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**The investigation of slogans use during El-Hirak Upheaval:
A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach.**

A Dissertation Submitted to Complete the Requirements for Obtaining a Master's Degree in

Linguistics.

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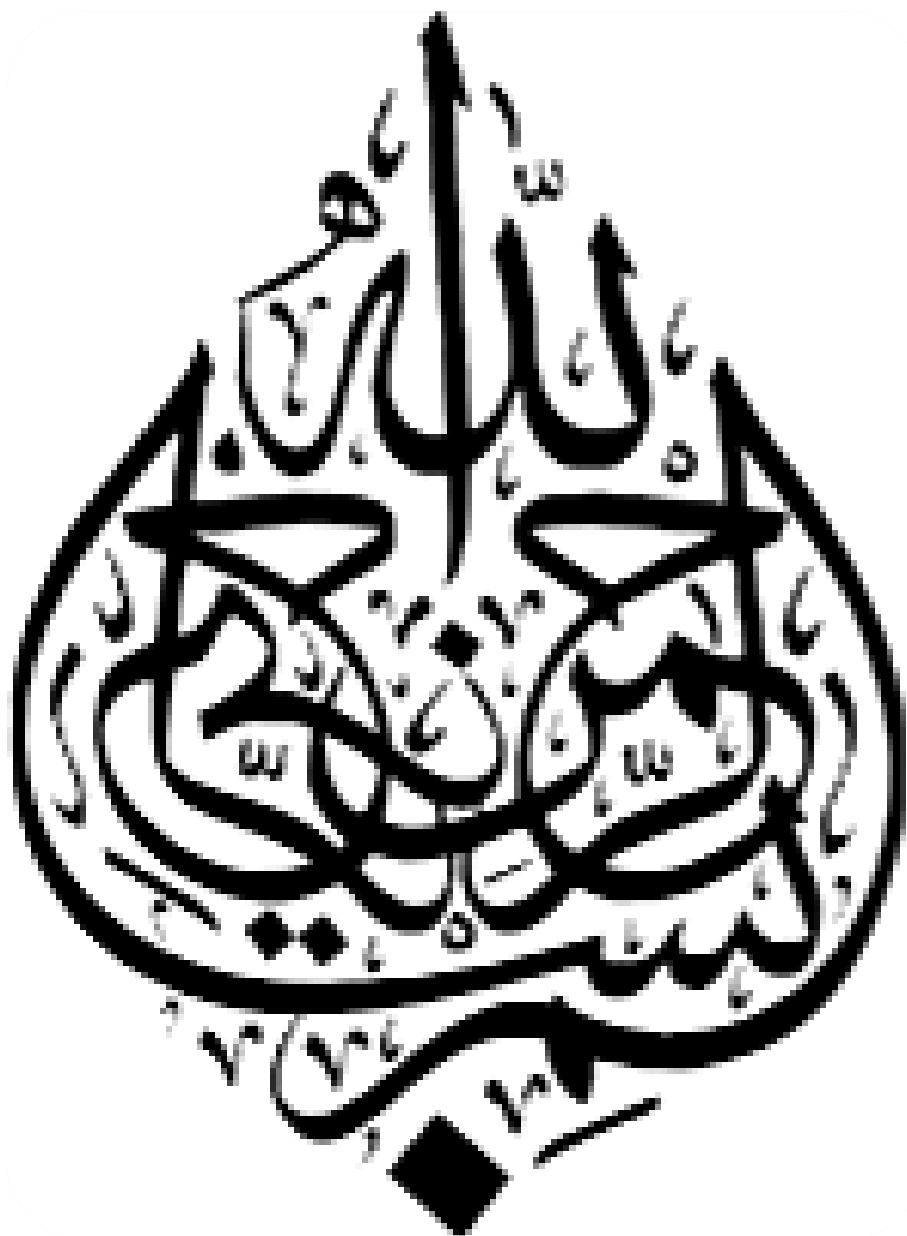
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Dedication

*I am extremely grateful to my parents
for their love, prayers, caring and sacrifices
for educating and preparing me for my future*

*I am very much thankful to my sisters, brothers
and friends for their support.*

Oum el kheir.



Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work and achievement
to my beloved Mother and Father who gives me the courage
and stubbornness to move through the obstacles and challenges
in completing my life goal and give me also the freedom
to express creative ideas and the confidence to act on them.

Also, for my sisters, brothers who supported me
each step of my way forward...

Indeed, For the strongest girl of the world I know

“ Me”

Dhaouia

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Abstract

Analyzing the movement's slogans is a way to understand the purpose behind it, because the slogans served as a link between the people and the authority through which the demonstrators were able to express their demands and ideas in a peaceful and civilized manner. This study aims to investigate the slogan use during the Hirak uprising. Therefore, we have collected a sufficient sample of data that includes 90 slogans in different languages and sources, to be analyzed then according to Fairclough's (1989-1995) Critical Discourse Analysis model, which contains three main dimensions: description, explanation and interpretation which helped to ensure the comprehensiveness of the analysis and the organization of our work in various respects. The results showed that El-Hirak was a means of survival and change that made the Algerian people linguistically creative in expressing their demands in a peaceful way through raising banners contain slogans written in different languages that have shown to the world the cultural diversity of the Algerian multilingual society. The movement's slogans included hidden messages, some of which were political, stipulates the need to fight political corruption of all kinds, most notably the departure of the Bouteflika's regime. Socially, it was focused on the demand for improving the living conditions of citizens who have suffered for decades. As for the economic, it included raising the purchasing power of the citizen and advancing the country's economy.

Keywords: El-Hirak, Slogans, Investigate, Fairclough's (1989-1995) Critical Discourse Analysis.

List of abbreviations

Term	Explanation
FLN	Front de la Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front)
W.B	World Bank
GPD	Gas Petroleum Diesel
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
US	United States
USA	United States of America
EU	European Union

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General Introduction

General Introduction

In recent years, several Arab countries have experienced popular uprisings calling for change, known as the Arab spring, and similar protests have expanded to Algeria in 2019, which was known as El-Hirak, and led to the uprising of the Algerian people following the ruling party's dominance over the country for several decades, resulting in a long period of political stagnation. Thousands of Algerians took to the streets on February 22, 2019, to protest against President Bouteflika's bid for a fifth term. This historic Algerian movement has revealed flaws in Algeria's ruling system that trying to promote a narrative on the removal of mafias connected with citizens and lacks the tools to reinvent itself or negotiate a new social contract with the people, this El-Hirak is unique in many ways: it is pacifist and driven by a young generation of activists who have shown remarkable ingenuity in expressing their political sphere by inventing unique metaphorical slogans to express their outrage and frustration as their last hope for meaningful reform, and it carefully represents the Harak's commitment to adhere to the Silmiyya (pacifism) and explicitly tells protesters to remain strong in the face of violent repression. In our research, we aim to investigate the following quests that support our analysis of the topic and focuses on the use of slogans during El-Hirak as an effective tool to show their reaction to Algerian authority:

1. what are the languages used in El-Hirak slogans?
2. which kinds of slogans were used? And what is the reason behind creating them?

The purpose of this investigation is to show the importance of slogans in attracting public opinion and changing destinies since it is considered one of the modern tools that people use to express their thoughts and their demands in a legitimate way.

This study consists of three chapters, the first chapter provides us with a historical overview of Algeria by giving a brief analysis of how events started and developed chronologically

focusing on the socio-political situation during Bouteflika's rule which is the starting point for the events of the so-called El-Hirak as well as describing slogans briefly to pave the way for what we will discuss later concerning our subject. The second theoretical chapter will provide us with the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis in detail. In the third chapter which is an analytical and experimental one, we collect data in which it is relevant to our study to analyze it based on Fairclough's socio-cultural critical discourse analysis model that consists of three dimensions which are: Description, explanation, and interpretation that help us in understanding slogans that were raised by protesters, by describing and classifying them relying on the three previous dimensions.

in our corpus of study, we collect 90 slogans that were used in the Algerian uprising in 2019, from different social networking sites: Facebook, Algerian and Foreign newspapers, and articles from Google in which they are written in different languages.

We choose to investigate slogans because they reflect the nature of the Algerian society and had a significant impact on Algeria's political and socio-economic landscape depending on Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis approach. By applying Fairclough's model to the Algerian context, the importance of this study will be demonstrated in how language is used to show power and through discourse that greatly highlights dominance and social-political power, we can also see through them the great impact of discourse and language on people.

Initially, we put forward these hypotheses to answer the questions posed earlier :

1. El-hirak slogans were written in different languages for instance modern standard Arabic, Algerian dialectal Arabic, French and English languages.

2. There are several types of slogans: political, social, and economic, as well as they are written in both written and spoken forms./ The reason behind them is to express people's points of view and demands during their demonstrations.

To test the hypothesis, we must collect a sufficient sample of slogans and analyze them, as this is the most effective way to confirm or reject the preceding hypothesis. Also, to go deeper into the issue during this study, the data sources that will investigate must be diversified.

Regarding the difficulties that we encountered in this research, we mention the most important ones :

1. The difficulty of political topics: It is difficult to understand and analyze political topics due to their complexity, and this is what comes to mind for those who read the title of our research. Once you read the title, you can see how the topic requires effort and time to understand it well for adjudication in its background.

2. Lack of resources and study material: Since El-Hirak is a new topic, it is hard to get enough sources to support our research.

3. Bad networking: this is considered one of the biggest obstacles facing the Algerian researcher, and this is not in the favour of scientific research.

Finally, we can mention the most important motives that prompted us to choose this topic.

First, El-Hirak is considered a new political subject of study, this is why we wanted to be one of the first researchers to deal with and dig deeper into it so that we can do our political experience for the first time. Second, the issue of the movement took the attention of the majority of the Algerian people, who considered it as a turning point in the history of Algeria, which prompted them to demonstrate and express their anger, as well as to express their demands and ideas after decades of political stagnation. In addition, since we witnessed El-

Hirak and lived its events from its inception until its cessation, it pushed us to choose it as our first source with which we support our study.

Chapter One

Historical Overview of Algeria

Introduction

This Chapter will contain three sections in which they lead us to better understanding of our concepts of study .In the first part we will define our main term “El-Hirak uprising”, and we identified the types of slogans and their characteristics that are relevant to the topic of our research. The second part deals with the main reasons that prevented Algerians from demonstrating in the city of Algiers and losing interest in politics due to some issues. Then we presented an overview of the movement and the sequence of events from 1999 until the beginning of Hirak 2019. As well as providing a brief analysis about how this event has started and developed chronologically, without neglecting to mention the basis on which the movement was built. We also pointed the political and social situation in Algeria since 1999 until the end of Bouteflika’s fourth term as a president. Then it will shed light on the corruption in Algeria backing our brief analysis of this phenomenon with some cases and scandals that occurred in the past few years. We also provide an overview with the main reasons that make Algerians took the streets in 2019. The third part will include a synthesis of previous studies and highlighting the research gap.

VII. Definitions

a) **El-Hirak:** as it was described in ‘Hirak Algeria Monitor’s article is a mass demonstration by number of people in which mass demonstration means the gathering of a huge number of people in the streets to reinforce or to protest against something.

The term ‘hirak’ or ‘harak’ is from the Arabic language which means movement it aims to make changes from one situation to another in social and political cases. Like the case of ‘El hirak silmi’ "الحراك السلمي" in Algeria.

El hirak word used only in protesting contexts in several Arabic countries for instance it was named 'El hirak silmi' "الحراك السلمي" in Algeria, 'El hirak chaabi' "الحراك الشعبي" in Rif (Morocco) and 'El hirak el janoubi' "الحراك الجنوبي" in Yemen.

b. Slogan: According to Cambridge dictionary (n.d) is a short, easily remembered phrase to describe the character of something; especially a political idea or a product.

According to Lukécs, V.N. Lenin and Luxemburg (n.d):" slogans blur the very distinction between knowledge and action and are regarded as integral to the dynamic of necessity and freedom that is to drive radical praxis. Others have voiced skepticism about such political 'One-liners' ...including mark himself; a slogan may appear inconsequential or glib if not inherently misleading". (Mieszkowski, 2016) .

Scholars confirm that slogans could have a negative side, in which they made things unclear concerning people's action seeking freedom ,that lead radical praxis .while Marx (n.d) sees that slogans have a positive consequences if it is well used (ibid.). In this respect, a slogan is a word or a phrase used by the public to express opinion or ask for human rights in order to make a change from one situation to another. For instance "No to Racism","Stand fast. No matter what!"

Or used by companies to promote their products (e.g Nike's slogan: Just do it) short and attractive.

According to Cherif " A slogan is considered one of the most important traditional tactics used in political conflicts, demonstrations and sit-ins, and it plays a fundamental and decisive role in demonstrating, and the political content of the slogan is one of its most important components ... The slogan is also a brief and direct translation of a specific stage or specific tactical goal within the framework of the targeted propaganda strategy. The slogan depicts the required propaganda idea and expresses it with the utmost effectiveness, clarity

and brevity, as well as audio-visual music that allows easy repetition and repetition and increases the degree of its influence and remembering it” (2017.p10). In this context, the slogan plays the most important role in the demonstration so as to translate the idea into a brief and direct request targeting a specific group, whether in a political or other framework, aiming to demand solutions to political conflicts or propaganda for an idea in brief.

As for Abu Abdu al-Ghani Abu al-Azm, Define the slogan as including the country's emblem or the mark that distinguishes it, and raising a slogan to claim its rights: a short phrase that includes a demand in one region.(المعجم الغني الزاهر 2003). Hence, the slogan is a short phrase that is raised to claim rights within a certain scope.

VIII. Types of slogans

According to Thani. K(2007), there are several types of slogans that differ from one field to another. In our context, we have three types of slogans:

1. **Linguistic Slogan** it is easy to be used in the term of letters, words or short linguistic sentences. For instance: “No for the fifth mandate .. I am Algerian I am against it” ("لا للعهد الخامس" "انا جزائري انا ضدها الخامسة").



Figure 1.1 “No for the fifth mandate .. I am Algerian I am against it” ("لا للعهد الخامس" "انا جزائري انا

ضدها). (www.facebook.com)

2. **The Iconic Slogan** it is an expressive image, a symbol or a personal graphic of a human, animal or inanimate object, such as “FAF”(Fédération Algérienne de Football) , in English it is called “Algerian Football Federation”.



Figure 1.2 FAF, Fédération Algérienne de Football (Logo.Adam96.com)

3. **Mixed slogan** combines two types, figurative and linguistic, or mixed between iconic and verbal, this type is considered as the most famous and used especially by advertising companies and in demonstrations. For instance: The scale is in the slogan of the “Ministry of Justice”, which symbolizes equality and justice.



Figure 1.3 Algerian Ministry of Justice "وزارة العدل الجزائرية" (mjustice.com)

IX. The Features of Slogans in our field of study slogans are characterized with particular points according to the writer and media researcher Cherif (2017), which we mentioned as follow:

- The expression of identity, through the slogan, the identity of the person and the state can be distinguished. as an example : I am Algerian.. And I am against. ("أنا جزائرية و أنا ضدها")
- The slogan is a symbol of pride and pride in a country , for example: Mustafa Bin Boulaid sold the buses for the sake of our homeland, and Ouyahia sold the homeland for the buses. ("مصطفى بن بولعيد باع الكيران من اجل الوطن و اويحي باع الوطن من اجل الكيران")
- Expressing the unity of society, so that slogans express how the members of the community are united together, its represent and its cohesion .the most attractive slogan can attract all members of society in the same direction and in the same way.

For instance: Amazigh, Chaoui, Targi, Arabi, Nayli, Mozabi, our strength is in our unity, Your Excellency the Algerian people.

("أمازيغي، شاوي، ترقى، عربي، نايلي، مزابي، قوتنا في وحدتنا، فخامة الشعب الجزائري")

- Attractiveness, this element is the most important in measuring the impact of slogans on the public in the country, the more attractive and persuasive slogans, the greater the number of those affected and convinced of them, including events, issues, ideas and trends. For instance: "El-hadj Moussa ...Moussa El-hadj,in Arabic: ("الحاج موسى ... موسى الحاج") It means there is no radical change.
- Prominence, characterized by repetition to highlight a positive impact on the audience, It is achieved by focusing on specific information, repeating it and linking it to common cultural symbols. For example: "كليتوا لبلاد يا سراقين" in English it means "You ate the country, thieves".
- Expressing the beliefs and customs of the community, so that the slogan expresses the values, beliefs, and customs of the community in order for the connection between language and society to be established, calling for change and development. Like the following slogan: "Trump, Macron, forgive us our oil in our flour" ترامب، ماكرون، سامحونا زيتنا في دقيقنا". Which means what happens in Algeria remain among its people; it's not your concern.

- Easy to remember, until it is successful and reaches the furthest extent and its attraction continues even after stopping its use. For example: ytna7aw gaa3 ("يتحاو فاع") Means remove them all.
- Intention and reliance on the virtuous advantages, the slogan is short and expressive, and includes alliteration, counterpoint, rhyming and other characteristics that help in drafting the slogan. Like: "مايبقى فالبلاد غير شعبو" Means only its people remain in the country
- Motivation, the slogan prompts the audience to move towards their demand or the direction they want. For example: My dear wife, the gang will leave and we will have a home "زوجتي الغالية ، سترحل العصابة ويصبح لدينا مسكن"
- The use of numbers and common words that make the slogan more accurate in its target and more convincing to the target. For instance: "لا للعهدة الخامسة." "No for the fifth mandate"
- Meaningful, the slogan must have a goal above it so that it is not without significance and may not be taken into consideration. Example: "The people want it peaceful, and Ouyahia wants it Syria" "الشعب يريد لها سلمية، و اويحي يريد لها سوريا"
- Repetition, repeating slogans in appropriate situations, as repetition plays an important and key role in preserving the slogan and enhancing its promotional value, which helps increase its effectiveness and impact on the target audience.(cherif sameh).for example: "selmia... selmia" "سلمية ... سلمية" that means peaceful.

X. Demonstrations History in Algeria

During the civil war (1991-2002), or the so-called black decade, due to the conflicts and dangers Algeria had experienced, which claimed thousands of victims, The beginning of the war was after the general strikes of the Kabyles, opposing the policy of President Chadli since 1980 in various sectors, which included students, doctors, professors and other Berber activists, the events and decisions that followed, resulting violence and destruction of state property.

Thus, after the security and political issues in Algeria slipped due to the cancellation of the electoral process, the late President Mohamed Boudiaf issued a decree declaring a state of emergency on February 9th, 1992 for a full year. That aims to restore public order and better guarantee the security of persons and property and to ensure the good functioning of public interests. This provides for the imprisonment of any person with an adult activity that poses a danger to public order and security in the fifth article, and limits or prohibits the passage of persons and cars in certain places and times in the sixth article in this decree.

The issuance of an order to temporarily close entertainment halls and meeting places of any nature, and prohibit all demonstrations that disturb public order and peace.

Algerian authorities violated the right to freedom of assembly by a set of laws. The penal code punishes with one year imprisonment for organizing or participating in an unauthorized demonstration in a public place (Article 98). Authorities in the capital participated in public demonstrations indefinitely in 2001 when the country was in a state of emergency (Human Rights Watch 2017).

Since the 1990s, the privately owned newspapers have been marginalized in terms of freedom to criticize public figures and state policies. The freedom of the press is restricted by repressive laws and reliance on public sector advertising revenues and other factors. In addition to the 2012 media law, that includes many articles restricting freedom of expression. These events were among the many difficult historical events that placed a barrier between the people and politics, which made the Algerian citizen enter into a state of silence in order to preserve himself and his country. This black decade left a lot of blood after each event.

