



Sudan University of Science and Technology



College of Graduate Studies

College of languages

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of New Zealand Prime
Minister's speech on Mosque Attack**

**التحليل النقدي لخطاب رئيسة وزراء نيوزيلاندا حول الهجوم على
المسجد**

A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of MA. Degree in English
Language (Applied Linguistics)

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DEDICATION

To my parents

To my friends

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I would like to extend my MA degree to my supervisor Dr. Hillary, for his valuable advice as well as for his kindness and support. It was my pleasure to be his student. I would like to thank my parents, brothers, sisters and friends for being in my life. As ever, special thanks go to my friend Mohammed Suleiman who was always there for help. I am also grateful to my friends and colleagues in Linguistics for their support.

I am especially indebted to Gada library for kind support and free internet. Finally I would like to say that out of literature review, this fluxinixynahilification is my own.

ABSTRACT

This study aimed at presenting a Critical Discourse Analysis CDA of New Zealand Prime Minister's speech on Muslims Mosque Attack. To investigate the Prime Minister's position and attitude towards Muslim community in the aftermath of the mosque attack. The study then adopted Fairclough's analytical method. The researcher used a number of instruments to collect the relevant research data from different sources such as recorded video, a script and note taking techniques. The main findings of the study revealed that the prime minister's position and attitude towards Muslim community in the aftermath of the events was positive by employing linguistic features such as intertextuality, choices of vocabulary and the expression of ideology. The study recommended that Students of linguistics in Sudan should draw attention to political speeches when conducting their researches.

ABSTRACT

(The Arabic Version)

هدفت هذه الدراسة لتقديم التحليل النقدي لخطاب رئيسة وزراء نيوزيلاندا حول احداث هجوم مسجد المسلمين. لتقصي في مواقف وسلوك رئيسة وزراء نيوزيلاندا تجاه المجتمع الاسلامي في اعقابحادثة الهجوم علي مسجد المسلمين. لقد تبنت الدراسة منهجفيركلوف لتحليل النقدي للخطاب. استخدم الباحث عددا من الادوات لجمع البيانات ذات الصلة بالبحث من عدة مصادر. من بينها فيديو ونصوص وتقنية تدوين الملاحظات. وكشفت الدراسة ان مواقف رئيسة الوزراء وسلوكها تجاه المسلمين كانت ايجابية. وذلك باستخدامها السمات اللغوية مثل التناص و اختيار المفردات اللغوية والتعبيرات الايديولوجية.وقد اوصت الدراسة بانه ينبغي علي طلاب علم اللغة الاهتمام بالخطب السياسية في اجراء بحوثهم.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No	Subject	Page No
	Dedication	I
	Acknowledgements	II
	Abstract	III
	Abstract(Arabic version)	IV
	Table of contents	V
	CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	
1.0	Background to the study	1
1.1	Statement of the study	2
1.2	Objectives of the study	3
1.3	Research Questions	3
1.4	Hypotheses of the study	3
1.5	Significant of the study	4
1.6	The methodology of the study	4
1.7	Limitation of the study	4
	CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW AND PREVIOUS STUDIES	
2.0	Introduction	5
2.1.1	Definition of discourse	5
2.2.2	Mode of discourse	6
2.3.3	Definition of Discourse analysis	7
2.4.4	Text and semiosis	7
2.5.5	Written text	8
2.6.6	Spoken text	8
2.7.7	Definition of critical discourse analysis	9
2.8.8	The goal of critical discourse analysis	9
2.9.9	Fairclough's Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis	10
2.10.10	Standard and textuality	11
2.11.11	A brief account on Jacinda Ardern	12
2.12.12	Definition of Islamophobia	13

2.13.13	Islamophobia and bringing people together	14
2.14.14	Haka dance	14
2.15.15	Definition of ideology	15
2.2.1	Review of Previous studies Related to the topic	16
	CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	
3.0	Introduction	21
3.1	Sample of the study	21
3.2	Methodology	21
3.3	Analyzing the data	22
	CHAPTER FOUR DATA ANALYSIS	
4.0	Introduction	23
4.1	Analysis of texts according to the questions of the Study	23
	CHAPTER FIVE MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY	
5.1	Introduction	34
5.2	Main findings	34
5.3	Recommendations	35
5.4	Suggestions for further study	35
5.5	Summary	35
-	References	36
-	Appendix	38

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. 0 Background of the study

According to van Dijk (2001), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Resistance is the practiced one here in the present study.

New Zealand is a country in the southwestern Pacific Ocean. Consisting of 2 main island, both marked by volcanoes and glaciations. Capital is wellington. Maori are the original peoples of New Zealand. Christianity is the predominant religion in New Zealand. Although New Zealand is a country with freedom of religion choice, an extremist attacked Muslims on their religion ceremony.

The present Prime minister of New Zealand is Jacinda Ardern. At the age of 37 Jacinda Ardern became leader of New Zealand Labour Party. And the in October 2017, became the country's youngest Prime Minister. She is the 40th and current Prime Minister of New Zealand. In 15th March 2019 Ardern was called up to lead and comfort her country in the wake of what she characterized as one of its darkest days. To come to what happen in that day, we need to go back first in order to go forward.

Since 9/11, 2001 attack on the twin towers in New York City by Osama bin laden, the term Islamophobia come into exist. Non Muslim people began to have some kind of phobia toward Muslims and Islam. The situation and the image of Muslims in the west went negatively ever since. Muslims communities in the west Stereotyped terrorists. Islamophobia come into widely separated and some extremist in the west have shown harsh hostilities to Muslims. The attacks

of Christchurch Muslims in New Zealand, in 15th March 2019 exterminate 50 Muslim and 50 more are wounded. The killing of Christchurch Muslims is a good example of hatred, bigotry and Islamophobia.

This attack enforced an official discourse. The speech of New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. The New Zealand Prime minister and the New Zealanders showed many cultural practices semiotically represented in term of solidarities. Dealing with Christchurch attack in New Zealand, **Jacinda Ardern** showed strong solidarity to the victims' families. Consequently, it has found that her discourse goes hand in hand with the Muslims of her country.

