CASE STUDY OF VERBAL DEFENCE STRATEGIES OF LEADERS IN CRISIS:
Kumi Naidoo in an interview

Master's Thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tutkielma lähestyy johtajuutta kielen ja diskurssin näkökulmasta. Johtajuus ilmiönä on saanut kasvavasti huomioita viimeisen kahden vuosikymmenen aikana. Johtajuuskeskeinen tutkimus on kasvanut kolmentoistakertaiseksi samalla kun johtajuus ja johtajat ovat jatkuvasti näkyvillä mediassa ja populaarikulttuurissa. Yhteiskunta ja tutkimus antavat johtajuudelle tilaa nyt enemmän kuin aiemmin.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on osittain käsitellä tätä muutosta ja analysoida sitä kielen käytön näkökulmasta. Kielellistä näkökulmaa ei ole käytetty tutkimuksessa kovinkaan paljon. Tavoitteena on laajentaa ymmärrystä johtajuudesta, kielen roolista siinä ja sen yhteiskunnallisesta asemasta. Tarkemmin tutkielman fokukseksi valikoitui johtajuus kriisi- ja organisaatio kontekstissa ja sen synnyttämä tarve puolustaa edustettua kokonaisuutta tai johtoasemassa olevaa henkilöä itseään sen edustajana. Aineiston kohteeksi valikoitui Amnesty International ja organisaation pääsihteeri Kumi Naidoo haastattelussa, jossa nostetaan esille organisaation johtajuus- ja henkilöstön hyvinvointi ongelmat. Tutkielma kysyy minkälaisia verbaalisia puolustusstrategioita johtaja-asemassa olevat henkilöt käyttävät tällaisissa tilanteissa. Vastauksia tähän etsitään tutkielmassa sekä määrällisin, että laadullisin keinoin.

Määrällisen analyysin avulla aineistosta pystyttiin keräämään tietoa useimmiten esiintyvistä sanoista ja niiden konteksteista muun muassa kollokaatioiden kautta. Näitä kontekseja ja kollokaatioita tarkastelemalla tunnistettiin erialisia puolustusstrategioita:: tiettyjen sanojen ja rakenteiden suosiminen, tiettyjen sanojen ja rakenteiden välttely, ja harhautuskeinot. Laadullinen analyysi puolestaan keskittyi hetkiin, jossa tietynlaiset puheaktit tai muutokset keskustelun suunnassa tai tilassa ovat esillä. Käytetyimmiksi strategioiksi nousivat tarkoituksellinen taktiikka, kasvojen pelastamiseen pyrkivä retoriikka ja välttely. Laadulliset tulokset siis laajensivat ja vahvistivat jo saatuja määrällisisä tuloksia Naidoon käyttämistä verbaalisista puolustusstrategiosta.

Asiasanat – Keywords defensive discourse strategies, leadership, interview, corpus-assisted

Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX Digital Repository

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1 INTRODUCTION

Leadership as a theme is more central than ever. Thus, understanding it better is also a current issue. The growing research interest in leadership (Storey 2016: 3) and the increasing amount of activity around the topic of leadership have made it into a profitable business (Storey 2016: 7). In popular media, film, drama, academia, business and so on, leadership has become a key phenomenon, and this is also reflected in research (Storey 2016: 5). In just the 2000s and 2010s, the search results on academic research on leadership have multiplied 13 times (Storey 2016: 7).

This cultural shift in various fields of society towards interest in leaders and leadership is one that cannot and should not go unnoticed. The present study addresses this shift and seeks to analyse it from the point of view of linguistics - an angle that has not yet been taken by many researchers. Thus the aim is to add to the current understanding of leadership and the role language plays in it. The focus will be on verbal communication, and how language can be used as a powerful resource in interactional settings - especially by people in leadership positions. More precisely, this study asks how and what kind of verbal defence strategies leaders use when facing a crisis situation.

In this study, leadership is approached as a complex phenomenon, with a focus on its relational and contextual features (Yukl 2013: 23). This approach is heavily influenced by Raelin's L-A-P theory (2016), which identifies leadership as practice - as actions emerging from social and interactional contexts and processes. Another important approach influencing the present study is the shift from traditional leader-centred views to more holistic and collective views on leadership with a focus on the followers (McCleskey 2014: 126). However, personal traits and situationality, both important features of leader-centred research on leadership, are expected to stay in the centre of focus to some extent (ibid). The effects of traditional leadership research are present here as well, despite the effort to include modern approaches as well.

In this study, the linguistic approaches draw from different communication and discourse theories. Language is seen as more than just a means for communication, but also as a control device (Akinwotu 2014: 22). As mentioned, the focus will be on verbal language. To gain an

in-depth understanding of the data and to find answers to the research question in this study, both quantitative and qualitative approaches will be used. The quantitative analysis will be corpus-assisted, whereas the qualitative analysis will draw on the insights provided by the speech act theory and the conversational travel model.

Focus and research questions in this study are directed at pre-existing interview data. The interview introduces Kumi Naidoo in an interview with Felicity Barr, a news anchor working for Al Jazeera. At the time of the interview and at the beginning of this study Naidoo was the secretary general of Amnesty International. I chose Amnesty International and their secretary general due to a personal interest towards the organization and Naidoo, but also because of the rising leadership concerns within the organization that were emerging in 2019.

To frame the present study, Chapters 2 and 3 will discuss both the relevant research on and elements of leadership, discourse, and interviews. In Chapter 4, the organizational context of the study and the methodological framework, including descriptions and justifications for data collection and analysis, are explained in detail. At the end of Chapter 4, a brief ethics statement is given. Chapter 5 consists of a detailed data analysis with data examples and discussion, both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view. Answers to the research question as well as some conclusions from whether the discourses and strategies found, align with the introduced key features and approaches of leadership in the present study, are presented. Finally in Chapter 6, a summary of findings and possible implications of the study, as well as suggestions for future research and limitations of current study are presented.

2 LEADERSHIP

I will begin by stating what many others before me have said that there is still no universal definition of or consensus on leadership (see e.g. Hart & Uhr 2008: 1; Knox Clarke 2013: 59; Lawler 2016: 250; Alvesson & Spicer 2012 as cited in Ramsey 2016: 205; Yukl 2013: 18). If one asks what the features, the variables or approaches of and to leadership are, one should also be prepared for a variety of different answers from many different fields. This is because the bulk of leadership research is often very much multidisciplinary, ranging from education to business, and from gender studies to social sciences. Questions on the nature and impact of leadership need to be asked, but we must also accept the fact that finding coherent answers to these that would be adaptable to all leadership situations is unfortunately not possible.

Leadership has been studied a great deal from the qualitative perspective, and many studies have used one-on-one interviews to collect data about leadership (see e.g. Hermann & Pagé 2016). Leadership language has been investigated to some extent as well (see e.g. Baxter 2012). However, another view has been suggested, arguing that there is in fact a dominance of *quantitative* empirical research on leadership, and that it has in fact been the cause hindering the growth of qualitative leadership research (Barnabas & Paul 2012: 133). During my background research I encountered both these views. At the same time, what seemed to me as a more dominant view was the simultaneous use of both qualitative and quantitative methods by researchers in their studies. Most of the research discussed here, including the present study, represent this duality.

A widely acknowledged and agreed upon key element of leadership is to see it as a contextual phenomenon (Hart & Uhr 2008: 13; Bass 2008 as cited in McCleskey 2014: 118; Storey 2016: 23-24:). Simultaneously, it is also seen as ambiguous (Yukl 2013: 18) - meaning that the definition given to leadership will always depend on time, place, people and culture. This kind of ambiguity is, in fact, partly behind the struggle to find a consensus when it comes to defining leadership. For example, the purposes of the studies in question, their field, the actual phenomenon investigated, and the individual perspectives of the researchers have always some effect on how leadership is presented (Yukl 2013: 18). Therefore, in this study it is important to acknowledge that the given definition of leadership might not be directly applicable to

situations outside the context of this study. Before moving forward it is also worth noting that the dominant concepts and understandings of leadership are highly influenced by Anglo-Saxon and American values - despite the fact that leadership has been studied elsewhere and from the point of view of other cultures (Storey 2016: 24; Knox Clarke 2013: 22-24). The effects of this centralisation of views of leadership into one culture and region are no doubt present here as well, as these are very prominent in most of the research done on leadership.

In the meantime, the best course of action is to try and make sense of the large amount of existing research on leadership and use it to guide new research that has the potential to draw us closer to understanding leadership. This is, in fact, what I am attempting here as well. In addition to introducing relevant previous research, I will introduce critical concepts and terms when describing leadership in the context of this study, as well as further describe the relevancy of the present study from the point of view of leadership. This section will include four main chapters introducing the two main shifts in leadership and leadership research, the key features in leadership, the key five approaches to leadership in the context of this study, and leadership in organizational contexts.

2.1 Shifts in leadership research

It has been argued that scientific research on leadership took its first steps in the beginning of the 20th century (McCleskey 2014: 117; Yukl 2013: 18). However, it took a long time for it to gain momentum. This eventually happened during the late 1980s (Storey 2016: preface). As Conger (1996: 146) points out, this was a time when research on leadership took on an empirical focus, instead of a theoretical one, and when a shift from management to leadership began to take place as well. This shift has led to further explorations, both in volume and in variety, into what leadership can be. (ibid.)

Why this shift started to take place is, besides as a result of the general change of focus in leadership studies (from theoretical to empirical), has to do with how the functions and goals of management were too confined for the re-merging idea of leadership (Northouse 2013, cited in Datta 2015: 62). Management is important in providing “order and consistency” and an

environment of working in parallel, whereas leadership creates change and movement and an environment of working together (ibid.; Knox Clarke 2013: 7).

It is important to distinguish leadership and management, as these are often confused with one another and are even used interchangeably. The truth is that leadership and management are best used as distinct terms that describe different things - as is the case in this present study focusing on leadership. Table 1, adapted from Storey (2016: 11), depicts the main differences between management (managers) and leadership (leaders).

Table 1: Differences between managers and leaders.

Managers	**Leaders**
Transactional	*Transformational*
Operating and maintaining current systems	*Challenging and changing systems*
Accepting given objectives and meanings	*New visions and new meanings*
Controlling and monitoring	*Inspiring*
Trading on exchanging relationships	*Transcending*
Short-term focus	*Long-term focus*
Focus on detail and procedure	*Focus on strategic big picture*

In Table 1, the difference between managers and managing, and leaders and leading becomes clear. As Storey (2016) points out, managers are often those who operate or maintain current systems, have short-term focus and a transactional (focus on profit) way of managing. Leaders on the other hand are often challenging or changing the systems around them, instead of adapting to them, have long-term focus and a transformational (inspirational approach) way of leading. The differences between transformational and transactional leadership are explained in more detail in Chapter 2.2.

