with a long description of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the project, or may be, as in example 53 be achieved in a succinct and catchy manner.

34) It may not seem like glamorous, high-level diplomacy, but spending \$100 on bus tickets so Croatian youth leaders can meet their peers in

Kosovo captures the essence of the East East Program Subprogram for Southeast Europe.

Regional Cooperation Begins with People Working Together, Fall 2000, Pg 16

In 34, that a simple and relatively inexpensive gesture can provide considerable benefit for people is highlighted. The mention of 'glamorous, high-level diplomacy' in combination with the inclusion of the relatively small price of the bus ticket implies that OSI knows that it is sometimes actions and not large amounts of money which are the most effective. This enhances their image as astute experts and almost pokes fun at those who are high-level diplomats. That this small action represents the 'essence' of the project ignites the reader's curiosity, compelling them to read on.

Rhetorical move two makes up a substantial portion of this genre including detailed information about the project and its aims.

35)

1 Over the last six years, TI, with support from the Open Society
2 Institute, has responded to this kind of corruption by using its
3 coalition of over 70 national chapters around the world to develop
4 alternative, home-grown strategies and tools to promote transparency
5 and accountability.
6 In South Eastern Europe, national chapters in Romania, Croatia, and
7 Bulgaria have been involved in a variety of efforts to prevent
8 corruption from becoming an issue that could undermine stability in
9 the region.
10 At the end of last year, TI-Romania decided to focus on corruption at
11 the local government level before tackling the issue on a national
12 scale. With the support of the Open Society Foundation- Romania,
13 TI-Romania is in the process of identifying and analysing the entry
14 points of corruption in the public administration of three counties.
15 The concrete outcome will not be to uncover corruption cases which

16 may have occurred in the past, but to help local authorities identify
17 measures to reduce and prevent corruption in their administrations.
18 The results of the project will be made public through press
19 conferences and roundtables.
20 In Croatia, TI–Croatia works as a coalition that includes several civil
21 society organisations such as the Croatian Law Center. Together,
22 these groups have initiated a project on public procurement
23 legislation with the support of the Open Society Institute–Croatia and
24 the Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute (COLPI.)
25 National chapters are also involved in regional projects. With the
26 financial support of OSI’s East East Program, TI–Bulgaria organized
27 the first ever regional training seminar for civil society organizations
28 from South Eastern Europe on April 8-9 in Sofia.
29 The seminar was devoted to combating corruption in the
30 reconstruction process in the region. Representatives from 50 civil
31 society organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina,
32 Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia,
33 Turkey, and Yugoslavia participated in workshops on effective
34 advocacy campaigns; civic control initiatives; investigative
35 journalism; and principles for monitoring public procurement.
36 In response to ineffective and corrupt local institutions sustained by
37 weak states that could jeopardize regional reconstruction efforts, OSI
38 and the Local Governance Initiative (LGI) are also helping TI–
39 Bulgaria develop a new program for monitoring the reconstruction
40 process in South Eastern Europe. The program aims to build
41 substantial support for establishing powerful constituencies to
42 combat misuse and misappropriation of international funds and aid.
43 The program would provide representatives of key civil society
44 organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria,
45 Croatia, Yugoslavia, and Macedonia with specific knowledge on
46 relevant international standards to curb corruption and a set of
47 adaptable monitoring techniques.

*Fighting Corruption from the Bottom Up, Adrian Baboi, Nikolay Iltchev,
Ventsislav Karadjov, Ognyan Minchev, Sara Morante, Fall 2000, Pg 9-10*

In 35, a comprehensive account of OSI’s support in establishing and
sustaining projects concerned with tackling corruption in a number of
countries is provided. Throughout the example the size and coverage of

OSI's affiliated projects are emphasised. This is variously achieved through the quoting of figures – line 2, and the listing of countries in which projects are active – lines 5-6, lines 28-29 and lines 40-41. Additionally the aims of the project are described in detail, including details as to how results will be reported, incidentally in a democratic fashion – lines 15-16. In outlining aims, verbs denoting support of progress such as 'develop', 'reconstruct', and 'initiate' are used. Significantly, it is emphasised that OSI foundations are relatively autonomous in lines 8–10. This casts OSI not as the main instigator of actions but as a caring supporter, aiding chapters to realise their own goals rather than setting goals themselves. However, OSI's status as being at the forefront of work in the field is also outlined in line 19. This casts OSI as a powerful and effectual agent in the fight against corruption in Eastern Europe. Having established the efficacy and details of projects, this rhetorical move sets up for the following move – justifying the need for such work.

An example of rhetorical move three is shown below in 36.

36)

1 While some Cambodians see the court as a way of bringing their country
2 long-term peace, others are more skeptical. "I think this is a waste of
3 money" said a 47-year-old small business owner. "This is a small case
4 and Cambodia is a small country—we could use the money for other
5 things."
6 Sentiments such as these coupled with the fact that the court is drawing
7 most of its judges from Cambodia, where the judicial system is weak and
8 susceptible to government interference; underscore the need for the court
9 to be as transparent as possible. The Justice Initiative worked to address

10 these issues by placing a full-time monitor in Phnom Penh in October
11 2005 to evaluate whether the court is meeting minimum due process and
12 fair trial standards.

13 As of February 2007, key areas of concern—including allegations of
14 serious corruption, the adequacy of witness protection, judicial
15 independence, the competence and availability of investigative
16 resources, and the ability of foreign lawyers to fully and independently
17 participate as defense counsel in a list approved by the ECCC—remain.
18 Meeting international standards will allow the court to provide a
19 measure of justice to the victims and gain the respect of the international
20 community and, most importantly, the Cambodian people.

21 In addition to functioning properly, the court must adequately inform
22 and respond to the public. Its ability to render justice must be accurately
23 described to the public so expectations do not exceed the realities.

24 Many Cambodians assume the court will provide compensation for
25 victims and their survivors, indict and punish low-level perpetrators,
26 prosecute leaders from other countries that supported the Khmer Rouge,
27 and hold a posthumous trial of Pol Pot.

28 The reality is that the court is budgeted to operate for three years and
29 will prosecute fewer than a dozen individuals. No victim-compensation
30 fund currently exists. No foreigners will be tried. And no trial of Pol Pot
31 will take place.

32 The Justice Initiative is working to make sure that the court gives a high
33 priority, and dedicates significant funds, to explaining these and other
34 limitations to rural Cambodians—whose literacy rates tend to be low—as
35 well as engaging them in a meaningful way and listening to their
36 thoughts and ideas about the court. The Justice Initiative team, in
37 collaboration with the Khmer Institute for Democracy, has been traveling
38 to rural communities showing videos and hosting discussions about the
39 court and obtaining information about how the court and the justice
40 process is perceived. Other NGOs have organized community forums
41 throughout the provinces often involving high-level ECCC officials.
42 By working to make the court more comprehensible and accessible to
43 ordinary Cambodians, this outreach can allow people to engage with
44 their history and experiences, address issues of racism against non-
45 Khmer Cambodians, and contribute to the story of how even powerful
46 individuals responsible for mass atrocities can be held accountable for
47 their actions.

48 One Cambodian man expressed optimism that the court will rise to the
49 occasion, engage the Cambodian people and meet standards of due

50 process: "This tribunal will be a model, not only for the Cambodian
51 people, but also for all the world's people." Time and events will tell, but
52 the Justice Initiative remains committed to helping Cambodia make the
53 most of its last, best chance at justice.

Three Decades After Two Million Killings, A War Crimes Tribunal Begins,
Terry Gurd and Kelly Askin, Pg 17, Winter 2006-2007.

Throughout this example the need for support and the ways in which the given program will meet those needs is described. Through first outlining the challenge followed closely by the planned action to address it, OSI appears an expert in the field. This expert knowledge is two-fold: not only is OSI well-informed as to the problems facing the Cambodian trial process but they are so thoroughly acquainted with the issue that they are able to offer appropriate methods to tackle the problems. In lines 1-5 the problem of the public's attitude to the court is provided as a direct quote from a Cambodian man whose age and profession are also provided. This emphasises the reality that ordinary Cambodian's are doubtful of the process, while also making clear that OSI has a real physical presence in the region. This is later reinforced in lines 24 -27 in which the public's popular belief that compensation will be provided is outlined. In the following lines 28 -31, the erroneous nature of this belief is given by OSI, allowing it to appear as an expert, while the public appears misguided, thus accentuating the need for OSI's projects. Throughout the example OSI makes clear both its stance and expertise on the issue through the use of modal verbs such as 'must', line 21

and 'can', line 43. These are instances of appealing simultaneously to both pathos and ethos. It is this final move, through giving highly-detailed descriptions of the climate and the necessary measures for improvement which serves to validate the work and efforts of OSI in Cambodia.

The rhetorical move structure of this genre is well suited to achieve the communicative purpose of justifying the existence and work of OSI. Highly detailed descriptions of both the issue and of the projects provide the reader with a very thorough picture of with which OSI is involved. This detail simultaneously casts OSI as a professional, well-ordered organisation with considerable expertise. This, juxtaposed with the information given in rhetorical move three - outlining the challenges and background information – works to convince the reader not only of the efficiency of OSI projects but the necessity that they continue.

In the full example of a project outline in appendix E the rhetorical move structure is employed to explicate the need for a project for young people in Macedonia. The first rhetorical move, (lines 1-11) first gains interest through a question directed at the reader. This immediately engages the reader with the subject matter of the article. Directly providing the answer not only establishes OSI's expertise, appealing to ethos, but serves to maintain interest. The following direct quote provides the reader a direct

connection to the project's spokesperson, with her corroborating the contention that young people are mostly interested in the OSI run democracy workshop. The extent of the project is alluded to, through the inclusion of the number of youth centers in line 15. This contributes to the image of it as a successful and professional organisation.