This study analyzes the political discourse as represented in the speech of **Jacinda Ardern** the Prime minister of New Zealand. Her speech was full of human solidarities with the Muslims. She stands very well as a unique leader with the Muslim community when the extreme terrorist attacked on Muslims during their religious ceremony and killed many of Muslims in New Zealand. As a leader, **Jacinda** showed strong solidarity to Muslim community.

1.1 Statement of the study

The researcher noticed that the speech of Jacinda Ardern is full of cultural practices, and semiotically represented in terms of solidarities. This discourse analytical study aims at analyzing the political speech namely the New Zealand Prime Minister's speech. On 15th March of 2019, a terrorism killed Muslims in mosque. In the events of 15th March, the victims were 50 deaths and other 50 were wounded as well. Christchurch attacks show that Islamophobia is real. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Jacinda shows solidarity to Muslim community. **Ardern's** speech is one of the most political speeches concerned with emotions.

1.2 Objectives of the study

This study aims at:

1. Investigating the Prime Minister's position and attitude towards Muslim community after the events discursively.
2. Exploring the solidifying semiotic and cultural objects that Jacinda's speech draw on.
3. Finding out whether the Prime Minister Jacinda has used the rhetorical speech.

1.3 Questions of the study

This study sets out to answer the following questions:

1. What is the Prime Minister's position and attitude towards Muslim community in the aftermath of the mosque attacks as depicted in her speech?
2. What are the solidifying semiotic and cultural objects Jacinda's speech draw on?
3. To what extent Prime Minister Jacinda use rhetoric speech?

1.4 Hypotheses of the study

This study sets out to test the following hypotheses:

1. The prime minister's position and attitude toward Muslim community aftermath of the mosque attacks was so positive.
2. Jacinda's speech draws on the solidifying semiotic and cultural objects
3. Prime Minister Jacinda use rhetorical speech towards Muslims.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Discourse analysis of the of Jacinda Ardern's speech has significant value to discourse students as. The speech of Jacinda is new and fresh to be undertaken as a research work in a research. The researcher hopes this study will be

significant to Muslims, politician and those who have interest critical discourse analysis CDA. In an interconnected world accuracy of interpretation of political discourse is highly needed particularly, in area of the diplomacy that our Sudanese libraries lack.

1.6 The Methodology of the Study

This study adopts Fairclough's (1989-1995) approach in analyzing the critical discourse of New Zealand Prime Minister's speech. The researcher uses a different number of instruments to collect the data, from different sources, Recorded videos and script. The researcher uses the Jacinda's speech about attack on Muslims in Christchurch on 15th of March 2019 as a sample.

1.7 Limits of the Study

This study is limited to analyzing critically the New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda's speech. The speech is about the terror attack on Christchurch mosque. The attack which claimed 50 lives and 50 wounded on 15th of March 2019 in New Zealand.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND PREVIOUS
STUDIES

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review and previous studies

2.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. part one is the literature related to research topic such as: definition of discourse, Mode of discourse, definition of discourse analysis, Text and Semiosis, written text, spoken text, definition of critical discourse analysis, goal of critical discourse analysis, Fairclough's Dimensions of Discourse Analysis, standard and textuality, JacindaArdern, Definition of Islamophobia, Islamophobia and Bringing People Closer Together, Haka dance. Part two discusses the previous studies related to relevant topic.

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Definition of discourse?

Linguists and language philosophers have defined discourse in many different ways. Discourse is what speakers do in conversation. As Yule, (2006: 124), said that discourse is defined as “language beyond the utterance. According to Fairclough (1992: 28), “Discourse is more than language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice.” when a political leader gives a speech, or when a journalist writes an article, they do so in socially determined ways that have social effects and implications (Fairclough, 1989: 23). What people say and write is not far from the influence of the institutions they belong to. That means Language is not independent of the political and social workings of society.

2.1.2 Mode of discourse

According to Fairclough (1989), the four modes of discourse are narration, description, exposition, and argument.

Narration is story telling. It involves relating a series of events, usually in a chronological order. The purpose of narration is to tell a story or narrate an event or series of events. This writing mode frequently uses the tools of descriptive writing. Narration is an especially useful tool for sequencing or putting details and information into some kind of logical order, usually chronological as we mentioned before.

Description tells what things are like according to the five senses. Description often tries to do more than to enable readers to visualize characters, settings, and actions. It may also try to evoke a mood or atmosphere, and this is aided by the use of simile and metaphor.

Exposition is the kind of writing that is used to inform, exposition means "to place out," and, of course, the thing that is placed out for us to see and understand is information. This mode of writing has several subtypes, the most common being process analysis, definition, classification and division, comparison and contrast, cause and effect, and problem and solution. The purpose of expository writing is to explain and analyze information by presenting an idea, relevant evidence, and appropriate discussion.

Argument The purpose of argument is to convince through logic. An argument is based on a belief or opinion that the writer holds as true.

The statement of this opinion is called a "thesis." It is usually presented explicitly near the beginning of the argument. To convince readers that his opinion is true, the writer must build a case to support the thesis. Building a case requires presenting reasons for accepting the thesis, and then presenting

evidence to support the reasons. If the reader accepts the reasons and the evidence, then he should agree with the thesis.

2.1.3 Definition of Discourse analysis?

Discourse, based on van Dijk's (1977: 3), and his general concept of discourse as text in context, seen as "data that is liable for empiric analysis"

Discourse analysis is a qualitative method of analysis, which explores the meanings produced by language use and communication, the contexts and processes of these meanings and practices caused by these meanings.

In other meaning discourse analyses is to analysis the speech and brings out the truth beyond that particular speech.

2.1.4 Text and Semiosis

A text in discourse analysis is a lengthen of language that may be longer than one sentence. Thus text and discourse analysis is about how sentences combine to form texts. Text refers to actual written or spoken data, and 'discourse' refers to the whole act of communication involving production and comprehension, not necessarily entirely verbal.

Fairclough, (2005) uses text in a generalized sense for the discorsal element of social events.