Ever since the scientific research on leadership began, the focus has been heavily on leadership effectiveness from the point of view of individual traits, abilities and behaviours (Yukl 2013: 18). This individualistic approach is still very prominent in leadership research, regardless of the more specific field or focus (Storey 2016: 3; Knox Clarke 2013: 26; Lawler 2016 in Storey:

252). It has been given many names, such as the *exceptional individual* (Knox Clarke 2013: 13), the *leader-centred* approach (Hart & Uhr 2008), the *individual-centric* (Tate 2016), and the *leader-celebratory* approach (Hosking 2011, as cited in Ramsey 2016: 198). In the present study, this approach will be introduced and discussed as the leader-centred approach. This approach, however, does have a few major methodological and conceptual limitations that have to some extent triggered the need for new approaches. These limitations include, for example, the difficulty of interpretation as well as a lack of consideration on context and a strong theory clarifying how the traits are actually related to leadership effectiveness (Yukl 2013: 163).

The shift is one from an individualistic to a more collective and holistic one in which it is acknowledged that leadership in fact exists outside of an individual as a social process (Ablan-Metcalfe & Alban-Metcalfe 2016: 264) - rather than because of an individual. In addition to the need for new approaches discussed above, due to the lack of other approaches, this shift was largely the consequence of globalisation and the changing social environment (Fischbacher-Smith 2016: 267), towards a more fluid one, accompanying the rise of new social movements and "boundary-less entities" (Hart & Uhr 2008: 2). In the present study, this approach will be introduced in Chapter 2.3.3 in which it will be discussed along with the relational (collective, distributed or shared) leadership approaches.

Following this second shift in leadership research, the Leadership-as-Practice (hereafter, L-A-P) movement emerged as well. The foundation of the L-A-P movement is in the understanding that leadership is a practise which is not dependent on a single individual, but in fact, a consequence of collective action (Raelin 2016: 4). In L-A-P research, the interest is in "interdependent" or "co-constituting" leadership and its changing patterns (Gergen & Hersted 2016: 178). The approach relied on in the present study has adopted multiple features from this approach, introduced in more detail in Chapter 2.3.1.

2.2 Key features of leadership

For decades, it was believed that certain characteristics are the most important ones in making a good leader, and thus they became the centre of study as well. This belief emerged and was reinforced by individualistic (or leader-centred, see Chapter 2.3.5) approaches to leadership.

These included, for example, the leader's personality traits, cognitive abilities, childhood experiences, birth order, inner motivation, personal value systems, mental stability, rhetorical skills, and so on. (Hart & Uhr 2008: 10.)

More recently, however, due to the increasing focus on leadership as contextual, researchers have begun to acknowledge that the dominant aspects, elements, and conceptions of leadership are in fact always a reflection of their context - and the strategic priorities, recommendations and values within it (Salaman 2016: 57). Thus, in the following introduction to some of the prevailing and recurring features (or styles as they are defined in McCleskey 2014: 118) of leadership from the point of view of the present study, it is essential to keep in mind this contextuality and how it can shape the answers to what makes a leader, only depending on the context and on the chosen approach to leadership. Different approaches and their implications are described in more detail in the following chapter after this.

Research has shown that no one leadership style has the capacity to be universally effective (McCleskey 2014: 118), thus for further analysis I have chosen five different leadership styles. Firstly, toxic leadership will expand our understanding on the possible negative aspects of leadership, whereas the following four are very much linked to each other. Secondly, transformational and transactional leadership can be seen as the two styles that have shaped recent leadership research the most. Thirdly, charismatic and authentic leadership, both developed from the transformational leadership theory, have received an increasing amount of attention and interest, while criticism towards transformational and transactional leadership is growing. I will explain and discuss the aforementioned features from the point of view of relevant leadership research.

As the present study looks at leadership in a crisis setting, understanding some of the possible underlying negative leadership elements is also important, even if the relationship or correlation between negative leadership aspects and crisis is not "clear-cut" (Fischbacher-Smith 2016: 85). The negative aspects of leadership are often, especially recently, referred to as toxic leadership. Fischbacher-Smith (2016: 84) divides toxic elements into the following: lack of integrity, lack of empathy, hubris, nepotism, scapegoating, arrogance, charisma, controlling, undermining, social exclusion, abusive, threatening, machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism. Toxic

leadership can also be defined as unethical or uneffective (HarvardCPL 2008). Toxic elements seeping into a leader's behaviour can eventually develop into a toxic environment (Fischbacher-Smith 2016: 83).

Transactional leadership is often seen as a type of (beneficial or profitable) exchange between leaders and their followers, and it is often paired and compared with transformational leadership (McCleskey x: 122, 124). Transactional and transformational leadership are most often seen as separate from each other, as was introduced by Bass and Avolio (as cited in Ciulla 2016), but sometimes also as "two ends of a spectrum", as defined by Burns (as cited in Conger 199: 151). Despite an increasing amount of doubt towards transactional leadership (Storey 2016: 18), due to ignorance of the contextuality of leadership as well as individual differences between leaders, many studies have also found that transactional leadership can in fact be a major contributor to effectiveness (ibid.)

Transformational leadership then is often paired with or used interchangeably with charismatic leadership (Conger 199: 151; Storey 2016: 32). More recently, however, charisma is mostly seen as the dominant concept of transformational leadership, not so much as just another word to describe it (Salaman 2016: 56). Another distinction between transformational and charismatic leadership is argued to be that in addition to specific attributes of personality and behaviour, transformational leadership also means a specific approach to leading with focus on aspiring others with the help of committed followers (Storey 2016: 32). The specific attributes associated with transformational leadership are then the following: focus on individual behaviour and differences (McCleskey 2014: 124), overwhelming certainty and self-confidence (Salaman 2016: 56), a wish to transform the existing order and address their followers' needs, as well as to motivate and inspire their followers to perform in a successful manner (Conger 199: 149-151). A major criticism towards transformational leadership, in turn, comes from its neglect of the linguistic aspect or "resources" of leadership, as is with most socio-psychological research on leadership (Wodak et al. 2011: 593). This has caused an increase in concern over the lack of attention to the contextuality and individuality of leadership, which, as we learnt above, is happening with transactional leadership to some extent as well.

In the current study, the terms transformational and charismatic leadership are introduced separately to some extent. As was established above, charisma is one of the main components of transformational leadership. Charisma is often linked with high self-confidence, tendency to dominate, and a need to influence others (Conger 199: 154). More recently, charisma has also been paired with unconventional behaviour, non-traditional strategies, and self-sacrifice (ibid). The outcomes of charismatic leadership are similar to transformational leadership, with the addition that it is also able to affect the followers' self-conceptions (Conger 199: 155).

Finally, authenticity conveys the importance of acting according to your own beliefs, preferences and emotions (Harter 2002 as cited in Datta 2015: 63). This notion also carries an assumption that one must truly know oneself first and exercise self-awareness in order for authenticity to come through. Recently, there has been a growing interest in authentic leadership as one of the most essential dimensions of leadership *(*Storey 2016: 18). Within the field of leadership, authenticity is associated with a specific type of leader behaviour; presenting authenticity to not just yourself but to others as well, promoting positivity and self-development and understanding how the personal meaning making process works (Walumbwa et al. 2008 as cited in Datta 2015: 63). The key elements of authentic leadership include, for example; self-awareness, self-regulative behaviour, and positive self-development (Ciulla 2016: 47). At its best, authentic leadership can result in better decision making processes, behaviour and overall effectiveness (Datta 2015: 64). Authentic leadership was in fact further developed from Bass and Avolio's work on authentic transformational leadership (as cited in Ciulla 2016: 46). This is also why there are notable similarities with all the three aforementioned features of leadership, i.e. charismatic, transformational and transactional.

2.3 Approaches to leadership

To define leadership in more detail, taking into consideration the context of this study, I have chosen the following four analytical approaches to leadership for further discussion, as categorized in Hart and Uhr (2008: 10-14): these are the contextual, relational, performative, and leader-centred approaches. These have emerged from very different academic fields, but they are all similarly focused on public leadership, and thus useful in describing leadership as a phenomenon related to the public sector context of this study. In addition, another essential

approach to leadership, the L-A-P approach introduced briefly in the previous chapter is also presented in more detail in this section. Let us start with L-A-P due to its importance to leadership research during the 2010s and relevance to the current study and then continue backwards in the evolution of different theories and approaches.

Below is a figure representing the evolution and development of various approaches to leadership, as adapted from Storey (2016: 20) and Yukl (2013: 28-29). The approaches displayed against a blue background are highlighted thanks to their relevance to the current study.

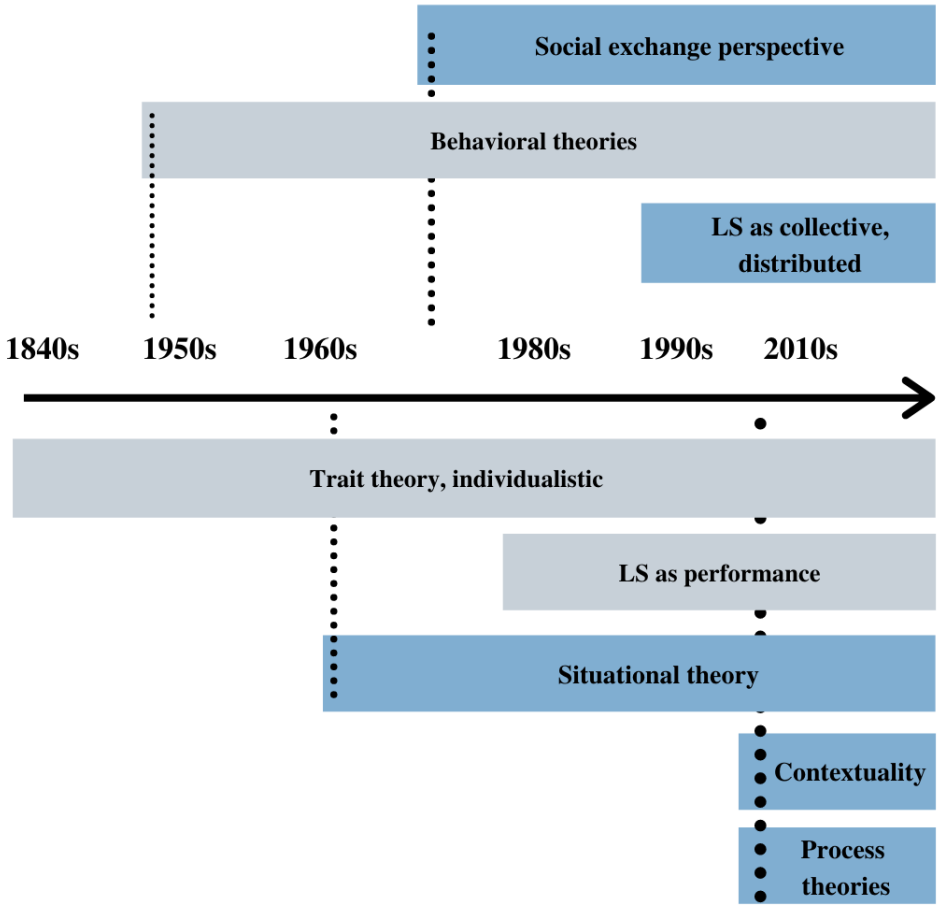

Figure 1. Evolution of leadership theories from the 1840s to the present day.