In outlining the project, the second rhetorical move (lines 12-29), both the project's aims and details pertaining to the project and OSI's support of it are presented. In lines 17 -19, the activities organised by the project are all characteristic of democratic systems, thus emphasising the focus of the project. Furthermore, we are told that OSI is responsible for a further initiative. The divulgence of the substantial amount of financial support provided by OSI in line 21, demonstrates their commitment to the project. This is immediately followed by detailed information as to the aims of the project – fostering of democracy and tolerance. Thus OSI's commitment to these aims in the region is established in the eyes of the reader. In this rhetorical move, the ongoing presence and support offered by Soros foundations is emphasised both through the information that the new project aims to give funding to those areas not previously financed, and through the reference to 'established Soros foundations' in line 25. All this

information contributes to portrayal of OSI as a powerful and expert player in the field.

In accordance with the communicative purpose of project outlines – to justify their existence - the largest portion of text in this example is devoted to the final rhetorical move, establishing the need for the program (lines 30-68). This is achieved through the combination of facts about the region and its political climate by the author and through direct quotes from the spokesperson for the project. The tone of the direct quotes is highly subjective with Lazarevska using such constructions as ‘I think’ and ‘I would say’. These expressions are also examples of hedging. That is, use of ‘I would say’, ‘some of them’ and ‘perhaps’ reflects the less-than-full commitment Lazarevska has to the truth value of her own statements. Far from portraying her as uninformed, the effect is instead to exhibit her unwillingness to speak on behalf of others or for her opinions to be misconstrued as facts. Given that her position as a central person in the project has been established, her opinion is presented as being of import. The balance of Lazarevska’s positive opinion of the project and the author’s description of the need for such effort combine to support the continued existence of the project.

A striking element of this piece is the repetition of references to young people. Throughout the piece references to young people occur eighteen

times. The word 'youth' appears most often. Other terms used are 'teenagers', 'young people' and specific references to the age-group '14 – 21'. It seems that the author wants to remind the reader who these programs are intended for and thus who OSI is helping in this case. The concept of youth here is used as a metaphor for hope, and for potential for positive change. These young people could just as easily have been portrayed as helpless victims of the conflict in their country. Instead they are portrayed as attending after-school programs with an interest in democracy, thus as diligent and politically interested individuals. They are also portrayed, through Lazarevska's statements, as being open-minded, without the prejudices that their elders might hold and perhaps even better equipped to fill political office. Thus the emphasis on the youth of the participants in the programs is synonymous with the potential for a brighter future and forthcoming change. By offering these programs to young people, OSI is thus seen not only as supporting the young people's development but also as fostering prospective improvement in the region.

Once again, OSI and its project are agent subjects of verbs with positive active meanings. Frequent verbs in the newsletter such as '*promote*', '*support*', '*fund*' and '*aim*' are all here. In addition to these are verbs and verb/noun collocations with specific reference to OSI's goal-setting and

implementation of programs and to their projects' positive effect on participants. OSI and its affiliated bodies and projects are semantic agents of 'running' (line 17), 'implementing' (line 20), 'launched' (line 21), 'aims' (line 23) and 'help' (line 49). This presents them as an active, focussed and professional organisation that play a major role in assisting people in the region. In line 21, the focus is on its considerable financial clout, thus demonstrating their economic commitment to improving conditions in the region. Furthermore the projects are characterised as having already 'work(ed) to reduce tensions among the country's Albanian, Romani, and Macedonian populations with activities that promote democracy, ethnic tolerance, and respect for human rights' (lines 24-29), thus the aims of their projects in the region and indeed the cornerstones of their political convictions in a broader sense are explicitly provided, while also making clear that they are not amateurs in this field, having already facilitated previous projects.

This genre's communicative purpose is reached through appeal to all three aspects of persuasion as per Aristotle. Ethos is established and maintained throughout the genre – with OSI cast as knowledgeable about the issue and/or region in both rhetorical moves one and three. Elsewhere, ethos is appealed to through their description of the project. While it is hardly

surprising that they should know about their own project; that the project meets the needs presented by the issue is a testament to OSI's expertise. In both rhetorical moves one and three pathos is appealed to, with reader empathy evoked through description of the issue and challenging factors. Finally, logos is appealed to through the logical conclusion that the given project should continue based on the existing issue and potential challenges. As always, it is the complex interaction of the rhetorical structure with lexicogrammatical features which produces the persuasive effect of the genre.

4.4.3. Issue Discussion

This genre is a frequent genre in the newsletters and focuses on a certain issue within the broader topic of the newsletter. It differs from case studies in that although narratives may be used to illustrate the point, the focus is not the events themselves but rather the issue. This genre reads much like an essay and is characterised by unambiguous statements as to the moral beliefs and philosophy of OSI. Thus its communicative purpose is the unequivocal statement of the position of OSI with regards the issue and open society.

The rhetorical structure is a three move structure as shown below.

37)

Move 1. Introduce issue

Move 2. Describe OSI view

- General outline of view

and/or

- Examples with OSI commentary

and/or

- Outline of OSI involvement

Move 3. Statement of belief

- Appeal to morality

In rhetorical move one, introducing the issue essential details such as the region and main points pertinent to the issue are described. Additionally it provides some background to the issue, informing the reader of the implications and less obvious points related to the issue. This rhetorical move provides the foreground for next two rhetorical moves which are more subjective in nature. Often this rhetorical move begins in the lead-in, continuing in the opening paragraphs of the article, as is the case in 38.

38)

- 1 *The countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia have passed through their*
- 2 *“transitions” to arrive on the world stage facing economic, political, and social*
- 3 *challenges common to countries throughout the world.*
- 4 *Anthony Richter, director of OSI’s Central Eurasia Project, argues that the states*
- 5 *in the two regions must now look to international standards and systems for*
- 6 *solutions to their problems.*
- 7 In 2001, the states of the Caucasus and Central Asia will mark their first
- 8 decade of independence. Should they still be called transitional societies?
- 9 The idea of a transition can be an appealing notion, but it’s a relative one,
- 10 depending on how long it takes and where the country is located. Sharing
- 11 a border with Germany or Afghanistan can influence the stakes for the
- 12 would-be reformer set on political openness and liberal trade. And

13 whether a transition takes two centuries or five years makes a great deal
14 of difference to people buffeted by political and economic change.
15 But what if the period of rapid transition is over in the Caucasus and
16 Central Asia? What implications does that have for the people who live
17 there and those of us who interact with them and their leaders?

*Looking beyond Transition in Central Eurasia, Anthony Richter, Pg 3, Spring
2001*

The first point to note regarding example 38 is that the opening sentence of the lead in is presented as fact as opposed to an opinion. Furthermore, the OSI provides no evidence to support or elaborate on this assertion, thus it is presupposed that the reader will not query the validity of the statement. This represents two possible assumptions; that the reader is informed as to the status of this region; or that OSI is perceived as enough of an expert that this assertion will not be questioned. In terms of grammatical constructions, the presence of a large number of questions is striking. These serve the dual purpose of inspiring the reader to think about the issues at hand, and where OSI provides immediate answers to questions, it once again casts them as well-informed and knowledgeable with regards the issue. Other content in this example appears purely informational with names of countries and implications given matter-of-factly. This is largely due to the lack of emotive adjectives. However there are a number of markers of the author's opinion which, while not as overt as those in the remainder of the piece, are significant. The wording of the questions in line 8 and in lines 15-16 are

leading in nature, pointing toward the author's opinion that they should indeed no longer be referred to as transitional societies. Additionally, the clause in line 9, 'the idea of a transition can be an appealing one, but it's a relative one', is a marker that the author deems 'transitional' no longer an appropriate label for the region's nations. The result of this more subtle rhetoric is that the contents of this move appear to be a factual groundwork for the author's opinion which follows, more overtly expressed, in rhetorical move two.

As previously mentioned, it is in rhetorical move two, in which OSI's view is outlined, couched in the context of a series of examples, in this case of the situation in Zimbabwe under Mugabe.

39)

1 Human rights abuses include more than 4,000 documented cases of the
2 torture and abduction of prodemocracy activists and political
3 opponents in 2007 alone, including the globally televised aftermath of
4 the deadly crackdown against peaceful demonstrators on March 11.
5 Mugabe's reign of terror is decades old. Even in the early years of
6 independence from Britain, Mugabe's systematic silencing of all real
7 political opposition resulted in the murder of 20,000 Zimbabweans in
8 western and southern Zimbabwe—genocide by any name.
9 In the winter of 2005, the government razed to the ground the homes of
10 700,000 Zimbabweans, destroying the livelihoods of 20 percent of the
11 population and drawing condemnation from the United Nations (UN).
12 Mugabe's militia was responsible for an orgy of state-sanctioned and
13 state organized looting, rape, and violence. The violence provided the
14 requisite smokescreen behind which Mugabe and his supporters could
15 shut down newspapers, bomb radio stations, purge the bench of
16 independent judges, beat up lawyers, murder opposition politicians

17 and political campaign staff, starve political opponents, and enable
18 senior military, police, intelligence, and ruling party people to amass
19 stupendous levels of wealth.
20 The Zimbabwe crisis has demonstrated important weaknesses in the
21 international protection of human rights. In spite of rhetorical
22 commitments about the “responsibility to protect,” the global system
23 has yet to develop and wield a truly effective mechanism for protecting
24 victims of abuse who cannot find relief in domestic jurisdictions. The
25 regime in Harare has ignored recommendations for human rights and
26 democracy restoration from the UN’s Human Rights Commissioner,
27 the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights, and the
28 Southern Africa Development Community’s Parliamentary Forum,
29 among many others. It has resisted the sending into Zimbabwe of
30 human rights rapporteurs from the UN system and human rights
31 investigators from the Pan-African Parliament. With the aid of the
32 South African administration, it has resisted having Zimbabwe on the
33 agenda of the UN Human Rights Council and the Security Council.
Eyes on Zimbabwe: Freeing a Country From Its Liberator, Tawanda Mutasah,
Pg 5, Winter 2007-2008

In example 39, focus is on elaborating the issue, using facts and figures in order to describe the nature of Mugabe’s actions and the extent to which they have affected Zimbabweans. But this is by no means a dry description of events, but rather it is peppered with emotive language and phrases which clearly demonstrate OSI’s view, playing a part in developing its argument. In lines 1 and 7, figures are used to present the level of abuse that has occurred with the numbers not only being in their thousands but when coupled with phrases such as ‘in 2007 alone’ as in line 3, the large-scale and ongoing nature of the abuse is emphasised. OSI’s view of the situation is unequivocally stated through adjectives such as ‘systematic’, and ‘state-organized’ and