Text is understood in the light of it's relation to other element of social events and social structures, as well as of their relation to social practices, the mediating forms between social events and social structures and the forms of social activity, which include social relations, social identities, and social subjects. He also uses the term 'semiosis' rather than 'discourse' to refer in a general way to language and other semiotic modes such as visual image, and the term 'text' for semiotic elements of social events (written, spoken, or combined

as in the case of television texts). According to Merriam website semiosis is a process in which something functions as a sign to an organism. In short semiosis means the visualize images in text. In Jacinda's speech there are many semiotic expressions which go hand in hand with her text.

2.1.5 Written text

Written texts include stories, comic strips, instructions, recipes, presentations, emails, text messages on mobile phones, newsletters, posters, scripts for plays and performances, factual texts and explanations, or any other piece of written language. When people are writing to/for each other, their interaction may be made up of series of sentences, paragraphs and connected ideas.

2.1.6 Spoken text

Spoken texts include oral stories, interviews, dialogues, (e.g. a welcome to country speech, a presentation to the class), phone conversations, discussions, role plays, or any other piece of spoken language. When people are speaking to each other, their interaction is made up of series of utterances, for example questions and replies, comments and suggestions, requests and responses.

To Halliday (1978), a "spoken text is simply what is said in a piece of written discourse and a spoken discourse can be encoded in written text." In other words, written text is an abstract theoretical construct realized by spoken discourse and vice versa (Brown and Yule, 1983. While van Dijk, 1977). Then text is not only the written forms of language but it is the spoken one.

2.1.7 Definition of critical discourse analysis?

According to van Dijk (2001), "critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourseanalytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." Also Yule claims that discourse analysis is

concerned with the study of language in text and conversation. In the present study critical discourse analysis is concerned the studies the way social power resist the terror attack.

To Fairclough (1993), critical discourse analysis is also known as CDA.

Critical discourse analysis is defined as a branch of discourse analysis, which is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.

Van Dijk (1998) argued that CDA 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. Though they have different views about critical discourse, they both agreed in context analysis. So we can say that discourse analysis is about analyzing the context to reveal the political power upon society.

2.1.8 The goal of critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis provides the reader with the necessary tools to become aware of the hidden and subtle meanings in discourse and strive to promote a democratic society. That is what we call as goal of discourse analysis. To see the hidden meaning in discourse.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271–80) summarize the goals of critical discourse analysis as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems;
2. Power relations are discursive;
3. Discourse constitutes and is constituted by society and culture;
4. Discourse is ideological;
5. Discourse is historical;
6. The link between society and text is mediated;

7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

2.1.9 Fairclough's Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis

In paper written by AWEJ, (2013) said that, “Fairclough's approach to CDA rests on three-dimensions for text analysis. Nevertheless, in the interest of space and time, not all steps in this approach are followed. After all, Fairclough, (1989) asserts that there is no reason to treat the procedure as holy writ because it serves as a guide rather than a 'blueprint’’. In dealing with discourse as a social practice, Fairclough (1989) the critical analyst is not only concerned with analyzing the texts, but with analyzing the relationships between texts processes and their social conditions. In doing so, three dimensions of critical discourse analysis arise which are known as Faircloughs dimensions. Which are: description that concerns the formal properties of the text that concerns with what a text says. For Fairclough (1989, p.26), “description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text’’. In other words, linguistic features of the text are to be explored in the descriptive stage. Interpretation that concerns the relationship between text and interaction. In the interpretation stage, the relationship between the discourse and its production and its consumption should be interpreted. This step Analysis of the Discourse Practice, deals with the exploration of inter-textual relations among discourse, texts and setting. And explanation that concerns the relationship between interaction and social context.

According to Fairclough (1989-26), “explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects’’. On the other hand the analysis in explanative part is in reference to the historical, social, and cultural contexts.

2.1.10 Standard and textuality

According to Fairclough (1992, 1995) intertextuality “points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions to generate new ones” It is concerned with how texts are produced in relation to prior texts and how texts help to construct the existing conventions in producing new texts.

According to De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) textuality determined by some factors which depend on the participants, the intended message and the setting of occurrence ...ect. They sum up these factors in seven standard of textuality in which they can fulfil the communicative function of any text.

Cohesion: "sticky tape" semantic markers linking ideas (a set of verbal 'signposts' to guide the reader).

Coherence: the writer's text world and its relation to our experience of the phenomenal world depends less on overt markers, more on the ways situations are described and sequenced, issues of causality and time in the construction of the text worlds. E.g. No milk in the fridge. Have gone to the shops. Interpretation depends on assumptions about similar experiences.

Intentionality is reflected in the writer's manipulation of rhetorical devices: commands, questions and suggestions etc. The effect is literally to make some waves and movement in the text.

Informativity effects the readers beneficially e.g. new information.

Situationality recognises that the appearance of a text at a given time or in a context will influence the readers in their interpretation.

Intertextuality recognises that all texts contain traces of other texts. Writers may wish to emit echoes of certain texts, though; readers may pick up these or others that they have read. Do you borrow phrases and concepts from other

works in your own? If yes, then you're using intertextuality, perhaps even without knowing it.