Figure 1 clarifies the evolution and co-existence of different theories of and approaches to leadership over the years. From the figure it is clear that all approaches are still present, even the earliest ones, such as the trait theory, behavioural theory and leadership as situational. Of

the eight approaches introduced in Figure 1, only two emerged during the 2010s: the contextual approach and leadership as a process theory. These act as focal points in the present study as well. In fact, of the five approaches that will be presented in more detail later in this chapter, only one has its roots before the 1960s: this is the trait theory or leadership as individualistic (leader-centred) approach.

It seems that despite the differences between these approaches, they do not always cancel each other out. In fact, a sharp and disconnected dichotomy view has been criticized (Yukl 2013: 34), meaning that a collective approach to leadership, combining two or more approaches is often preferred.

2.3.1 Leadership-as-Practice

The L-A-P theory has its origins within the emerging process theories of the 2010s (see Figure 1**).** As we already learned in Chapter 2.1, L-A-P is a reasonably new movement and very different from the traditional view on leadership as something constituted by individual traits and behaviours. On the contrary, the L-A-P movement considers leadership as different types of actions or processes (Datta 2015: 62; Raelin 2016: 1), or as a "set of activities and interactions" (Hart & Uhr 2008: 3) that people in power, as well as other types of positions, engage in. The unit for looking at leadership would thus be actions and processes within oneself and with others. In addition, within these actions and processes we can also recognise smaller units of interactional and social moments (Ramsey 2016: 2014).

Considering the difficulties with defining leadership, L-A-P has to some extent succeeded in bringing the different definitions closer and bridging that gap by highlighting leadership as a process of influence for achieving a collective task or goal - a similar collective sentiment is included in many definitions of leadership, despite other major differences and debates (Yukl 2013: 36).

2.3.2 Leadership as contextual

This approach is frequently referred to as the situational approach, emerging already during the 1960s. However, the idea of contextual leadership in its current form developed closer to the 2010s (see Figure 1). In this study, I will use the term *contextual* when referring to situational leadership (as defined by Hart & Uhr 2008).

Context within leadership can mean many things. Leadership and the importance of context, for example, show in how cultural differences, sector differences, organizational structural differences and other contextual variables are all worth looking at - and have indeed been researched extensively and increasingly in leadership studies (Storey 2016: 23). Previously, the role of context and situational factors were not in focus, and there were only a few studies on them (Conger 199: 164). One major influencing factor behind the increase in the interest in contextuality has been in some ways the move towards a more *qualitative* research on leadership, instead on *quantitative* research. The prevalence of quantitative studies has been argued to have interfered with finding, analyzing and understanding contextual variables and differences. This is because quantitative studies have had a different focus and it has been unable to look at context (ibid.).

The difference between relational and contextual approaches to leadership may at first glance seem unclear. The difference between them is that the relational approach focuses on the importance of relationships (between leader and followers) and their interaction, whereas the contextual approach highlights the relation of leadership to all factors it comes in to contact with, i.e. not just people but also cultures, societies, surrounding environment, timing, and so on. These can be referred to as temporal and situational factors (Hart & Uhr 2008: 13). It is at these "critical junctures" (ibid.) where leadership is most often needed, seen and heard so these are then important to look more closely at as well.

2.3.3 Leadership as relational

As explained above, the relational approach has some similarities with the contextual approach. Most often, however, they are distinguished as their own approaches. The relational approach is often referred to as shared (Knox Clarke 2013), distributed (Uhr 2008), or collective (Tate 2016) in nature. Here, the term relational is used (Hart & Uhr 2008). The value of the relational

approach is in the increasing understanding that studying leadership as a social process, rather than as a role from an individualistic point of view is much more useful (Yukl 2013: 19). Furthermore, as this approach takes into consideration conversations and language, relevant to the current study, I will elaborate on this approach a bit more than all the others described in this section.

The relational view that Hart and Uhr (2008) adopt emphasizes the so-called nexus or bond between leaders and their followers. With this view, it points out the negotiated nature of leadership: that leadership and leaders are very much influenced by agreements and disagreements within and between followers. Hart and Uhr argue that this view is especially important when looking at leadership in the public or civic sphere, which is indeed the context of the current study as well. (2018: 11.) The relational approach is another approach challenging the traditional leader-centred view, with its focus on the collectiveness of leadership and the relationship between leaders and their followers (ibid.). This supports the understanding of leadership as a set of processes and interactions, mentioned in Chapter 2.3.1. In addition, the relational approach aims to expand on what leadership is and provide a more holistic and collective view on leadership.

Moving further with the negotiated nature of leadership, the relational approach is also very much linked to communication, conversations and interaction (Raelin 2016: 19). The interaction and importance of relationships is highlighted by many researchers in addition to Hart and Uhr (see e.g. Tate 2016; Raelin 2016; Ramsey 2016). Tate (2016: 209) even goes as far as to argue that leadership has "meaning only in relationships". It has also been argued that only individuals who effectively use language to mediate their ideas and feelings, will be granted authority to lead (Hart & Uhr 2008: 11) - giving a great deal of value and importance to the role language plays in leadership.

Thus, I want to emphasise the relational approach and communication. In research this connection is often established by defining and analysing relational practises. For example, Ramsey defines relational practises as talk (i.e. conversations), but also as a voice, gestures, actions, and a tone of voice (2016: 201). Relational practises will be at the centre of focus to some extent in the current study as well. Relational, i.e. social and conversational aspects of

leadership, can also be linked with the speech act theory and the conversational travel model introduced in the following chapter on discourse.

In organizational contexts, distributed, shared and collective leadership are used more when looking at leadership (see e.g. Alban-Metcalfe & Alimo-Metcalfe 2016; Knox Clarke 2013; Lawler 2016). These include the central elements of the relational approach, but they also highlight the structural aspects of leadership in specific contexts, and how it is used and distributed - if at all. Largely due to social and technological changes, complex organizational structures are increasing in number and this has generated a growing interest in the distribution of leadership as well (Alban-Metcalfe & Alimo-Metcalfe 2016: 270; Knox Clarke 2013: 46; Lawler 2016: 252), especially during the last 20 years or so (Ramsey 2016: 198; see Figure 1). Distributed or shared leadership is important to understand considering the organizational context (Amnesty International) of the present study and thus will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4.

2.3.4 Leadership as performative

The performative approach is built on the understanding of leaders as "performers" with an "audience", whom they oftentimes "manage through their mouths" (Hart & Uhr 2008: 13). As we already saw in Figure 1, the origin of the idea of leadership as performance or performative emerged in the 1980s. Hart and Uhr (ibid.) continue by emphasising the importance of rhetoric for constructing leadership. Rhetoric is in fact one of the many tools leaders have and can use to execute their power. Thus leaders' performative capacity, especially in terms of rhetoric and language, is central.

In this approach, language and speech are understood as "doing things", for example, talk invites responses and contributes to the direction of the conversation (Ramsey 2016: 202). The performative approach then, like the relational approach, relates to the speech act theory that will be introduced in Chapter 3.1.

2.3.5 Leadership as leader-centred

Finally, the leader-centred approach studies leadership from the point of view of the individual. Thus, as is pointed out by Hart and Uhr (2008: 10), the focus is on individual characteristics, traits, behaviour, perceptions and even history. This is the approach with the strongest theory and research on traits, skills and behaviour as contributing to leaders' effectiveness (Yukl 2013: 34-35). A large number of leadership research and literature has in fact emerged from this approach, applying some of its elements (Hart & Uhr 2008: 10). The origins of the leader-centred approach go back as far as the 1840s (see Figure 1), making it one of the earliest approaches to leadership (Yukl 2013: 28), so it is no surprise that its effect on existing research and literature is so extensive. Some features of the leader-centred approach are present in the current study as well. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The leader-centred approach sees leadership as emerging from individuals who are naturally, or who are trained to be exceptional leaders (Knox Clarke 2013: 16-17). From this point of view, some features of great leaders have been highlighted in previous leader-centred research. These are, for example, tireless energy, intuition, foresight and persuasiveness (Yukl 2013: 28). More recently focus has moved from leader traits to leader values relevant for successful leadership (ibid.).

2.4 Leadership in organizations

In this section, some specific approaches to leadership in an organizational context as well as some recurring features of leaders in that context are briefly presented. This is important for two reasons: considering the context of the present study and because contextual changes affect leadership, especially in the public sector (Lawler 2016: 253).

In an extensive literature review on leadership in organizations, in addition to acknowledging that both structure and skills are essential for effective organizational leadership (2013: 37), Knox Clarke introduces three main approaches to organizational leadership. These approaches are the *exceptional-individual, structured,* and *shared leadership*. The emphasis in his discussion is heavily on humanitarian NGO contexts, rather than development NGO contexts. The difference with these is that, whereas humanitarian NGOs have a short-term focus and work mainly to relieve crisis or disaster situations, development NGOs focus on the underlying

problems, have a long-term focus, and are in close contact with citizens and government entities (Hermann & Pagé 2016: 128).

First, *the exceptional individual* relates to the leader-centred approach introduced earlier in Chapter 2.3. The exceptional individual is a term defined by Knox Clarke to study and explain the leader-centred approach in specific public leadership contexts. The major benefits of this approach for organizations is quick decision making and quick responses to situations as power is being centred. However, there are major challenges as well; if there are not enough "exceptional individuals", cultural and contextual differences might affect the effectiveness, and adaptation to high-tension, highly complex environments and situations can be poor. (Knox Clarke 2013: 19-20.)

Second, *the structured approach* transfers responsibilities from the individual leader to specific structures, procedures and systems within the organization. Structured leadership within an organization often includes a clear chain of command, defined roles and responsibilities, as well as a certain level of delegated responsibility. These kinds of structured approaches to leadership occur in many contexts and again highlight leadership as a collective process, rather than as an individual one. Substantial benefits follow from the diminishing of leadership burden, allowing for more focus on other areas that might need more attention by the leader. (Knox Clarke 2013: 28-29) However, its hierarchical nature and its inability to adapt to complex situations are considerable challenges with this approach (Knox Clarke 2013: 32).