'state-sanctioned' in lines 6, 12 and 13, respectively. Here OSI attributes blame squarely at Mugabe and his government. Furthermore, their actions are branded a 'reign of terror' in lines 4-5, 'genocide by any name' in line 8 and 'an orgy of state-sanctioned violence' in lines 12-13. This highly emotive language establishes, unflinchingly, OSI's opinion of the Mugabe government's actions. That Mugabe is a threat to the very ideals that OSI seeks to establish and protect is made clear in lines 13 through 19. Here they are responsible for the agency of such violent verbs as 'purge', 'beat up', 'murder' and 'starve' with semantic themes being symbols of a democratic society such as independent judges, lawyers, politicians and campaign staff. Additionally, symbols, in this context, of an autocratic society such as the military, police and party officials are portrayed as benefiting at the expense of democracy. Having established the situation and their stance on Mugabe's government itself, the article now turns to the international reaction to events in Zimbabwe. Once again, OSI is unflinching in its judgement of the international community, using such verbs as 'ignore' (line 25) and 'resist' (lines 29 and 32) to describe not just a lack of response but an outright unwillingness to address the issue. This is compounded by the use of the phrase 'in spite of rhetorical commitments....the global system has yet to develop and wield truly effective mechanism.....' which casts the

international community as being merely an ineffectual mouthpiece. It is OSI's unwavering emotive language in describing the situation in the second rhetorical move which advances its view and provides a natural lead in to the final statement of belief in rhetorical move three.

Rhetorical move three is characterised by direct statements as to OSI's stance, often with appeal to external references. An example of this rhetorical move is provided in 40.

40)

1 As long as African governments believe in branding people or their
2 communities as stateless and thus valid targets for expulsion or even
3 death, stability, development, and individual freedoms throughout the
4 continent will be undermined.

5 The African National Congress's Freedom Charter of 1955 strongly
6 proclaims that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it." This
7 affirmation of inclusiveness, and South Africa's efforts to implement it,
8 have been crucial to dismantling apartheid and building the
9 continent's most developed political economy. It is a proclamation and
10 set of principles that other African countries could learn from and
11 consider.

Statelessness in Africa: Turning Citizens into Nomads, Chidi Odinkalu, Pg 15, Winter 2007-2008

In 40, the opening statement is an unequivocal criticism of the African governments with regards their citizens' rights. Through connecting the treatment of people and communities to the larger issues of development and stability, OSI not only brings to attention the wider implications but also incorporates their main concerns into the argument. Use of the modal verb

'will' in line 4 not only demonstrates OSI's commitment to the validity statement but also depicts OSI as an expert, thus reinforcing their perceived ethos. This expert status is further emphasised through the appeal to and quote from The African National Congress's Freedom Charter of 1955 in line 6. Citing the successful progress of democratic ideals in South Africa, OSI then places itself in the position of advisor, suggesting that African countries should be more inclusive. As such, not only is OSI's stance clear, but also they are attributed the knowledge and conviction as to warrant their commentary of African governments' conduct – once again, an appeal to ethos.

This genre is the platform for OSI's most overt and consistent criticism and the rhetorical move structure and lexico-grammatical features support this. The fact that texts of this genre often read like an argumentative essay add to the persuasive nature of the genre. It is rhetorical move two which represents the principal thrust of the persuasive argument since it is here that OSI outlines the crux of the matter. However it is the overall combination of all the rhetorical moves, and their logical progression that creates the highly persuasive nature of this genre.

A full issue discussion, which is discussed here, is reproduced in appendix F. In this example, the first rhetorical move which runs from line 1

through 24, begins with a headline which succinctly outlines the topic of the newsletter. This is immediately followed by two rhetorical questions, the first of which is highly leading, in that it is asked if a perceived positive endeavour such as 'efforts towards building open societies' should be thwarted by terrorism. Given that both rhetorical questions are highly salient to the message of the article, the expected effect is that the reader will focus on the content of the question rather than the motives of the author, thus maximising the persuasive effect. OSI further expounds their opinion of terrorism in line 8, connecting it with such negative states as 'ignorance, hate and anger'.

As rhetorical move one continues in the opening of the article, the importance of the United States to the rest of the world is emphasised. Furthermore, a figure whose actions and policies in response to terrorism have gone against the ideals of open society, President Bush, is appealed to. Paraphrasing President Bush using the first person plural pronoun 'we' in line 17 serves to create a sense of union between OSI, readers and the president. This highlights common ideals and goals, despite potential differences in political views. Having established solidarity, OSI then expands their argument, introducing a new point which is subtly critical of the Bush administration. Through mentioning 'the less often understood' fact

that restriction 'of the press and independent associations' as contributing to the rise of terrorism, OSI implies that the president is misguided in his actions. Furthermore, it is implied that the bush administration is not 'open to public scrutiny' in line 15 and that this has a negative effect efforts to discourage terrorism. Throughout rhetorical move one, the metaphor of a war or fight against terrorism is employed, with such words as 'fight' and 'weapon' used repeatedly in the discussion. This is a popular metaphor, particularly in post-9/11 political rhetoric, which was in fact coined by the Bush administration. The effect is to make terrorism an enemy which requires a great deal of organisation and force to overcome. The appropriation of it here in OSI again emphasises common goals among people of different political views.

In rhetorical move two (lines 25-72), we see a shift to a focus on OSI itself. Lines 25 – 32 provide a short historical overview of the organisation, emphasising not only its beginnings in Central and Eastern Europe, but also its presence and therefore firsthand knowledge of Muslim countries thus appealing to ethos, in Aristotle's terms. The large list of countries in which OSI is present serves to highlight the strength and size of the organisation. Interestingly, the reason for discussion of Islamic countries is not explained, the presupposition being that the reader is well-informed enough to make

the connection between terrorism, the United States, the September 11 attacks and Islam.

The majority of the content of rhetorical move two is devoted to outright criticism of the United States and assertions as to how it 'should' behave. The US is accused of 'co-operating' with repressive regimes (line 40), 'flouting its obligations as a global citizen' (line 50-51) 'abrogating' the Kyoto treaty and 'working to weaken' a well established and esteemed legal organisation (lines 52-53). These are all very clear and unabashed criticisms, creating an air of confidence about OSI as they have no concerns about such open, flagrant criticism. This results in a perception of them as highly committed to their cause. While criticising the US, the advantages of open society are emphasised, in line 35-40, ('but it too'), that the US must also embrace open society if it wants to combat terrorism, and furthermore that this is 'the best route' (line 40), giving the impression that although there may be alternatives, none will be as effective as open society. Use of the negated modal 'cannot' in line 50 and the phrase 'make it impossible' in line 43 highlight the methods of the Bush administration as counter-productive and contribute clearly to the establishment of OSI's stance. Lines 40 through 46 are directly critical of the US's support of repressive regimes, while mention of 'the millions around the world' who would like to live in

conditions which happen to correspond to those expounded by OSI emphasises the need for organisations such as OSI.

In lines 68 through 70, the hypocrisy of the US, particularly under the Bush administration is highlighted through reference to US criticism of secret military trials conducted by other countries. This statement is interesting in that initially the US is referred to in the third person – line 69 ‘the U.S.’ and line 64 ‘it’s’, but switches to use of the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ (line 71). This has the effect of first distancing the author from the actions of the Bush administration, creating the impression that OSI is in an outside critical observer. The use of ‘we’ in the same clause however serves to point out that OSI members and the author are in fact members of the US. This allows OSI to appear as not only critical of the US but as having a vested interest in its future. This allows them to appeal to a wider audience through not appearing to be biased against the US.

Rhetorical move three (lines 73-93), the statement of belief opens with reference to a prominent figure in the Bush administration, the Attorney General. It is through paraphrasing his disparagement of those who criticise the government that OSI not only lays the groundwork for their statement of belief but also justifies their freedom to criticise the Bush administration. OSI’s opinion of his statement is made clear through the inclusion of the

adjective 'extraordinary' to describe his statement (line 75). The addition of 'even' (line 76) to modify the clause 'raise questions about the administration's policies', furthers the sense of OSI's astonishment at his comments. As if to prove their disapproval of his comments, OSI then not only inform the reader of their 'full page' ad in a high profile, quality newspaper, The New York Times, but proceed to quote from it. The quote appeals to history, asking the reader to look back and use the lessons learnt from previous times of crisis in the present. The effect of this final paragraph is three-fold: it makes OSI's stance very clear; their purchase of a full page ad demonstrates their commitment to the ideals of open society; and their appeal to learn lessons from history not only establishes logos but also ethos, both in that it is a logical argument and in that OSI appears to be well-versed in the past and present international policies of the US.

The persuasive nature of this genre is derived principally from its appeal to only two Aristotelian aspects of persuasive argument. In comparison to other genres, it places very high emphasis on ethos and logos, and comparatively little on pathos. Indeed pathos is present purely due to the subject matter, however the kinds of emotive lexical choice present in other OSI genres is not typical of issue discussions. Ethos is appealed to heavily throughout, both through highly detailed knowledge of the issue and

through OSI's recourse to external references in rhetorical move two. In describing OSI's view at length in this move, *logos* is also appealed to. The matter of fact statements in this move create the sense that OSI is not expressing an opinion but instead stating facts. Furthermore rhetorical move three in which an outright statement of belief is offered is primed well for by rhetorical move two with its exhaustive case-making. This genre is therefore a prime example of a highly persuasive genre which does not place equal emphasis on all of the three aspects of persuasion.

4.5. Genre Deviation and Genre Mixing

Having established and discussed the rhetorical move structures for the genres in *OSI News*, a discussion of the aforementioned genre deviation present in the newsletter is required. As mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, genres in *OSI News* are often difficult to identify due to the appropriation of generic conventions. That is, a text may display rhetorical structural features of more than one genre. This entails closer attention from the reader and analyst in order to classify the text into a generic category as the communicative purpose is not latent. The text shown in appendix G is an example of how generic conventions can be appropriated.