2.1.11 A brief account on Jacinda Ardern

Jacinda Ardern, her full name **Jacinda Kate Laurell Ardern**, she was born on July 26, 1980 in Hamilton, New Zealand. New Zealand politician who in August 2017 became leader of the New Zealand Labour Party and then in October 2017, at age 37 she became the country's youngest prime minister in more than 150 years. Jacinda was second of two daughters born to a Mormon family. Ardern spent her first years in Murupara, where seeing children without shoes on their feet or anything to eat for lunch inspired her to eventually enter politics. Even before earning a bachelor's degree in Communication Studies in 2001 Ardern began her association with the Labour Party. In 1999 at age 17 she joined the party. In 2017 Ardern registered a landslide victory in the parliamentary by election for the vacant seat representing the solidly Labour district of Mount Albert in Auckland. In June 2018 Ardern gave birth to her first child, a girl. She thus became the first leader of a country in nearly 30 years to give birth while in office. In March 2019 Ardern was called upon to lead and comfort her country in the wake of what she characterized as one of its "darkest days," after an attack on a mosque in central Christchurch and another on a mosque in suburban Linwood during midday prayers on March 15 resulted in the loss of at least 50 lives and injuries to about 50 other individuals. In both cases the assailant allegedly was a 28-year-old white supremacist Australian national who had posted a 74-page anti-immigrant manifesto on social media immediately prior to beginning his attack with assault rifles and shotguns. Before he was apprehended by police, the gunman who had streamed the attack on the first mosque on Facebook apparently using a head mounted camera had killed 42 people at the first mosque and another 8 at the second, some 3 miles (5 km) away. According to his rambling hate filled manifesto, the alleged assailant

had come to New Zealand specifically to undertake the attacks to highlight that even a place as remote as New Zealand suffered from “mass immigration.” Jacinda’s attitude on this day was so positive that she inspired so many leaders and women across the globe.

2.1.12 Definition of Islamophobia

A phobia, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is an exaggerated, usually inexplicable and illogical fear of a particular object, class of objects, or situation. It may be hard to determine the source of this fear, but it exists. . In recent years, a specific phobia has gripped in Western societies, that phobia is called Islamophobia.

Researchers and policy groups define Islamophobia in differing detail, Islamophobia is an exaggerated fear, hatred, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims that is perpetuated by negative stereotypes resulting in bias,

discrimination, and the marginalization and exclusion of Muslims from social, political, and civic life. The term Islamophobia came into existence on terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, but it increased in frequency and notoriety during the past decade. Simply Islamophobia can explain as negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. In the West the current condition and social position of the Muslim population are heterogeneous; Muslims picture in look at negatively.

2.1.13 Islamophobia and Bringing People Closer Together

In a paper written by Hiba (2012) said that the populations in New Zealand are reluctant to have Muslims as neighbors. This reluctance manifests itself in people's decisions of whether or not to live in diverse communities. However,

Fairclough (2005) said that individuals living in mixed communities might be most open to those different from themselves, and least likely to be Islamophobic. That is what Jacinda did after the attack on Muslims. She brought people of New Zealand closer together as human through her speech. From the semiotic images the general populations in New Zealand are most likely to say they live in a neighborhood generally with Muslims. People who do not share their ethnic and religious backgrounds with them. In some countries in a terrorist done some extreme actions the good governments try to be in the effected side and try to bring his or her community together in peace and love.

2.1.14 Haka as cultural dance

The **haka** in both Maori and English is a ceremonial dance or challenge in Maori culture in New Zealand. It is a posture dance performed by a group with vigorous movements and stamping of the feet with rhythmically shouted accompaniment. Although commonly associated with the traditional battle preparations of male warriors. Haka have long been performed by both men and women. Haka are performed to welcome distinguished guests, or to acknowledge great achievements, occasions or funerals. The group of people who performing the haka dance are calls Kapahaka. Internet (www.Wikipedia.com)

2.1.15 What is Ideology?

TO (Van dijk,2000)ideology is a collection of normative beliefs and values that an individual or group holds for other than purely epistemic reasons. The term is especially used to describe systems of ideas and ideals which form the basis of economic or political theories and resultant policies. In simple words ideology means the Actions oriented sets of beliefs. Ideology to Van Dijk is the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members. In political activism, ideology simply means the ‘false ideas’ of their political opponents. The general public understands ideology as the system of ideas and beliefs that serve the

interests of a given community, as a social class, a religious group, or a political party.

Ideology is one of the cornerstone concepts in CDA's studies of discourse. Language, as has been known as a social practice or action; it reflects the needs, hopes and anxieties of people in society. However, human societies are not utopias where people are equal and live in peace and love; human societies are sites of struggle where people from different social classes are always fighting materially and symbolically for their shares of social goods. And also in social terms we may define a number of the properties that people routinely use to identify themselves and others as ingroup and outgroup members, and to act accordingly. "Actors may thus appear in many guises, collectively or individually, as ingroup ('we') or outgroup members ('they'), us VS them specifically or generally, identified by their name, group, profession or function; in personal or impersonal roles, and so on" (Van dijk,2000)

Part two

2.2 Previous Related Studies

In this section the researcher presents a review of previous related studies.

Study One

- 2.1 Hafiz Yousif Mustafa Mohamed (2016) conducted a study entitled: Obama as a political Orator: A critical Discourse Analysis. This study deals with a Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's inaugurations speech. The researcher uses a number of instruments to collect data from different sources; recorded video, a script and note taking technique. The analysis concentrates on Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA that consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. The study concluded that Barack Obama has been

effective in his political career by virtue of his wonderful rhetorical abilities. We both used the same instruments to collect the data, we both come to agree that both Obama and Jacinda use rhetorical speech.

Study Two

2.2 Pitia, H and Mugaddam, A (2015) conducted a study entitled: power relations between colonial administration and Obierika character in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. In this paper they aim to analyze the exercise of power in a face-to-face discourse where participants are unequal; it is an unequal encounter between the English District Commissioner and Obierika. This study aims at demonstrating how a close analysis of linguistic features in the literary text can contribute to the comprehension of power relations and ideological expressions in discourse. The analysis concentrates on use of pronouns, speech acts, requests, modals, metaphors, and diverse lexical choices. The results of their study have shown that, 70% of expressions used by the colonial administrator are in favour of colonialism, the colonial administrator has interrupted Mr. Obierika and his associates several times to control their contributions while 30% of expressions used by Obierika are in favor of the decolonization process which represent the resistance offered by Obierika and his men against the colonial power.

On the other hand, 66.6% of expressions used by Obierika and his group, particularly in the second part of the encounter, are in favor of the process of decolonization, which represent the power exerted by Mr. Obierika to control the colonial administrator. This clearly signals the shift of power, thus, it is the power of the African traditional beliefs.

Study three

2.3 Muhammad Aslam Sipra (2012) This study aims to analyze the Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King's Speech "When I Have a Dream" in

Socio-Political Perspective. Researcher analyzed the linguistic choices which are used by the speaker in order to find out the motifs.