Third, *the shared* or *distributed leadership approach*, similarly to the exceptional leader and leader-centred approaches, can be linked with the previously introduced relational approach. Shared leadership here again refers to, as discussed above, the approach in a specific context which Knox Clarke (2013) has chosen to focus on. Distributed leadership is the term used for shared leadership by Hart and Uhr (2008).

Shared leadership is often visible in the way leadership is shared across an organization, if it is shared at all. Shared leadership moves away from concentrated leadership and can mean that the responsibilities of one individual are shared among many, despite formal roles or positions in hierarchy (Alban-Metcalfe & Alimo-Metcalfe 2016: 265). Often shared leadership is used to

empower people within the organization, provide autonomy, increase employees' commitment as well as organizational success (Alban-Metcalfe & Alimo-Metcalfe 2016: 274). As with any model or approach, there exist some challenges as well. The main challenges with the shared approach are slow decision-making and poor quality compromises (Knox Clarke 2013: 53-55).

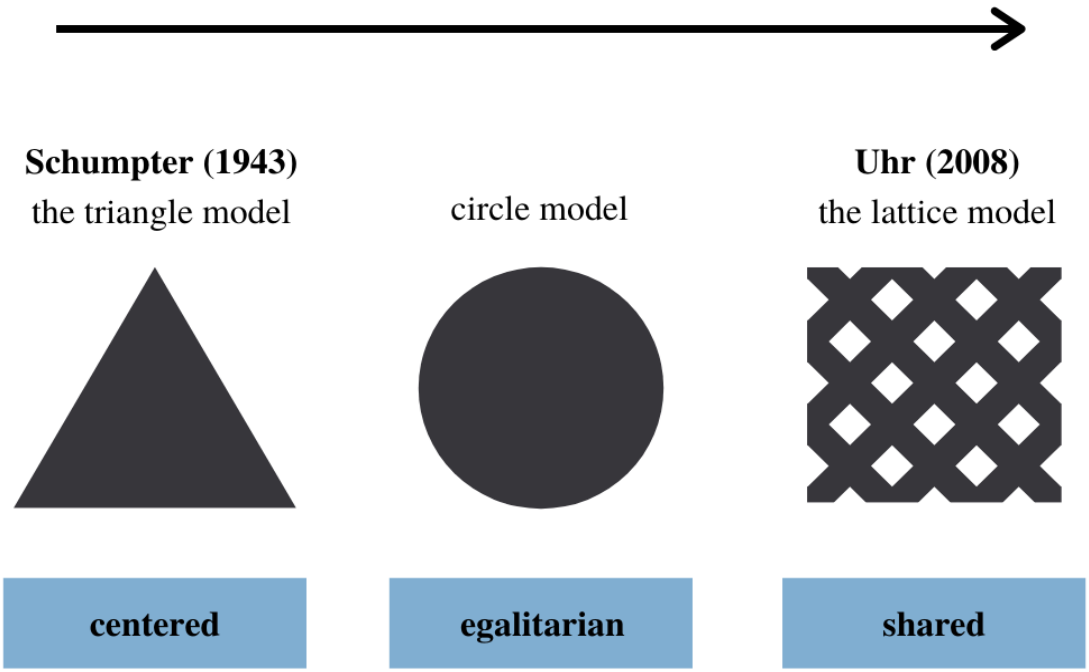

Figure 2. Different models of public leadership introduced in Uhr (2008: 38-39).

A very good example of shared leadership is the lattice model suggested by Uhr (2008). The lattice, or "grid" model suggests that open and democratic leadership, leading to organizational success, is accomplished by distributing leadership to as many potential leaders within the organization as possible (Uhr 2008: 42). This model is thought to be especially good for organizational leadership (Pennock 1979 as cited in Uhr 2008: 43). The lattice model has grown to be more and more recognized in the wake of more complex organizational structures. The older triangle and circle models that we see next to the lattice model in Figure 2, do not provide the same benefits of accountability, strength and flexibility as the lattice model, despite having the possibility of adapting to modern organizational structures (Uhr 2008: 38).

The approaches by Knox Clarke introduced above are based on how leadership is constructed and used within the context of humanitarian operations. As a contrast, Storey (2016) uses a

context rather than a function dependent categorization of leadership into three types: private, industrial and public leadership (Storey 2016: 25). Public leadership is the most relevant considering the present study, so let us examine that a little closer.

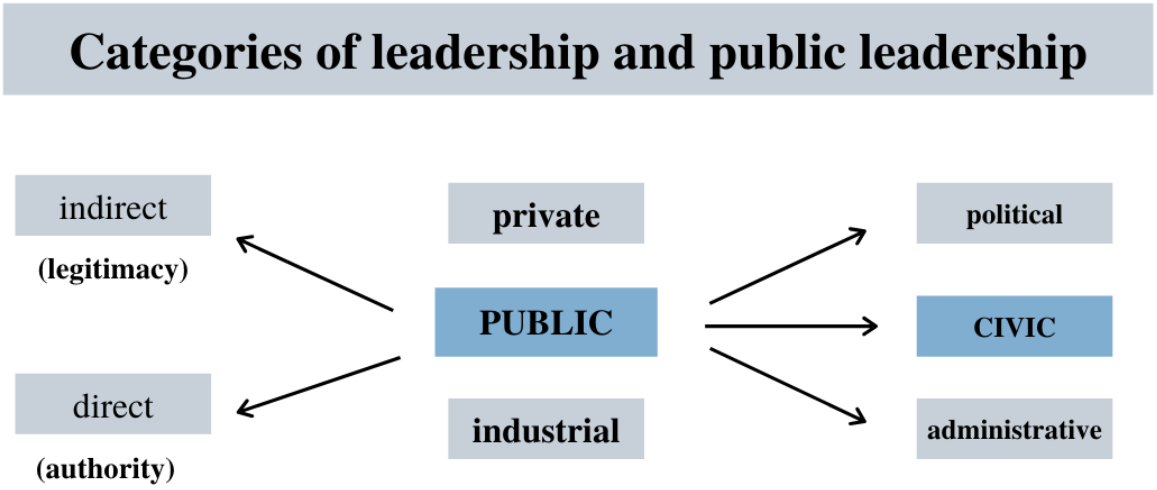

Figure 3. Categories of leadership and public leadership. (Hart & Uhr 2008; Storey 2016; Uhr 2008; Yukl 2013).

Hart and Uhr (2008: 3) divide public leadership into three; political, administrative, and civic. The definition of public leadership in the current study is derived mostly from Hart and Uhr (2008), however, that does not neglect the context dependency theory introduced before. Political leadership centres around political leaders and the issues they face, for example, political accountability, crisis management, problem-definition, institutional agendas, and influencing national and social identities (Uhr 2008: 3-5). Administrative leadership focuses on administrators and is sometimes referred to as servant leadership, as their main task is to serve the government, the public and the democratic process (Uhr 2008: 5-6). Lastly, civic leadership focuses on leaders outside the governmental system. Civic leadership aims to, for example, attract the public attention to government actions, use media for their messages, advocate for marginalized or vulnerable groups, and create public governance opportunities (Uhr 2008: 8-9).

Furthermore, public leadership can be divided into two dimensions of direct and indirect leadership. Healthy democratic environment and leadership requires both indirect and direct

leadership (Barber 1989 as cited in Uhr 2008: 43). *Direct* leadership aims to influence followers with messages during interaction or via social media (Yukl 2013: 21). The main goal is to establish authority (Uhr 2008: 43) by, for example, using compelling visions and leading by example. Indirect leadership, in contrast, aims to influence the people who are not directly interacting with the leader. (Yukl 2013: 21.) With indirect leadership the main goal is to establish legitimacy (Uhr 2008: 43), for example, by changing the organization structure and by implementing reward systems and management programs (Yukl 2013: 21).

Leadership is not the only thing affected by context. Individual leaders' behaviour and their dominant features are affected as well, as Hermann and Pagé (2016) revealed in their study through interview content analysis, where they compared dominant leadership styles in humanitarian and development NGOs. The dominant features with development NGO leaders are, according to them *lower interest in control,* i.e. willingness to empower others, collaborate, and share responsibility (2016: 130-31); *lower need for power,* i.e. practising distributed leadership (2016: 31); *lower sensitivity to contextual information;* and *higher focus on problem-solving* (2016: 132*).* In addition to these, Hart and Uhr recognized the importance of features such as the capacity to respond, capacity to maintain well-being and positivity, and capacity to find balance in public sector leaders (2008: 74, 79).

In this chapter an overview on leadership as a concept and on leadership research was given. This chapter gives information on the history and development of leadership and its research, with focus on different relevant approaches to leadership as well as leadership in organizational contexts. Considering the context of the present study and the data (Naidoo as an organizational leader), understanding leadership as well as the organizational context is important.

3 RELEVANT THEORIES AND DISCOURSES

As Hart and Uhr (2008: 11) suggest, only those "effectively mediating ideas and feelings […] are granted authority to lead" making it therefore essential that a view on language and its use - as one tool of mediating ideas and feelings - is given as well. The aim in this chapter is to provide a description of previous relevant studies approaching language and interaction - and

especially from the point of view of language as a defence tool, to better understand the background and purpose of the present study.

This chapter includes three parts: an introduction to the speech act theory and the conversational travel model as relevant for the present study, an introduction to interviews and typical interview discourse, and an overview of discursive strategies, with a particular focus on defensive discourse and its functions. In addition to speech act theory and conversational travel model, the present study uses corpus-assisted theories to look at the data. Corpus linguistics and corpus-assisted methods are briefly introduced in Chapter 4.4.

3.1 Relevant communication theories

The two most relevant communication theories for the present study are speech act theory and the conversational model theory. I chose to examine and use both the speech act theory and the conversational travel model due to their similarity in terms of their approach to language as collective (as e.g. shared, similar to leadership as relational in Chapter 2.3.3) and speech as doing things, but also due to their differences in direction. The speech act theory allows an exploration into what is being said and how - with a special focus on the intention behind words, whereas the conversational travel model can deepen this analysis by considering the shifts in trajectories and modes of conversation, and what their meanings are.

3.1.1 Speech act theory

Speech act theory has been one of the most dominant theories in the field of pragmatics (Neuliep 1996: 259). Speech act theory demonstrates the human action and rules approaches to communication and is often the focus, at least to some extent, in conversation analysis research (Neuliep 1996: 260). John Searle is considered one the main theorists of speech act theory, and his studies suggest that conversation is in fact "created within a collective or shared intentionality" (Ramsey 2016: 203). The same sentiment is addressed by Neuliep, who argues that to understand language, understanding the intention behind language users speech is fundamental (1996: 46**)**. This intentionality, the goal of producing a specific effect or reaction with specific words, i.e. illocution (see below), will be the main focus in the current study as

well. From the three types of speech acts, I believe this one will allow us to look at moments of possible defensiveness in the conversation.