XI. An Overview of El-Hirak

Algeria's history was full of events that shook the country in several areas, including politics, which fluctuated from the independence until 2019. In this overview, we will refer to

the most important milestones in the country's history since the arrival of President Abdul-Aziz Bouteflika and the problems that the country faced during his rule, up to the movement and the developments of its events.

During the 90's there were attempts to block Algeria's return to democracy. The people were optimistic about the election of Liamine Zeroual as president in 1995, who was the right man, but ruled the country in the most difficult circumstances and lost his ability to control the contradictions of political events in Algeria and his refusal to submit to the demands of the terrorists when some members of the authority began negotiating secretly with them, this made it difficult to deal with the intertwined issues in the country at the time. but, soon the hope of the people disappeared when he gave up his post in 1998, although he did not achieve much to end the civil war. In the April 1999 elections, there were seven candidates. On the eve of polling day, however, the matter turned to irony when six of them withdrew their candidacy under the pretext that the elections would be clearly rigged. (M.Kirat,1998).

The only remaining competitor in the race to presidency was Bouteflika, who had the support of both the FLN and the military, but he stunned everyone with his apparent independence and his ability to reconcile within weeks.

In June 1999, Bouteflika received assurances from the leader of the Islamic Salvation Front that their guerrilla wing, the Salvation Army, was canceling its violent campaign against the government - and urging other terrorist groups to do the same. Evidence is even beginning to emerge of a split within the more hard-line GIA, some of whose members are now said to be eager to join the peace process. (ibid.)

The dose of optimism increased when Bouteflika announced an amnesty for Muslim terrorists being held in the Golan prison, in July 1999, on the 37th anniversary of Algeria's independence.

In a referendum in September 1999, Bouteflika won an overwhelming vote in support of his plans to end the civil war. Algerians voted 98% in favor of the president. Algeria still has a lot to go before it achieves something akin to democracy. As in other places in the world, generals always pose a threat in the background.

But the summer of 1999 could be a much-needed turning point in Algeria's short experience of independence.

❖ **The 2000's main events in Berber region**

The following events were known as Berber concessions because they were active in this period and protest against their rights:

The mainly Berber party, the Rally for Culture and Democracy, withdraws from the government in protest against the authorities handling of riots in the Kabyle Berber heartland in May 2001 that lasted for months later, As a result of killing a Kabyle student named Massinissa after his arrest by the Algerian gendarmerie (Boudhane.Y, 2017).

In March 2002, President Bouteflika says the Berber language, Tamazight, is to be recognized as a national language. In June from the same year, The National Liberation Front wins the general elections, led by Prime Minister Ali Binflis, which is marred by violence and low turnout. They were boycotted by four parties as a hoax - two of them representing Berbers. In the next year, May 21st More than 2,000 people are killed and thousands injured in a strong earthquake in the north. The most affected areas are east of Algiers (ibid.)

The leader of the banned Islamic Salvation Front, Abbasi Madani, and his deputy, Ali Belhadj, are released after serving a 12 year prison sentence in June 2003.

April 2004, President Bouteflika is re-elected to a second term with a landslide victory in the elections. In January of the next year Noureddine Boudiafi, leader of the Armed Islamic Group, is arrested, his deputy is killed, and his group is dismantled (Boudhane.Y 2017).

The government struck a deal with Berber leaders, and promised more investment in the Kabyle region and greater recognition of the Berber language (ibid.)

In March 2005, Government reports that security forces were the reason for the disappearance of more than 6,000 citizens during the civil war in the 1990s. And in September voters agree to government pardon for many of those implicated in the post 1992 killings in the reconciliation referendum. (Global IDP, n.d)

In May 2006, Algeria's economy improves and pays off all of its \$ 8 billion in debt to the Paris Club group of rich creditor nations. (ibid.)

❖ **The emergence of Al-Qaeda Organization**

The next points of the history concerning The Rise of al-Qaeda and its main event's: The Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat renames itself as Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb and escalates its attacks over the next two years, in January 2007. And in April Al-Qaeda claims responsibility for the killing of 33 people in two bombings in Algiers one of which is the office of the Prime Minister. (Filiu, J.P 2009)

Parliamentary elections in May 2007, Dozens were killed, long before the wave of fighting between the army and armed groups. The pro-government parties maintain an absolute majority in Parliament. By September 2007, Ayman al-Zawahiri (the number two in al-Qaeda) encourages Muslims in North Africa to "cleanse" their lands of the Spanish and the French. After one year in November Constitutional changes were approved allowing President Bouteflika to run for a third term. (ibid.)

In April 2009, President Bouteflika wins a third term in elections. And an agreement was signed between Nigeria, Niger and Algeria to build a \$ 13 billion pipeline to transport Nigerian gas across the Sahara to the Mediterranean in July. In April from the next year,

Union of Algeria, Mauritania, Mali and Niger establish a joint command to address the threat of terrorism. (ibid.)

❖ **The Protests of 2011**

In the beginning of 2011 the Prices of basic foodstuffs are reduced after large price protests and unemployment, as a result of which two people were killed in clashes with the security forces.

In February the president lifted the state of emergency after a major 19 year demand by anti-government protesters. September 2011 the president ends the state monopoly on radio and television.

The Parliamentary poll in May 2010: The National Liberation Front and its ally, the National Democratic Rally, win in parliament, despite suspicions of fraud.

After two years in October, The deputy leader of al-Qaeda in Algeria was killed by the army. In December the French President Francois Holland admits the suffering caused by France's colonization of Algeria, but not an apology.

Al-Mourabitoun Islamist group kills dozens of foreign hostages in remote Ain-Amenas in January 2013. In April of the same year the President Bouteflika suffers from a stroke, spends three months in France for treatment.

In the next year, Bouteflika won another presidential term in the April elections, despite suffering a stroke that made him paralyzed and unable to perform his duties normally, causing his long absence from the political scene.

September 2015, Mohamed Median sacked the head of the Supreme Intelligence Service, who was a superpower behind the scenes. In February from the next year, The House of Representatives passes constitutional reforms that limit the term of presidents to two terms,

expanding the power of the legislature and formalizing the Berber language. In the beginning of 2018, Berbers celebrate New Year for the first time as a national public holiday.

Street protests push President Bouteflika to resign, after presidential elections were postponed due to political unrest in April 2019. The president of the Senate (Abdelkader Bensalah) assumed the presidency temporarily as the demonstrations continued.

XII. The Chronological Development of El-Hirak

- **The Beginning of the Movement**

The movement did not begin on February 22nd, as the people's revolution preceded the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt by twenty-three years. In the year 1988 of October, the Algerian people came out, expressing their rejection of the late President Chadli Bendjedid and his rule. The people are rewriting history with a wave stronger than the one that preceded it.

The Algerians' cup was filled with their silence about corruption, bitterness of living, high prices and other accumulations over many years. This silence was not a fear of anyone because this great people feared only for their dear homeland, in order to preserve the security and stability of their country.

What made the cup of bitterness really overflows is the challenge of former President Bouteflika to his people and his decision to run on February 10th, 2019 despite his difficult health condition and his absence from the political arena and the country in general, which has been absent during previous years, and his communication with the people through written speeches, and thus the Algerian people broke away from their long silence. On February 22nd, Algerians protested against the nomination of the latter, raising slogans expressing their anger under the slogan "No for a fifth term." As these demonstrations continued on a daily basis, we are determined that the call will reach and be answered.

- **The Spread of The Movement**

University students also had unified rallies from all universities in the homeland, which began on February 26th. The movement spread on a large scale to include several cities in Algeria, with a greater number of citizens and a greater number of voices calling for justice and peace, so that the public interest unified on March 1st with the unification of the goal and target. Two days later, Abdelghani Zaalan, the director of the election campaign for the former president, submitted the file to run for the Constitutional Council, which increased the intensity of the movement and later, a message was published on Algerian television in the name of Bouteflika, pledging to the people to withdraw from his post after the end of his fifth term. Believing that these words will calm the people and allow for another mandate, but it is awful for the anger of the years to be extinguished in its entirety or for a temporary solution. The heroic Algerians are still determined towards the goal they set.

After great pressure and insistence from the chants of the rallies, Bouteflika announced on March 11 that he would withdraw from running for the presidency. This was not enough for the people and it did not stop protesting. On the 12th and 13th of the same month, university students and professors demonstrated in huge numbers in more states of the country. After that, the movement spread to 40 states with millions of protestors.

- **The Government's Main decisions**

March 26, Gaid Salih proposed the application of Article 102 of the Constitution, which stipulates that if it becomes impossible for the President of the Republic to carry out his duties due to a serious or chronic illness, the Constitutional Council meets after the fact of the impediment is established and the Parliament authorizes it, and assigns the Speaker of Parliament to assume the presidency of the state for a maximum period of five And forty days, which led Bouteflika to announce his resignation on April 2nd. Then the people

demanded to bring down the whole regime, calling the loudest of their voices and banners with the famous phrase “ytna7aw ga3”.

On 9th, February, Article 102 was implemented and Abdelkader Bensalah was appointed as the acting president for a period of forty-five days in accordance with the law. The election date was set on July 4th for the presidency to become vacant, as a response to the people’s demand.

Judicial investigations began on April 29th to hold an accountable group of state officials who were behind the former president contributed to corruption of all kinds and its various forms, and squandered state funds. This increased the number of demonstrators on May 31st, to cover the streets and paralyze traffic on Friday, the fifteenth in a row, despite the police’s attempt to prevent citizens in various forms and methods such as using tear gas and spraying them with water in addition to arresting many people to intimidate the rest. But none of these methods worked.

July 2nd, The Constitutional Council declared the impossibility of holding the elections on time, after the two existing files were rejected as candidates for the presidential elections due to some deficiencies in the conditions and files.

- **Demonstrations That Rejected The Elections**

October 1st, Mass demonstrations demanding the release of the Hirak detainees who did not commit any sin except that they wanted their country to change for the better. On October 31st, the struggling people took part in demonstrations in Algiers at night in the central post office, an evening celebrating the anniversary of the outbreak of the National Liberation Revolution, a reminder that Algeria is a free country that is distinguished by the unity of its people despite all circumstances.

The protesters insisted on refusing to hold the elections due to the presence of candidates related to the regime of the former president, and with the presence of the great corruption faces of the authority, as, on December 11st, the demonstrators threatened to attack the polling stations in which the presidential elections will be held.

December 12th, 2019. Presidential elections were held and Abdel Majid Tebboune was declared the winner of the presidential term by the authority, the official elections in Algeria. Who spent 17 years in successive governments, history knows him as the president of the shortest government, as he only ruled 81 days until he was overthrown by Bouteflika or his spokesmen. (Seddik .M.Z 2019)

XIII. Corruption in Algeria

Corruption in Algeria Companies operating or wanting to operate in Algeria face the greatest challenge which is absolute corruption. many elements of the Algerian economy are mostly controlled by patronage which benefits individuals who utilize their influence and social ties to get things done faster. Bribery is highly popular in Algeria even though it is prohibited as is used to circumvent the bureaucracy. despite challenges in regulating such as some elected officials who can easily get away with it, corruption offenses are still unlawful. Many studies have been conducted on the subject of corruption, however, due to the multitude of concepts in various academic areas, no one consistent definition of corruption has been obtained, indicating that it is a multidimensional notion. We shall discuss the phenomenon of corruption that has become pervasive in Algeria and how to resist it within the framework of legal foundations in this section.

A. The concept of Corruption:

According to World Bank (w.b), Corruption is the abuse of public power for private benefit.

Corruption is a reprehensible behavior whereby a person (the bribed person) solicits, agrees or accepts a gift, offer or promise, presents or benefits or any kind for the purpose of accomplishing .delaying or failing to perform act coming directly or indirectly within the scope of his duties.(PHD students (n.d).

B. The case of Corruption in Algeria

the one-party system ruled Algeria for more than 30 years. This period was marked by the recovery of the petroleum economy after the increase of its prices. It also was characterized by the spread of freedom practices after the democratic openness in 1989 that resulted in the formation of more than 60 political parties and the publication of dozens of private newspapers and magazines in addition to associations in various fields but then it was followed by the spread of corruption within the state and its institutions, the emergence of unemployment that did not notice before that led to major social problems in the Algerian society in addition to political divisions within the ruling party that ruled Algeria from 1962 to 1989 that led to the first local elections that were organized in 1991 in which the Islamic party won. However, the matter moved to another stage which was marked by Islamic terrorism and governmental violence that left more than 200.000 victims. This part will provide us with the concept of corruption in Algeria as well as the main cases that Algeria witnessed during the past few years about the mafia systems then it will highlight the International efforts to fight corruption in the Algerian context. Corruption has expanded widely throughout our society, which has become an obstacle to Algerians and has greatly affected Algeria during the past few years. Bribery, nepotism, and bureaucracy are some of the most prominent aspects of corruption. These obstacles appeared as a result of the local economy's recovery following the high oil prices of 1999. However, after that, it will witness a significant decline in 2014. The economy's revenues played a major role in implementing national development projects with a budget of one trillion dollars during Bouteflika's rule in Algeria, but this did not prevent the

country from remaining underdeveloped because it is entirely reliant on one source of income, oil, and gas, for which it has found no alternative, while the industry represents a quarter of the output National and 95% of the country's income from exports. Corruption issues in Algeria have always been the first reason preventing Algeria from developing its economy, as Algeria witnessed several corruption-related cases, the most important of which is the case of billionaire Khalifa, which was considered the case of the century in Algeria in 2002, in which he was accused of being involved in illegal money-making schemes through the Al Khalifa group, which It was considered one of the largest institutions in Algeria at the time, which included a bank and an airline. He was convicted in 2015 on charges of forming an evil association, bribery, breach of trust, and forgery of bank documents. The Algerian oil and gas company Sonatrach also had a share of major corruption cases in Algeria, so that it was implicated in 2015, and according to investigations conducted in 2013, it concluded illegal contracts with the Italian oil and gas company Eni, in which the Minister of Energy Chakib Khelil was mainly involved. From what we mentioned previously, we see that the Algerian government has succeeded to some extent in dealing with corruption cases by bringing the corrupt to justice and ensuring their punishment to reduce corruption cases in the country (Hadjadj.2007).

VIII Reasons of Hirak

This part aims at showing the reasons that made Algerian citizens come out to streets on February 22, 2019. Citizens refused the fifth suggested, presidency and asked to drop the current Algerian political system .They aimed at change, freedom, democracy and social justice, hence constructing a country of law .They wanted this because of the scary social circumstances in their society.

❖ **Political reasons**

Bouteflika's decision to run for a fifth presidential term was the spark that ignited the recent wave of protests, with many Algerians angry at Bouteflika's absence from the political scene and leading the country despite suffering from a debilitating stroke in 2013.

Since his stroke in 2013, perception has grown across Algeria that Bouteflika has been a puppet president, with figures from within Bouteflika's entourage calling the shots (Fronte, G.M 2019).

❖ **Social reasons:**

In addition to high unemployment, lack of job opportunities, economic stagnation following the decline of oil and gas export revenues in 2014. Since coming to power, Bouteflika's regime has crushed political dissent and overseen a proliferation of corruption throughout the state, with oligarchs and the party elite owing their position to the monopoly on oil and other key energy industries.

Algeria is a rentier state and one of Africa's major oil and gas producers, the endemic corruption has led to an overreliance on oil revenues at the expense of the agricultural potential of the country, further adding to discontent domestically (Arab Center For research and Policy Studies, 2020).

❖ **Economic reasons:**

Algeria faced economic challenges in 2018, with its foreign exchange reserves that were steadily eroding and the budget was suffering from severe deficits. Nevertheless, the government clung to unsuccessful strategies that worsened the situation since the regime was completely reliant on the country's oil revenues, when oil prices fell; the regime faced a serious economic crisis. In order to deal with it, the government raised taxes on many essential goods and implemented a strict austerity policy, especially in sectors that affect

vulnerable groups, as well as freezing most projects and job opportunities. In addition, the government used unconventional financing by printing banknotes without productive compensation, exacerbating the suffocating crisis and causing rapid inflation of the bills. As a result of all of this, the government lost its ability to continue providing comprehensive social services, and citizens' purchasing power plummeted.

Unlike burdening citizens with taxes, the authority sought to protect the privileges of the new wealthier class, which was allied with the state's senior employees. In this sense, the authority sought to create the idea that The large loans they took advantage of cannot be recovered though it was not implemented according to the standards by which it is supposed to be implemented , this was one of the reasons for the dismissal of Prime Minister Abdel Majid Tebboune in the summer of 2017 following his declarations about the need to break the connection between politics and finance, as well as the need to recover state debts from businessmen and major project contractors.

The government's ability to provide comprehensive social services was harmed by the economic downturn, which helped to prepare the popular mood to reject the status quo. At the same time, the regime was undergoing a serious crisis that limited its ability to maneuver. Since the components of Algeria's actual power system were unable to agree on a single position to address the country's crisis, the authority's only option was to seek gaining more time by promoting continuity, even if it was through a sick president following the same approach adopted by the authority since 1992, which made the movement launched on February 22, 2019, in the face of challenging and recession economic conditions (ibid.)

IX . Practical Studies Concerning the Analysis of Slogan Use During Hirak 2019

Since the Algerian movement caused a great media sensation inside and outside the country, writers, researchers, journalists, politicians and other interested groups talked about

it, thus it is difficult to define studies to rely on and work on, we selected most relevant topics among them.

According to Serhani and Kerras (2019), the study aims at analyze a number of slogans as a political and social practice performed by the demonstrators and as semiotic and linguistic elements in specific contexts. In addition to the analysis of the persuasive affect of a number of device messages, such as humor, intertextuality, word play, etc. It seeks to decipher the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects behind the various slogans displayed on the banners, investigating linguistic discourse through cases of multilingualism, intertextuality, humor and others. It also aims to analyze the language used in a specific time and place to understand the way in which social power dominates in Algeria, analyzing the language used to express ideas that conflict with the current policy, taking into account the languages used in Algeria. Discover the relationship between users and their language to criticize their country's politics.

According to Beairit and Hamidou (2019), The most important goal for this study is to classify and collect the study and gather this important subject. In the first place it seeks to analyze slogans and highlights their backgrounds and connotations, and shows the role of the semiotic curriculum and how to apply it on slogans. It also aims to highlight the national spirit and the state of awareness of the demonstrators through the use of slogans and behavior, in addition to the study of slogans from a linguistic point of view and shedding light on the purposeful political message and revealing the meanings brought by the sample, which was based on the rhetorical symbols circulated on the tongues of the Algerian community in various domains.

In the end of the study, they reached to several results, we summarize them as follow

The popular movement is the movement of individuals within society that aims to change, reform and rebuild a healthy society, And the slogan is an audio phenomenon and a

convincing style based on distinct linguistic fluency. It also has conditions that must be met in order to have greater impact and effectiveness, persuasion, ease of repetition, clarity and understanding of the goal. In addition to the protesters' use of terms inspired by history, religion, folklore, heroic figures from history, and some slogans taken from the daily life of the citizen, in which they used colloquial dialects and foreign languages. One of the most important issues on which the slogans focused on calling for change and reform and not holding elections until the departure of the regime and fighting corruption.