Researcher analyzes the stylistic devices like metaphors used by the speaker in order to represent the perspective of the black. Power relation between the black and the white are analyzed at wider socioeconomic and political perspective that how white exert power on the black by analyzing the speech through CDA. Researcher has taken Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as theoretical framework of this project. CDA analyses the discourses critically and reveals the social practices like dominance, hegemony, exploitation victimization of the oppressed ones. Researcher has applied CDA as a theoretical framework of this research as it focuses the text which reveals social inequality, racial discrimination or other discursive practices by looking at the text from socio-cultural perspective. The researcher concluded that in this speech certain textual and stylistic devices have been used very frequently in order to achieve some specific purpose. It carries all those prerequisites which a speech must have to propagate the ideology in a sophisticated manner. It seems to be syntactically well-organized with frequent repetitions emphasizing the main theme which is inequality of socio-cultural rights and racial discrimination on the basis of color and creed. Luther king very impressively and successfully with the help of metaphors and other devices identifies the relationship between the powerful and oppressed. He very persuasively succeeds in achieving the strength and support of the powerless without creating any conflict with the powerful.

CDA analyses the discourses critically and reveals the social practices like dominance, hegemony, exploitation victimization of the oppressed ones in Muhammad Aslam Sipra's study but in my study the analysis was to reveals the resistance of power against the terror. But we both agreed that both speakers are very impressive and successful in their speeches in term of rhetoric.

Study four

2.4 Massoud Sharififar (2015) The study aims to analyze Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at UN. The aim of this paper was to survey the art of linguistic spin in Obama's and Rouhani's political speeches at UN in September 2013 based on Halliday's systematic functional linguistics. The analysis is mainly performed through the transitivity system and modality to represent how two presidents' language can incorporate both ideology and power in their political speeches. In other words, they can manifest their power, capabilities, and policies through language; furthermore, the political implications of these speeches can be perceived better by common people. Obama's and Rouhani's speeches are analyzed according to Halliday's systematic functional linguistics. Some features of two addressers are revealed as followed. First, Obama has applied a colloquial language, consisting of simple words and short sentences that are understandable to different people. But Rouhani has used more difficult words and his language is rather hard and formal. That is related to his first days of presidency. Second, regarding transitivity analysis, which is based on different processes, both addressers' speeches have included the material processes as a process of 'doing' and "happening" more than other processes. This is especially prevalent in Obama's inaugural speech. It can be realized that one of the notable functions of this process regards to president's activities and his government. Including what presidents have done and will do in future. Third, from modality metafunction, it can be understood that presidents' use of modal verbs shows their firm plan to fulfill the tasks and make their language easy as much as possible as well as shortening the distance between the president and the audience. Another role of modal verbs, especially the frequent use of 'will' and 'can' in presidents' inaugural speeches, can persuade the audience to have faith

in the government's ability about the difficulties that their country may confront in the future.

One of the prominent factors that signalize an addresser's speech is the use of personal pronouns. Obama and Rouhani give significant role to personal pronouns such as 'we' to make sense of intimacy with the audience as well as follow a common objective. The tense can be another factor that signalizes presidents' political speech. Because it refers to present, past and future events as well as activities that demonstrate government's objectives and at the same time display the world wide situations that extend from political, cultural, and economical field at present.

Massoud's study used the halliday's approach in analyzing the study but in my study I use the fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis.

In the role of modal verbs, especially the frequent use of 'will' and 'can' is used by both in Jacinda's and presidents Obama's speeches. "We can walk with you at every stage we can and we will surround you with Aloha" Obama and Rouhani give significant role to personal pronouns such as 'we' to make sense of intimacy with the audience as well as Jacinda do the same, "we are one they are us"

Summary:

In literature reviews the researcher shows some concepts and ideas about critical discourse analysis and war of terror and Islamophobia. In this survey the researcher found that there are some related studies which gave the general thoughts and ideas about discourse.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology of the study

3-0 Introduction

This chapter is about the methodology of the study; in conducting this research, the researcher follows several steps to process the data. The data analysis of this research is based on Jacinda's speech, Jacinda's attitude toward Muslims community in New Zealand in the aftermath of the mosque attack. The analysis will be based on Fairclough's approach in CDA. The analysis will be based on the research questions.

3.1 Sample of the Study

The sample of the study represents extracts taken exclusively From Jacinda's speech "let us be the nation we believes to be" the New Zealand Prime Minister. The sample of this study is selected specifically from many speeches made by Jacinda Ardern. The researcher used data from different sources such as recorded videos and scripted text to collect the data. The question two is based on recorded videos.

3.3 Methodology of the Study

The qualitative analysis is adopted to explain how Jacinda acted in the events. The researcher will analyze the sample of extracts to test the hypotheses and answer the research questions. What is the prime minister's position and attitude toward Muslim community after the events? The present study will adopt Fairclough's (1989-1995) method for analyzing the speech of New Zealand Prime Minister.

3.4 Analyzing the data

In this research, the researcher analyzes the data using Fairclough's (1989-1995) model for CDA of three inter-related dimensions of discourse.

These dimensions are as following:

1. The object of analysis (the text description) in the description stage, linguistic features such as choices in vocabulary, Expression of Ideology, Lexicon, text structure, adjectives, context and cohesion, intertextuality should be systematically analyzed.
2. The processes of which the object is produced and received (interpretation) in the interpretation stage, the relationship between the discourse and its production and its consumption should be interpreted. Attention should be drawn to factors such as speech act and intertextuality. These factors link the text to its context.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes. The social analysis (explanation) the linguistic choices will be explained in the light of wider social context in which the texts are produced.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis, Results and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis. In this chapter, the researcher discusses and analyses the data and this is done with aim of achieving intended objectives of the study. The present study takes Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's words concerning the issue of the Christchurch attack by terrorism in (15th March of 2019) as the starting point for analysis. She said:

4.1 Analysis of texts according to the questions of the study:

Question One:

The aim of this question is to see the prime minister's position and attitude toward Muslim community after the events. In the hypotheses of the study, the researcher said that Jacinda's attitude is positive. The analysis will show the response to this question whether it is positive or not.