The text shown is interesting in that it both resembles a case study and a project outline. There are two ways to interpret the opening paragraphs of

this text. Lines 1-12 could be taken to constitute rhetorical move one of a case study, gaining interest through introducing the issue. In this interpretation, lines 13-19 constitute case study rhetorical move two, describing an individual case through introduction of protagonists and relaying of their story. However, equally, lines 1-19 could also be classified as rhetorical move one of a project outline, gaining interest through both introducing the issue and setting the scene through the introduction of two characters, the Ibrahim brothers. Already, with only seventeen lines of text the generic boundaries are blurred sufficient that it is difficult to decipher the communicative purpose of this text.

In the following paragraphs rhetorical moves from both genres are found although they are arranged in a somewhat less confusing manner than in the first eighteen lines in that they do not overlap. As such, lines 20 through 69 are a little less confusing in that they constitute, without doubt rhetorical move three of a case study, whereby the context for the individual case is put into context through illustrating the predominant climate pertaining to the issue. Similarly, lines 70-90 seem to be a clear example of a project outline rhetorical move two in which an OSI program is described through outlining the aims, location and scope of the program. Lines 91-124

constitute rhetorical move three of a project outline in which the need for the program is affirmed through details of the impact it has gleaned.

The previous discussion shows just how difficult it is to categorise a text such as this as to its genre. Given that all rhetorical moves of a project outline are present, in one interpretation, one might be inclined to categorise it as a project outline. However the undoubted presence of elements of the case study rhetorical structure, make this a difficult decision to reach. At a stretch, one could claim that lines 70-124 in fact constitute rhetorical move four of a case study, in which a suggested resolution is provided. Despite the fact that description of a project is not the norm in this move, one could argue that this is an exception. Thus it is a challenge to decipher the communicative purpose of this text through studying the rhetorical structure. This is due to the mixed or embedded generic conventions present in the text. Bhatia (1995) points out that this could be due to the text in fact having two communicative purposes, or because the text is designed to communicate private intentions within the context of 'socially recognised communicative purposes'.

4.6. Conclusion

Comparison of the observed rhetorical move structures of OSI genres reveal that project outlines and case studies are similar structurally. That is, they

begin with general information in rhetorical move one, followed by the specific in rhetorical move two before providing the wider context in the final move or moves. This reflects a similarity in communicative purpose – that is, they both intend to call attention to the need for action with regards a certain issue. They differ in that one – case studies - outlines the need before suggesting a resolution; while the other – project outlines – outlines already established efforts to tackle the problem. Issue discussions rhetorical moves provide specific information throughout, manifesting their communicative purpose of ideological discussion.

Comparison of the rhetorical move structures of each newsletter also reveals some interesting insights. Issue discussions (*OSI News*), case studies (*OSI News*), feature reports (*The Wire*) and calls for action (*The Wire*) all have in common a very specific and overt statement of the organisations belief, although they are delivered in different manners in each genre. These different manners and the differing overall rhetorical move structures reflect the different communicative purposes. In terms of the progression of rhetorical structure case studies (*OSI News*), calls for action (*The Wire*) and feature reports (*The Wire*) are similar in that they give very specific details about protagonists before relaying their stories. This is indicative of their

overlapping intentions of calling attention to an individual's predicament although their overall communicative purposes differ.

It is evident that the three aspects of Aristotle's persuasion model are all present across the genres of *OSI News*, manifested both in the lexico-grammatical features and in the generic structures themselves. Additionally generic variation is exploited to persuasive effect – that is the high level of variation renders communicative purposes, at times, implicit thus heightening persuasive effect. Lexico-grammatical features combine to persuade the reader of the organisational identity attributes. References to authors by name and expertise allows OSI to share with its readers a glimpse into its inner workings, while also flaunt its expert members – thus by extension establishing organisational expertise, ethos in Aristotle's terms. Having offered a glimpse of the individual members, OSI's use of first person plural pronouns serves to present the organisation as a united body of members while also establishing a very subjective view. Furthermore, the choice of adjectives and adverbs which present arguments as logical while also attributing full responsibility for statements to OSI both contributes to the subjective view and have powerful persuasive effect. Metaphor plays a central role in establishing OSI as an agentive and effective effecter of political change. When combined the discussed generic and lexico-

grammatical features create and maintain an image of OSI as an organisation whose members are united in defending the principles of democracy, and whose projects are highly organised and successful in nature.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In order to draw conclusions from the analysis offered in the main body of this thesis it is necessary to return once more to the importance of legitimacy and credibility to NGO identity. It is widely accepted that for an organisation legitimacy and credibility are crucial in attaining support from the public. In discussing legitimacy and organisations in general, Suchman (1995), Beyer, (1981) and Sproull (1981) state that perceived legitimacy is determined by the degree to which an organisation's discourse and actions correspond with the values of the society. More specific to the relevant study are the conclusions of Venables et al (2005) who found that public support of NGOs is reliant on their being perceived as possessing integrity, sophistication and determination as well as appearing to be caring and nurturing. In the context of the present study, focussing on the newsletters of OSI and AI, an NGO must establish these identity traits through the rhetoric of their texts, with newsletters being first and foremost. Thus through the discourse of their newsletters OSI and AI must persuade readers of their legitimate and credible nature. As such persuasion and the establishment of identity are linked in such a way that persuasion acts as a method of reaching the goal:

establishment of the NGO as a legitimate body, both justifying its existence and painting it as deserving of the public's support.

In analysing the persuasive strategies employed by OSI and AI, this study has drawn on assumptions of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Of the main tenets of CDA, the most important for this study are that discourse does social and ideological work, constituting and re-constituting society through construction of relationships and identities. A central tenet of CDA which, up to this point, has not been addressed in the present study is that of discourse and power relations. While CDA literature covers a wide array of subject matter and analytical approach, the central theme is the reproduction and delineation of power relations among social actors. While the focus of this study is not power itself, persuasion and power are closely linked. As Van Dijk (2001) states, in his summary of the methodology of CDA, social power is defined in terms of control. With respect to persuasion it is the ability or inability to control the acts and/or minds of people that signifies a higher or lower level, respectively, of social power. Given that persuasion entails attempting to influence people's opinions and beliefs, or indeed, even inciting them to action, power is a relevant concept to a discussion of persuasive strategies.

Control exists at various levels of discourse, and therefore power, exists at various levels of discourse. As van Dijk points out power may be derived from different resources such that a teacher's power is derived from knowledge and authority, while a rich person's power may be derived from money. NGOs are not typically identified as wielding power, which is perhaps why they have for the most part escaped the attention of critical discourse based analyses. This study has attempted to reveal the discursive power NGOs possess. In the case of NGOs power is based on knowledge and information as NGOs are better informed than their readers about issues which concern a given cause. As previously mentioned, this power is manifested in the persuasive strategies employed by NGOs. Furthermore, institutions may exert power through controlling the context, content and structure of public discourse. The institutions' newsletters are a form of public discourse and it is they who decide when and how these publications should be accessed. Additionally they control the topics and attitudes discussed and how much detail is included. Importantly, institutions also control the manner in which this knowledge and attitudes are presented. That is, they control not only the selection of genres to be included, but also the extent to which genres will adhere to traditional conventions. This final point will be elaborated upon in the discussion of genre and persuasion.

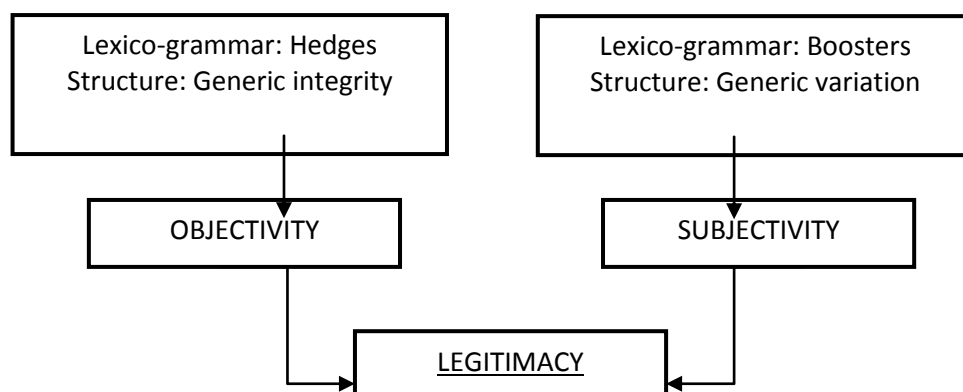
Suffice to say in conclusion that institutions' discursive power is derived from their expert knowledge, their control of context, of content and of generic choices.

The purpose of this chapter is to tie together the two analyses put forward in the previous two chapters and draw conclusions about the persuasive strategies and their rhetorical effect with respect to institutional identity. To that end, the central differences and similarities with regards lexico-grammatical features and generic choices will be compared and contrasted. Careful attention to the previous two chapters reveals that establishing legitimacy need not be achieved through a single route. By route I refer to that which is appealed to through the generic choices and rhetorical strategies in the discourse. In the case of AI, legitimacy is established through appeal to objectivity, while in the case of OSI, it is subjectivity which is appealed to. That is to say that both organisations establish legitimacy through outlining their opinions, values and their actions. However, in the case of OSI, these are communicated subjectively. Thus through certain rhetorical strategies, responsibility for statements is attributed to OSI. Subjectivity is defined here as discursive strategies which place emphasis on the author and organisation's attitudes and opinions. On the other hand, in the case of AI their opinions and values are presented in a frame of seeming

objectivity, here defined as a minimisation of attitude and opinion with an emphasis on presentation of events as fact or reported fact. A short note is required here to the effect that, it is well-known that true objective discourse is hard to come by since all use of language necessarily entails some expression of authorial stance. However the observed facts are that AI discourse attempts to maintain relative objectivity in comparison to OSI. Thus while the stance of AI is clear, their responsibility for assertions is minimised through their choice of rhetorical strategies. This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, that two organisations achieve the same persuasive goal through different strategies shows that persuasive goals and rhetorical strategies do not necessarily have a one to one correlation. Secondly, given the difference in the structure and patronage of the organisations in question, it may offer some insights into how such variables affect the rhetoric of NGOs.

Figure 1.