Conclusion:

In this chapter, we identified the most important concepts relevant to our topic, including the most important features and types of slogans, then we provided this section with the most prominent demonstrations that took place in the country's history since the beginning of the black decade from 1999 to 2002, focusing on the reasons that prevented Algerians from demonstrating during that period, In addition to an overview of El-Hirak and the sequence of events from 1999 to the beginning of the movement in 2019, highlighting the main political, economic and social factors that deteriorated the country's situation, beginning with the president's health crisis, which was followed by difficult living conditions and the emergence of corruption in the government, that prompted Algerians to demonstrate and demand their rights in February 2019.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

This theoretical chapter will introduce the concept of critical discourse analysis, starting with a brief background of the framework in relation to critical discourse studies that is considered the most important area of critical discourse analysis, it will also be provided by definitions of our main concept according to some well-known scholars in this field of study. After that mentioning the three central approaches of CDA that all view discourse as a form of social practice which are: Fairclough's (1989-1995) socio-cultural approach, Van Dijk's (1998) socio-cognitive approach as well as Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach, in addition to that we highlight the eight key elements and methodological principles of CDA that were outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), providing this chapter with the aims of the concept of CDA as well as defining Ideology that draws attention to the various components of society and its main features ending up with defining power and its main theories.

I. Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Critical Discourse Studies

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is currently a widely used and approved method of (critical) social research all over the world. CDA has become well acknowledged as an important area of critical social studies that investigates how language in use can be described as the fundamental notion of discourse and focuses on both substantive and linguistic difficulties. Social interactions, as well as their discursive nature, operate in and via discourse (Wodak. Meyer, 2015) Scholars working on various forms of language-oriented text-based studies are considered CDA practitioners, and they adopt a systematic approach to their work. Although, in most situations, it remains true to its fundamental objectives in language, power, and ideology (Van Dijk 1984; Wodak 1989; Fairclough 1995; Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

CDA's main focus was on lexico-grammatical meaning in written and mass-mediated texts (Blommaert et al. 2001:5). Since the 1990s, several publicly recognized research schools have emerged, including Norman Fairclough's (neo-) Marxist and post-Foucauldian pragma-dialectic method, Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical method based on Frankfurt School critical theory and text-linguistics, and Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical method based on Frankfurt School critical theory and text-linguistics (Wodak 2001, Krzyzanowski:2010). CDA academics have increasingly recognized the limitations of their concepts and analyses since the early 2000s, and have tried to widen CDA into a broader field of study currently known as CDS, while particular CDA areas have remained staunchly devoted to their original goals. Other CDS schools have forecast a shift to new types, such as discourse-historical, socio-cognitive, and multimodal methods.

As a result, they have called for a more contextualized and actor-centered approach to analysis.

2. A brief history of Critical Discourse Analysis:

The study of critical discourse analysis was developed by scholars in the 1970s, primarily Fairclough; practitioners of English see this language used as performing intellectual, personal, and textual functions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has become an important field in the social sciences. It has been defined as an interdisciplinary problem-solving study program that includes a range of methods, each with its own theoretical models, research techniques and agendas. The semiotic dimensions of power, injustice and political, economic, social or cultural transformation in society are what unite all methods, rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, and sociolinguistics also because applied linguistics and pragmatics have their origins in CDA.

Critical Discourse Analysis attempts to formulate the comprehensive perspective on cooperation with dominant groups, e.g. formulating strategic proposals for defining and developing power and counter ideologies in practices of challenge and resistance.

For critical discourse analysis, language cannot be powerful on its own. It derives its strength from powerful people who speak it, and critically analyzes the use of language by those in power.

3. Definitions of Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA is a cross-discipline set forth in the early 1990's by a group of scholars such as Theo Van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Teun Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough (Wodak&Meyer,2001).The concept of CDA emerged from the various theories and methodologies used in Discourse Analysis. It is an interdisciplinary approach that can be used by various fields of study .

In their work, critical discourse analysts have argued that the choices that people make regarding grammar and vocabulary are consciously or unconsciously ideological. For its analysts the concept of CDA is more than just a social science, it is also a form of intervention that aims to improve social relationships.

By CDA we mean the discourse analysis which aims to explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts ,and wider social and cultural structures, relation and processes ,to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.

By this we can see that CDA claims that discourse always involves power and ideologies and it seeks to investigate the frequently ambiguous relationships between discursive practices ,texts and events . Critical Analysts are thus concerned with uncovering

the ideological assumptions hidden in linguistic structures in order to assist people in resisting and overcoming various forms of power abuse. Aside the issue of power in discourse there is also the issue of power over discourse which is partly a matter of access .

According to Van Dijk (1998) critical discourse analysis is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias .I examine how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts .this means that according to him CDA aims to analyze the sources of power and dominance that are maintained within spoken and written texts. It also focuses on how these discursive sources are conceptualised and maintained within specific social , historical and political contexts .

In the same vein, Wodak & Meyer (2001) provided this definition for CDA : CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.

4. **How to do critical discourse analysis**

In order to carry out a proper analysis, a discourse analysts must first study the structures and strategies of texts and discuss how these are used to manipulate and suppress ideas .For CDA proponents the concept of explicit CDA requires a solid linguistic basis. This is typically done through the use of a broad structural-functional sense .Contrary to the claims of other theorists, SFL is not a theory that views language as being shaped by its social functions. It should be recalled that, in addressing the social problems, CDA counters the dominant ideological positions of SFL .this means that the linguistic approach should be combined with historical, socio-political, sociological, anthropological, sociolinguistic, and other perspectives.

The Frankfurt School of Philosophy is especially associated with the term critical. The Frankfurt School re-examines Marxist thought's foundations. The use of logical reasoning in Kantian 'critique' involves questioning the boundaries of human experience and comprehension of, for example, the physical world. The Frankfurt school takes this a step further by examining different cultural structures that are seen as crucial to the replication of capitalist social ties. A vital science, according to Jürgen Habermas, must be self-reflexive (reflecting on the interests that underpin it) and take into account the historical context in which linguistic and social experiences occur.

5. Central approaches to CDA :

a. Fairclough's socio-cultural approach :

Fairclough's approach to the study of discourse is similar to the functional analysis of Halliday .It looks at language as discourse and social practice, someone cannot analyse the text only, not just analyse the process of production and interpretation, but also analyse the texts, processes and their social conditions ,instead of focusing on the textual properties of a given word ,he uses a three-dimensional framework to analyse the relationship between the discourse and social reality.

- a) Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- b) Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction; viewing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
- c) Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with social determination of the process of production and interpretation and their social effects.

Fairclough argues that certain assumptions behind certain selections in discourse can have ideological effects as they can produce and replicate the hierarchies of power that exist in modern society. He then presents the concept of hegemony, which he refers to as a way of addressing the evolution of power relations. It allows a particular focus on discursive change to be used as a way of shaping processes of change .

Order of discourse can change over time. According to Fairclough's how discourses can be influenced by the relationships within a social institution or society .

b. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach:

Socio-cognitive discourse analysis is an approach characterized by the interaction between cognition, discourse and society. It began in formal text linguistics and subsequently incorporated elements of the standard psychological model of memory, together with the idea of frame taken from cognitive science. This approach perceives discourse as a form of social practice , However it concentrates more on social cognition as the mediating part between text and society. He claims that CDA needs to account for the various forms of social cognitions that are shared by the social collectivities (groups, organizations and institutions)(Van Dijk ,2001). He also states that social cognitions are "socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, interfering and learning"(Van Dijk,1993,p.257).

Moreover, he views ideologies as "the basis of the social representations of groups and emphasizes that ideological discourse is generally organized by a general strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

To sum up with , according to Van Dijk ,the study of discourse should not only focus on the relationship between the language and social structure, but also on the intervening mental models and goals of the language users .

c. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach:

This approach was developed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars in Vienna working in the traditions of Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt school-The Approach is particularly associated with large programmes of research in interdisciplinary research teams focusing on sexism, antisemitism and racism. One of the major aims of this kind of critical research has been its practical application.

Wodak's Discourse-Historical approach views discourse as a form of social practice (the same as Fairclough's and Van Dijk's approaches). Wodak (2002, cited in Todd et al, 2006;20) has focused on the interdisciplinary and eclectic nature of CDA and claims that "studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies" (Wodak, 2001:5).

One of the important tenets of CDA is that all discourses should have their context referenced. This concept is connected to other communicative events that have happened before and are still happening today.

In his 2001 article, Wodak states that identity politics often involve the integration of past and present events and visions; in the analysis of the discursive interrelationships the principle of triangulation is often used. This concept refers to the various methods of collecting data.

6. Critical Discourse Analysis Principles:

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, cited in Van Dijk, 1993) outline eight key theoretical and methodological principles of CDA which, as viewed by Rogers (2004), "

A. CDA addresses social problems:

CDA is portrayed as a means of interference in social practice and cultural relationships, rather than as a dispassionate and objective social science (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258). Fairclough and Wodak go even further, claiming that CDA is concerned with the linguistic features of social and cultural systems as well as language and language use. CDA takes a critical approach to social issues, attempting to make power relationships that are often concealed explicit, and aiming to produce outcomes that are useful in social, cultural, political, and even economic contexts.

B. The second principle is that power relations are discursive. That means that CDA draws attention to "the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies" (ibid, p.272). This demonstrates how rhetoric is used to conduct and establish power relations.

C. The third principle is discourse constitutes society and culture, and it reflects and reproduces social relations.

D. The fourth principle it is not enough to analyze texts to understand how ideologies are produced; discourse does ideological work. It's also important to think about discursive practice (how texts are perceived and obtained, and what social effects they have) (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

E. Discourse is intertextual / historical

Discourse cannot be viewed in isolation from the discourses that came before it and would come after it. It cannot be created or understood without taking into account these intertextual relationships and sociocultural knowledges.

F. The link between text and society is indirect or "Mediated"

Critical discourse analysis connects social, cultural, and textual systems, methods, and properties. These links are often mediated. The relationship between text and society is

commonly understood through Foucault's all-encompassing concept, orders of discourse, which encompasses a variety of institutional discourse practices.

G. Discourse Analysis is interpretative and explanatory

CDA is explanatory, interpretative, and descriptive. Furthermore, these three phases are fluid, and new readings and contextual knowledge can have an effect on them.

H. Discourse is a form of social action or social practice

CDA is a form of social action that attempts to intervene and bring about improvement in communicative and socio-political practices by exposing opaqueness and power relationships. As a result, the aim of CDA is to shift the discourse and power dynamics in those institutions.

7. Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA aims at the following objectives:

CDA explores the connection between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. Since the users of language do not function in isolation, but in a set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks. CDA accepts this social context and studies connections between textual structures and takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within the society as well as CDA includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work. Wodak (2001) contends that CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). Meyer (2001) states that CDA aims to make transparent the discursive aspects of societal disparities and inequalities.

In the same vein Fairclough (1992:315, cited in Min 1997:148) states that the objectives of CDA in more practical terms when he postulates that the aims of CDA are to

explore the social function of language to describe linguistic processes in social terms and to reveal the ideological and political investments'. It follows from this to argue that in the attempt to investigate the social function of language (while doing CDA) ,one needs to make a description of linguistic properties so as to disclose or unravel the ideologies embedded in the discourse under study. In that regard ,widows on (2004) sustains that how language is used to construct social identity and social relationship [thus social inequality] is directly referable from linguistic forms .

II. Ideology

1) Definitions of Ideology

Ideology includes in its descriptive meaning: "things such as the beliefs that group members hold, the concepts they use, the psychological attitudes and behaviors they exhibit, their motivations, desires, values, inclinations, works of art, religious rituals, gestures., Etc." (Geuss 1981, p. 5). In another sense, ideology is a belief-based framework that allows people to interpret reality.

Ideologies, according to Van Dijk, are a group of people's ideas and beliefs that are characterized in interdisciplinary ways that include social, cognitive, and discursive components. He also claims that ideologies are learned, expressed, modified, and molded in society through a variety of discourses, including texts and conversation.

Ideology denotes the symbolic social forms used and their employment in the social world. Ideology is the study of "how meaning is formed and conveyed in various symbolic forms." Regarding language, Luke believes that when influential people use it, it becomes more powerful.

In many disciplines, there is a significant link between language and power. Thus, the ideological engagement based on language and its relationship to power is formed by societal

and cultural contexts. From another perspective, ideology is a field of various disciplines that serves as the main focus for framing multiple ideological concepts and uses. Likewise, Dijk highlights that ideologies typically influence a social group's ideas, which in themselves represent the basic characteristics of a group based on their identities, goals, norms, values, attitudes, and responses to other negative situations. Van Dijk argues that both social and cognitive functions are related to the consumption of ideological properties.

A person's ideology is a way of communicating social thought and responsibilities. It can be used to represent and construct a society that is distributed according to its power relations.

Ideology is also associated with the construction of thoughts. It can be influenced by the various social and cultural influences.

2) Ideology's main features

- Ideologies are conceptual social beliefs that people develop over time. They are not general in nature and cannot be developed overnight.
- In his book "Demystifying the World of Discourse," Michael Hodge states that interaction is a fundamental requirement for discourse to be sturdy and transformative.
- Ideologies are conceptual notions that describe the interactions among various social groups and individuals. They can be used to analyze social structures and their various components.
- Martínez-Roldán and Malavé argue that ideology is not only the shared beliefs of individuals but also encompasses various social phenomena that are often difficult to classify.
- It involves various social groups within different ideological group.

- The context of an ideology also reflects the personal framework of the ideology. For instance, if an ideology is based on a certain set of values, then the context of communication may have a different set of values.
- Ideological interaction theory's tenets serve as rules for presenting contextual differences or views.
- Fairclough and Wodak's essential ideas of critical discourse analysis serve as the foundation for establishing the characteristics of ideological interaction approaches.
- The social dimension is the main axis that can define the ideological dimension of a person's life.
- It can also define the points of view that a person can adopt in a given context.

3) Contexts of Ideology

The concept of ideology is presented within a conceptual triangle that draws attention to the various components of society and social cognition. Its connection to discourse and action is evidenced by the various ways in which ideologies interact with each other.

As stated by Vygotsky, the formation of discourses is linked to the various facets of society, including gender, race, and ethnicity. Lazar also states that the level of interaction among communities and individuals is crucial for shaping the ideological configurations. (Prasad Gyawal 2020).

III. Power

1 Definitions of Power

The theoretical idea of power is rooted in political theory and political philosophy, and it is always described by two fundamental theories: pluralism and elitism. Power, according to pluralists, is an effect that can be experimentally investigated through the political process.

The elitists did not think much about the political process in general, but they did try to study the origins and effects of power (Erkki, 1995).

Machiavelli was a strategic and decentralized thinker who saw power as a means of organization and strategic advantages. He sought to use it to his advantage (Sudan, 2004).

In his work, Hobbes defined power as a position of will. He believed that the power of an individual is supreme to that of a group .and set a universal definition of power: 'the power of a man is his present means, to obtain some future apparent good'(1968 p. 150).

power is "the opportunity of a man or a group of men to fulfill their will in a collective action even in the face of resistance from others who participate in the action". Weber (1978, p. 180)

According to Weber, power is a factor of domination that relies on economic or authoritarian interests and has provided three sources for making this power legitimate and acceptable: charismatic, traditional, and legal rationality.

According to his "theory of community power," Dahl defined power as the ability to make someone do something that he would not or would otherwise have done and set his goal in producing the obedience of vulnerable participants (i.e. changing their preferences) and choices). In other words, the group that holds power in society exercises its hegemony over the weak while their freedom is limited to do what they prefer in order to make the weak group subject to the powerful group.

As for Lukes, he defined power as the implicit ability to reveal the hidden goals of powerful politicians and to instill in their thoughts the interests of individuals who disagree with them.

2 Theories of Power Through History

Accompanying Clegg (1989), Sadan (1997) pointed that there are two diverse conventions managing power, each offering on that one starting with those hypotheses of energy that promptly off. When initially world war by Machiavelli (1469- 1527) clinched alongside punctual sixteenth century and the different for Thomas Hobbes (1588- 1679) Previously, mid-17th century. While Machiavelli quell those vital Furthermore decentralized supposing something like energy Also organization, Hobbes produced as much methodology of the power of the state and the basics of European liberal possibility. Hobbes also presented the good of the distinctive and the characteristic fairness of all men in the state, recognizing the middle of it Also common society, the perspective that called for every last bit real political force must make delegate test Furthermore In light of those assent of the individuals and for An liberal elucidation of law which abandons people free on would whatever those theory doesn't unequivocally preclude (Sadan, 1997). For him, social order is a number underneath a sovereign authority, on whom constantly on people in that particular social order clear out exactly privileges for the purpose about security. Any abuses of force Toward this power need aid should make translated by those capable Furthermore be acknowledged Eventually Tom's perusing those powerless Similarly as those value from claiming peace. In this precept, those sovereign state controls civil, military, Legal Furthermore religious forces.

Karl Marx argued that power is concentrated in the ruling class, which is rooted in economics

In 1956, economist James Mills argued that the elite has total control over society.

Dahl's 'theory of community power' states that power is exerted in a community by a certain concrete individual, while other persons are stopped from doing what they like. It is also used to force individuals who are subject to it to conform to the private desires of those who possess it.(1961).

The “Two Faces of Power” paradigm was established as a critique of the Dahl power community by Bachrach and Baratz (1962). Concerned primarily with the relationship between the overt face of power when making decisions and the hidden face of power, which shows the ability to prevent such decisions from being taken. They are skeptical that the decision-making process is truly democratic and open, as Dahl claimed.

Two principles, namely the decentralization of power and the knowledge and discipline of power, were presented by Michel Foucault. He argued that the discussion of power should be broadened to include all fields of study.(Foucault .1979).

Unlike Marxist sociology and Marxism, Foucault sees power as concentrated in individuals. He also opposes the concept of ideology, which he believes always stands in opposition to something else that is supposed to be truth.

However, there is nothing significant about an external discourse, Foucault emphasizes the significance of local study of speech in order to assess its power. Because knowledge is power over others, as well as what defines people. Modern power operates by creating “new” powers of action rather than restricting pre-existing skills, and the exercise of power itself generates new knowledge.

All of these theories and others that emerged from the social discourse and all that it implies of language, ideologies and power contributed to the formation of the different concepts of power as a term.

3 Power in CDA

Power in CDA is everywhere and no language in use can ever be 'neutral' or 'objective' (Fairclough, 1989), and no discourse can ever be free of power and the exercise of power (Watts, 1992). From this perspective, power is related to language and it is present in all languages and their uses in discourse or the exercise of power..

Deborah Cameron (2001) claimed that Power is not derived from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to provide a finely articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures. Language is not powerful on its own, but gains power by the use powerful people make of it (in Muralikrishnan 2011, p.23). In other words, we cannot say that language is powerful as long as it is not used by individuals with power, because language is not its source.

Individuals are the compounds of power, not the site of their application (Foucault, 1980), Authority is not limited to a single group or institution. It can be found anywhere, and it can be the source of new knowledge and practices.

In 1995, Fairclough argued that the concept of power can be conceptualized in terms of how individuals or groups can control the production, distribution, and consumption of texts in social contexts. This type of power is usually concentrated on ideology or knowledge. It can be used to influence or compel others to carry out their will.(Andersen, 1988. Fairclough, 1989).

In his book, Muralikrishnan (2011), he explained that power can be obtained through various means, such as physical coercion or through the legal system. It is often more effective to persuade people voluntarily to exercise power by making consent or at least the willingness to accept it. Establishing an ideology is the first step in this process.

4 **Ideological Power**

As it is mentioned by Andersen (1988),” power is no longer the product of conscious individuals acting together and against each other by force and coercion, but it is the product of many unconscious social pressures and disguising features of ideology”. That is to say Power is not the result of conscious actions but is the result of unconscious social pressures and misunderstandings of ideology.