Speech act theory sees language as involving a specific set or rules (Saussure as cited in Neuliep 1996: 259) and a specific set of utterances, without which it can be argued that conversation does not exist - because "talking is performing acts according to rules" (Searle 1979: 22). Utterances are speech acts and thus refer to any part of conversation (speech) that has some kind of meaning, despite it being grammatically correct or not (ibid). Utterances are often distinguished into three: locution (the words used), illocution (the intent of the words used) and perlocution (the effect of the words used) (Austin 1962 as cited in Ramsey 2016: 202). The focus here will be on illocutionary acts, as explained above. There are a few different classifications of illocutionary utterances in the speech act theory. The one introduced here was developed by John Searle (1979).

Searle (1979) divides illocutionary acts and utterances into five different types, with very different functions. With illocutionary acts and utterances, the speaker's main intention is to "produce a certain effect" (Searle 1979: 45) by simultaneously making the hearer recognize the intent, and then furthermore create the desired outcome, often a specific answer or reaction to what is being said, i.e. the intent of the speaker. The five illocutionary types then, are *commissives*, acts that commit the speaker to a future action (e.g. a promise); *directives*, acts with the intention of influencing the hearer to do a specific action (e.g. a request); *assertives*, acts indicating the speakers beliefs (e.g. a speculation); *expressives*, acts expressing attitude or feelings (e.g. a compliment); and *declarations*, acts that simultaneously perform an action (e.g. 'I apologize') (Neuliep 1996: 260). It is important to note that an utterance can depict more than one illocutionary type at a time, meaning the intention behind an utterance can be, for example, both assertive and declarative (indicating a belief and also performing an action). In addition, there are specific elements that indicate illocutionary acts in the English language: word order, stress, intonation, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and performative verbs (see e.g. declarations) (Searle 1979: 30).

Within the field of linguistics, speech act theory can be used in various ways. Often speech act theory is used within pragmatics and conversational analysis. With speech act theory, language

can be studied from the point of view of the three different utterance types, locution, illocution and perlocution, either simultaneously or one at a time. Another approach is to analyse the linguistic data from the rule point of view. Speech act theory is a useful analytical tool whenever we are looking at real moments of human actions and conversation, due to its emphasis on communication as collective and always meaningful.

For the purposes of this study, speech act theory is used in the qualitative analysis as an identification tool, when investigating what is being said and what is the intent behind, especially in further determining which utterances have a defensive intention or illocution.

3.1.2 The conversational travel model

The conversational travel model "makes sense" within the performative understanding that speech does things (Ramsey 2016: 202). The speech act theory introduced above, can be included in this as well. In fact, the conversational travel model is very much influenced by the speech act theory.

The conversational travel model expands on the understanding of leadership as practice or a process and looks at the "moment-by-moment" (Ramsey 2016: 216) construction of leadership in interactive conversations. This is one of the few theories bridging the gap between language and leadership and offering a needed tool for analysing them as simultaneous phenomena. As suggested by Ramsey, a deeper analysis into conversations is important especially due to the relational nature of conversation, and to the theory that this relationality is in fact the creator of organizational phenomena, such as leadership (2016: 198), which is also highly relational (see Chapter 2.3.3). Thus, conversations are seen at the heart of what creates leadership. The potential "moments of leadership" then, as Ramsey addresses them (2016: 204), are to be found in conversational situations where the trajectory or mode of the conversation changes.

Ramsey names the following trajectories in her research: topic lines, going towards agreement, going towards disagreement or conflict, and going towards performing, for example, winning, losing, concluding, and leading (2016: 204). Within each trajectory, we can also name various sub-trajectories depending on the context and tone of the conversation, for example, within the

performing trajectory there can also be the so-called “contest” conversation, where each participant keeps countering the other’s remarks (Ramsey 2016: 209). Trajectories describe where the conversation is moving or travelling to.

In addition to different trajectories, it is possible to analyse shifts in the mode of the conversation, meaning the tone or mood of the conversation. Ramsey briefly introduces three possible modes often present in conversations: inquiry (e.g. a question), argument (e.g. being verbally challenging or convincing) and affirmation (e.g. accepting, agreeing or confirming something) (Ramsey 2016: 204). As with the trajectories, one can expand on the modes in the same way. Thus they can be for example challenging, questioning, positive, negative or explanatory, again based on the tone and context (ibid.).

Ramsey leans on three specific shifts in her conversational travel analysis, to “facilitate explorations into conversations” (2016: 202). These shifts emphasise talk as: *invitational*, something that invites reactions and responses, in addition to being meaningful; *sequential* and *ontological*, as inherently linked to the nature, relations and existence of beings; and talk as *supplementing* with “blocking” or “accepting” the “offers”, i.e. the parts of speech that directly invite a response in conversation (Ramsey 2016: 202-203). This final notion of language as supplementing with different types of offers, blocks and acceptances is important as they can be used to identify the exact moments where conversational turns are happening (Ramsey 2016: 207). Furthermore, looking at these shifts with the help of the conversational travel model can often help researchers find significant moments in discourse that other analytic methods miss (Ramsey 2016: 214). In addition, this method contributes to discursive methods as well as enables the exploration of leadership from a relational point of view (ibid).

In the present study, I will be drawing mostly on the first and third shifts mentioned above, i.e. talk as invitational and supplementing, as they have the potential to deepen my analysis on different defensive strategies and moments identified using speech act theory. Thus, the conversational travel model will be used to further analyse these specific moments of social interplay where intention (illocution) is present, especially in the form of defensive discourse. Despite the fact that the model considers both illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (Ramsey 2016: 216), sometimes focusing more on perlocution meaning the effect of the words used

(2016: 206), our focus will remain on the illocution, the intention or meaning behind what is being said and how.

3.2 Interview discourse

This chapter will briefly introduce broadcast interviews as a genre, as well as the type of discourse typically encountered with broadcast or media interviews. This is justified because the data under investigation in this study are interviews.

Interviews are a very specific type of mediatized interaction (Thornborrow 2001: 86) consisting, predominantly, of questions and answers (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 95). Secondly, interview types, genres, roles and discourses are all influenced by the context they emerge in. Different genres include, for example, these two broader definitions: media and broadcast interviews, as well as more narrowly focused genres such as political, news, sports, and celebrity interviews (Koskela 2011; Clayman & Heritage 2002).

Broadcast interviews are thus a specific type of (media) interview, generally very limited in time and with a distinct third party, i.e. audience presence and orientation towards it (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 17). In addition, the turn-taking system, the question-answer format, use of formulations, the roles, rights and responsibilities as well as the status of interviewee (often a professional or a public figure) can be very specific (Thornborrow 2001: 86-87). The essence of a broadcast interview is thus often fundamentally constrained (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 97). The effects of the third party presence, the roles and responsibilities, and some specific elements of discourse, such as the turn-taking system are explained later.

To understand the data of the current study, it is important to understand the typical interactional patterns in interviews. The different types of discourse that are present in conversation, depend on the situation and context. The context here is a published broadcast interview. Therefore, we can argue that the discourse here is public and institutional, as is generally with interviews happening or published and distributed in a public forum (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 13). In addition, interview contexts and discourses are often interpersonal or dyadic, highlighting that the conversation is happening between two people (Neuliep 1996: 51).

Another important and speech defining characteristics of interviews is the question-answer format on which the interview situation is more often than not built. This format is a very specific, routine-like turn-taking system that is used in many interview types (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 95-96) and something that either creates opportunities and resources for interview participants or limits them (ibid), relating to the rights and responsibilities of interview participants and the following asymmetry, as discussed above. The definitions and specifications here are applied from Clayman and Heritage (2002) where focus is on a specific type of interview, the news interview.

Firstly, a very strict question-answer format does not allow for even small acts diverging from the format rules, such as small vocal responsive or acknowledging acts e.g. “oh”, “yes”, really”, and so on (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 98) or partial repeats (ibid.: 120) - especially from the point of view of the interviewee, whose speech turn normally begins at the end of a question, and not during or after any other statement or turn (ibid.: 106). This is a considerable difference between interview conversation and normal conversation where these kinds of small acknowledgements and backchannel words are very common. Another one is that the taken turns can also be very considerable in size without much or any acknowledgement or interruption from the other (Clayman & Heritage 2002 : 125).

Secondly, it is important to acknowledge that the question-answer format rules affect the linguistic choices of both the interviewer and the interviewee (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 106), especially when turns are allocated in advance (Thornborrow 2011: 87), which is often the case. For the interviewer (the questioner) questions can often be either *simple*, i.e. questions with a single question unit or *complex*, i.e. questions with a question unit preceded by additional statements, often providing background information. Questions are often constructed based on predetermined grammatical structures (Thornborrow 2011: 119), and despite being simple or complex, questions are generally expected to be short.

For the interviewee (the answerer), on the other hand, their answers are expected to be lengthy, not following any specific grammatical structures. They are defined into the following types: *circuitous*, evasive answers “going around” the question; *minimal with elaboration*, answers

with minimal first response and an elaborative following statement; *anaphoric*, answers that refer back to something; *resisting*, directly or indirectly resisting to answer to a question; *refusing*, a type of answer often due to lack of knowledge or inappropriateness, violation of the turn-taking rules; and *reformulating*, answers that reform the proposed question. (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 242-245.)

And as Clayman and Heritage (2002) remind us, it is important to note that the perceived intent in the answer by the interviewer (questioner) is not necessarily in line with the actual intent meant by the interviewer (answerer). This can be applied to questions and their perceived and deliberate meanings as well. Furthermore, the mentioned differences between questions and answers' design can lead to conflictual turn transitions between interviewer and interviewee (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 119). In the analysis section of the present study, we will see how these question and answer designs are actualized.

The simultaneous or subsequent presence and involvement of the audience, the "silent third party", affects the orientation, the turn-taking in the interview, and distinguishes broadcast and other types of media interviews from normal conversation and speech (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 17). With this silent third party, the main goal of question-answer sequences or turn-taking is to in fact produce information for the audience, rather than to the direct participants in the interview; the interviewer and the interviewee (Heritage 1985, as cited in Koskela 2011: 20). This audience orientation as well as the institutional setting often result in setting-specific functions (Koskela 2011: 20). To achieve the goal of producing information to the audience for example, both the interviewer and the interviewee orient to situation-specific roles (interviewer = questioner, interviewee = responder) (ibid). With turn-taking, as one of the most notable features of conversation, this orientation can be seen, for example, in the form of abnormally long speech turns compared to normal conversation (Heritage 1985, as cited in Koskela 2011: 20).

These mentioned situation-specific roles can also be referred to as institutional roles. Often these roles consist of specific rights and responsibilities, for example, the right and responsibility to specific turn types or specific actions (Koskela 2011: 31). In a strict interviewer as questioner and interviewee as answerer role setting, the interviewer's right to

give answers, for example, is limited, and the same applies for the interviewee's right to ask questions or control the topic. These kinds of right giving and limiting roles are frequent in interview settings and despite being able to create effective interaction, they can also lead to asymmetries between the people in conversation (ibid; Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 15).