“Let us gather with love, in peace, for this family, so that

They may truly live again, so that we all may truly live

again.” (Jacinda- 2019).

Inside of Jacinda's discourse the vocabulary items like Gather, Love, Peace, Family, Live, Live again, which is used by Jacinda are the most humanitarian sensitive and sympathetic words. Jacinda uses these words to show solidarity and her sympathy to Muslims. From that we can observe the positive position and attitude of Jacinda toward Muslim community. The following is an extract from Jacinda's speech.

*The messenger of Allah profit Mohamed peace
and blessings be upon him said of the believers
in their prayers, Mercy and compassion, such as
the body, if member complained to him that the rest
of the body would fall asleep with fever and fever.*

(Jacinda- 2019).

This prophetic saying (Hadith) is quoted by Jacinda to win the favour of the Muslim community that are in crisis, that is to say to she is ideologically in one boat with the Muslim which is a kind of solidarity with the Muslim citizens of New Zealand. Jacinda and all New Zealanders were compassionate with Muslims. Jacinda's attitude was so positive toward the Muslims when she said that we are one, and also the same was said by all New Zealanders. Muslims are the victims, but Jacinda gets involved with them and shares the pain with them. That shows the positive attitude of Jacinda toward Muslims.

*“What words adequately express the pain and suffering
of 50 men, women and children lost, and so many injured?
What words capture the anguish of our Muslim community
being the target of hatred and violence? What words
express the grief of a city that has already known so much pain?”
I thought there were none. And then I came here and was met*

with this simple greeting. As-salaam Alaikum. Peace be upon you. ”They were simple words, repeated by community leaders who witnessed *the loss of their friends and loved ones. Simple words, whispered by the injured from their hospital beds. Simple words, spoken by the bereaved and everyone I met who has been affected by this attack. They were words spoken by a community who, in the face of hate and violence, had every right to express anger but instead opened their doors for all of us to grieve with them. (Jacinda- 2019).*

The vocabulary items like pain, suffering, children lost, injured and grief plus the expression “what word express and what word capture” which uses by Jacinda shows that Jacinda was feeling so sad that she was thinking what words she will use to express in pain. These expressions shows Jacinda’s human core.

The pronoun ‘our’ which uses by Jacinda in my opinion is shows that Jacinda is counting herself as one of the Muslims. Jacinda was feeling so grief that there were no words even to express the pain. No words to express the suffering, no words to express the loss of children, men and women. For the pain and sadness was so deep. She never said Muslim community, but our Muslim community being the target of hatred and violence. She views herself as a part of the targeted community so as to show solidarity. This indicative of her choice of the pronoun “our”. She thought there will never be word until she met with a simple greeting, which is *As-salaam Alaikum. Peace be upon you.*

The use of the Arabic expression ‘As-salaam Alaikum’ according to my view to break any sort of barriers between her and Muslims to be looked at Jacinda as one of the Muslims. She use this expression to gain the favor of Muslims. To make Muslims feel as if she is a part of Muslims. And of course from my perspective or my view she won the favor of the Muslims including myself.

“But with that memory comes a responsibility.

A responsibility to be the place that we wish to be.

A place that is diverse, that is welcoming, That is kind and compassionate. Those values represent the very best of us.”(Jacinda- 2019).

Jacinda as a leader says that those who passed away leave us united and leave us memories; it’s our responsibility to keep that memory alive. And with these memories comes our responsibility. And that responsibility is to make a country of diverse. Country which welcome all kinds of people who are kind and compassion not like this terrorism. Because all that make not a good but the best of us.

“From the thousands at vigils to the 95 year old man who took

Four buses to attend a rally because he couldn’t sleep from the

sadness of seeing the hurt and suffering of others. Our challenge

now is to make the very best of us, a daily reality. Because we are

not immune to the viruses of hate, of fear, of other. We never

have been. But we can be the nation that discovers the cure.”

(Jacinda- 2019).

The expression which indicates that the terrorist is a viruses which Jacinda implies that the terrorist is not a human, or he will not be a part of the or a dignified member of community. Jacinda here has describes the terrorist metaphorically and then uses an expression of ideology in term of “viruses”.

Lexicon

Lexicon is a major and a well-known domain of ideological expression. For example, Jacinda says that “we are not immune to the viruses of hate” In this example, we find the general pattern of ideological control of discourse viz, a positive self-presentation of the in-group and a negative other presentation of the out-group. Empathizing of positive about inner group which is Muslims and New Zealanders, and negative about outer group which is the terrorist. Jacind’s tension is clear that her use of lexicon was in favour of the Muslims. This is shows the very strong solidarity of Jacinda towards Muslim community.

A pronoun “us” in the structure of the text also shows the solidarity of Jacinda. Jucinda uses the pronoun us in my opinion to include herself as one of the victim, to win the favour of the Muslim community. Sadness of Muslims, the suffering of Muslims make this old man feels so grief and shows sympathies and solidifying with Muslims. This challenge which New Zealand experiences, made New Zealand united only instead of breaking. That is why the terrorisms aim to provoke fear and panic is not accomplished. Because New Zealand people are wiser than the one who wanted to broke them. This horrific attack cannot shake their core values of humanity, because this is who New Zealanders are. Instate New Zealanders make a choice to be the nation that discover the cure to such kind of terror war. This beautiful people of New Zealand and their Prime Minister JacindaArderen line up the finest examples of humanity and unity. Whenever and wherever a terrorist strikes, the aim is to provoke fear and panic. In New Zealand, it has failed. It failed because New Zealanders

thoughts are not the terrorist's thoughts, and his extremist ways are not New Zealanders ways. And to be clear, in New Zealand hate speech is not tolerated. This horrific attack cannot shake those core values, because this is who New Zealanders are.

“And so to each of us as we go from here, we have work to do, but do not leave the job of combating hate to the government alone.