An ideology is often defined in terms of two schools, one belonging to the US and the other to Britain after World War II. The former refers to a social policy that is partially or entirely derived from social theory, while the latter is based on a set of material interests. Fairclough, (1989).

” language and thinking are interrelated, and language has a strong influence on the thinking of One's view of the world., in the form of its discourse, constitutes the way people think (the worldview) and is reflected in their thought”. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 94). Whorf (1956), In other terms, in the context of a power struggle, the use of language can have a powerful influence on a person's thinking.

IV. Language use

Language Use Language is not just thinking about what you say but also important to know how to say it. According to Dr. Samuel Johnson: "language is the dress of thoughts; it is used to dress up and send thoughts on the thin way and give substance for thoughts." the quote suggests that the style of our speech or writing indicates our way of thinking, it tells us that the specific words, phrases, and patterns of language we use, reveal how and what we think. Discourse analysis is not simply concerned with the language used in a given context, but also with conditions under which it is used. It is a broad term for the study of how language is used between people both in written texts and spoken contexts, it can also encompass the exchange of ideas among people in various settings and times, which means that it is not confined to one person or group. whereas other areas of language study might look at individual parts of language such as words and phrases(grammar) or the pieces that make up words (linguistics). Discourse analysis looks at running conversation involving a speaker and listener or a writer and a reader. Moreover, it is the study of real language use in real situations that means that discourse needs to be analyzed according to the context since it is the study of the real language used by real speakers in real situations because it has been a

focus on three things: language, texts, and contexts which are all necessary for discourse, so if we want to analyze a spoken text of discourse we have to focus on the real language in a real situation like it has been discussed in daily life because in our daily life we speak according to an ideology which is affected by all society. In Algerian society, we find a remarkable linguistic diversity between Arabic, Tamazight, and French and this is what we noticed in the slogans of the Algerian popular movement in 2019 which is due to linguistic interference between those languages that coexist and interact as a result of its colonial heritage and varied occupations. The most common phenomenon is lexical inventiveness, which is well-known. This phenomenon demonstrates that language is a living system that can alter and renew itself through time, allowing it to remain to function and suit the communication demands of its speakers, during the popular protest movement in Algeria that we christened the Hirak in early February 2019. We witnessed a liveliness and creative dynamism that the demonstrators had never seen before. Indeed, they used this technique of coexistence to create new lexis and expressions from many existent languages. This movement resulted in a previously unseen neuronal effervescence. Its primary goal was to communicate the range of their producers' imagination, creativity, and intelligence; this is how Algerian society has used linguistic flexibility to portray the positive sides of all change, including language, as it revolts against the political status quo. Sociolinguistic data has multiplied in this time of political upheaval, providing a rich and diverse corpus for individuals interested in how languages are used in society.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the concept of critical discourse analysis as being an important area of critical discourse studies started with a brief background then it talked about how to make any discourse critical. it provided some definitions to CDA of some scholars in this field as well as the three central approaches of CDA discipline that was presented by: Fairclough, Van Dijk, and Wodak was highlighted without failing to mention the principles that were set by Fairclough and Wodak and its main aims as well. In addition, it supplied the two basic concerns of CDA; ideology and its features along with power.

Chapter Three

Data Collection and Analysis

Introduction

In this experimental and analytical chapter, we collect data which is related to investigation of slogans used during El-Hirak upheaval 2019. The analysis of the slogans that have been used during the demonstrations across Algeria relies basically on Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model of critical discourse analysis that consists of three inter-related processes tied to three inter-related dimensions. The first dimension "Description" is the object of analysis (including verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts) that deals in our case with the description of slogans in terms of "*what language is used*" taking into consideration the textual structures and the two main linguistic features which are vocabulary and grammar. The second dimension "Explanation" is the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes that are concerned mostly with the translation of the statements that have been written on the slogans and explaining them taking into consideration the contexts that were used in and the category (political, social or economic) they belong to. The third dimension "Interpretation" tackles how the message is interpreted and received.

1. Data collection

This study investigates the hidden meanings that Algerians attempted to send by raising slogans during the demonstrations of 2019. To accomplish so, we collected 90 slogans from various social networking sites such as "Facebook" and "Google," as well as certain Algerian and foreign newspapers, including "M.elbilad.com", "Mail.honabeirout.net", "Masrelarabie.net", "France24.com", "alaraby.co.uk", "aljazeera.net", "www.aps.dz", "ultraalgerua.ultrasawt.com", then we analyzed them by classifying them depending on the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis that was developed by Fairclough (1989, 1995), which contains three dimensions: the first dimension is concerned with the description in which we classified the slogans according to the language they are written in, for instance,

Modern standard Arabic, Algerian dialectal Arabic, French and English. We have also examined some slogans that are written in two or more languages.

The second dimension is concerned with the explanation in which we translate the non-English slogans into English to make them more clear, then we classified them according to the topics they deal with, as a result, we found that these slogans are divided into six types which are: "political", "social", "economic", "literary", "military" and "constitutional".

The third dimension is an interpretation that is concerned with three stages, the production of the text, distribution, and consumption, which is interested in speech act, and intertextuality that plays an important role in explaining the discourse process and exploring the relationship between texts and discourse, texts and preparation.

2. Fairclough's three Dimensions

Critical theory of language shows that the use of language is a form of social practice. It involves linking various social practices to a specific history, and the different interests and contexts are presented, this theory aims to analyze how discourse and power relations are integrated into one another, this is known as critical discourse analysis. (Janks, 1997)

The model for Critical Discourse Analysis presented by Fairclough (1989, 1995) is based on three inter-related processes that are tied to three main dimensions of discourse. These are:

- *The object of analysis*: that contains verbal texts, visual and both visual and verbal.
- The processes of producing and receiving the object, for instance: listening, speaking or reading.
- Both historical and social conditions that control these processes.

Fairclough (1989, 1995) claimed that each of the fore mentioned dimensions requires a specific type of analysis to match. Text analysis, for instance, requires "description",

processing analysis needs "explanation", while social analysis requires "explanation" for its analysis (Janks, n.d). To make it more clear, this diagram briefly shows the three dimensions of Fairclough's model and the basic elements and processes he discusses.

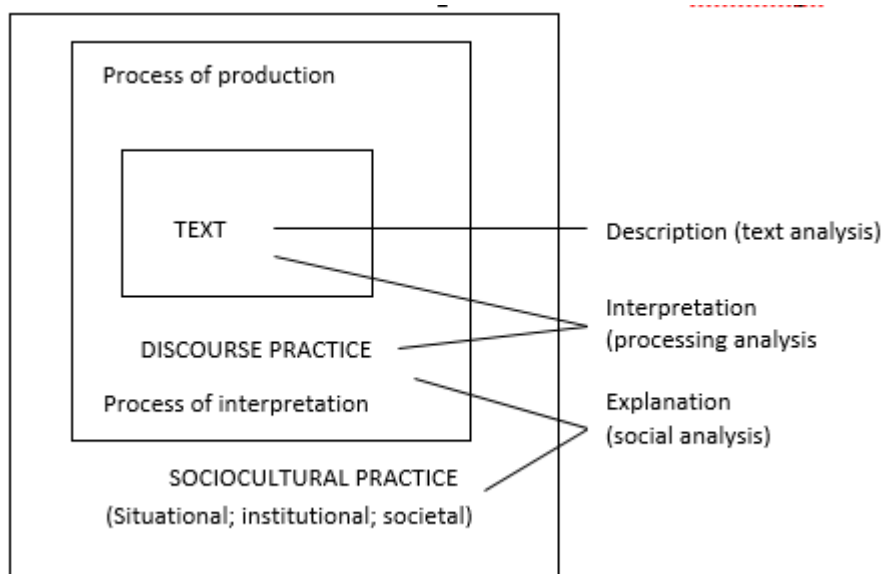


Figure 3.1: A scientific diagram of Fairclough's three dimensional model (Fairclough,1995)

(ResearchGate.net)

2.1 Text (description)

The description stage is the first step in which the text is the object of analysis. It aims to analyze the various linguistic features of text, including its grammar, vocabulary, and text structure. Fairclough (1989) claims that "*description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text*". In this prospect, descriptive stage refers to the stage where the text's various features are explored in order to make it understandable and clearer for the audience.

In order to make a sound interpretation of the messages at the textual level, Fairclough (1989) provides us with ten main questions and some sub-questions that must be

considered. These questions are divided into three main sections: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures. (Atkins, 2002).

The section of vocabulary deals with the various words that are used in different ways. The grammar portion of the vocabulary is concerned with the various grammatical features that are related to the systemic-functional grammar (Handayani, Heriyanto, and Soemantri, 2018). These terms represent the experiential, rational and expressive values of words.

The meaning of experiential values in CDA aims to explain how "*The experience and impression of a text product in a natural or social environment*" (Fairclough, 1989), affects a text. For instance, formal adjectives are employed in a given discourse to denote a person's world view. Using rational values defined the perceived social link between a text producer and a receiver product. The expressive value, lies in the expressive and persuasive language of a particular part of the text and relates it to the reality and social identities of this text. It can be positive when it relates to us and expresses us, and negative in relation to others. (Atkins,2002).

In the grammatical section, grammar revolves around grammatical features that have a strong relationship to Halliday's (1985) regular and functional grammar. This part also deals with the three values mentioned above, experiential, rational and expressive values. Textual structures relate in part to the complete structures of discourse and the interactional discussions that are employed in the contexts. (Janks, 1997, p. 7)

2.2 Discursive Practice (Interpretation):

According to Fairclough (1989), interpretation links the text and interaction with the view of the text as a result of the process of production. The link between discourse, its creation, and consumption must be clarified and made obvious throughout the interpretation stage. Furthermore, discourse is more than just a text. Rather, it is also an exercise in

discourse (Discursive Practice), away from linguistics and text structure that highlights various variables, including action and intertextuality. In which those elements make a combination between the text and its context.

The text as a discursive exercise phase consists of two processes. The first one "institutional" That is related to the editing procedure, while the second is the discourse process, which lies in the change that the text occurs during making, understanding and receiving.

One of the most important elements that contribute to explaining the discourse process is intertextuality, as the latter deals with exploring the relationships between texts and between discourse, texts and preparation, not only from the linguistic aspect, but also as a discursive practice. At the interpretative stage of news reports must take into account the source of the discourse, its producers and interpreters, in order for it to be worthy of exploration. (Fairclough, 1995).

2.3 Social Practice (Explanation)

Explanation is a stage concerned with the relationship between interaction and the social environment, taking into account the process of producing and interpreting the content or text, and is also concerned with its social effects (Fairclough, 1989). In another context, he argues that the analysis refers in the explanatory section to the historical, social and cultural conditions. In this part, a detailed study of discourse analysis is conducted on the hidden information of power, ideology and language and is explained through the institutional and societal context.

3. Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.1. Textual Analysis of Slogans

The analysis of the slogans used in the popular movement “El-hirak El cha-abi” leads us to identify the topics included in the banners of the people in the Algerian street, in addition to the various languages used in them by people to express their demands, the target audience is the government of the former President Bouteflika and his government respectively.

In the total of the slogans, we collected (90 slogans), Modern Standard Arabic was the most widely used language. The people deliberately used it to send a direct and clear message to the regime since it is the official language of the country. It has been adopted by the government and all state institutions. The percentage of slogans written in Modern Standard Arabic was estimated at 38%, which is equivalent to 34 slogans, we mention some of them as vivid examples:

- “سلمية سلمية حتى تنعم بالحرية” (Peaceful..Peaceful until we enjoy freedom)
- “الجيش مع الشعب لبناء دولة قوية” (The army is with the people to build a strong country)
- “نحن لم نخرج عن الحاكم بل خرجنا للبحث عنه” (We did not leave the ruler, but we went out to search for him).

With regard to the Algerian Dialectal Arabic, it was 29%, which is equivalent to 26 slogans. Although it is the mother tongue of the Algerian people, it is in second position in terms of use. Here are some slogans that were frequently repeated within this classification:

- “بصح تبتنحوا قاع” (But, you will all be removed)
- “كليتوا لبلاد يا السراقين” (You ate the country, thieves!).

- "سباب عذابنا الشياتين في بلادنا" ("The reason for our torment is the sycophants in our country.")

Throughout the analysis, we have also identified slogans including more than one language such as Arabic, French and English. The reason behind this mixing is that the Algerian people are bilingual and multilingual. The French language arose as a result of French colonialism in Algeria. As for the English language, it has caught the attention of many Algerians lately and its use is constantly increasing, the number of slogans from this category reached 13 slogans by 14%, we cite some logos as an example:

- « لا لرسكلة النظام .. » No for recycling »
- "ترحلو يعني ترحلوا ، " Get out , vous partez "
- "Il faut pas tzid mandat." (you do not have to run for a new presidential term)"

Since the French language is considered as the first foreign language in Algeria, and left a great impact on the daily speech of Algerians in terms of dialect and their language use as well, this language will certainly occupy a place in the banners of the popular movement. Throughout this analysis, we have identified the percentage of its use in slogans at 12% (11 slogan). We mention some of them as an example:

- “Nous ne sommes ni Kabyles ni Chaouis ni Arabes ni Mozabites ni Touaregs nous sommes une Algérie unie nous sommes unis pour un seul but, la liberté est une nouvelle république” ("We are neither Kabyles nor Chaouis nor Arabs nor Mozabites nor Tuaregs we are a united Algeria we are united for a single goal, freedom is a new republic")
- « Non à l'intégrance étrangère ».(No to foreign interference !)
- « Pouvoir dégage ! » (system, get out !)

The English language has become dominant in the Internet and social media in Algeria, so that many young people seek to learn it in order to have opportunities. It has

become a threat to the French language because its use is constantly increasing, and hence it was present in the popular movement. We were able to collect a percentage of it estimated at 4% (four slogans). Each one has a different requirement.. They are as follows:

- Good morning Algeria, keep calm and forget the fifth term.
- It is time for change, yes we can.
- The problem is not the lost years but it is the next years that will absolutely go to waste if we keep the same mind.
- Dear USA and EU thanks for caring it is just a family problem stay out of this, it is not your business.

We also came up with two slogans in different languages of the world, including Spanish, German, English, Turkish, and even Chinese, and other languages as well (As shown in the picture below), the first of which is Arabic, which indicates the existence of different cultures in Algeria and a multilingual people. Those two slogans are:

➤ “بكل لغات العالم : لا للعهد الخامس” (In all languages of the world.)

No, the 5th mandate .

No, el quinto mandato.(Spanish)

Nein, das 5 mandat.(German)

“Hayir .5. Gorev.”(Turkish).

Macron dégage ! » (I do not speak French ,but get out
 Macron!)

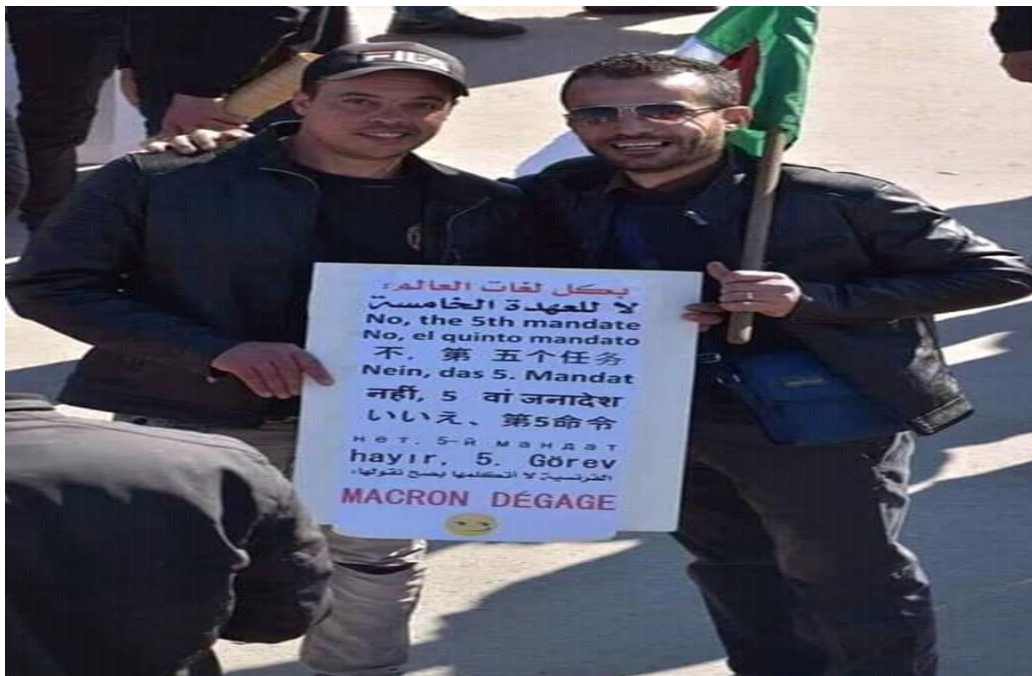


Figure 3.2 “بكل لغات العالم : لا للعهد الخامسة” (In all languages of the world.)

Facebook.com

- « Argelia es un pais libre viva Argelia. » (Spanish) (Algeria is a free country long live Algeria.)

3.2. The Analysis of slogans (Explanation).

3.2.1. The Analysis of Slogans in terms of Themes

A close study of the various slogans and banners during El Hirak provides us with clues about the major themes that the Algerian demonstrators rose during their demonstrations against the regime of Bouteflika.

3.2.1.1 The theme of “Selmia” peaceful”

The peacefulness of the Algerian popular movement was the most essential feature, which had a wide global resonance, contributed to the movement's success, and played a crucial role in maintaining the country's security and stability.

❖ **Slogan N.01** "سلمية سلمية حتى تنعم بالحرية"

The expression of "Peaceful..Peaceful until we enjoy freedom) expresses people's fear of an escalation that would remind them of what Algerians undertook during the black decade, and their eagerness to keep these demonstrations peaceful. This fact also indicates the extent of the political awareness of people demanding change and reform without any remnants that might harm the security of the country and its people, as it happened in various Arab countries during the Arab Spring, in which they descended into chaos and humanitarian crises. Many other expressions represent the peacefulness of the popular movement and keep one message, which is asking for reformation and a decent life without any vandalism of the cities' infrastructures or properties, including:

❖ **Slogan N.02** "لا للتخريب لا للتدمير نحن نريد التغيير" (No to sabotage, no to destruction. We want change)

❖ **Slogan N.03** "الشعب يريد سلمية وأويحي يريد سوريا"

(The people want it peaceful, and Ouyahia wants it as Syria)

❖ **Slogan N.04** "مظاهرات سلمية كأخلاق محمد صلاح" (Peaceful demonstrations like the morals of Mohamed Salah).

❖ **Slogan N.05** "سترحلون بسلمية مهما حدث" (You will leave peacefully no matter what happens).

❖ **Slogan N.06** "يا شرطي نت ضربني وأنا نبقى سلمية..لا يعني أنني خايف منك ولكن خايف على بلادي" (Policeman, you hit me while I remain peaceful.. This does not mean that I am afraid of you, but I am afraid for my country).

❖ **Slogan N.07** "يا أويحي إذا راك حاب تشعلها راني واجد نظيفها" (" Ouyahia, if you want to harm the peaceful movement, I am ready to calm it down).

- ❖ **Slogan N.08** " سلمية حضارية L'Algérie c'est nous !" (Peaceful and civilized ..Algeria is us)
- ❖ **Slogan N.09** "الإرهاب يتدخل كل ما أراد الشعب أن يتحرر لا وجود للإرهاب، العصا بيه من تقتل في سلمية... سلمية)" (Terrorism interferes as long as the people want to be liberated. There is no terrorism. The gang is the one who kills the people in order to frighten the people (peaceful.. peaceful).)