3.3 Defensive discourse

Discursive strategies can be seen as deriving from the previously briefly introduced communication theories. In order to maintain my focus, and to provide information on the most fundamental concepts from the point of view of the current study, I will exclude non-verbal strategies and focus on verbal defensive discourse strategies. This is needed to increase our understanding of defensive discourse as one of the focal points of the study. The different strategies presented below are prominent and recurring verbal strategies in relevant research (Akinwotu 2014; Clayman & Heritage 2002; Lapaire 2018; Ramsey 2016). After presenting these strategies, some implications as to why they might be used as defensive strategies in conversation are given as well.

Defensive discourse is a specific style of discourse, often present in moments and situations after or during some level of crisis or conflict. This type of discourse has been researched quite extensively, especially in these said moments of crisis (see e.g. Akinwotu 2014; Lapaire 2018). This is only natural, considering that these are often the moments where challenging questions are put forward as well so the need to use defensive strategies increases.

The studies by Lapaire (2018) and Akinwotu (2014) both focus on discourse strategies with similar data to the present study, i.e. some type of media interview. More precisely, Lapaire studied the defence strategies of Mark Zuckerberg in a published media interview after Facebook's data-breach crisis. However, the approach is different from the present study, with its focus on cognitive linguistics and gesture studies (non-verbal language). The strategies described in Table 2 below, include only the *verbal* strategies mentioned in previous research. Akinwotu's research (2014) approached its data (media interviews, also after a crisis situation) from a broader perspective, looking at discourse strategies in general. The findings from Ramsey (2016) and Clayman and Heritage (2002) on the other hand are derived from literature

reviews; Ramsey acknowledged the strategies of positive and negative blocking from conversation studies using the conversational travel model, whereas Clayman and Heritage made their discoveries whilst examining journalists and public figures on the air.

Table 2. Different defensive discourse strategies.

Lapaire (2018: 90-95)	● Face-saving rhetoric ● Avoidance strategy / absence of specification ● Refraining from specific words (e.g. negative adjectives)
Akinwotu (2014: 24-28)	● Opinionation ● Choosing specific words or structures (e.g. conditional clauses, emphasis on negative or positive structures or words) ● Combat rhetoric ● Condemnatory rhetoric ● Manipulative persuasion ● Protesting ● Evasion or diversionary tactics ● Being overly formal or informal
Ramsey (2016: 203-204)	● Positive blocking ● Negative blocking
Clayman & Heritage (2002: 238, 245)	● Evasiveness ● Circuitous language

These strategies introduced in Table 2 above, are often used as defensive ones. The main goal is to often save face by defending an individual, a situation, an entity, an idea, a community, or self. Intentions behind these strategies that can create a sense of successful defence tactic are, for example, convincing the public, constructing and deconstructing, i.e. framing identities and stances, portraying the other or self in a specific way to gain sympathy, achieving oneness or solidarity with the public, shifting blame, diverting from a topic, or manipulating interpretation (Akinwotu 2014: 23-28; Lapaire 2018: 90). From these previous findings, it is possible to conclude that the main features of defensive discourse include persuasion, protesting, face-saving, evasion, and deliberate actions.

Persuasion strategies are seen as gaining compliance by sending influencing verbal or non-verbal messages to the other (Neuliep 1996: 50). From Table 2, manipulative persuasion, opinionation, opting for specific words and styles of rhetoric can be put under this category of persuasion. Opinionation refers simply to moments in conversation where the opinion of the speaker, or of the entity being represented is clearly presented, for example, in the form of specific word choices or structures that communicate that opinion (Akinwotu 2014: 24). Some defensive strategies are often seen as unethical due to how and with what kind of intent they are used. This is true, for example, for persuasion strategies, as well as protest strategies introduced below (ibid.)

Evasion or *evasiveness strategies* is another large group of different defence strategies. In conversation, evasion (avoidance) can emerge in various different ways, such as: absence of specification, diversion, and circuitous (roundabout, a level of vagueness) language. The strategy of blocking, either positive or negative, introduced by Ramsey (2016) can also be seen as a form of evasiveness. The act of blocking is essentially an act in the conversation that refuses to cooperate with the initial offer (the previous utterance or speech turn) and in some way shifts the focus (Ramsey 2016: 203). Evasiveness is partly explained by speech accommodation theory which suggests that participants in conversation are always either adjusting towards or adjusting away from their conversational partners, depending on the context of course (Neuliep 1996: 47). In a situation where someone is adjusting away from their conversational partner then, evasiveness strategies are very much present.

Many of the strategies introduced above have more than one function, meaning that depending on their use and context they can be placed almost within any of the five groups presented here. One way of dividing the rest of the strategies could be the following: *face-saving rhetoric* as in refraining, choosing specific words and structures, positive blocking; *deliberate strategies* as in choosing to be formal or informal, refraining, words and structure choices (e.g. “we” instead of “I”, negative structures instead of positive structures and so on); and *protesting* as in using protest, combat or condemnatory rhetoric. In addition, protesting can include efforts to create solidarity, use blackmail or threats with the goal of constructing or deconstructing the other’s identity or portraying self to gain sympathy (Akinwotu 2014: 24).

From the abovementioned strategies, some have been shown to occur especially in specific contexts, such as media interviews. These include, for example, avoiding direct answers, being tactically informal or presenting facts, using blackmail and threats (criticism towards something), using allegations and accusations, using specialized terms, or being strongly compliant (Akinwotu 2014: 26-27; Lapaire 2018: 93).

In this chapter the most relevant theories in terms of communication and discourse were presented. These include speech act theory, the conversational travel model, interview discourse as well as defensive discourse. In the context of the present study these are important to understand. More detailed justifications for these directions in focus are given in Chapter 4.

4 THE PRESENT STUDY

The research framework of this study is influenced by pragmatics, social constructionism, and discourse analysis. Furthermore, the aim is to approach the research question from both a quantitative and qualitative point of view. The rationale behind these is that the quantitative methods will support the qualitative analysis which in turn will hopefully reveal more moments where defensive discourse strategies are used. The specific methods and their relations are further discussed in Chapter 4.4. The development of and choices within the current study were heavily shaped by insights provided by previous research.

Firstly, pragmatics studies "the actual use of language in communication" (Neuliep 1996: 259). One of the most dominant theories in the field of pragmatics is speech act theory, introduced in Chapter 3. Secondly, from sociolinguistics it is important to look at social constructionism. Social constructionism is a name for research exploring how social realities and meanings are created - with the presupposition that there is in fact a collective (social) construction process behind everything. From this point of view language can be seen as a system constructing reality via language use, speech and texts, and language itself as something that is manufactured and used by people (Tiililä 2009).

Moreover, looking at language via discourse and discourse analysis, comes from the understanding that language and the different ways of using language have a social impact on beliefs and behaviour for example. Social constructionism has also encouraged the study of different discourse and text styles and how channels and tools in language use affect as well. (ibid). Thirdly, discourse and discourse analysis are important frameworks considering the model of conversational travel and "leadership as moments within social relationship", most often revealed by specific moments in conversation (Ramsey 2016: 204). Thus, discourse analysis allows explorations into the meaning-making processes of language. With this we can look at, for example, wordings and the different discourse styles that are used (Ramsey 2016: 202).

Next I will further explain and elaborate on the organizational context of the study, the aims and research questions, the data and its collection, the methods for analysis, and briefly on the ethics of the present study. The limitations of study are presented in Chapter 6.

4.1 Amnesty International, Kumi Naidoo and the KonTerra report

The specific case investigated is Kumi Naidoo, Amnesty International's secretary general at the time of this research, in an interview being confronted about the findings of a report on staff wellbeing and leadership issues within the organization. I chose to focus on Amnesty International due to personal experiences working in the organization and general interest towards leadership within the organization. In the beginning of this research the KonTerra report was gaining more attention. It was interesting how the report was discussed with a very strong negative tone by the media and in a rather calming tone by the organization itself. I came across an interview where the report was discussed with the organization's then standing secretary general and set out to investigate it in more detail from the point of view of defence strategies.

Amnesty International (hereafter, Amnesty or AI) is a development, non-profit organization, sometimes also called a non-governmental organization (hereafter, NGO). Development NGOs focus on underlying problems and work with local and national citizens and entities to accomplish their goals of solving these problems (Hermann & Pagé 2016: 128). Amnesty International is the biggest human rights movement in the world with approximately 2,600 staff members, seven million supporters, and a strong civic presence (e.g. local offices) in more than 70 countries. ("Amnesty International appoints Kumi Naidoo", 2017). The organization was founded as early as 1961, making it also the third longest standing NGO among all human rights organizations (Amnesty International, n.d.d). Most often NGOs, or this is the conception for most people at least, are funded by states and governments (Eliasoph 2013: 136). However, it is important to note that all organizations do not work the same way - or get funded in the same way.

AI is a good example of an NGO with specific, individual supporters based funding as it is not funded by - and does not accept funds from - governments or political parties (Amnesty

International, n.d.c). Instead it is relying on the funding from individual monthly supporters and other members. This adds up to 90 percent of the resources that Amnesty uses. The other 10 percent originates mostly from foundations and trusts meeting high ethical standards. AI has also highlighted their transparency with these decisions and their resources by making information on these available on their website. If a foundation or another entity wants to make a donation, there is always a third party verification, a written agreement and very often the condition that the entity placing the donation cannot establish any conditions on it, for example where, when or how it should be used. (Al Jazeera English 2019.)

The interview in focus in my study by Al Jazeera English was published on the 31st of March in 2019. In the interview we see Naidoo as the standing secretary general for Amnesty International. Naidoo was appointed in late 2017 ("Amnesty International appoints Kumi Naidoo", 2017) and officially welcomed to the role in August of 2018 in the Global Assembly meeting in Warsaw. However, Naidoo was forced to resign in December of 2019 due to a medical situation ("Amnesty International Secretary General Kumi Naidoo", 2019). Naidoo is the first South-African secretary general AI has had ("Bigger, bolder and more inclusive", 2018). Naidoo has been an activist for human rights since the age of 15, at a time when apartheid, a system of segregation was growing in South Africa (Amnesty International, n.d.a). Before accepting his new role in Amnesty International, he was an active supporter of the organization. With him, Naidoo brought on a passion towards not just human rights but also towards taking a stand against climate change. In fact, earlier during the 2010s Naidoo was acting as the executive director at Greenpeace International (ibid.)