We each hold the power, in our words and in our actions, in our daily acts of kindness. Let that be the legacy of the 15th of March.

To be the nation we believe ourselves to be.”(Jacinda- 2019).

The pronouns such as us, we, our can be explained as following: Jacinda went on saying to her fine people we go from here, the pronouns like we have work to do is shows sympathy to Muslims. Jacinda said we to win the favour of the Muslim community as well. When she said we have work to do, that work is combating hate. This work let us do it together hand in hand, and do not leave this combating work against hate to the government alone. Jacinda said we each hold power, we the whole community Muslims are included. Jacinda come down from her high political position and became one of the public and said WE each hold the power in our words and in our actions, in our daily acts of kindness to Muslim community. Jacinda uses this expression “we each hold power” to win the favour of all community of New Zealand. This is very humble and rhetoric. The day of 15th march is now become our legacy, in which the power is become in hand of public and government, this is the highest kindness and solidarity. We let us be a nation we believe to be. And that nation which they believe is a nation which has the tolerance of religious and all kind of diversity live together in love of humanity and solidifying with the broken one as one body.

“One of the terrorism’s aims that he sought many things from his act of terror one was notoriety. And that is why you will never hear me mention his name. He is a terrorist. He is a criminal. He is an extremist. But he will, when I speak, be nameless. But for now, we will remember those who have left this place. We will remember the first responders who gave so much of themselves to save others.” (Jacinda- 2019).

The adjectives in the text which described the terrorist are shows the good position of Jacinda toward Muslims and her bad position toward the terrorist which shows clearly her solidarity to Muslims. Soldierly Jacinda confirmed that she will never say the name of the man who took the life of innocent people. One of the terrorist aims behind his killing was the popularity, so Jacinda said the when I speak he will remain nameless. Instate Jacinda said let us mention the name of who we loss, and remember them, those who scarifies themselves to save others from killing. A good and positive attitude of Jacinda when she said that the terrorist “sought many things from his act of terror but one was notoriety and that is why you will never hear me mention his name he is a terrorist he is a criminal he is an extremist but he will when I speak be nameless and to others I implore you speak the names of those who were lost rather than the name of the men who took them he may have sought notoriety but we a New Zealand will give him nothing not even his name.” Jacinda’s says that she will never say his name is solidifying system with Muslims.

“We will remember the tears of our nation, and the new resolve we have formed. And we remember that ours is a home that does not and cannot claim perfection. But we can strive to be true to the words embedded in our

national anthem.”(Jacinda- 2019).

Again the pronouns, by using *we* here Jacinda in my opinion makes the audience feel a part of what is going on, that she is one of the Muslims in humanity, we and ours to show the positive attitudes, the tears of 15th march to be remembered and every year in New Zealand people of the country to know that they come across such a dark day in the history of their nation. Jacinda use the word **tears** while everyone in New Zealand was in tears to confirm the deep sadness and grief, that day of 15th march become national memorial service.

Jacinda have no words to express until she met with “peace be upon you” from the one who lost their friend and loved ones. These simple words which mentioned by Jacinda, are words spoken by community who is in the face of hate and violence. For Jacinda’s surprise the Muslim community instead of expressing the anger and make revenge, they shared others their grief and welcome them in peace.

The above analysis answers to question one and the hypotheses one is revealed positively. Jacinda’s attitude is clear through she will never say the name of the terrorism, her deep grief and sadness, Jacinda wore hijab as solidarity and the done by New Zealanders, Jacinda visited Muslims to share their sadness, Jacinda attend the JUMA prayer with Muslims and hear the AZAN in Christchurch, Jacinda’s tears showed her positive position and attitude toward Muslims community. **Question two:**

The researcher willing to answer this question which is solidifying semiotic and cultural objects Jacinda’s speech draws on. Jacinda’s speech draws up many semiotic and cultural objects in term of solidarity. One of them was the body language which Jacinda used. Jacinda was wearing hijab when she was saying, As-salaam Alaikum to Christchurch Muslims. Wearing Hijab during her speech and even after the speech, showed solidarity semiotically to the Muslim

community. Beside Jacinda, the whole police department in New Zealand act semiotically in term of solidarity by warring HIJAB the same done by the most New Zealanders if not all. And also code switching to Arabic is semiotic picture to show solidarity. The second part of the question which is the cultural object is when she says: Jacinda use verbs as flows in her speech:

“And so we say to those who have lost the most, we may not have always had the words. We may have left flowers, performed the haka, sung songs or simply embraced. But even when we had no words, we still heard yours, and they have left us humbled and they have left us united”. (Jacinda- 2019).

The cultural objects here are the haka dance which is a part of New Zealanders cultural. The haka is honorable dance for big ceremonies and funerals. Haka is performed by New Zealanders as cultural perform to condonlized the Muslim community.

Also singing songs and putting flowers on streets as kind of cultural object to show respect and solidarity to Muslim community in form of culture.

Azan: azan is belong to Muslims culture, put the country allow Muslims to perform azan in TV stations and radio stations. The act beyond this is also way for sympathizing with the Muslims. New Zealanders walked in the streets distributed flowers to all Muslims across the city. These are all cultural objects to show condolence to the Muslims for loss of their friends and loved ones. Jacinda said though we do all this cultural stuffs, we do not have words, but we hear yours. You have words which left us united and humble.

By using where Jacinda makes the audience feel a part of what is going on, part of the reality she is really sad. Jacinda also does something else and that is she broke any kind of parries with the audience and I believe that by doing this so as not seen as a politician talking to Muslims, but as a Muslim talking to other Muslims, as human talking to a human. What this accomplishes, in my opinion

is that the audience will see Jacinda in a more positive light and feel that Jacinda is one of them.

Question three:

The aim of this question is to see to what extent Prime Minister Jacinda uses rhetorical speech? The following discussion and analysis shows the responses to this question.