3.2.1.2 Slogans About “Unity among the Algerian People

These slogans call for adhering to national unity and rejecting regionalism and discrimination between the sects of the Algerian people.

- **Slogan N.01** "الجيش جيشنا والارض الطاهرة أرضنا ولا مكان للخونة بيننا .. الجيش = الشعب"

Through this slogan, “*The army is our army, and the pure land is our land, and there is no place for traitors among us. The army = the people.*” the Algerian demonstrators want to deliver a message whose content is that the army belongs to the people and is at the people’s disposal and cannot be turned against it by the phrase “the army is our army”, and the phrase “*the pure land*” confirms our land and there is no place for traitors among us.” Algeria is a pure country that is watered with the blood of its martyred sons. It belongs to the people and will not allow any harm against our country, refusing to keep traitors in it. Finally, stressing that the people and the army are one. Many slogans called for the unity of the people and the army and their solidarity with each other, including:

- **Slogan N.02** "الجيش مع الشعب لبناء دولة قوية" (The army is with the people to build a strong country).
- **Slogan N.03** "الجيش الوطني الشعبي الحصن الحصين للشعب والوطن في كل الظروف والاحوال" (The People's National Army is the bulwark of the people and the nation in all circumstances and conditions).

➤ **Slogan N.04** "السلطة للشعب، الشرعية للدولة، الكرامة للمواطن والوطن يسع الجميع وطن واحد، شعب واحد" واحد، جيش واحد"

(Power for the people , legitimacy for the state , dignity for the citizens One country , one people) , one army. By "السلطة للشعب" (power for the people) protesters mean that the people are the source of all powers, and the sovereignty of the country comes from the people: these two articles from the Algerian constitution give Algerian citizens the right to practice their sovereignty through representatives. By "الشرعية للدولة" (legitimacy for the country) means that the government is committed to a set of principles through which it guarantees the people's satisfaction of the government as well as guarantees the political legitimacy while وطن واحد ، شعب واحد ، الكرامة للمواطن (dignity for citizens) reflects the sovereignty of the country. ، "واحد واحد" (One country, one people, one army) , This phrase indicates the unity of the Algerian people with all country's institutions in all circumstances.

➤ **Slogan N.05** "Nous ne sommes ni Kabyles ni Chaouis ni Arabes ni Mozabites ni Touaregs nous sommes une Algérie unie nous sommes unis pour un seul but, la liberté est une nouvelle république" ("We are neither Kabyles nor Chaouis nor Arabs nor Mozabites nor Tuaregs we are a united Algeria we are united for a single goal, freedom is a new republic")

➤ **Slogan N.06** "أنا جزائري وأفتخر" (I'm Algerian and I'm proud) This slogan reflects the pride of Algerians of their origins in all circumstances because for them just being Algerian is a pride without the need to say anything else.

➤ **Slogan N.07** "إن لم تكن تحمل هم هذا الوطن فأنت هم على هذا الوطن"

(If you do not carry the concern of this country, then you are the concern of this country) This statement is a quote from the Egyptian writer Ahmed Tawfik ,the demonstrators tried to convey a message that the homeland priority for every citizen, and its protection is obligatory

for everyone who lives in it. So the homeland that we do not protect and we do not care about, we do not deserve to live in.

3.2.1.3 Slogans rejecting foreign intervention in Algeria

➤ **Slogan N.01** “ترامب ، ماكرون سامحونا زيتنا في دقيقتنا”

(Trump, Macron, forgive us, our oil is in our floor) This slogan addresses “Trump” the former president of the United States and “Macron” the president of France, “Our oil is in our floor” an old folk proverb from the depth of heritage that shows the Algerian people’s adherence to customs and traditions. The slogan came in response to the European Parliament’s intervention when it condemned the arrests in Algeria. There were many slogans that included the same topic, including:

➤ **“Slogan N.02** “لا للتدخل الاجنبي القضية عائلية” (“No to foreign intervention, the issue is a family issue.”)

➤ **Slogan N.03** “Dear USA and EU thanks for caring it is just a family problem stay out of this, is not your business”.

➤ **Slogan N.04** « Non à l’intégrance étrangère ».(No to foreign integrity)

➤ **Slogan N.05** “صح النوم أيها الاتحاد الأوروبي وأخيرا تألم الشعبان من أجلنا.. لقد كنتم للسلطة السند القوي لإذلالنا

(Sleep well, European Union, and finally the serpent suffered for us.. You were the strong support for our humiliation..)

“صح النوم” or “sleep well” is an expression that indicates the awakening after the deep sleep of the European Union when it woke up from its slumber and responded to the Algerian movement with a statement from the French European MP Glucksman: “*It is time to show that we are in solidarity with Algeria.*” (France 24, 2019).

“وأخيرا تألم الشعبان لأجلنا“ or “Finally, the snake suffered for us.” Here the people describe the Union as the snake to denote the traits of deception and hypocrisy that characterize this creeping animal, for their ploy and cunning with the Algerian people in agreement with the authority and traitors to the homeland and support them in order to humiliate the Algerians throughout all these years.

3.2.1.4 Political slogans demanding “the departure of the Algerian regime”

Through the use of the following slogans during the demonstrations of the Algerian movement, we see the people's total rejection of the symbols of the Bouteflika regime taking over the affairs of the country again.

- **Slogan N.01** “بصح تتنحوا قاع”

This rejectionist slogan “(But, you will all be removed” in the colloquial dialect requires the authority in all boldness and clarity to leave the government all without exception emphasizing the comprehensive corruption of members of the government, “but” this phrase confirms the meaning of the phrase after it, that is, despite everything, you will be removed. The ease and shortness of this slogan made millions chant it during the rallies and it became on T-shirts, walls, and even coffee cups. In the same context, Algerian protesters raised some banners that have the same meaning with this slogan but in expressed in different ways, for instance:

- **Slogan N.02:** “إنصرفي أيتها الأرواح الشريرة” (“Get away, evil spirits”) A phrase adapted from the cartoon series called "The Adventures of Jackie Chan."The author of the saying is Jackie's uncle. Algerians mean by "evil spirits" the gang and the traitors of the homeland and ask them to leave.

- **Slogan N.03** " ياو روحوا الجمعة الجاية عندي شغل" (Yao leave! I'm busy next Friday), The Algerian protester is arguing that he is busy next Friday, since the demonstrations were every Friday, which is a day off in Algeria
- **Slogan N.04** "اوتسرحلوا بلكل يا لبانديا" you will all leave, gangsters!
- **Slogan N.05** "جات الشتا و الرياح بصح تتنحوا قاع" (Winter and winds have come, but you will all leave!)
- **Slogan N.06** "وجعوني يديا وأنا رافد هاذ لبلابة, هاروحو" (My hands hurt me while holding this placard, leave!)
- **Slogan N.07** "vous partez !... Get out !" "ترحلوا يعني ترحلوا"
- **Slogan N.08** « Tant que vous ne dégagez pas de ce pouvoir, manifester devient un devoir » (As long as you do not release this power, manifesting becomes a duty.)
- **Slogan N.09** « Pouvoir dégage ! » (system, get out !)
- **Slogan N.10** « Libérez l'Algérie ! » (Free Algeria!).
- **Slogan N.11** "Ils continuent ? nous continuerons. Ils ont des armes ? nous avons le temps ! ils ont tous 80 ans, nous avons tous 20 ans" (They continue ? we will continue. Do they have weapons? we have the time ! they are all 80 years old, we are all 20 years old").
- **Slogan N.12** "Je vous rends vos 4000DA rendez moi Algérie" (I give you 4000DA, give me back my Algeria)

The salary for people with special needs in Algeria is 4000DA; by raising this slogan, the person in the picture sends a message with two meanings: the first is the suffering that this group in the Algerian society endures as a result of marginalization, which is reflected in the low value of their salaries which cannot cover about their basic needs. The second is loving Algeria despite the circumstances, which is what brought Algerians together around a common goal and motivated them to take to the streets to demand the departure of the gang, as they were dubbed, as well as the liberation of Algeria from Bouteflika's regime in the

hopes of bettering their living conditions. As we saw through this slogan, this young man was ready to give up his salary in exchange for Algeria to be liberated from the ruling regime.

3.2.1.5 Political slogans rejecting the Fifth Term

It is evident from the slogans of Bouteflika's fifth term that the Algerians reject the idea of his re-election and their demand for his immediate resignation along with the departure of the symbols of his regime.

➤ **Slogan N.01** "انا جزائرية انا ضدها" ، " لا للعهد الخامس" (I'm Algerian I'm against it, No to the 5th term!),

This slogans "انا جزائرية انا ضدها" ، " لا للعهد الخامس" (I'm Algerian I'm against it, No to the 5th term!), "Je suis Algérienne, je suis contre ، المرأة الجزائرية ضد الخامسة" (Algerian women against the 5th term. It was first raised by Algerian women on March 8, 2019, which is the international women's day expressing their support for ' Hirak '. The popular movement has acquired a symbolic significance that indicates the continuation of Algerian women struggle and support to seek democracy and change of the current system.

One of the most well-known figures who participated in the movement was Djamilia Bouhired. In addition to many slogans against Bouteflika's rule that were widely circulated, and which expressed the people's demands in a sarcastic manner, these are some examples:

➤ **Slogan N.02** (The people demand a Tefal presidential chair so that the new president does not stick) "الشعب يطالب بكرسي رئاسي من نوع تيفال باش الرئيس الجديد ميلصقش"

➤ **Slogan N.03** "Il faut pas tzid mandat." (You do not have to add a new presidential term)"

➤ **Slogan N.04** "Nous ne sommes pas les fils de gaulois, 20ans sans filtre تعدد العهديات مضر، بالصحة." (We are not the sons of Gauls, 20 years old without a filter. Multiple mandates are harmful for health.)

- **Slogan N.05** “Good morning Algeria keep calm and forget the fifth term”
- **Slogan N.06** “لا للتمديد Non 4+.” (No to extension, No 4+) that means: No to the extended presidential term of Bouteflika, Since the elections which were scheduled for April 18 were postponed indefinitely.
- **Slogan N.07** “بكل لغات العالم : لا للعهد الخامسة” (In all languages of the world.)
No, the 5th mandate .
No, el quinto mandato.(Spanish)
Nein, das 5 mandat.(German)
“Hayir .5. Gorev.” (Turkish).
“Macron dégage ! ” (I do not speak French ,but get out Macron!) In this expression, the protestors wanted to send a message to the French Macron by expressing Algerian people refusal of his interference in their affairs.
- **Slogan N.08** "جيبوا البياري وزيدوا الصاعقة مكاش الخامسة يا بوتفليقة" (Bring R.I.B (Search and Intervention Brigade) as well as S.I.S (The security and intervention sections) there is no 5th term for Bouteflika). This slogan means that the Algerian people are determined to completely reject the regime, even the methods of intimidation and violence will not prevent them from reversing their decisions.
- **Slogan N.09** "الشعب يريد سحنون يروح لدارهم فلكار تاع ال 4 مكاش كيفاش يزيد حتى لل5" (The people want “Sahnoun” to go home on the bus that leaves at 4, there is no way to stay until 5), Sahnoun is a character in an Algerian comedy show, that represent a stubborn person who sticks in his uncle’s home, as the case of Bouteflika in presidency.
- **Slogan N.10** “ أين الرئيس أنا لا أراه؟” (Where's the president, I don't see him?) This expression is quoted from a cartoon series called “ Dora The explorer” in which “Dora” use the question “Where's the, I don't see it? ” in order to find things that she is looking for.

"نحن لم نخرج عن الحاكم بل خرجنا للبحث عنه" (We did not overthrow the ruler, but we went out to search for him), is also another slogan that addresses the same idea..

➤ **Slogan N.11** "إكرام الميت دفنه وليس إنتخابه" ("Honoring the dead in his burial, not his election"). Bouteflika has been going through a health crisis. He was bedridden almost dead, and it is our duty towards our dead to bury them, "not to elect them" because his health condition does not allow him to be re-elected or perform his duties as president effectively.

➤ **Slogan N.12** "أنت طاب جناتك واحنا طاب قلبنا" ("You have matured your limb, we have matured our heart.") In May 2012, on the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the events of 1945, Bouteflika announced in a frank and clear speech "my limb has matured" which is an Algerian proverb means that the time has come for my generation to hand over power after this system has ruled Algeria since its independence in July 1962. Bouteflika also said "Allah does not burden a soul beyond its capacity", but the events after that proved the opposite of what it was announced by the regime that he is preparing to run in the elections for a fourth presidential term despite his health condition. The demonstrators raised this slogan to remind the president and his government of the words he promised in 2012, as an expression of their insistence on change and handing over power to the young generation.

3.2.1.6 Slogans against the regime

The presence of the Bouteflika regime remains at the political forefront of the country, one of the most prominent things rejected by Algerian demonstrators, who showed their total rejection of their reappointment to new positions and demanded their departure.

- **Slogan N.01** " فخامة الشعب يقول لكم : لا للانتخابات بوجود الباءات "

(*"People's Excellency, addresses you , "No to elections in the presence of the Bs."*).

The word "Excellency" (فخامة) was always accompanying the name of former President Bouteflika. However, after his resignation, the demonstrators used this expression to address the Algerian people. The Algerian people is the decision-maker instead of the regime, and no

voice can be louder than his "يقول لكم: لا للإنتخابات" (He tells you no to elections) is directed at the government, which means that we reject legislative elections as long as there are corrupt members of the state, who are called the "Three Bs" (الباءات الثلاث) meaning Badwi, the Prime Minister, Belaiz, the President of the Constitutional Council, and Bensalah, the transitional president. Therefore, the people confirm that there will be no elections in the presence of these three personalities. Along with this slogan, another slogan was calling for the same demand which is "مكاش انتخابات مع العصابات" (there are no elections in the presence gangs.)

- **Slogan N.02** " أحفاد ابن باديس يرفضون حكم أبناء باريس "

("The descendants of Ibn Badis reject the rule of the sons of Paris") This slogan was raised on the National day of science, April 16 in memory of the death of the scientist Abdelhamid Ibn Badis. Algerians describe themselves with the descendants of Ibn Badis as a symbol of pride, while members of Bouteflika's government were described as the sons of Paris because of their complicity with the French government and their exploitation of Algeria's wealth. In the same vein, many slogans rejecting the rule of the previous regime were raised, formulated in several ways, we point them as following:

- **Slogan N.03** "تذهب الانظمة وتبقى الشعوب ، تسقط الحكومات وتحيا الدول" (The regimes go, the people remain.. governments fall and states live)
- **Slogan N.04** "متى يفقد الإنسان شرفه؟ عندما يأكل من خيرات بلده وينتمي إلى بلد آخر، ياترى كم فاقد للشرف لدينا؟" (*When does a person lose his honor? When he eats from the bounties of his country and becomes a traitor, how many dishonorable people do we have?*)
- **Slogan N.05** "معدناش لوقت نتفرجوا "ولاد لحلال" رانا نتبعو في ولاد لحرام" (We don't have time to watch "Ouled el-Halal ", we follow the Haram sons). "Ouled el-Halal ", An Algerian series that was released in the period of the movement, thus people did not find time to watch it because they were busy with the demonstrations.

- **Slogan N.06** "كليتوا لبلاد يا السراقين" (You ate the country, thieves!).
- **Slogan N.07** "يا ديغول أدي ولادك" (De Gaulle take your sons). "De Gaulle" was the president of France in the period of the French colonization of Algeria.
- **Slogan N.08** "يا بونجاح دموعك غالية .. عليكم بالكأس وعلينا بالماфия" (Bounedjah, your tears are precious.. you have to win the cup and we have to fight the gang). Bounedjah is one of the national football team players. His participation with the national team in the African Cup coincided with the Algerians anti-regime demonstrations, but this did not prevent them from watching and enjoying the great sporting event, as the Algerian people are among the biggest fans of football. "*O Bounedjah your tears are precious.*" This phrase was raised after Bounedjah cried for missing a goal, so the Algerians could only support him with words of encouragement so that the latter and his fellow players would do their best to win the African Cup. The Algerian people complete their steadfastness and their categorical rejection of the fifth mandate and the entire regime to liberate Algeria from the gang, as they described them, "*We must fight the mafia.*" Through this slogan, we see that it deals with two aspects, one political and the other sporting, and we see through them that the people were looking forward to two joys, one of which is Algeria winning the African Cup. The second is the liberation of Algeria from the symbols of the Bouteflika regime.
- **Slogan N.09** "اتضح اليوم ان النظام هو اليد الخارجية الوحيدة في الجزائر" Today it becomes clear that the regime is the only foreign hand in Algeria. It is a statement said by the politician opponent Karim Tabou in one of his interviews, and it was later used as one of the prominent slogans of the Algerian movement in 2019. By foreign hand Tabou means foreign countries that threatens the internal security of Algeria , in other words Algeria is not threatened by foreign countries but rather the members of government themselves are the ones who seek to create chaos though the Algerian people do not want them to stay anymore .

- **Slogan N.10** "العالم يتساءل ماذا يحدث في الجزائر؟ الشعب يرد: إننا ننظف قمامة فرنسا من بلدنا" (*The world wonders what is happening in Algeria? The people reply: We are cleaning the garbage of France from our country*). France's garbage for the Algerians is Bouteflika's government, which is still under the rule of France. The people continued their demonstrations against the fifth term to the process of cleaning up the garbage, indicating their demand for the departure of the regime.
- **Slogan N.11** "اتفقتنا على أن لا نتفق معكم" (*We agreed not to agree with you*). From this statement, we can understand that the Algerian people in these demonstrations agreed on one decision against the government, which is to oppose it in every decision it took, meaning that the Algerian people completely rejected them.
- **Slogan N.12** "سباب عذابنا الشياتين في بلادنا" ("The reason for our torment is the sycophants in our country.") the term "sycophants" indicates humiliation; in our context it means people who support the Algerian regime and the cause of the sufferance and the biggest contribution to the miserable situation in which they live.
- **Slogan N.13** "ما يبقى فابلاذ غير شعبو" (Nothing remains in the country, but its people). An emerging phrase taken from the Algerian popular proverb "ما يبقى فلواد غير حجاروا" "What remains in the valley are only its stones," meaning that only the truth lasts in the end, and that no matter how governments change, the people are the only constant in the state.
- **Slogan N.14** "والله ما لقيت ما نقولكم" (I swear, I'm speechless) The meaning of this slogan is that the Algerian people expressed their ideas and demands, but without result, until they became unable to speak due to the severe deterioration of the situation, as if they were saying to them, "حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل" "Sufficient for us is Allah, and (He is) the best Disposer of affairs " Because the government did not show any positive reaction to serve the people's demands.