Dual route model of persuasion



With regards lexico-grammatical features, it is hedging and boosting devices that create and maintain subjectivity and objectivity. Hedging and boosting devices (hedges and boosters, respectively) are those which reveal the certainty of the source. As such they are a marker of the level of responsibility the source is willing to take for statements, with hedges diminishing responsibility for statements, and boosters maximising responsibility. Consequently, hedges contribute to establishment of an objective, unbiased stance while boosters result in rhetorical subjectivity. Thus lexical choice, manifested as hedges and boosters, is significant in the establishment of the different routes of persuasion – subjectivity or objectivity.

5.2 Lexico-grammatical Features as Persuasive Strategies

Hedges and boosters are grammatically diverse, being of different grammatical categories and of varying grammatical complexity. In both OSI and AI newsletters the most obvious examples of hedges and boosters are verbs and adjectives. However reference patterns and semantic role distribution also play a role in the creation of an objective or subjective stance. Having stated that the discourse of AI is presented through appeal to objectivity while OSI's appeals to subjectivity, it is no surprise that the former's discourse is marked by hedges while the latter is marked by

boosters. It is this complementary distribution of hedging devices and boosting devices which creates the very different methods of establishing legitimacy.

5.2.1 Adjectivals

Adjectivals, in particular adverbs play a central role in hedging and boosting through the modification of the verb and thus intensifying or weakening the force of the assertion. Specifically adverbs and adverbs such as *allegedly*, *reportedly* and *apparently* are concerned with hedging while those such as *significantly*, *clearly* and *substantially* are concerned with boosting. In describing events across genres, AI consistently makes use of the former thus minimising their accountability for the statements and contributing to the overall objective stance of their discourse. Their reporting events displays a level of commitment to the validity of the stories, however the use of hedging adverbs allows them to avoid taking full responsibility for the reliability of the information. On the other hand, OSI rarely uses such hedging adverbs, and moreover it is more likely to make use of boosting adverbs *significantly* and *clearly* in discussing issues and events. These adverbs not only emphasise OSI's commitment to the truth of the statements but minimises alternatives. The result is that assertions are presented as being the sole conclusions of logical reasoning thereby enhancing their

persuasive power. In terms of legitimacy AI's use of adverbs establishes them as trustworthy and legitimate through creating an image of them as unbiased. However OSI's legitimacy is established through the omission of hedging adverbs, or indeed, through the use of adverbs which present their argument as fact.

The following table presents a quantitative summary of the distribution of some of the discussed adverbs.

Figure 2. Adverb Distribution in *The Wire* and *OSI News*

	<i>The Wire</i>	<i>OSI News</i>
allegedly	36 tokens	3 tokens
reportedly	95 tokens	0 tokens
clearly	4 tokens	7 tokens
significantly	6 tokens	9 tokens

* AI corpus consists of 2933 clauses; OSI corpus consists of 2887 clauses.

The figures show the overwhelming frequency with which AI uses hedging adverbs *allegedly* and *reportedly*, as compared to the relative lack of such adverbs in *OSI News*. OSI's use of boosting adverbs in comparison to that of AI, while not as striking, is still significant when taken in combination with their omission of hedging adverbs.

5.2.2. Verbs

Verbs with epistemic modal meanings play a role in hedging and boosting. Given that epistemic modality is concerned with the degree of confidence in the truth value of an utterance, this is hardly surprising. Epistemic verbs include modal verbs such as *will*, *would* and *could*, and also verbs whose epistemic modality is derived from lexical meaning, such as *claim*, *allege* and *demonstrate*. In terms of the data in AI and OSI, the verbs used as hedges and boosters are identified in two main functions: framing reported speech and framing institutional attitudes.

In the case of AI, direct quotes are a rare feature. Instead reported speech, especially that of victims, is usually framed with the help of verbs *claim* and *allege*. This allows AI to remain impartial as to the truth value of the statements while still reporting on events. In contrast, OSI utilises direct quotations framed by verbs such as *say* and *explain*. These verbs merely report the event that a statement was made and do not provide a judgement as to the truth value of the statement. As such, they are not boosters, however when compared with AI, different methods of reporting speech are highlighted. Through comparison, it is glaringly obvious that AI's method reflects an unwillingness to validate the truth of the statements and is

therefore an instance of hedging which reinforces their seemingly objective stance.

For OSI's part, in making assertions about their attitudes and beliefs, they frequently make use of the modal verb, *will*, and the verb, *demonstrate*. Both verbs encode for definiteness in their meaning, thus bringing a high level of certainty to statements. In similar fashion to the adverbs used by OSI, these verbs minimise alternatives thus increasing the persuasive power of statements. They also cast OSI as confident and knowledgeable thus appealing to ethos. AI on the other hand, in providing statements as to its beliefs and attitudes tends to use such verbs as *must* and *should*. The discussion in chapter 3 showed that these modal verbs encode obligation albeit to differing degrees, with *should* encompassing an acknowledgement that the action may not be fulfilled. This in itself presents less confidence than that expressed through the verbs used by OSI. But more importantly for a discussion of objectivity, is the use of *must* whose meaning varies along the parameter of objectivity and subjectivity. *Must*, as it appears in AI's discourse, is a case of a modal verb of obligation in the volitive mood (Palmer, 1986). As such it implicitly expresses the wishes and desires of the institution. In contrast with the certainty encoded in verbs used by OSI, AI's

use of modal verbs to convey their beliefs is a clear case of hedging, resulting in development of relative objectivity.

The following table shows the frequency of some of the discussed verbs.

Figure 3. Verb Distribution in *The Wire* and *OSI News*

	<i>The Wire</i>	<i>OSI News</i>
allege	12 tokens	0 tokens
claim	28 tokens	8 tokens
must**	43 tokens	32 tokens
should**	32 tokens	16 tokens
demonstrate**	2 tokens	16 tokens

* AI corpus consists of 2933 clauses; OSI corpus consists of 2887 clauses.

** Tokens represented are those which are used to express organisational belief and attitude.

While both *must* and *should* also occur in the discourse of OSI, they are at a lower frequency than in AI's discourse. Furthermore, when taken in the context of the wider discourse of AI, their ability to attribute objectivity is diminished.

5.2.3. Reference patterns

Reference patterns play an important role in the establishment of subjectivity and objectivity through the specificity or lack thereof with which they

identify participants and authors. The use of pronouns, particularly for purposes of self-referencing, are rhetorical devices which further contribute to the relative objectivity or subjectivity of the texts. Additionally, reference to the identities of participants and authors – that is, explicit naming or vague reference - further assists in the establishment of subjectivity and objectivity, respectively. The passive voice is a key grammatical construction involved in the elision of the identity of participants due to its facilitation of agent omission.

Differences in conventions of self-referencing between the two organisations give rise to divergent manners. OSI refers to itself in both the first and third person, reflected in pronouns and nouns. The effect of the first person pronouns when examined from the point of view of Goffman's work on footing (1974) is that OSI is simultaneously author, the origin of the content; animator, delivers the utterance; and principal, responsible for the statement. The rhetorical effect is that maximum responsibility for every aspect of the statements in question, are attributed to the organisation. That is they are couched in subjectivity. AI on the other hand refers to itself solely in the third person. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this means that AI is author and principal but gives the impression that the animator is an anonymous third person. Thus AI's role is two-fold – they are narrator while also,

through the employment of the third person, becoming a “participant” in events. The result of this is that in its narrator role AI retains objectivity as it is AI as “participant” which makes direct judgements on issues and is responsible for organising events such as protests. As such it differs from OSI whose self-references present the various roles of the organisation as discursively united resulting in a highly subjective view.

In the case of AI, patterns of referring to participants in events are also instrumental in the overall objectivity of their rhetoric. The naming of victims providing the reader with a sense of their identity thus creating a basis for reader empathy for victims, while vague references as to the identity of perpetrators results in their diminished identity in the eyes of the reader. Additionally, the vague reference or in some cases, absence of reference to perpetrators allows AI to retain a degree of objectivity through avoiding direct accusations. By vague reference I refer to the practice of not providing names of individuals or organisations, instead using more broad terms such as *authorities* or *attackers*. Furthermore, often perpetrators are not explicitly mentioned at all but their existence is implied through the use of the passive voice. The passive voice allows AI to report that an action took place while omitting the agent of the action, thus avoiding an accusatory tone on AI’s part. The two rhetorical strategies for referring to perpetrators outlined here

create a sense of AI's being unbiased and objective while still allowing them to relay events and discuss issues.

5.3 Genres

The generic traditions of each organisation are unsurprisingly, quite different. After all, while they often cover similar subject matter, the genres included are determined by differing communicative purposes, practical considerations such as spatial constraints and by authorial variety, or lack of it. AI on the one hand, allows for little generic variation, retaining a high level of generic integrity. Thus little or no generic variation is observable in AI's genres. The genres in *OSI News* on the other hand allow for a large amount of variation in genres, with genres at times hard to interpret due to the high level of variance. As such the discourses of each organisation are marked by differences along the parameter of generic integrity.

AI's genres which are highly standardised in terms of conventions and rigid in structure represent an example of the exploitation of generic integrity in persuasive rhetoric. The persuasive effect of the highly recognisable genres featured in *The Wire* is two-fold. On the one hand it establishes the professional expertise of AI and on the other, couching information in such highly standardized contexts represents said information as factual. To take the first point, the mastery of the use of a genre is, as

Candlin (1999) pointed out, a measure of professional expertise. In Bhatia's 2004 discussion of generic integrity and professional expertise, generic competence is an important element of professional expertise. Professional expertise corresponds to ethos in Aristotle's framework of persuasion. Thus AI's maintenance of generic integrity in their newsletter enhances ethos thus increasing the persuasive nature of their rhetoric. Furthermore, the lack of deviation in AI's generic conventions increases the perceived factual accuracy of the information and statements presented. As alluded to in the introduction of this chapter, an organisation can exert power through the generic choices it makes. Indeed the very fact that an organisation has the freedom to choose what genres will be included in their rhetoric is a form of power. This power is derived from the ability to position readers through controlling the ways in which information is presented. More specifically this power is derived from the genres in *The Wire* becoming accepted by readers due to repeated and customary use, with minimum deviation of generic conventions. As Atkinson (1990:36) puts it: "readers interpret texts as being factual in so far as they encounter appropriate textual conventions which can be read in appropriate ways". Thus the persuasive power of texts, such as those in *The Wire*, which are presented in highly conventionalised formats is

maximised through the credibility and legitimacy that is carried by the generic conventions.