The governance structure in AI can be divided into two: the national network of sections and the International Secretariat. Within these, the main groups or decision-making bodies are the Global Assembly, the Secretary General, the International Board, and local sections. For example, Amnesty International Finland is the local section here, with decision-making power on local issues. However, local sections are always working along with the international movement guidelines agreed upon in the Global Assembly. The secretary general is the operational leader of the organization, whereas the annual Global Assembly is the highest decision-making entity. (Amnesty International, n.d.b). Based on the triangle, circle and lattice models on shared leadership introduced in Chapter 2.4., I would argue that the leadership in Amnesty International is shared to some extent but due to its size and complex structure, there

is value in centering it as well. The model falls somewhere between the lattice and circle (egalitarian) models. Shared leadership, in any form, in a complex organizational setting will allow for a needed variety of views and perspectives, as well as the ability to initiate consensus which are especially important in a development-focused NGO setting (Hermann & Pagé 2016: 128). Even more so when the organization is as diverse, both culturally, administratively and structurally, as AI (Hopgood 2013: 9).

In January of 2019, issues related to leadership, management, and wellbeing within the organization were brought up when the KonTerra Group, and Amnesty International alongside it, published a staff wellbeing report ("Independent reviews", 2019). The KonTerra Group is an outside organization specializing in the health and effectiveness of organizations and their people (KonTerra wellbeing report 2019: 10). This report is one of the total three external reports that were issued to be executed after two suicides by Amnesty International employees in 2018 ("Independent reviews", 2019).

The findings of the report do not directly represent the situation or atmosphere in regional sections and offices as the focus was on the International Secretariat staff (KonTerra wellbeing report 2019: 10). However, it will provide us with insight on some occurring problems and concerns with leadership and management in AI's International Secretariat level and in this way set the scene for the chosen data and its analysis. For example, the findings revealed a number of cases where misuse of power, discriminating or even bullying were present. And perhaps most importantly that poor leadership, for example, in the form of inadequate communication, was recognized as one of the main background factors to these negative findings (KonTerra wellbeing report 2019: 16-18).

4.2 Aims and research questions

Guided by previous research and the relevant discourse and leadership theories and the need to introduce more research findings into language and leadership, the present research question was narrowed down to the following:

1. *What are the verbal defence strategies Naidoo uses in the interview?*

With this question the aim is to find out what is being said, how things are said and what is their defensive purpose. To answer the research question, both qualitative and quantitative tools will be used. The focus will be on, for example, what is said about the organization in a situation where it is being criticized, and how is Naidoo as the organization's leader positioning himself. Furthermore, what are the verbal strategies Naidoo uses to defend himself and the organization.

After gaining more knowledge about the context of the wellbeing and leadership issues within Amnesty International introduced in the previous section, as well as getting familiar with the research data (interview), I chose to direct the focus on just verbal defence strategies instead of a more general look at discourse and leadership language or leadership construction. This shift seemed important because defence strategies are most often used to, for example, convince the public, construct and deconstruct identities, gain sympathy or solidary, manipulate interpretation and to shift blame (Akinwotu 2014; Lapaire 2018). I believe these are powerful tools in language and communication and thus worth looking into.

4.3 Data collection and introduction

The collected data are pre-existing and "natural" data, meaning that it exists even without the purpose of the current research (Laitinen 2010: 59). The fact that the data used are natural and produced by someone else, creates a certain level of distance between the research object and the researcher. Despite some challenges (e.g. greater risk of misunderstandings), the distance also allows for a more objective examination (Laitinen 2010: 60).

For the data, one specific interview was chosen due to its topic, time of release, ease of access (publicly accessible via Youtube), as well as due to its length. The 25 minute interview, "Can Amnesty International fix its toxic work culture" shows Kumi Naidoo, the outgoing secretary general of Amnesty International in conversation with Felicity Barr, a news anchor for Al Jazeera English. The main topic in the interview is the KonTerra report (introduced in Chapter 4.1). The conversation does deviate to other topics such as affiliations with other organizations as well as some critique on the organization's funding. The interview was released in late March of 2019, a couple of months later after the release of the KonTerra report.

Al Jazeera English is one of the regional channels of Al Jazeera, or Al Jazeera Media Network, an independent and global news organization. Al Jazeera is argued to be one of the most influential news networks on account of delivering news from some of the most unreported regions in the world. (Al Jazeera, n.d.). From the image below the physical setting of the interview becomes clear; the participants are facing each other, legs crossed and there is nothing physical separating or creating distance between them - except perhaps the stack of papers. The lighting in the room is rather dark and the closed curtains are creating an isolated and intimate atmosphere.

Image 1. Screenshot of the interview setting.

In the image above, we see Al Jazeera's news anchor Felicity Barr (left-hand side) interviewing Kumi Naidoo (on the right-hand side), the then standing secretary general of Amnesty International. (Al Jazeera English 2019.)**.** The interview starts at the 1:44 minute mark and lasts for 23 minutes. I transcribed the interview and in the transcribed text the conversation equates to a total of 4200 words. Considering the transcription process, the different analytic point of views, the analysis process itself, and the amount of background checking and research required, this seemed like a good amount of data.

As an interview type the data comes closest to a political broadcast interview, despite the focus not being on a political figure per se. However, the interview seems to be closest to a political interview in its style, rather than a celebrity or sports interview. (Koskela 2011.) As Koskela points out, political figures are often required to present their views and answers in a certain manner so as to overcome the, often challenging, questions posed by the interview (2011: 43). From the analysis we will see that these kinds of challenging (interviewer) and defending (interviewee) practises are very prominent in the present interview. The interview could also be described as a "professional news interview" (Thornborrow 2001: 87) as the interviewee (Naidoo) is a professional and a representative of an institutional organization and the interviewer (Barr) is a professional journalist.

The uncertainty reduction theory is important here as the interviewer and interviewee are, supposedly, meeting for the first time. According to this theory, there is a high need for reducing levels of uncertainty in communication. Often the need for this is especially prominent in the early stages of a relationship. (Neuliep 1996: 53.) Another important concept to keep in mind is the one of a silent audience, introduced and explained in Chapter 3.2. The silent party is present here as well and acts as the third party. Even though at the time of filming there is no apparent public or audience, audience participation and the third party involvement is still expected to happen after the publication of the interview and this can influence the conversation.

Before moving on to the analytic framework of this study, it is important to briefly look at the questions and their setting in the interview data. Despite the focus being on Naidoo and his answers as the organizational leader, it is agreed that different questions and question designs guide the interview in different ways and have different levels of restriction to answers. For example, yes or no questions (e.g. 'Do you agree?') are restricting the answer more than, for example, wh-questions (e.g. 'What do you think?'). A question that presents an assumption or an opinion is also very different from a more neutral question setting. (Koskela 2011: 20-21.)

In the present interview, the questions are very straightforward. For example, the first question goes directly into detail about the KonTerra report and asks "Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history?". The questions are challenging and in some cases quite provocative, as is often the case with political interviews. There is almost an expectation, in political or even politically inclined interviews, that the interviewer should ask challenging questions. As we

learned in Chapter 3.2, questions can also be defined as either simple or complex. In the present interview, most questions are complex, meaning that in addition to asking a question (question unit), they also include background information on the question topic (additional information unit) that sets the agenda for that specific moment in the interview (Koskela 2011: 21).

It is also clear that there is a specific positioning and assignment of roles happening very early on in the interview. For the most part, the interview follows the traditional rules of the question-answer format introduced in Chapter 3, where turns are exchanged systematically, and where questions come from the interviewer and answers from the interviewee. One distinct characteristics of this format and the institutional roles of the participants is, for example, the way in which each participant is waiting for their turn to either ask a question or give an answer, and how there is a lack of reacting from the interviewer at the end of an answer. Instead of acknowledging or reacting to the answer, as one would do in a normal conversation setting, the interviewer moves directly to the next question. There are a few small and brief acts of diverging from the question-answer format where the interviewer interrupts the interviewer or vice versa. Despite following the rules of an institutional conversation as well as the specific conversation format, this is to be expected whenever there are two or more people engaging in any conversation.

4.4 Methods of analysis

In this chapter I will briefly introduce the methods for analysis, including the method for transcribing, and the specific quantitative as well as qualitative analytical tools. With the qualitative and quantitative methods, my main goal is to find moments in the conversation where defensive strategies are used. These strategies were introduced in Chapter 3.3.

At first, the video and audio data, i.e. the spoken context was transcribed into a typed text format. The process of transcribing also helped me as a researcher to get familiar with the data and provided a needed cleaner version of the data, which is especially important when investigating what is being said (Gibbs 2012; Graham R Gibbs 2012a). The transcription will show most of the conversational features, such as abbreviations, verbal tics, pauses, and repetitions. The goal with providing a more detailed transcription, rather than a simplified one,

is to keep the indications of the participants' feelings, expressiveness, and details of their language use intact. However, as with any method there are some limitations as well. Gibbs (2012) recognizes a few of these, such as issues with accuracy and interpretation. In addition, transcripts often omit the context, i.e. the setting, body language, and atmosphere (ibid.). In the present study the latter did not become an issue as information on the context is given in Chapter 4 to help both the reader and the actual analysis.

The actual transcribing process was conducted based on the video recording of the interview. A majority of the transcription conventions (symbols) are derived from Gibbs (2012). In addition to transcription conventions from Gibbs, I also used a modified version of the three stage approach to transcribing (Graham R. Gibbs 2012a). The first stage included listening to the video without pausing or rewinding, whilst making brief preliminary notes on interesting moments and such. The second stage included listening to the video, pausing when needed, and writing a basic level transcription without, for example, pause symbols. In the third stage, the video was listened to one more time with both pausing and rewinding, if needed, whilst producing a more accurate version of the transcript. After small revisions, a clean version of the transcript was made (see Appendix 1). This level of transcription can be called verbatim. Verbatim is often more detailed as it includes, for example, laughter, pauses, and captures all or most of the spoken words, even filler words such as 'uhm' (Gibbs 2012). The transcribing process was made easier due to good and clear quality of audio, lack of strong accents from interview participants, and an already existing level of familiarity with Naidoo's style of speech. In total the transcribing process took about four hours. The time used to provide more detailed transcriptions of the interview sections chosen for further qualitative analysis is excluded from this.

As mentioned above, the present study approaches leadership and verbal language use from a both quantitative and qualitative viewpoint as they are both suitable for the purposes of this study and have the possibility to provide more detailed and multifaceted findings if used together and as mutually supporting one another. The quantitative analysis methods in this study are influenced by corpus linguistics. Corpus linguistics is the study of language and its forms and functions by utilizing computerized corpora (Partington 2013: 5). Corpora refers to spoken or written text in a computerized or machine-readable form (McEnery & Wilson 1996 as cited in Partington 2013: 4). Corpus-assisted research is a specific branch of corpus linguistics, where

research on discourse is executed by incorporating quantitative or statistical methods (Partington 2013: 10). I chose this approach because it is fit for purpose and often effective in finding typical patterns of and the "non-obvious meanings" in specific discourse types (Partington 2013: 6, 11), in this case the patterns of defensive discourse.