- **Slogan N.15** ” الشعب يريد Ctrl – Alt – Suppr ".(People want ' Ctrl - Alt - Delete)

When you click on this signs (Ctrl+Alt+Delete) on your computer's keyboard. This expression means that you want to reboot your computer ,but in the case of protesting placards that Algerians hold using this signs ,protesters show that they want to start all over again. This is a new way to show their anger and express their full rejection to all the ruling elite in Algeria without any exception in order to reshape Algeria's political agenda.
- **Slogan N.16** “*L’application de l’article (177)*” الخيانة العظمى (Application of the article 177 : The great Treason). Article (177) of the Algerian Constitution provided for the formation of the Supreme Court of the State in order to prosecute the President of the Republic for acts that could be considered high treason, and the Prime Minister for crimes committed during the exercise of their duties. It is a law that determines the composition, organization and function of the State Supreme Court in addition to the procedures applied. Raise the people this article as a slogan demanding its application.
- **Slogan N.17** ” نطالب بـ *formatage* ماشي *mise à jour.*) ” (We are asking for formatting (Get in shape), *not update*). This slogan examines the Algerians demand for a complete change of government after Bouteflika’s resignation and the “President of the National Assembly” assuming the presidential position during the transitional period in relation to Article 102 of the Constitution, considering him to be members of the ruling regime and not trustworthy and his presence does not serve the demands of radical change.
- **Slogan N.18** “Kabyles, Arab, Mzabi, Chaoui...we are all brothers except you, back off.” "Kabyle, Arab, Mozabi, Chaoui" are races of the Algerian people, united by patriotism and one religion, “we are all brothers except you” indicates that we are all brothers despite our many ethnicities and different dialects. The sentence "Back off" addresses the regime, meaning you have no place between us anymore, so leave.

- **Slogan N.19** "المادة (102) فرقتنا بين مؤيد ومعارض والمادة (7) جمعتنا."

Article (102) divides us between supporters and opponents, and Article (7) brought us together). This slogan is legal, constitutional and political. Article 102 of the Algerian Constitution, provides for the termination of the duties of the President of the Republic in the event that it is impossible for him to carry out his duties due to a serious and chronic illness. In this respect, the Constitutional Council has to meet obligatorily because there is an alternative solution after the legal impediment is established. The people were divided because of different viewpoints, including those who supported and opposed the application of this article. The late Qaid Saleh suggested that Article 07 of the Constitution should be implemented, which states that the people are the source of all authority and that national sovereignty belongs to the people alone. This face, indeed, has increased the people's unity and cohesion.

- **Slogan N.20** "الدستور الجزائري" (word) "*The Algerian Constitution*" (pdf) "*The American Constitution*" 'The protesters in Algeria raised this slogan in their banners to express their dissatisfaction of the continuous changes that have taken place in the Algerian constitution after each election. This fact makes the Constitution lose its credibility, and has led to recognizing it as a draft that has undertaken many changes. After every presidential election in Algeria, amending the constitution is the first priority of the elected president unlike the American constitution, which remained constant for many years because it may not be amended by an ordinary law due to the vital importance of this constitution in regulating the duties of central government and the federal parliament as well as state governments. Therefore, all bodies must respect its articles and deal with it carefully. It also requires the agreement of three-quarters of the states on amending the constitution after it submitted to two-thirds of the members of the Congress that is why the Algerian protesters compare Algerian constitution (word) to the American one (pdf).

➤ **Slogan N.21** “Les Hommes de l’ombre vérité ou affabulation ? “

(Men of the shadow truth or affabulation?) The men of the shadows: those who always act in secret, with cunning, skill, and finesse, a priori. They exercise a clandestine occupation; they are advised in business but without official status. Truth: idea, the proposition that accords with reality as we perceive it, truth and the appearance. Or: conjunction that connects two words or two groups of words to indicate a choice. Affabulation: part of a fable, of a prologue, a deceptive way of presenting reality.

This message asks the question of whether this kind of man (the men of the shadows) exists in reality or not. Shadow men, truth or affabulation? this message is addressed to those who hide behind anti-institutional forces and run the nation according to their profits, they can be Algerians or foreigners, we speak in general of the invisible system, and at last, this statement aimed to ask if this kind of men exist or not.

- **Slogan N.22** "Oscar de la Meilleure manipulation politique"(Oscar for the best political manipulation) After months of unprecedented popular and peaceful protests, Bouteflika, and his government went to the end of its fantasies by organizing a high tension election marked by a new mass demonstration in Algiers and serious disturbances in the Kabylie region. All voting operations were interrupted in this region because they considered election as a survival ploy for survival of the regime. After all, according to the president of the national independent elections institution Mohammed Charfi it reached 30% but how to believe the representative of authority in the grip of an irremovable power and which attaches to the crown, so Algerians thought that this scene worthy of great theaters of the world, the military power, and its puppets deserve an Oscar for the best political manipulation in history.

3.2.1.7 Slogans calling for change

The following slogans express the awareness of the Algerian people with the political situation of the country which is reflected in the peace movement through which they showed their hope for the total change of the symbols of the former regime who remained on the political front of the country for decades .

❖ **Slogan N.01** *“It is time for change, yes we can”*

This slogan expresses the people’s urgent desire to make positive change in the country, *“It is time”* that is, after a silence that lasted for years, today it is time to break our silence and fear in order to recover what we lost, *“yes we can”* is a motivational phrase used by students Those coming to the baccalaureate exam to motivate themselves to succeed, the people used it to encourage themselves to persevere, overcome corruption and defeat the gang.

❖ **Slogan N.02** *“هاذي ماشي فتنة هادي فطنة”*

(This is not sedition, this is awareness.) What is meant by “this” in the phrase is the uprising of El-Hirak. Then, sedition means that the people are peaceful and civilized, and do not intend to sabotage or incite violence by being against the laws. As for the word “awareness” it was meant that the people had woken up from their heedlessness with all their determination to demand change.

❖ **Slogan N.03** *“ Stop La Dictature »*

« Stop The Dictatorship » Dictatorship is a form of government that has taken a large part of the activity of ruling policies in this modern era. It derives its realistic legitimacy from political and social crises of the state. As the case of Bouteflika in Algeria, who ruled the

country for decades and this is what the Algerians considered as a dictatorship and wanted to stop it by raising this slogan.

- **Slogan N.04** “الحاج موسى..موسى الحاج”

“*Al-Hadj Musa..Moussa Al-Hadj.*” The owner of this name is a political man since 1919. His name has become a common example among Algerians, expressing the absence of change, and the meaning here is that the corrupt members of the government were replaced by other corrupt members of the same gang, and therefore the required change did not occur, which is their definitive removal from the government.

- **Slogan N.05** “*No for recycling* ” لا لرسكلة النظام “ action or process of converting waste into reusable material, in this context they mean by "recycling" converting the members of the ruling party to new faces that have the same attitudes. in order to tell people that they really resigned and their demands have been applied.

3.2.1.8 Slogans against the living conditions

These slogans show us the suffering of the Algerians from their difficult social conditions and their demand to improve their living conditions, which is considered one of the legitimate rights of the Algerian citizen.

- **Slogan N.01** “ لا ترموا بأولادنا في البحر ” (*Do not throw our children into the sea*) This statement first appeared in the Algerian movement in 2019. Algerians raised this slogan to show their anger at the spread of the phenomenon of illegal immigration among the Algerian youth. Number of illegal immigrants in on the rise because of the economical difficult living conditions forcing them to leave and search for a better life on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea. This slogan was a message from the demonstrators to the Algerian government demanding to improve the living conditions of citizens so that they do not have to emigrate and leave their families and countries. There is another slogan that includes the same

topic which is "سنغرق تحت الأمطار لكي لا يغرق أولادنا في البحار" (*we will drown in the rain so that our children do not drown in the seas*), expressing their steadfastness in front of all circumstances until their demands are fulfilled and their conditions are improved.

➤ **Slogan N.21** "كيف أسامحك سيدي الرئيس السابق وعمرى 39 و أبييت في قاعة إستقبال الضيوف" (*"How can I forgive you, Mr. the former president, I am 39, and I slept in the guest room?"*) A social slogan that expresses the depth of suffering experienced by the young Algerian during the rule of former President Bouteflika. His youth was lost and he hopes that living conditions will improve one day, and he will have a home and establish his own life, while in reality he is 39 years old and still living with his parents and jobless. He doesn't even have his own room. He directs a question to the president, "How can I forgive you?" The difficult living situation he lived through is unforgivable in any way.

3.3 The Interpretation of the Analysis

In light of the popular movement, with its slogans calling for change and the departure of Bouteflika and his regime, because of what the people lived through during the latter's rule. This regime lasted for twenty years in which Algerians have been suffering from difficult living conditions such as high food prices and other daily needs of the citizen, especially after the crisis that the president went through. The president's poor health condition made him bedridden and absent from the political arena and the country as a whole, which worsened the situation and made the people angry.

As for the main motive for El-Hirak, his candidacy for the fifth term, despite his disappearance and his inability to perform his duties as president, made the people break their silence and express their rejection and anger by raising slogans in various languages including Arabic, French, English and other languages as well, and all forms of dialects from different regions of the country. Among the most prominent demands of these slogans was the rejection

of the fifth mandate and the demand for the departure of the regime as a whole, followed by many slogans that include change from various political, economic and even social fields, including satirical and serious ones as well.

3.3.1 .El-Hirak's achievements

The first demand that was achieved was the departure of President Bouteflika by activating Article 102 of the Constitution by Kaid Salah, followed by the demand for the departure of the symbols of corruption, the first of which is " The three Bs" (Belaiz, Bensalah, Badwi) where the people rejected the elections with their presence, so it was postponed. After the elections, the new president Tebboune issued many statements to fight corruption in order to prove his will and desire for change, as a result, officials from Bouteflika's regime were sued and imprisoned. In addition to amending the constitution as a first step towards new Algeria.

3.3.2 The Unfulfilled demands

As for the demands that have not yet been achieved, the most difficult of which is keeping the military establishment away from politics, holding elections despite the people's boycott of them, arguing that Gaid Salah wants to get rid of the old regime quickly.

On the other hand, some political analysts believe that a very important point has not been achieved yet, which is the establishment of a political organization that clearly translates the demands of the Algerians and is keen to implement them with the state step by step. (Obaida, 2020).

3.3.3 The Impact of El-Hirak on Algerians

Since the beginning of the movement, we began to notice its impact on Algerians in a positive way. The people were united and stand on one side for a common goal as brothers

without exception. The first step of the demonstration was able to break the barrier of fear that the people have possessed for years, most notably the emergence of political awareness among the demonstrators, especially the youth generation. The second impact was showing their good behavior many times, such as cleaning the streets in various states of the country, in addition to their constant concern for the peaceful movement, despite being subjected to violence by the police and the arrest of some. And with every decision issued by the government, the demonstrators increase their determination for change.

Conclusion

This chapter is meant to present the analytical aspect of our research since the aim of this study is to investigate slogans used during the Hirak upheaval. As a first step, we gathered enough data in the form of slogans that were displayed on banners during the protests from different sources to enrich our research and make it more comprehensible, then we started to analyze them depending on Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis that contains three previous dimensions; Description, Explanation , and Interpretation. In the first stage we classified slogans according to the languages they are written in and the impact of those languages on the Algerian society. As in the second stage, we translated the non-English slogans into English to make the reader understand the message then according to their subjects, specifying whether they were political, social, economic, literary, military or constitutional to make the analysis more precise. The third stage, we summarized the most important achievements made by the Algerian people through the movement, as well as the demands that were not fulfilled, and how the movement affected the Algerians positively.

After analysis and through our study, we were able to confirm our previous hypotheses.

General Conclusion

General conclusion

Our study aimed to investigate the slogans that were used during the Hirak uprising in Algeria in 2019, As the slogans were the way for Algerians to express their anger, rejection, demands and unity, bent on change in a peaceful way, The uprising of the people in the streets by the millions carrying different slogans full of creativity confused the world and made it wonder about the reason behind it and its meanings due to the multiplicity of the language used in it as only the Algerian people are able to understand it, Therefore we formulated some hypotheses to answer the questions and to make the slogans more clear in terms of meaning and demands which it contains.

Our study resulted in a set of results. First, the peaceful popular movement was a means of survival and change for the people and a turning point in the history of Algeria. As for the slogans, they were the peaceful weapon to fight the gang.

Secondly, the phrases of the slogans included several languages, including Arabic, French and English, in addition to the various dialects that touched all the national territory with its various age and cultural groups.

Third, the anger of the Algerian people made them linguistically creative in expressing their demands, which was evident in the banners they raised. We also noticed that the easy and short slogans were the most widely used and influential as they spread more quickly than others.

In addition, most of the phrases used were inspired by popular examples and religion, the historical heritage, as they included sayings and names of heroes immortalized in history, even cartoon characters were also present.

Fourth, the multiplicity of ideologies was evident in the diversity of slogans according to what they expressed, one group expressing national unity and another the people's unity and union

with the army, including the demand for change and others. As for the movement, one of the most important issues it has addressed is the departure of the regime as a first goal, and then fighting corruption in all its forms to reform and change the country for the better.

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Appendices

Table N.01

Slogans in Arabic language (MSA)	English translation
1. المادة (102) فرقتنا بين مؤيد ومعارض والمادة (7) جمعتنا .	1. Article (102) divided us between supporters and opponents, and Article (7) brought us together.
2. صح النوم أيها الاتحاد الأوروبي وأخيرا تألم الشعب من أجلنا .. لقد كنتم للسلطة السند القوي لإذلالنا ..	2. Sleep well, European Union, and finally the serpent suffered for us.. You were the strong support for our humiliation.
3. لا للتدخل الاجنبي القضية عائلية.	3. No to foreign intervention, the issue is a family issue.
4. سلمية سلمية حتى تنعم بالحرية .	4. “Peaceful..Peaceful until we enjoy freedom”.
5. السابق وعمرى #كيف أسامحك سيدي الرئيس 39 لم أبيت في قاعة إستقبال الضيوف.	5. How can I forgive you, Mr. the former president, I am 39, and I slept in the guest room?
6. إنصرفي أيتها الأرواح الشريرة .	6. "Get away, evil spirits"
7. الجيش جيشنا والارض الطاهرة أرضنا ولا مكان للخونة بيننا .. الجيش = الشعب .	7. “The army is our army, and the pure land is our land, and there is no place for traitors among us. The army = the people.”
8. الشعب مع الجيش لبناء دولة قوية .	8. “The army is with the people to build a strong country”.
9. إن لم تكن تحمل هم هذا الوطن فأنت هم على هذا الوطن.	9. If you do not carry the concern of this country, then you are the concern of this country.
10. فخامة الشعب يقول لكم : لا للانتخابات بوجود	

<p>الباءات.</p> <p>11. إكرام الميت دفنه وليس انتخابه .</p> <p>12. أيها الشعب الجزائري أنت تكتب تاريخك مرة أخرى فاجعله مشرفا مثل أجدادك الشهداء لكي يفخر به جيل المستقبل .</p> <p>13. أحفاد ابن باديس يرفضون حكم أبناء باريس.</p> <p>14. تذهب الأنظمة وتبقى الشعوب ..تسقط الحكومات و تحيا الدول.</p> <p>15. متى يفقد الإنسان شرفه؟ عندما يأكل من خيرات بلده وينتمي إلى بلد آخر، ياترى كم فاقد للشرف لدينا؟</p> <p>16. السلطة للشعب ..الشرعية للدولة.. الكرامة المواطن ..والوطن يسع الجميع. وطن واحد . شعب واحد . جيش واحد .</p> <p>17. لا إرهاب يتدخل كلما أراد الشعب أن يتحرر وجود للإرهاب العصابة هي من تقتل في أبناء الشعب من أجل تخويف الشعب (سلمية سلمية).</p> <p>18. اتضح اليوم ان النظام هو اليد الخارجية الوحيدة في الجزائر .</p> <p>19. الجيش الوطني الشعبي الحصن الحصين للشعب والوطن في كل الظروف والأحوال.</p>	<p>10. People's Excellency, says to you, “No to elections in the presence of the Bs.</p> <p>11. Honoring the dead in his burial, not his election”</p> <p>12. Algerian people, you are writing your history again, so make it honorable like your martyred ancestors, so that the future generation can be proud of it.</p> <p>13. The descendants of Ibn Badis reject the rule of the sons of Paris</p> <p>14. The regimes go, the people remain.. governments fall and states live.</p> <p>15. When does a person lose his honor? When he eats from the bounties of his country and belongs to another country, how many dishonorable people do we have?</p> <p>16. “Power for the people , legitimacy for the state , dignity for the citizens One country , one people”.</p> <p>17. “Terrorism interferes as long as the people want to be liberated. There is no terrorism. The gang is the one who kills the people in order to frighten the people (peaceful.. peaceful)”.</p> <p>18. Today it became clear that the regime is the</p>
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<p>20. لا تخريب لا تدمير نحن نريد التغيير.</p> <p>21. أين الرئيس أنا لا أراه؟</p> <p>22. أنا جزائرية أنا ضدها لا للعهد الخامسة.</p> <p>23. المرأة الجزائرية ضد الخامسة.</p> <p>24. العالم يتساءل ماذا يحدث في الجزائر؟ الشعب يرد إننا ننظف قمامة فرنسا من بلدنا.</p> <p>25. الشعب يريد سلمية و اويحي يريد سوريا.</p> <p>26. مظاهرات سلمية كأخلاق محمد صلاح.</p> <p>27. نحن لم نخرج عن الحاكم بل خرجنا للبحث عنه.</p> <p>28. الشعب يرفض مسرحية المحاسبات ويطالب بالتسليم الفوري للسلطة لممثلي الشعب.</p> <p>29. إتفقنا على ان لا نتفق معكم.</p> <p>30. أنا جزائري وأفتخر</p> <p>31. سترحلون بسلمية مهما حدث.</p>	<p>only foreign hand in Algeria.</p> <p>19. “The People's National Army is the bulwark of the people and the nation in all circumstances and conditions”.</p> <p>20. “No to sabotage, no to destruction. We want change”.</p> <p>21. Where is the president, I do not see him?</p> <p>22. I am Algerian I am against it, No to the 5th term!</p> <p>23. Algerian women against the 5th term.</p> <p>24. The world wonders what is happening in Algeria? The people reply: We are cleaning the garbage of France from our country".</p> <p>25. “The people want it peaceful, and Ouyahia wants it as Syria”.</p> <p>26. “Peaceful demonstrations like the morals of Mohamed Salah”.</p> <p>27. We did not leave the ruler, but we went out to search for him.</p> <p>28. The people reject the play of accountability and demand the immediate handover of power to the people's representatives.</p> <p>29. We agreed not to agree with you.</p> <p>30. I am Algerian and I am proud.</p>
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32. لا ترموا بأولادنا في البحر .	31. “You will leave peacefully no matter what happens”.
33. سنغرق تحت الأمطار لكي لا يغرق أولادنا في البحار.	32. Do not throw our children into the sea. 33. we will drown in the rain so that our children do not drown in the seas.

Table N.02

Algerian Dialectal Arabic (ADA)	English translation
1. ترامب ، ماكرون سامحونا زيتنا في دقيقتنا	1. Trump, Macron, forgive us, our oil is in our flour.
2. الحاج موسى ..موسى الحاج.	2. Al-Hadj Mussa..Moussa Al-Hadj.
3. بصح تنتحاو قاع.	3. But, you will all be removed.
4. باو روحوا الجمعة الجاية عندي شغل .	4. Yao leave! I'm busy next Friday.
5. يا أويحي إذا راك حاب تشعلها راني واجد نطفيها .	5. Ouyahia, if you want to harm the peaceful movement, I am ready to calm it down.
6. ما يبقى فالبلاد غير شعبوا	6. Nothing remains in the country, but its people.
7. نت طاب جنائك وحننا طاب قلبنا	7. You have matured your garden, we have matured our heart.
8. هاذي ماشي الفتنة هاذي الفطنة.	8. This is not sedition, this is awareness.
9. معندناش وقت باش نتفرجو ولاد لحلال رانا نتبعو في ولاد الحرام .	9. We don't have time to watch "Ouled el-Halal ", we follow the Haram sons.
10. كليتوا البلاد ياسراقين.	
11. يا الشرطي أضربني وانا نبقى سلمى .لا يعني اني خايف منك ولكن خايف على بلادي.	