The generic conventions in *OSI News* on the other hand are somewhat more fluid. That is genres in *OSI News* allow for considerable variance in generic conventions to the point that some texts are difficult to classify with respect to genre. The previous discussion might lead one to believe that deviance from generic conventions diminishes the persuasive power of texts. On the contrary, generic variation has its own persuasive advantages. Genre variation allows the author to exploit the persuasive aspects, be they lexicogrammatical or related to rhetorical move conventions of several genres to achieve a communicative purpose. This may occur through genre-embedding or genre mixing or through what Bhatia (2004: 87) calls the “appropriation of generic resources”. Halmara and Virtanen (2005:12) refer to this as “minimizing the intertextual gap” which they point out can result in advertising being perceived as information or knowledge. Thus through the appropriation of generic resources, authors can better conceal their communicative purposes. Östman (2005) argues that such implicitness regarding communicative purposes enhances the persuasive effect of genres. As such, *OSI News’s* displayed generic variation derives persuasive power

through blurring the boundaries between genres thus making communicative purposes more implicit.

The previous two paragraphs have endeavoured to show how different patterns with regards the relative rigidity and fluidity of genres can be equally persuasive. However so far the different routes, objectivity and subjectivity, have not been mentioned with reference to genres. If genres create textual representations of organisations as per Kress (1985) who states that genre provides a window into the power relations and structure of an organisation, then AI's highly structured genres represent the organisation as just that: highly organised and adhering to social, political and legal conventions. Adhering to these conventions both generically and in practice contributes to their image as being more bound by social norms, thus less willing or able to present an overtly biased view. Thus the generic integrity that is a characteristic of *The Wire* can be seen as a manifestation of AI's presentation of a seemingly more objective stance. By the same token, OSI's willingness to appropriate generic features and merge generic conventions can be seen as representative of their being more able and willing to push the boundaries of social and political conventions, thus not particularly concerned with presenting an unbiased view. Thus the generic practices of each organisation are symbolic of their different modus operandi. Along

with the lexico-grammatical features of their respective discourse, these generic practices result in different modes in attaining their common goal: the establishment of legitimacy as an attribute of each institution's identity.

5.4. Final Remarks

Given that OSI and AI have different social responsibilities as organisations it is hardly surprising that their persuasive rhetoric should be marked by a difference in generic traditions. The difference in communicative purposes reflects each organisations goals and status within society – in short, their identity. That is to say that OSI exists as a socio-political body while AI's work pertains not only to the socio-political arena but to the legal arena of society. This is reflected by their widely-respected opinion which is quoted and reproduced in countless newspapers and official reports. They are seen as an international beacon for the defense of human rights and their expert opinions are highly regarded by the free press and governing bodies alike. In a sense, AI acts and is recognized as a social commentator as well as an officially/legally recognised monitor and protector of human rights. OSI's lasting effect, on the other hand, is derived from their commentary rather than from being officially recognised internationally by governing and legal bodies. Thus AI's position as a well-known and accountable social actor is more difficult to maintain in that they must not overstep the boundaries of

acceptability when it comes to criticism of any individual or governing body. Thus they are somewhat more bound than OSI to adhere to international conventions of acceptability and liability when discussing human rights issues. This seems a natural reason for AI's choice of more objective persuasive rhetoric. A further line of enquiry would be to compare the persuasive routes displayed in different arenas, such as political and business discourse in an effort to ascertain if persuasion is achieved in similar ways, or if the linguistic features observed in this study are unique to NGO rhetoric.

In this study I have shown that persuasion can be achieved through appeal to both subjectivity and objectivity. That is that choices at the micro level of lexico-grammatical features and the macro level of genres work together to weave intricate patterns of persuasive rhetoric. Taking the premise that expertise is performed by language, and that linguistic choices at both the micro and macro level translate into social action, I have attempted to show that written texts are equally as instrumental in organisational identity work as are spoken texts. This is a departure from the much of the existing work in organisational discourse analysis which is often based on the principles of conversation analysis, thus taking conversation as

their data. Written texts, however, are powerful enactors of organisational identity therefore their significance should not be underestimated.

One thing remains to be said pertaining to a possible weakness of this study. This study does not provide a comprehensive quantitative analysis of linguistic features. Further research on a quantitative basis, such as a detailed corpus based study which offered a statistical count of lexico-grammatical features would provide meaningful support for the claims made in this analysis. As this analysis is directed towards qualitative analysis rather than quantitative analysis, I leave this open for further research. Additionally, this study has deliberately steered clear of a reader perception-based analysis of the rhetoric of NGOs, preferring to base analysis on theoretical considerations. However a survey of reader perception of the organisations based on reading the newsletters much like that of Venable et al (2005) could not only support the claims made here but could also potentially reveal further intricacies in the process of persuasion construction of organisational identity through written texts.

THE WIRE, CALL FOR ACTION – FULL EXAMPLE

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ZIMBABWE

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Abuses against opposition politicians

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Nelson Chamisa and Paul Madzore, members of parliament for the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, were severely assaulted in March 2007 by men believed to be police officers or other state agents. Nobody has been brought to justice for these crimes more than one year after they occurred. Nelson Chamisa was on his way to an international meeting when he was attacked by eight unidentified people outside Harare International airport on 18 March 2007. His assailants beat him on the head with iron bars, resulting in a fractured skull, damage to his eye and lacerations to his face. In spite of the high profile of the case Amnesty International is not aware of any investigations into the attack. Paul Madzore was arrested at his home on 28 March 2007, along with his wife and children, and taken to Harare Central police station. After his arrest he was called into a room at the police station and confronted by eight men in plain clothes who he suspected were from the Law and Order section of the police. He was beaten on the feet with a metal rod and a rubber baton for around 30 to 40 minutes. Charges against him were later dropped because of insufficient evidence. Following elections on 29 March 2008, there has been a sharp increase in state-sponsored violence against supporters of the political opposition. The police have failed to investigate these abuses and have also been implicit in abuses themselves.

Please write to the authorities, calling for an immediate investigation into the reports of torture and other ill-treatment of Paul Madzore and the attack on Nelson Chamisa; call for those found responsible to be brought to justice. Send appeals to: Commissioner-General of Police,

Zimbabwe Republic Police,
 Police Headquarters, PO Box 8807, Causeway,
 Harare, Zimbabwe. Fax: +263 4 253 212.
 Salutation: Dear Commissioner-General

June 2008, Vol 38, No. 05, Pg 2

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APPENDIX B

THE WIRE, FEATURE REPORT - FULL EXAMPLE

1 Conveyer belt of injustice in Nigerian prisons
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3 "We are dying in silence"
4 Inmate who has been awaiting trial for eight years.
5
6 Three out of five people held behind bars in Nigeria's prisons have
7 not been convicted of any offence. They are waiting, in shameful
8 conditions, to be tried. Most wait two, three or four years, and some
9 up to 10, with no idea how long they will be held.
10 Many inmates sleep two to a bed or on the floor in filthy cells. Toilets
11 are blocked and overflowing or simply non-existent, and there is no
12 running water. Disease is widespread. The appalling and
13 overcrowded prison conditions are seriously damaging the mental
14 and physical health of thousands. 1
15 Even before reaching the prison, many inmates have been beaten by
16 the police. "Confessions" extracted under torture are often used as
17 evidence in trials.
18 Most detainees cannot afford a lawyer. Only one in seven awaiting
19 trial has access to private legal representation – and there are only 91
20 legal aid lawyers working in the entire country.
21 Sometimes people not suspected of committing any crime are
22 imprisoned along with convicted criminals. Some were arrested in
23 place of a family member the police could not locate; others suffer
24 from mental illness and were brought to prison by families unable or
25 unwilling to take care of them.
26 In one such case, Bassy, a 35-year-old woman with mental illness,
27 was brought to prison by her brother, who said the family could no
28 longer cope with her. Prison authorities classified Bassy as a "civil
29 lunatic". Accused of no crime and never brought before a judge,
30 Bassy spent almost three years in prison, sleeping on the floor in a
31 cell with 11 women, before a Nigerian NGO enabled her transfer to
32 hospital. 2
33 The Nigerian government has often said it will reform the criminal
34 justice system, but it has failed to do so. Despite many presidential
35 commissions and committees recommending reform, the

36 recommendations have not been implemented. Instead, the
37 government has merely set up new committees and commissions. } 2
38 In a scathing 50-page report, Nigeria: Prisoners' rights systematically
39 flouted (AMR 44/001/2008), Amnesty International details a prison
40 system that is utterly failing the Nigerian people, calling it a
41 "conveyor belt of injustice, from beginning to end". The report also } 3
42 highlights the plight of prison staff, who work long and stressful
43 hours for low wages that are often paid late. Poor pay often leads to
44 petty extortion from prisoners, and staff shortages create security
45 risks for both staff and inmates.
46 Urgent prison improvements and reforms are needed to ensure
47 anyone detained is either tried within a reasonable time or released. } 4
48 Promises are not enough: reform of Nigeria's prison system is long
49 overdue.

April 2008, Vol 38, No.3, Pg 1.

APPENDIX C

THE WIRE, ACTIVITY REPORT – FULL EXAMPLE

1 Day for Darfur’s displaced children

2 “How many are dead and who will look after the families? Look
3 at the camps — there is no security and no secondary schools.
4 This generation will be the generation of anger, boys and girls.” 1
5 A Darfur political activist

6 Of the 4 million people affected by the conflict in Darfur, 1.8
7 million are children. Around 1 million children have been
8 displaced. Displaced girls living in camps remain at particular 2
9 risk of abuse when venturing outside in search of firewood or to
10 go to the market.

11 Amnesty International sections and structures from 23 countries
12 across the world participated in the Global Day for Darfur on 13
13 April 2008 to call for the effective protection of children in 3
14 Darfur by the UN-African Union peacekeeping forces.