Context and Cohesion

Jacinda uses Pronouns as follows to makes cohesive context:

“We may have left flowers, performed the haka, sung songs or simply embraced. But even when we had no words, we still heard yours, and they have left us humbled and they have left us united. Over the past two weeks we have heard the stories of those impacted by this terrorist attack. They were stories of bravery. They were stories of those who were born here, grew up here, or who had made New Zealand their home. Who had sought refuge, or sought a better life for themselves or their families. These stories, they now form part of our collective memories. They will remain with us forever. They are us” (Jacinda. 2019)

The expressions “we still heard yours”, “we are one” are stand out amongst the most sympathetic expressions. She uses these expressions as a powerful rhetorical device. By using “we” Jacinda Ardren is an inspiration not just to the world leaders but she is also an inspiration to all women. Jacinda is a true leader with a transparent and clean heart for all communities. May she become an example and a guide for all leaders around the world. I will say again you are an amazing leader who put humanity first than politics. You are so exceptional a leader when others play the card of political identity.

Intertextuality

Jacinda uses intertextuality as follows: The messenger of Allah, Prophet Mohamed, peace and blessings be upon him, said of the believers in their prayers, Mercy and compassion, such as the body, if a member complained to him that the rest of the body would fall asleep with fever and fever. (Jacinda, 2019).

This is HADEIS of Islam believers. She used to strengthen her speech in terms of solidarity. Throughout my note taking she also in those dark days she greets people by Islam greeting which is As-salaam Alaikum.

CHAPTER FIVE
MAINFINDINGS,CONCLUSION,RECOMMENDA
TIONSAND SUGGERTIONS FOR FURTHER
STUDY

Chapter Five

The main findings, Conclusion, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study based on the analysis and discussion of the data which carried out in chapter five. Beside provide some recommendation in light of these findings.

5.2 Main findings

The following offers the main findings:

1. The data analysis reveals that the prime minister's position and attitude towards Muslim community after the events was positive by employing linguistic features such as intertextuality, as choices in vocabulary and the expression of ideology.
2. Jacinda uses many semiotic and cultural objects in her speech that shows in term of solidarity to Muslim community Such as wearing Hijab, and use of prophetic saying as a good gesture of solidarity.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter summarized the result of the data analysis and discussion. It checked the hypotheses and came to conclusion that Jacinda's position and attitude toward Muslim community after the events was so positive that she solidifying to Muslim community in many cultural and semiotic ways. The data analysis revealed that the positive attitude of Prime Minister's by employing the linguistic features such as intertextuality and the expression of ideology.

5.4 Recommendations

The researcher recommends the following:

1. The attention of students of linguistics should be drawn to studies in political speeches in Sudan.
2. New and easier frameworks should be offered that to help in understand all aspects of critical discourse analysis.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

The researcher suggests the following:

1. To carry out similar studies on critical discourse analysis on other politicians speeches in the parts of the World.
2. To conduct further studies on the use of body language in political discourse.
3. Muslims should take Jacinda's speech as a good example of non Muslims solidarity.

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Appendix

Jacinda Ardern's Christchurch speech: let us be the nation we believe to be, 2019

“Let us gather with love, in peace, for this family, so that they may truly live again, so that we all may truly live again.” (Jacinda - 2019).

What words adequately express the pain and suffering of 50 men, women and children lost, and so many injured? What words capture the anguish of our Muslim community being the target of hatred and violence? What words express the grief of a city that has already known so much pain?

I thought there were none. And then I came here and was met with this simple greeting. As-salaam Alaikum. Peace be upon you.

They were simple words, repeated by community leaders who witnessed the loss of their friends and loved ones. Simple words, whispered by the injured from their hospital beds. Simple words, spoken by the bereaved and everyone I met who has been affected by this attack.

They were words spoken by a community who, in the face of hate and violence, had every right to express anger but instead opened their doors for all of us to grieve with them. And so we say to those who have lost the most, we may not have always had the words.

We may have left flowers, performed the haka, sung songs or simply embraced. But even when we had no words, we still heard yours, and they have left us humbled and they have left us united.

Over the past two weeks we have heard the stories of those impacted by this terrorist attack. They were stories of bravery. They were stories of those who

were born here, grew up here, or who had made New Zealand their home. Who had sought refuge, or sought a better life for themselves or their families. These stories, they now form part of our collective memories. They will remain with us forever. They are us.

But with that memory comes a responsibility. A responsibility to be the place that we wish to be. A place that is diverse, that is welcoming, that is kind and compassionate. Those values represent the very best of us.

But even the ugliest of viruses can exist in places they are not welcome. Racism exists, but it is not welcome here. An assault on the freedom of any one of us who practices their faith or religion, is not welcome here. Violence, and extremism in all its forms, is not welcome here. And over the last two weeks we have shown that, you have shown that, in your actions.

From the thousands at vigils to the 95 year old man who took four buses to attend a rally because he couldn't sleep from the sadness of seeing the hurt and suffering of others. Our challenge now is to make the very best of us, a daily reality.

Because we are not immune to the viruses of hate, of fear, of other. We never have been. But we can be the nation that discovers the cure.

And so to each of us as we go from here, we have work to do, but do not leave the job of combating hate to the government alone. We each hold the power, in our words and in our actions, in our daily acts of kindness. Let that be the legacy of the 15th of March. To be the nation we believe ourselves to be.

To the global community who have joined us today, who reached out to embrace New Zealand, and our Muslim community, to all of those who have gathered here today, we say thank you.

And we also ask that the condemnation of violence and terrorism turns now to a collective response. The world has been stuck in a vicious cycle of extremism breeding extremism and it must end.

We cannot confront these issues alone, none of us can. But the answer to them lies in a simple concept that is not bound by domestic borders, that isn't based on ethnicity, power base or even forms of governance. The answer lies in our humanity.

But for now, we will remember those who have left this place. We will remember the first responders who gave so much of themselves to save others.

We will remember the tears of our nation, and the new resolve we have formed.

And we remember that ours is a home that does not and cannot claim perfection. But we can strive to be true to the words embedded in our national anthem

Men of every creed and race, Gather here before They face,
Asking Thee to bless this place God defend our free land

From dissension, envy, hate and corruption, guard our state
Make our country good and great God defend New Zealand

We are oneAsalamualeykum