<p>12. ألو مستشفى جوناڤ اعطونا الرايس حنا عندنا إنتخابات مهمة نتوما معندكمش انتخابات .</p> <p>13. يا ديقول أدني ولادك .</p> <p>14. يا بونجاح دموعك غالية عليكم بلكاس وعلينا بلماڤيا.</p> <p>15. أوتسرحوو بكلل يا لبانديا.</p> <p>16. ملخص القول : راهم يتنحاو وحنا حابين يتنحي لي راهو ينحي فيهم يتنحاو قاع الناخي والمنحوح والمنحوح به وحرف النح وأدوات النح ومناش ضاربين النح.</p> <p>17. !!! والله ما لقيت مانقولكم ..</p> <p>18. جات الشنا والرياح بصح تتنحاو قاع .</p> <p>19. الشعب يطالب بكرسي رئاسي من نوع تيفال باش الرئيس الجديد ميلصقتش.</p> <p>20. !وجعوني يديا وأنا رافد هاذ البلاكة ها روحوا</p> <p>21. الشعب ريمونتادا vs كلاسيكو الجزائر : الحكومة الشعب .</p> <p>22. سباب عذابنا الشياتين في بلادنا .</p> <p>23. الشعب يريد سحنون يروح لدارهم فلكار تاع ال 4 مكاش كيفاش يزيد حتى لل 5.</p> <p>24. "مكاش إنتخابات مع العصابات".</p> <p>25. جيبوا البياري وزيدوا الصاعقة مكاش الخامسة يا بوتقلية.</p>	<p>10. You ate the country, thieves!.</p> <p>11. Policeman, you hit me while I remain peaceful.. This does not mean that I am afraid of you, but I am afraid for my country</p> <p>12. Hello! Gonav Hospital, give us the president. We have important elections, while you do not have elections</p> <p>13. De Gaulle, take your sons!.</p> <p>14. Boundedjah, your tears are precious.. you have to win the cup and we have to fight the gang.</p> <p>15. you will all leave, gangs !</p> <p>16. Summary: They are leaving, and we want the one who is deporting them and everyone with him to leave, and we will not back down. (Approximated translation)</p> <p>17. I swear! I am speechless.</p> <p>18. Winter and winds have come, but you will all leave!</p> <p>19. The people demand a Tefal presidential chair so that the new president does not stick</p> <p>20. My hands hurt me while holding this placard, leave!</p>
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	<p>21. Algeria's Classico: the government vs the people. The people's remontada.</p> <p>22. The reason for our torment is the sycophants in our country.</p> <p>23. The people want “Sahnoun” to go home on the bus that leaves at 4, there is no way to stay until 5.</p> <p>24. There are no elections with gangs.</p> <p>25. Bring R.I.B(Research and Intervention Brigade) as well as S.I.S (The security and intervention sections).</p>
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Table N.03

Mixed slogans(Arabic, French and English):	English translation
<p>1) توبتكم مشكوك فيها يا أصحاب الكاشير.</p> <p>Nous avons pas besoin de vous!! Laissez nous tranquilles.</p> <p>Kabyles, Arab, Mzabi, Chawi...we are all brothers except you back off!!</p>	<p>1) cashier owners, your repentance is questionable.</p> <p>We don't need you !! Leave us alone.</p> <p>Kabyles, Arab, Mzabi, Chawi...we are all brothers except you back off!!</p>
<p>2) ركن الخطباء منبر لمن لا منبر له.</p> <p>Speaker's corner Algiers ..tribune de libre-express.</p>	<p>2) Speaker's corner Algiers ..tribune de libre-express.</p>
<p>3) لا لرسكلة النظام ..</p> <p>No for recycling</p>	

4) سلمية حضارية. L'Algérie c'est nous !	3) No for recycling..
5) Nous ne sommes pas les fils de gaulois, تعدد العهدهات مضر بالصحة .. 20ans sans filtre ..	4) Algeria is us! peaceful.. civilized.
6) ترحلو يعني ترحلوا ، Get out , vous partez	5) We are not the sons of Gauls, 20 years old without a filter. Multiple mandates are harmful to health.
7) ماشي formatage نطالب ب mise à jour	6) Get out.
8) Présidez avec modération..haniwna n'haniwkom .	7) We are asking for formatting, not update.
9) Il faut pas tzid mandat.	8) Preside in moderation..
10) (Word) الدستور الجزائري PDF(الدستور الأمريكي)	9) you do not have to add a new presidential term.
11) Ctrl – Alt- Suppr الشعب يريد :	10) The Algerian Constitution (word) The American Constitution (pdf)
12) الخيانة 177 article de l'application de l'Article العظمى.	11) People want ' Ctrl - Alt – Delete.
13) Non 4+ لا للتمديد	12) Application of the article 177 : The great Treason.
	13) No to extension, No 4+.

Table N.04

Slogans in French language	English translation
1. Ils continuent ? nous continuerons.	1. They continue ? we will continue. Do

<p>Ils ont des armes ? nous avons le temps ! ils ont tous 80 ans, nous avons tous 20 ans.</p> <p>2. Non à l'intégrance étrangère.</p> <p>3. Nous ne sommes ni Kabyles ni Chaouis ni Arabes ni Mozabites ni Touaregs nous sommes une Algérie unie nous sommes unis pour un seul but, la liberté est une nouvelle république.</p> <p>4. Je vous rend vos 4000DA rendez moi Algérie.</p> <p>5. Tant que vous ne dégagez pas de ce pouvoir manifester devient un devoir.</p> <p>6. Les hommes de l'ombre vérité ou affabulation ?</p> <p>7. Je suis algérienne je suis contre .</p> <p>8. Stop la dictature.</p> <p>9. Oscar de la meilleure manipulation politique.</p> <p>10. Pouvoir dégage.</p> <p>11. Libérez l'Algérie.</p>	<p>they have weapons? we have the time ! they are all 80 years old, we are all 20 years old.</p> <p>2. No to foreign integrity.</p> <p>3. We are neither Kabyles nor Chaouis nor Arabs nor Mozabites nor Tuaregs we are a united Algeria we are united for a single goal, freedom is a new republic".</p> <p>4. I give you 4000DA, give me back my Algeria.</p> <p>5. As long as you do not release this power, manifesting becomes a duty.</p> <p>6. Men of the shadow truth or affabulation?</p> <p>7. I am Algerian I am against it.</p> <p>8. Stop Dictatory.</p> <p>9. Oscar for the best politic manipulation.</p> <p>10. system, get out !</p> <p>11. Free Algeria!</p>
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Table N.05

English language	Slogans in other languages.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Good morning Algeria, keep calm and forget the fifth term. ▪ It is time for change, yes we can. ▪ The problem is not the lost years but it is the next years that will absolutely go to waste if we keep the same mind. ▪ Dear USA and EU thanks for caring it is just a family problem stay out of this, it is not your business. 	<p>1- Argelia es un pais libre viva Argelia. (spanish).(Algeria is a free country, long live Algeria.)</p> <p>2- بكل لغات العالم : لا للعهد الخامس .</p> <p>-No, the 5th mandate .</p> <p>- No, el quinto mandato.(Spanish)</p> <p>- Nein, das 5 mandat.(German)</p> <p>- Hayir .5. Gorev.(Turkish)</p>













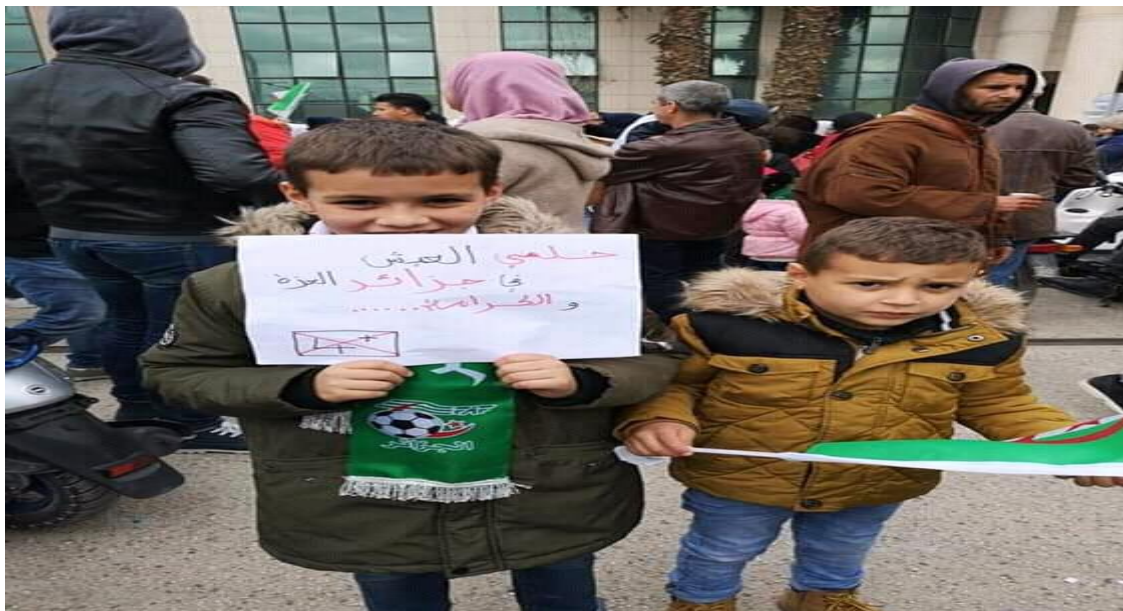






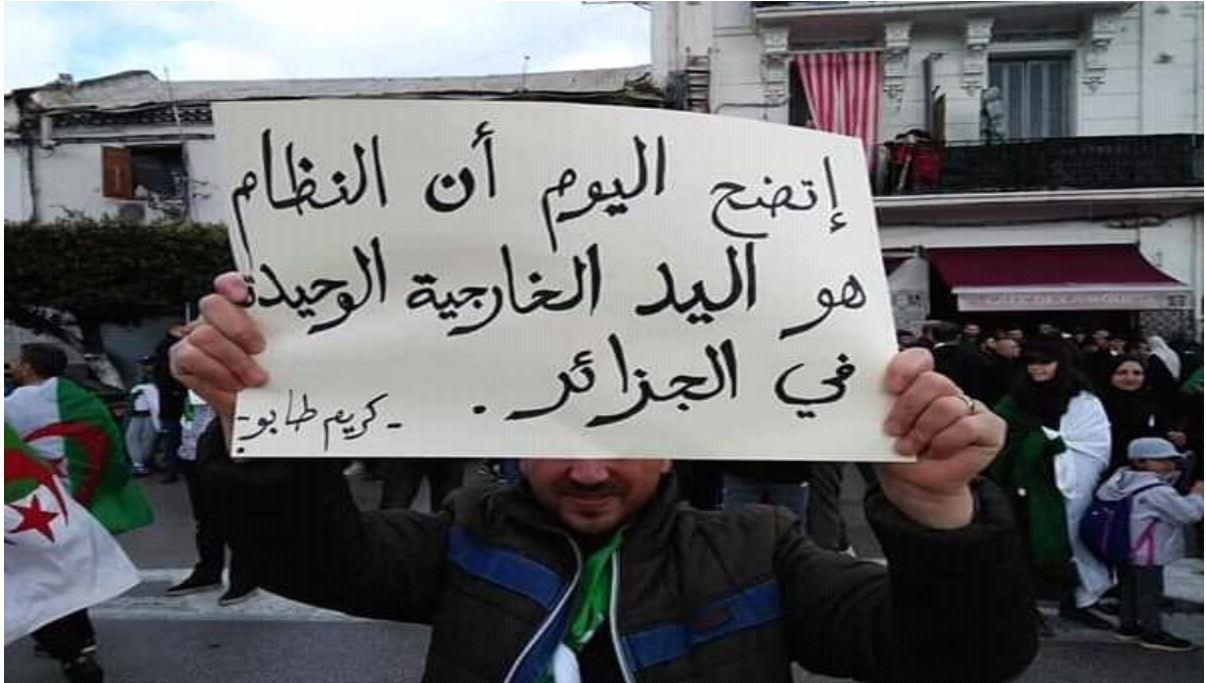






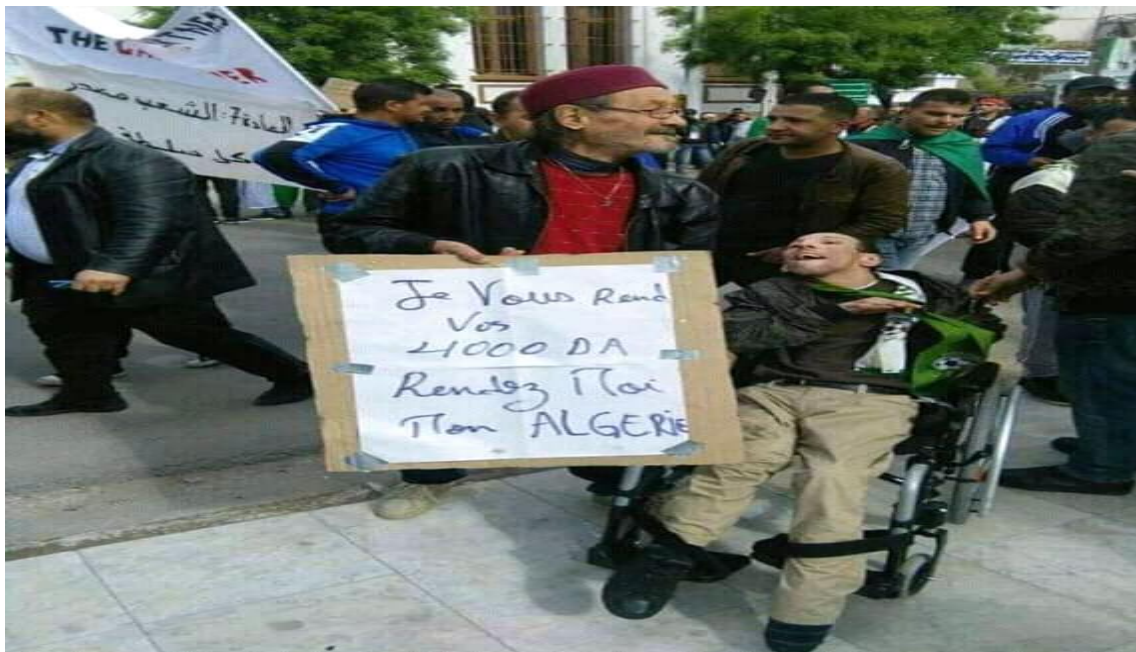






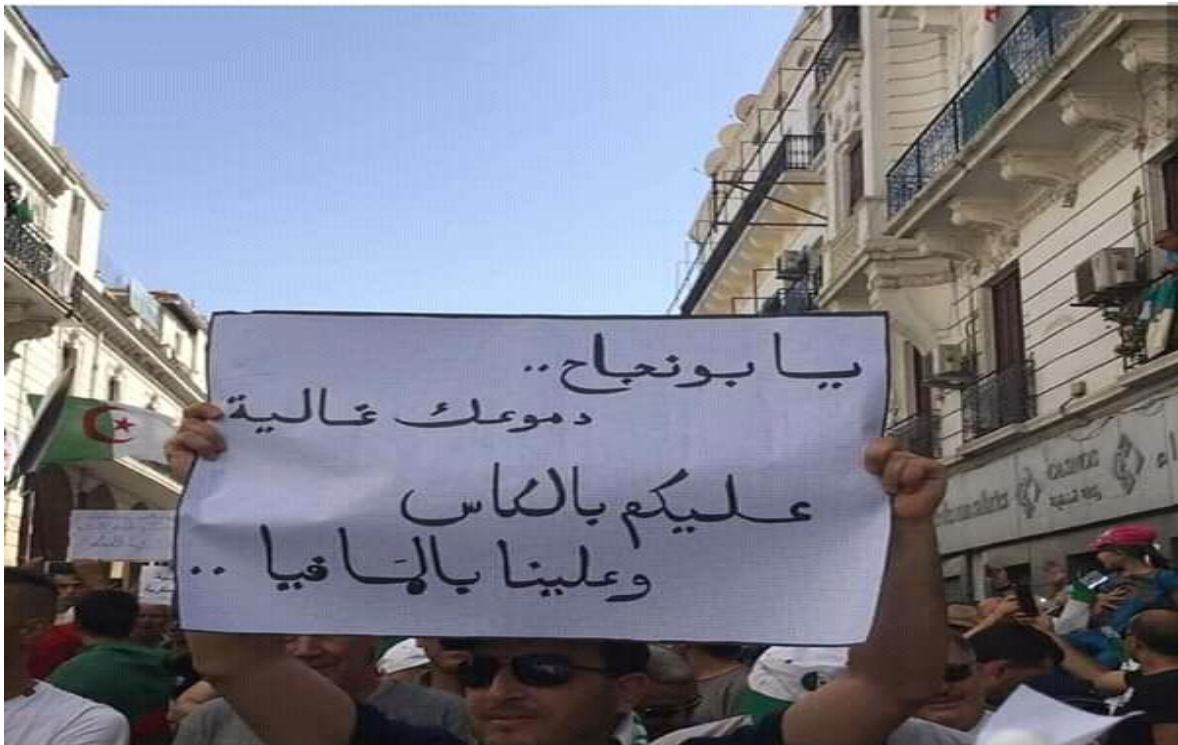








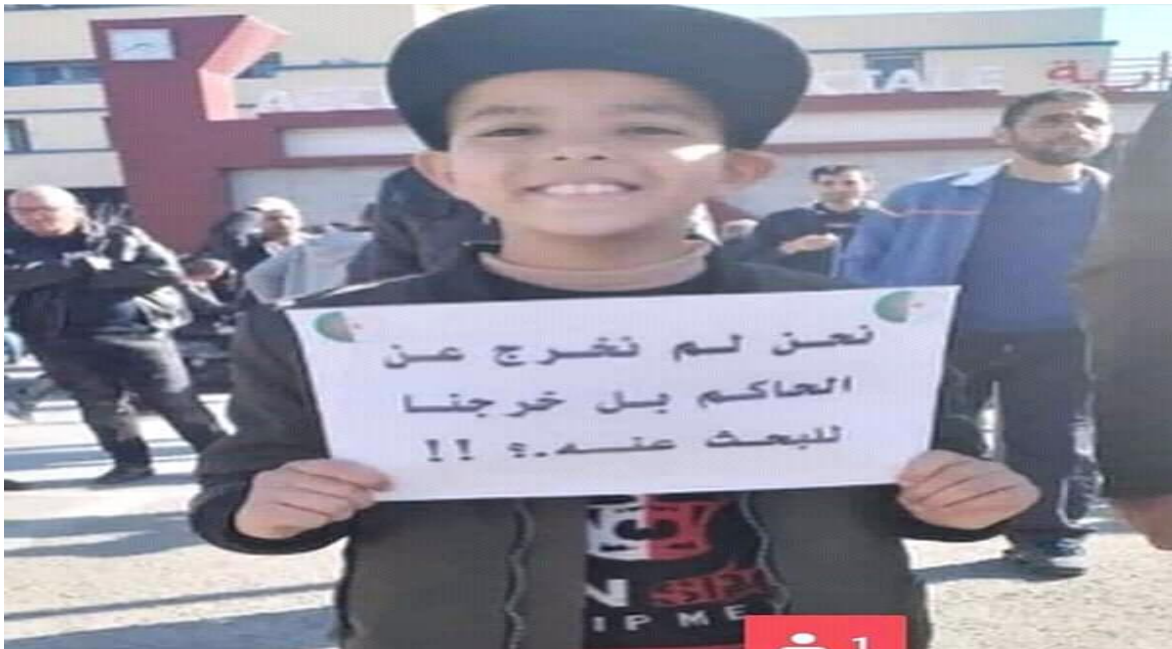
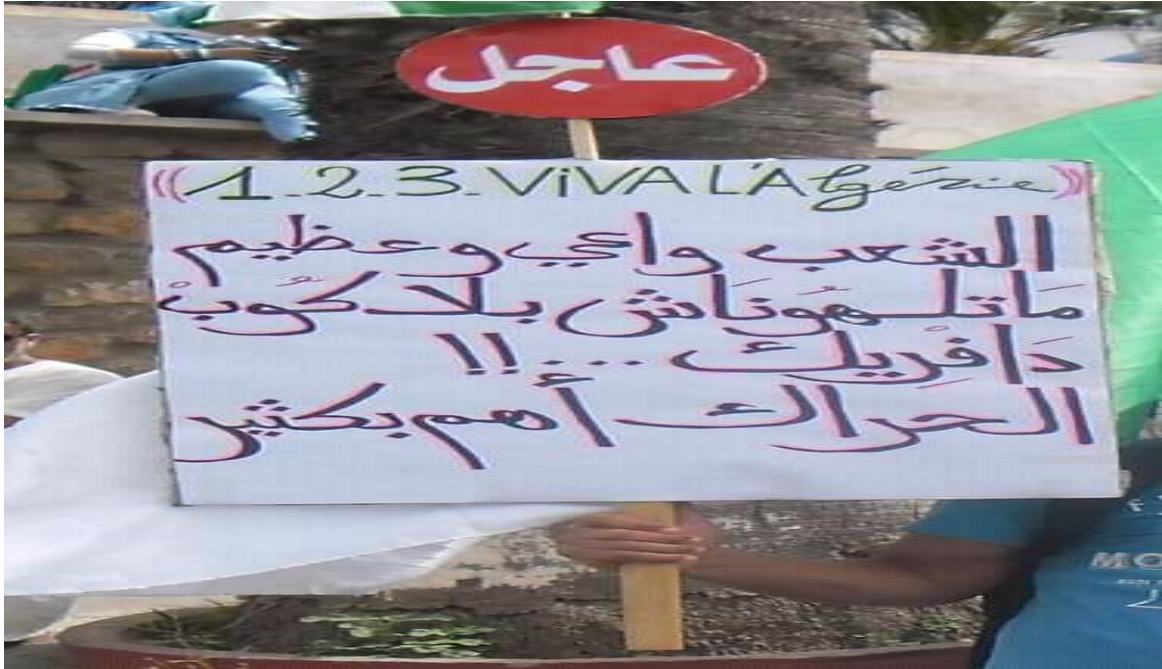