July 2008, Vol 38, No.6, Pg 4

APPENDIX D

OSI NEWS, CASE STUDY – FULL EXAMPLE

1 European Court Fails to Challenge Discrimination

2

3 *Open Society Justice Initiative Director James Goldston examines two*
4 *recent European Court of Human Rights decisions that failed to advance*
5 *efforts to fight discrimination and further social justice.*

6

7 JAMES GOLDSTON

8

9 In the past year-and-a-half, the European Court of Human Rights in
10 Strasbourg—one of the most respected tribunals in the world—has
11 enjoyed two major opportunities to underscore the importance of
12 equal treatment for marginalized groups. In both cases, the court
13 shied away from vigorously defending equal rights, and declined to
14 overturn rules and practices that limit the educational opportunities
15 and upward mobility of two vulnerable groups.

16 In November 2005, the court’s Grand Chamber (its most
17 authoritative body) made a sweeping decision that gave Turkey’s
18 government carte blanche to ignore the deeply felt preferences of
19 Turkish Muslim women who consider it their duty to wear the
20 Islamic headscarf. The case, *Leyla Sahin v. Turkey*, arose after
21 university authorities barred a woman medical student from taking
22 examinations in defiance of a rule forbidding students whose “heads
23 are covered” from admission to courses.

24 Leyla Sahin was not associated with a fundamentalist Islamic
25 group. She had not pressured anyone to wear a headscarf, nor had
26 she felt pressure to wear one. Her choice of dress had caused no
27 disruption, and there was no indication that she had engaged in
28 disorderly conduct. Nonetheless, the court held, by a vote of 16 to 1,
29 that the ban on headscarves violated neither Sahin’s freedom of
30 religion nor her right to education without discrimination. As a
31 result, thousands of women in Turkey have been denied the
32 opportunity to pursue higher education.

33 The Sahin case addressed the claims of religious Muslims—a
34 substantial proportion of the Turkish public, notwithstanding the
35 state’s official secularism. The court’s other disappointing decision
36 dealt with the Roma, a distinct and long-oppressed minority.

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37 In February 2006, the court's Second Section, an ordinary chamber
38 composed of seven judges, issued a judgment in *D.H. and Others v.*
39 *Czech Republic*, a case brought on behalf of 18 Roma children who
40 had been assigned to remedial schools for the "mentally deficient"
41 in the city of Ostrava in the Czech Republic. In some countries,
42 special schools and classes may allow teachers to provide more
43 individualized attention to children with special needs. In many
44 parts of Central and Eastern Europe, however, schools for the
45 "mentally deficient" often serve as no more than warehouses for
46 Roma children. The level of education provided in these schools is
47 well below that of normal schools, and leads almost inevitably to
48 lives marked by low-wage jobs, pervasive unemployment, and
49 poverty.

50 The evidence in this case showed that more than half of Ostrava's
51 Roma children were assigned to special schools and that more than
52 half of the children in these special schools were Roma. All told,
53 Roma children were more than 27 times more likely than non-Roma
54 to be sent to such schools. A United Nations expert body has
55 characterized this treatment as racial segregation, plain and simple.
56 The court, however, was unmoved. Although it recognized that the
57 claimants had raised "a number of serious arguments," the court
58 held that, absent a showing of discriminatory intent on the part of
59 school testers and administrators, the pervasive reality of racial
60 disadvantage was not unlawful. In so holding, the court departed
61 without justification from the prevailing standard in discrimination
62 cases under European and international law.

63 These two decisions are particularly disappointing, in view of the
64 increasing prominence within European public debate of the
65 continent's growing ethnic and religious diversity, the speed and
66 manner of immigrants' integration, and the continued viability of
67 "multiculturalism" as social policy. They are also at odds with the
68 expanding rhetorical commitment to equality evidenced in recent
69 years among European politicians and administrators. Two binding
70 European Union directives which came into force in 2003 mandate
71 equal treatment in many spheres of public life and set clear and
72 high standards against which discriminatory practices are to be
73 measured. The European Commission has proclaimed 2007 the
74 European "year of equal opportunities." Within the Council of
75 Europe, institutions such as the European Commission against
76 Racism and Intolerance and the Commissioner for Human Rights

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77 have made significant headway in raising the profile of equality as
78 an issue on the agenda of European governments.
79 The court's decisions in Sahin and D.H. fly in the face of these
80 promising developments. And yet, the court has one more chance
81 in the very near future to reconsider its approach to equality issues.
82 In July 2006, at the request of the 18 Roma children who first sought
83 European Court redress back in 2000, the Grand Chamber agreed to
84 review the Second Section's decision in D.H. The Grand Chamber
85 traditionally reviews only a small portion of the court's judgments.
86 The fact that it has agreed to hear the case raises at least the
87 possibility of revising the all-too-narrow concept of non-
88 discrimination law that underpinned the February 2006 ruling.
89 The referral gives the Grand Chamber an opportunity to reaffirm
90 and clarify Europe's commitment to equal justice. Oral arguments
91 took place in January 2007. A decision is expected in the first half of
92 the year. All those concerned with Europe's future will be watching.
93 *James Goldston is co-counsel for the applicants in the D.H. and
94 Others v. Czech Republic case. Please email comments/inquiries
95 about these cases to:jgoldston@justiceinitiative.org
96 For more information
97 To find out more about the Czech Republic case, go to ww.errc.org
98 and www.justice initiative.org. For commentary on the first EU
99 court ruling in Turkey, go to
100 <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/07/01/turkey8985.htm>

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Winter 2006 – 2007, Pg 14-15

APPENDIX E

OSI NEWS, PROJECT OUTLINE – FULL EXAMPLE

1 Macedonia: Lessons in Tolerance after Conflict
2
3 *William Kramer*
4
5 Given the choice, which after-school program would you expect
6 South Eastern European teenagers to flock to: English language
7 clubs, Internet classes or journalism courses? 1
8 If you chose any of these, you'd be wrong. Instead, Macedonian,
9 Albanian, and Romani youth are participating in "democracy
10 workshops" more than any other class offered by the Foundation
11 Open Society Institute–Macedonia.
12 "We were very surprised. We expected more kids to be interested in
13 the other programs and clubs," said Spomenka Lazarevska, FOSI–
14 Macedonia's education and youth coordinator. "But a majority of
15 kids in all eight youth centers chose the Street Law program's
16 democracy workshops."
17 In addition to running programs like Street Law, in which
18 university law students organize debates, mock trials, and
19 presentations for teenagers, Lazarevska has been busy
20 implementing the South East Europe Youth Initiative. The Open 2
21 Society Institute launched the \$6 million initiative in January as part
22 of its effort to support the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.
23 The Initiative aims to support youth programs that have not
24 received OSI funding in the past. In Macedonia, projects created by
25 the Initiative, together with established Soros foundations network
26 programs like Street Law, work to reduce tensions among the
27 country's Albanian, Romani, and Macedonian populations with
28 activities that promote democracy, ethnic tolerance, and respect for
29 human rights.
30 Although there has been official enthusiasm and modest support for
31 FOSI–Macedonia's youth programs, the government is undergoing
32 a period of reorganization and the Ministry of Youth has been 3
33 temporarily closed.
34 "We just started working with the Ministry," Lazarevska said. "It
35 would be a pity if it were closed down for good."

36 This uncertainty is common in South Eastern Europe and underlines
37 the importance of the Initiative, which will enable Soros
38 foundations in the region to fund programs for young people
39 between the ages of 14 and 21 who live in remote, rural areas. In
40 July, FOSI-Macedonia's National Youth Board, comprised of five
41 young youth leaders and activists, awarded Youth Initiative grants
42 to eight local projects. Among them were "Babylon Three," which
43 aims to support youth centers in eight different towns; a training
44 program for youth who want to become NGO managers; and the
45 student-based monthly magazine Rrezja, published in Macedonian,
46 French, Albanian, and English, which aims to bring youth together
47 on collaborative projects. A grant was also given to the International
48 Roma Center in Macedonia for a project called "Summer Camp-
49 Peace and Friendship," which will help at-risk Romani teenagers
50 from refugee families and integrate them into society.

51 "Kids are not afraid to talk about multiethnic society and
52 multiculturalism, and these issues come up all the time,"
53 Lazarevska said. "There are still some biases, but I would say those
54 are largely inherited from the family. Discussing these issues with
55 adults is much more difficult."

56 As Macedonian, Albanian, and Romani youth work together,
57 sharpen their critical thinking skills, and express their opinions
58 through FOSI-Macedonia's programs, they also develop a sense of
59 the values needed for an open, democratic society.

60 "I think some of them will do very well in politics and leadership.
61 Perhaps much better than our existing politicians," Lazarevska said.
62 "But we're not really talking about politics in our programs. Young
63 people want to talk about education, drugs, and universal problems
64 that they're interested in. They see ethnic tolerance not as politics,
65 but as a human issue — as an issue of human rights. And they love to
66 talk about democracy."

67 FOR MORE INFORMATION

68 osi@soros.org.mk

Fall 2000, Pg11

APPENDIX F

OSI NEWS, ISSUE DISCUSSION – FULL EXAMPLE

1 Open Society as a Response to Terror

2

3 *Should efforts toward building open societies take a back seat to terrorism?*

4 *Are the two incompatible?*

5 *The following essay, based on contributions from OSI's director of U.S*
6 *programs, Gary Lamarche and Anthony Richter, director of the Central*
7 *Eurasia Project, maintains that building open societies is critical to*
8 *preventing the ignorance, anger and hate behind the attacks and some of*
9 *the reactions they have prompted.*

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11 GARY LAMARCHE, ANTHONY RICHTER

12

13 The September 11 attacks and their aftermath underscore more than
14 ever the interconnection between open society in the United States
15 and around the world. There is a broad consensus on what is at
16 stake in the fight against terrorism: as President Bush and many
17 others have put it, we are fighting to preserve open society. What is
18 less often said or understood is that an open society is the strongest
19 weapon against terrorism.

20 It is no coincidence that closed societies, which restrict the press
21 and independent associations, are the havens and breeding
22 grounds for terrorism. Democracies accountable to public opinion
23 and scrutiny rarely attack one another, or face catastrophes like
24 famine and large-scale environmental degradation.