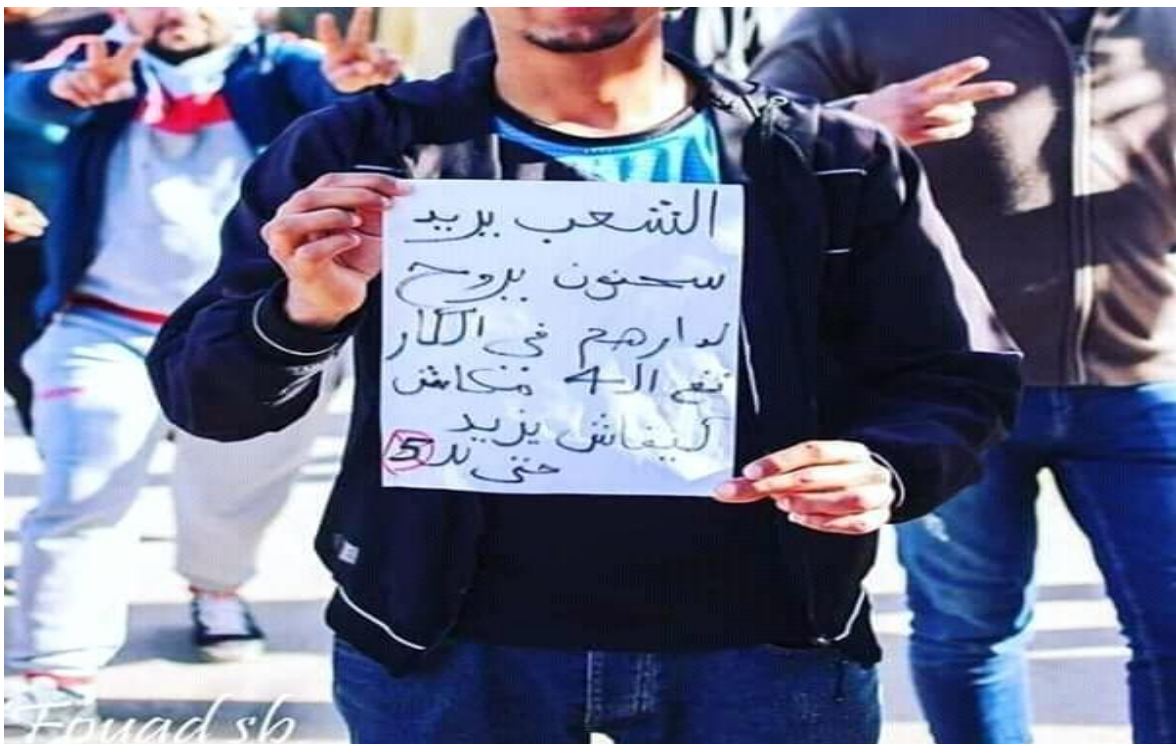


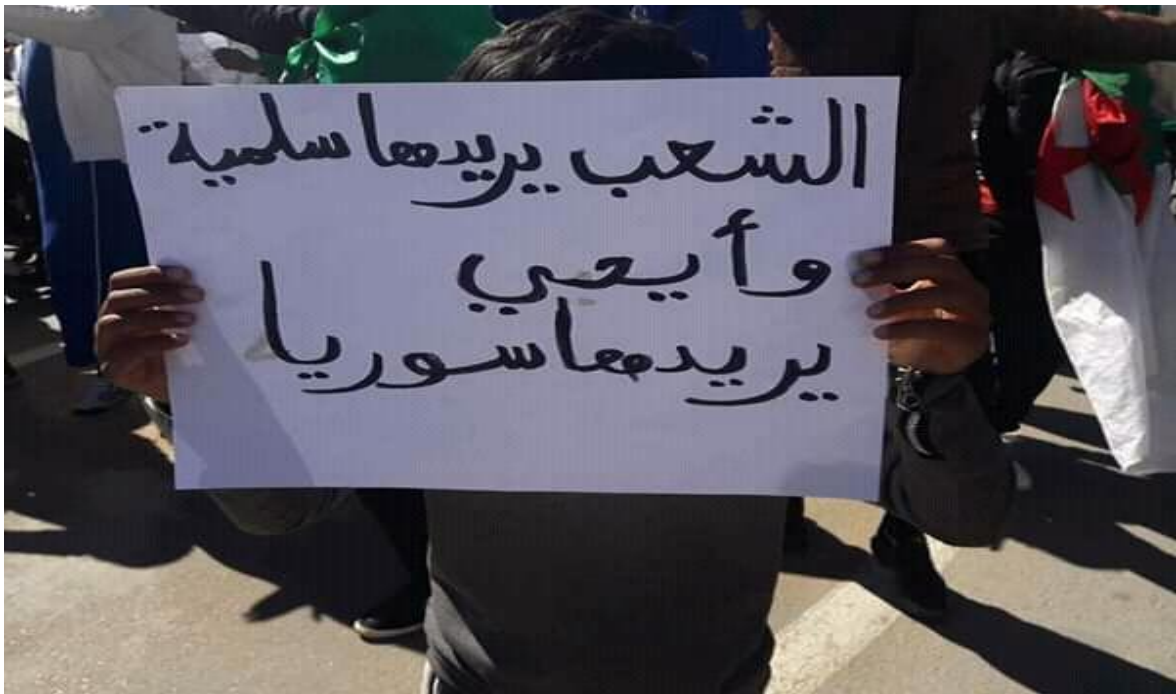


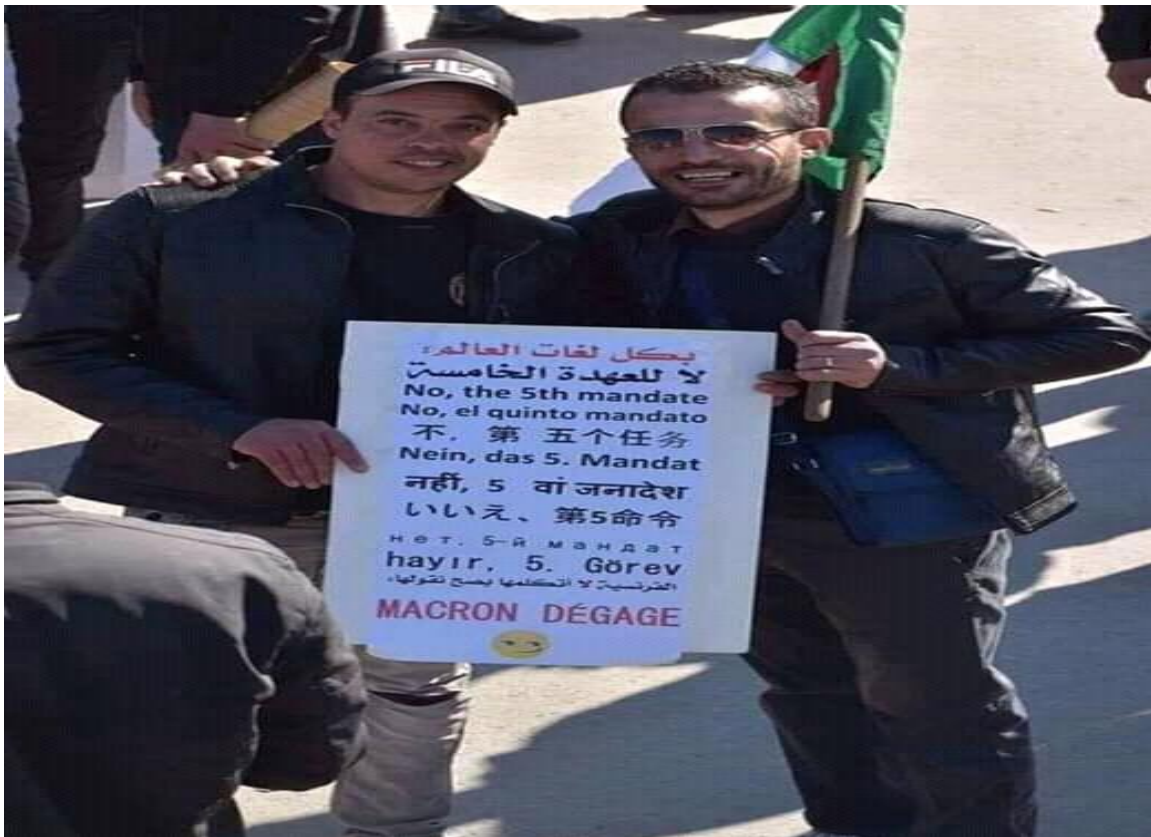


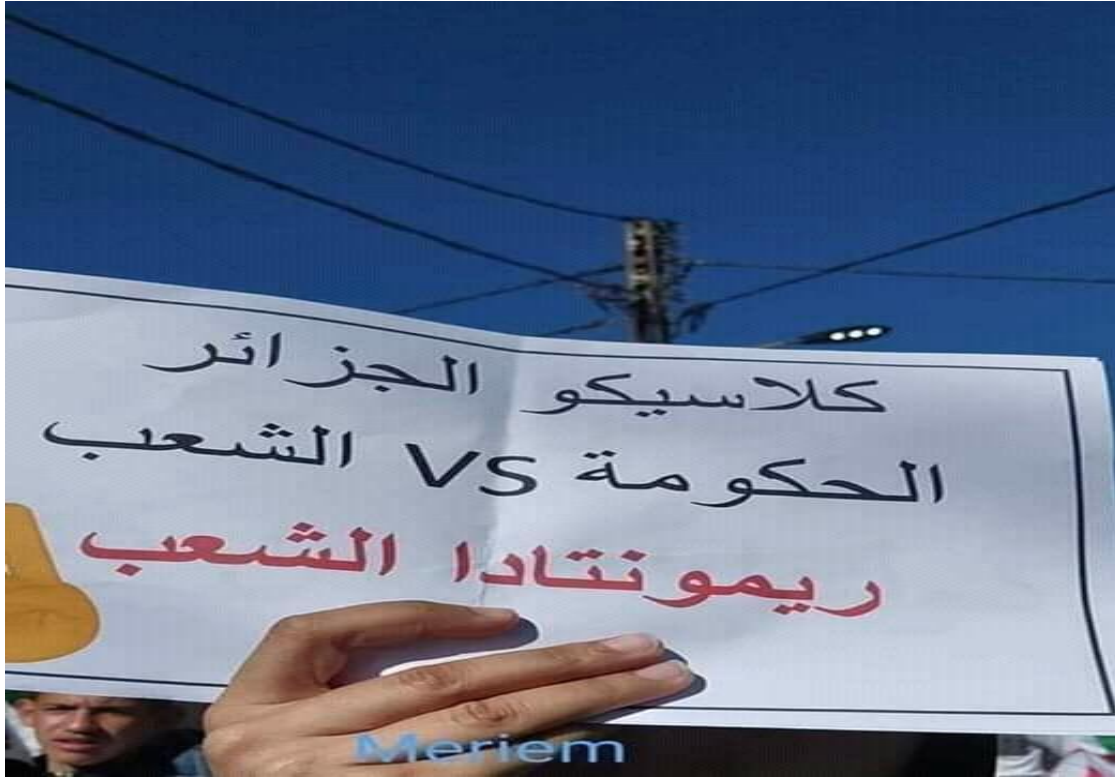


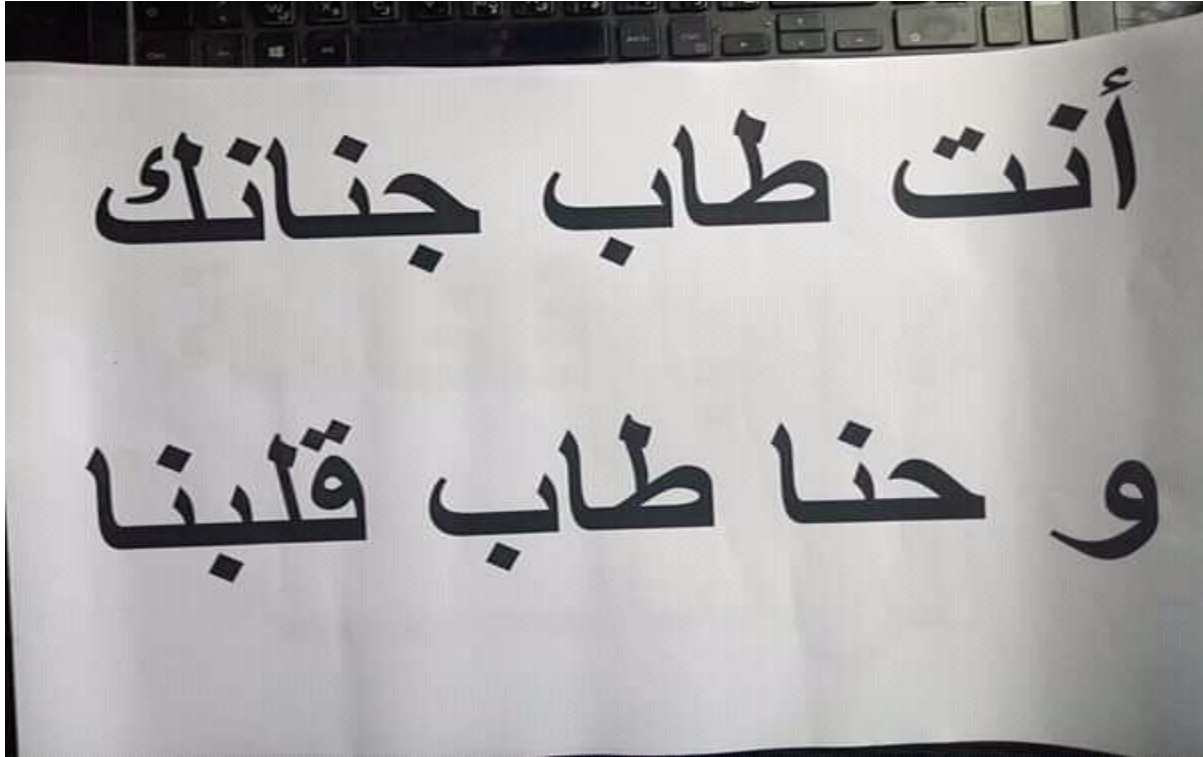


























ملخص

تتمحور هذه الدراسة حول التحليل النقدي للشعارات المستخدمة خلال مظاهرات الحراك الجزائري سنة 2019، حيث تم اختيار مجموعة كافية من الشعارات من مصادر مختلفة باعتبارهم عينات مختارة لبحثنا، كما تهدف هذه الدراسة الى تسليط الضوء على تحليل الخطاب النقدي كطريقة مختارة للتحليل والتي تظهر جليا من خلال شعارات الحراك. ينقسم هذا العمل الى ثلاثة اقسام رئيسية، القسم الاول يتناول لمحة تاريخية تمهيدا لبداية اكبر تظاهرة سلمية عرفتها الجزائر وهو الحراك وكيف تطورت احداثه زمنيا. اما القسم الثاني النظري فيستعرض خلفيات التحليل النقدي للخطاب بصفته اطار عملنا اما القسم الثالث فيتناول توظيف الخطاب النقدي لتحليل الشعارات باستعمال نموذج فيركلاوف (1989-1995) وفي الاخير مناقشة نتائج البحث والتي اظهرت اهمية الشعارات في تحقيق المسار السلمي لحراك الجزائر.

Summary

This study revolves around the critical analysis of the slogans used during the Algerian movement demonstrations in 2019, where a sufficient group of slogans were selected from different sources as they were selected samples for our research. The movement. This work is divided into three main sections. The first section deals with a historical overview in preparation for the beginning of the largest peaceful demonstration in Algeria, which is the movement, and how its events developed over time. As for the second theoretical section, it reviews the backgrounds of critical discourse analysis as a framework for our work. The third section deals with the employment of critical discourse to analyze slogans using the Fairclough model (1995-1989) and finally discussing the results of the research, which showed the importance of slogans in achieving the peaceful path of the Algerian movement.

Résumé

Cette étude s'articule autour de l'analyse critique des slogans utilisés lors des manifestations du mouvement algérien en 2019, où un groupe suffisant de slogans ont été sélectionnés à partir de différentes sources car ils ont été des échantillons sélectionnés pour notre recherche. Le mouvement. Ce travail est divisé en trois sections principales La première section traite d'un aperçu historique en vue du début de la plus grande manifestation pacifique connue en Algérie, qui est le mouvement et comment ses événements se sont développés au fil du temps. Quant à la deuxième section théorique, elle passe en revue les fondements de l'analyse critique du discours comme cadre de notre travail. La troisième section traite de l'utilisation du discours critique pour analyser des slogans en utilisant le modèle de Fairclough (1995-1989) et enfin discute la recherche, qui a montré l'importance des slogans dans la réalisation de la voie pacifique du mouvement Algérien.