25 Much of the Open Society Institute's international expansion in
26 recent years, beyond its original focus on Central and Eastern
27 Europe, has been in countries that are predominantly or substantially
28 Islamic. Close to a third of countries in the OSI network have large
29 Muslim populations, including many of Afghanistan's neighbours in
30 Central Asia as well as Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and
31 Herzegovina, Indonesia, Kosovo and Turkey and such West African
32 countries as the Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal. Our
33 commitment to the promotion of open society principles in Central
34 Asia is stronger than ever.

35 The United States seeks to lead a global coalition against terrorism,
36 but it too must place open society principles front and center if its

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37 leadership is to have force beyond the assertion of military might.
38 Central Asian governments can offer short-term assistance in the
39 fight against terrorism, but promoting open society in the region is
40 the best route to long term success. Cooperating with regimes that
41 continue to deny fundamental freedoms to their citizens not only
42 makes the U.S. complicit in repression, but stokes anti-American
43 resentments that make it impossible for this country to speak with
44 moral authority to the millions around the world who want nothing
45 more than to live in an open society respectful of human rights and
46 dignity. To win the support of sceptical populations, especially in the
47 Islamic world, it is more important than ever that the U.S. apply
48 uniform standards to enemy and ally alike. In addition, the short
49 term multi-national coalition that the U.S. has assembled in pursuing
50 Al Qaeda cannot be sustained if the United States persists in flouting
51 its obligations as a global citizen, abrogating the Kyoto treaty on
52 global warming, and working to weaken the International Criminal
53 Court.

54 How the U.S. behaves at home is a critical part of this equation, and
55 many of the administration's measures of the last few months fail
56 this test. These include the detention, often without charges or access
57 to counsel, of over a thousand immigrants; the "voluntary"
58 questioning of many thousands of others; and plans to use military
59 tribunals – lacking basic requirements of fairness such as the right to
60 a lawyer of one's own choosing and the right to appeal – to try
61 suspected terrorists.

62 Some of the administration's antiterrorism measures raise grave civil
63 liberties questions on their own terms, but they also undermine
64 American efforts to lead the fight against terrorism and press other
65 countries to uphold the rule of law and protect human rights. Spain
66 has, understandably, refused to extradite terrorism suspects who
67 might be tried before a tribunal that could sentence them to death on
68 the basis of a split verdict' with no possibility of appeal. Peru and
69 other countries that the U.S. has properly criticized in the past for the
70 use of secret military courts cannot have failed to notice that in its
71 own confrontation with terrorism, we do not practice what we
72 preach.

73 According to U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft, we should all
74 keep silent about such hypocrisy and avoid any criticism of the
75 government's actions. In an extraordinary assertion, he warned that
76 those who even raise questions about the administration's

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77 antiterrorism policies give aid and comfort to the nation's enemies.
78 As OSI stated in a full-page *New York Times* ad taking issue with the
79 attorney general's smear:
80 "When we look back at crises in our history, including the two world
81 wars of the last century, we are often shamed that more did not
82 speak out about incursions on liberty that to many seemed justified
83 by the imperatives of the moment. America will be a stronger
84 country, and its response to the challenges of terrorism more
85 effective, if we encourage and protect dissent and criticism precisely
86 when it is most important."

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88 FOR MORE INFORMATION

89 To find out more about OSI's responses to September 11 and U.S.
90 Programs visit www.soros.org, "After the Attacks", and
91 www.soros.org/usprograms. For comprehensive, up-to-date
92 information about Central Asia in English, Arabic, and Russian,
93 visit www.eurasianet.org.

Winter 2002, Pg 3-4

APPENDIX G

OSI NEWS, GENRE DEVIATION EXAMPLE

1 Justice Detained: The Impact of Pretrial Detention in Nigeria
2
3 *Attorney and codirector of the Rights Enforcement and Public Law*
4 *Centre Felicitas Aigbogun describes how civil society groups are*
5 *trying to improve Nigeria's criminal justice system by challenging*
6 *abuses of pretrial detention.*
7
8 FELICITAS AIGBOGUN
9
10 Nigerians live in an Alice in Wonderland criminal justice world
11 where flimsy evidence and wild claims prompt police to arrest
12 people first and conduct investigations later.
13 Consider the case of Muazu and Isah Ibrahim. The two brothers
14 were arrested in 2003 based on allegations made by the nephew
15 of a man who had gone missing 10 years earlier. The police had
16 no body and no witnesses, only new accusations from a nephew
17 who may have been embittered by an old land dispute between
18 the brothers and his uncle. Yet, Muazu and Isah languished in
19 jail for three years before being released on bail in 2006.
20 The Ibrahim brothers are just two of the many thousands of
21 people who have been swept up in an epidemic of pretrial
22 detention fueled by the multiple failures of Nigeria's criminal
23 justice system.
24 A 2005 audit of the country's prisons revealed that pretrial
25 detainees constituted about 63 percent of the 42,000 prisoners in
26 Nigeria's prison system. The average period of pretrial
27 detention in Nigeria is three and a half years, even though the
28 constitution requires the arraignment of detainees before a court
29 within 48 hours and trials for accused persons within a
30 reasonable period of time.
31 Several factors drive the daily practices that fuel the unlawful
32 use of pretrial detention in Nigeria.
33 As demonstrated by the case of the Ibrahim brothers, Nigerian
34 police are quick to arrest first and ask questions later — a practice
35 that defies the widely accepted principle of only arresting
36 someone if an initial investigation links them to a crime. After

The diagram consists of a large dashed-line bracket on the right side of the text, labeled 'PO1'. Inside this bracket, three smaller solid-line brackets group specific paragraphs. The top bracket, labeled 'CS1', encompasses lines 3 through 6. The middle bracket, labeled 'CS2', encompasses lines 13 through 19. The bottom bracket, labeled 'CS3', encompasses lines 20 through 36.

37 making an arrest, Nigerian police start their investigation and
38 can only release or prosecute a suspect with authorization from
39 the director of public prosecutions, a process that can sometimes
40 take more than five years. Meanwhile, the suspect remains in
41 jail.

42 When suspects eventually make it to a court room, police
43 frequently bring suspects before courts that lack the jurisdiction
44 to try them, yet these courts will often commit suspects to
45 prison custody anyway until the police finish their
46 investigation. As it stands, Nigerian courts are not required to
47 set time limits on investigations or monitor the duration of
48 pretrial custody.

49 Dysfunctional court procedures are compounded by the near
50 total failure of coordination and information management
51 among the various state and federal criminal justice agencies.
52 Responsibility for investigating crimes and managing evidence
53 rests with the police, a federal-level agency in Nigeria. Yet 90
54 percent of the country's crime occurs at the state and local level.
55 And most trial courts are state-level institutions whose
56 prosecutors rely heavily on supervision and authorization from
57 federal officials and agencies. These multiple layers and
58 widespread dependencies lead to frequent miscommunication,
59 loss of documents, and sluggish procedures that add to the
60 length of a suspect's detention.

61 Finally, most suspects do not receive access to legal
62 representation at the beginning of their detention. The police
63 frequently deny suspects contact with family or lawyers until
64 they have incriminated the suspects or extracted confessions—
65 often through coercion. A 2005 presidential committee found
66 that 75 percent of suspects in pretrial custody did not have any
67 legal representation. Most Nigerians cannot afford private legal
68 representation and the state-funded Legal Aid Council provides
69 limited coverage in state criminal courts.

70 Because of the sluggishness of Nigeria's court system, litigation
71 can take years and has done little to reduce pretrial detention.
72 Instead, civil society organizations have started to challenge
73 excessive pretrial detention by implementing strategies to better
74 coordinate Nigeria's numerous criminal justice agencies. One
75 such initiative, the Legal Aid and Pretrial Detention Project, is
76 the result of a partnership between the Nigerian police, the

CS3

PO2

77 Open Society Justice Initiative, the Legal Aid Council of Nigeria,
78 and the Rights Enforcement and Public Law Centre, a Nigerian
79 nongovernmental organization.
80 Started in 2005, and currently operating in six Nigerian states,
81 the project works with the police to set up a case file
82 management system from the moment of arrest and ensures that
83 cases move expeditiously among various national and local
84 agencies and levels of administration. The project monitors the
85 processing of pretrial detainees and the issuing of detention
86 orders by having project lawyers on 24-hour call at designated
87 police stations to provide legal assistance as soon as suspects are
88 detained. The project has also worked with chief judges at the
89 state level to create a mandate requiring them to monitor
90 pretrial custody cases and limit their duration to nine months.
91 Adubi Emmanuel, a lecturer at a state polytechnic college,
92 received project help that reduced his detention from possibly
93 weeks or months to only a few hours.
94 Emmanuel was arrested in January 2006 after providing a loan
95 guarantee for a man who subsequently fled the country. A long
96 detention could have worsened Emmanuel's already poor
97 health and jeopardized his job by taking him away from work in
98 the midst of a busy academic year. Two project lawyers
99 assigned to the police station negotiated with the chief
100 investigating officer and quickly obtained Emmanuel's release
101 on bail. He went back to his teaching job, and his health
102 improved.
103 Overall, during the first six months of its pilot phase, the project
104 helped reduce the duration of pretrial detention by 60 to 35
105 percent in three states. Another state reduced pretrial detention
106 by more than 200 percent. The government is now considering a
107 criminal justice bill inspired by the project that would place a
108 one-month cap on pretrial detention throughout Nigeria.
109 In May, the government, the Open Society Justice Initiative, and
110 the Legal Aid Council signed an agreement to extend the project
111 to 18 of Nigeria's 36 states by 2008. The project's expansion and
112 new legislation should help ensure that detained individuals
113 have access to legal advice and assistance. Immediate and
114 effective legal representation for detainees will also prompt the
115 police and prosecutors to respect the constitutional presumption
116 of innocence and comply with due process provisions.

PO2

PO3

117 Although much work remains to be done, the Legal Aid and
118 Pretrial Detention Project and other civil society–government
119 efforts hold the promise of bringing efficiency and fairness to
120 Nigeria’s pretrial detention system.

PO3

121

122 **For more information**

123 To find out more about justice reform efforts in Nigeria, go to
124 www.justiceinitiative.org/regions/africa/southafrica/index

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