The corpus-assisted methods include finding quantitative information from the typed transcript data, for example, keyword density and collocation lists to isolate salient words. Lists and percentages of key words, key phrases and salience in terms of parts of speech were generated using a text analyzer tool (*www.online-utility.org).* In addition to word and phrase salience, collocation lists were generated to further analyze some key words. Collocations were generated using a publicly available KWIC tool (key word in context) in the Sketch Engine online platform (*www.sketchengine.eu*). After submitting my own data transcript into the programme (only Naidoo's speech turns), I was able to use the tool to look at the text from a corpus point of view. This approach was adopted by, for example, Lapaire (2018) in his research to identify salient moments in the conversation and to analyze those further. This is my intention as well.

The qualitative approach is suitable for the present study due to its emphasis on language, as well as the intentions and meanings of research objects. The qualitative approach is often used when analyzing specific instances in the data and I hope it will allow us to look at the phenomenon of leadership in a meaningful way. In the present study, the qualitative part of the analysis process focuses on how language and the salient words are used; dividing the different discourses and their functions, especially those belonging to defensive discourse. The qualitative analysis builds on the previously introduced speech act theory, the conversational travel model and the rules and roles of institutional turn taking discussed in Chapter 3.

First, thematic content analysis was used to start the analysis process. With this method, finding common patterns, similarities, and other interesting parts in the data was possible. The more frequent a pattern, a word, or a phrase emerges the more salient it is, and thus worth looking into. Secondly, utterances in the interview transcript were colour-coded based on the five different illocutionary acts from speech act theory (commissives, directives, assertives, expressives, and declarations) to identify the specific moments of illocution (intention).

Third, the focus was shifted towards conversational turns and the conversational travel model to deepen the analysis on the identified moments of illocution. This meant that the transcript, with focus on the already identified moments, was read from the point of view of the different trajectories and modes occurring in conversation and introduced in Chapter 3.1.1. The moments where the mode or trajectory of the conversation shifts were marked down. In addition to this, utterances were categorized into either offers, blocks or acceptances. Observations and conclusions were made from all of the presented methods.

4.5 Ethics statement

Looking at ethics is important in making sure that any research is executed in agreement and in accordance with the key ethical principles. In the present study, the most important ethical issue was to ensure that the collected data and the other used sources are not restricted by copyright. This was ensured by using reliable search engines such as the Jyväskylä University search engine for digital and print sources (jyu.finna.fi) and the Jyväskylä University digital repository (jyx.jyu.fi), checking individual copyright statements if unclear, as well as getting familiar with the terms and conditions of both Al Jazeera website and Youtube.

Ethical issues in terms of anonymization, storing data, publication and sharing did not occur due to the nature and publicity of the collected data. Accessing the existing interview data on Youtube or on Al Jazeera's website did not require an account or any other form of authentication or log in.

Data in the study has been used according to Youtube's privacy policies and the creative commons policy they adapt to all downloaded content. According to the creative commons first licence, the CC BY, which is used in Youtube as well, users of the available content are free to share, as well as build upon it for any purposes as long as credit is given to the original content creator (Creative Commons, n.d.).

5 FINDINGS

In this chapter, the main findings both in terms of quantitative and qualitative approaches are presented. With the quantitative and qualitative methods, the main goal was to find moments where verbal defensive strategies introduced in Chapter 3 might be present. Categorization of defence strategies is based on the suggested categorization of different defence strategies in Chapter 3 into the following groups: persuasion, protesting, face-saving, evasion, and deliberate actions.

The research question and the answers to it are addressed in each section from the point of view of the analytic method in question. In addition, each section includes a discussion segment on the findings. The sections on quantitative analysis, speech act theory, and conversational model also include tables presenting the identified defence strategies.

5.1 Quantitative findings

Lapaire (2018) used a quantitative approach in his study on the content of a media interview with Mark Zuckerberg. More precisely, Lapaire used keyword density counts to identify salient words and then looked at the surrounding context of those words. In this manner he was able to reveal specific discursive strategies used by the interviewee. In this section I attempt to produce a similar analysis with text analyser tools and corpus-assisted analysis.

First, two different text analyser tools were used to determine keyword and phrase densities. Only Naidoo's answers were submitted into the analysing tools. The first analysing tool (*www.online-utility.org*), gave an unfiltered word count of the submitted data, with listings of the key words and phrases (see Appendices 2 and 3). The key words were listed in one list consisting of the hundred most salient words. With the most salient phrases, the analyser tool presented five different lists, from phrases with six words to phrases with two words.

Verbs and nouns were estimated as the two largest speech part groups in the hundred most salient words – as well as in the full text. Of the nouns, or more specifically pronouns, a table

and further insights are presented below. Verbs are under analysis in Chapter 5.2.2. and 5.2.3. from a qualitative point of view.

Table 3. Personal pronoun density and salience.

PRONOUN	**Occurrence**	**In the listing (100)**	**% of all words**
We	122	3.	~ 3.4
I	73	9.	~ 2.1
you	53	13.	~ 1.5
our	20	28.	~ 0.6
they	15	40.	~ 0.4
us	10	56.	~ 0.3
me	9	65.	~ 0.3
my	9	66.	~ 0.3

Table 3 above presents the personal pronouns occurring in the hundred most salient words list. The percentages on the right represent the amount from the whole word count (Naidoo's speech turns). As we can see from Table 3, personal pronouns total to 311 words, of which 54% are plural and 46 % singular. Especially notable is the use of 'we' and 'us' pronouns (132) compared to 'I' and 'me' pronouns (83), as well as the use of possessive forms such as 'our' (20) compared with the use of 'my' (9). 'We' would seem to be especially significant as it is heavily present in the lists of key phrases as well (14 occurrences, compared to 'I' with 3 occurrences, see Appendix 3) and it is also the third most used word by Naidoo.

Based on the key word density and key phrases lists, I have chosen personal pronouns 'we' and 'I' (subjective cases) and the word 'Amnesty', as the second most used common noun, for further study. The following analysis on these words and their surrounding context is corpus-assisted. Collocation lists were generated using Sketch Engine's KWIC and collocation tools. The context range used for each key word (we, I, Amnesty) was -5 items (words) on the left

and +5 on the right. The figures presented below are based on the collocation lists. I chose to focus on verb and noun collocations as they seemed to provide more context and information than conjunctions and other smaller parts of speech. Only a few adjectives were present in the lists with rather non-significant occurrences, thus they have been excluded as well.

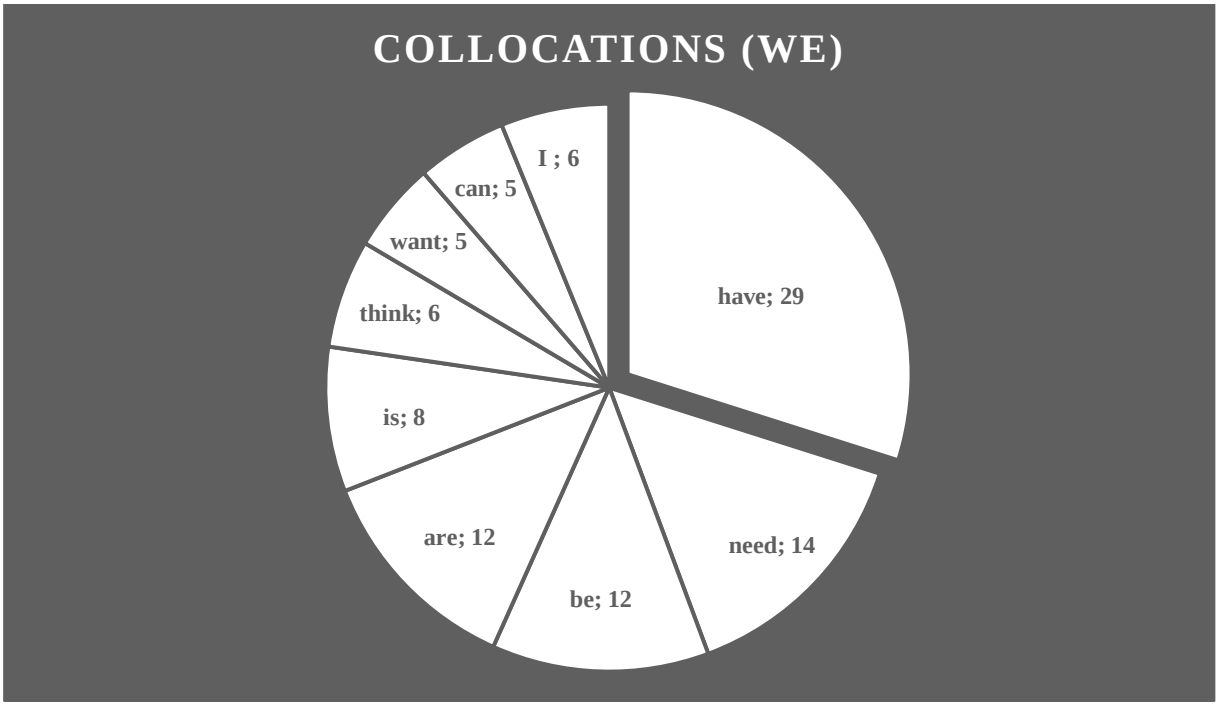

Figure 4. Most frequent noun and verb collocations of 'we'.

The personal pronoun 'we' is the pronoun most present in Naidoo's speech. Out of the 122 occurrences, 121 were references to the organization, its members or people in general. From the generated collocations list only the most frequent (5 occurrences or more) are presented in Figure 4 above.

The verb collocation 'have' is the most frequently occurring word with 'we'. In the transcript, this occurs after the key word and in situations where Naidoo is answering to questions about how Amnesty will move forward after the report or giving background information to issues from the point of view of the organization. For example:

> "The principles that **we** have is for example,--"
>
> "There's absolute transparency on every single grant that **we** have."

"--but within accepting that **we** have to have certain principles and values that we hold true to—"

'Need' is another frequently occurring verb collocation. In all of the cases, 'need' is referring to 'we' as a subject. Similar pattern is present with 'are' and 'be' collocations. For example:

"If we are judging others **we** need to say where we have failed so that we can learn from it—"

"At the moment the way **we** are structured, it will put you in conflict with three of four different parts of the organisation.

'Be' collocation is most often present in verb phrases such as:

"**We** have to be willing to do things differently, we must be willing to question current ways of operating,--"

These collocations (be, are, have, need) are present in the right side context, meaning that more often than not they follow 'we' and refer to it as a subject. However, there are occasions where the collocation refers to something else. This is often the case with collocations from the left side context, for example with the verb collocation 'is'. It is only present before 'we' and refers to another subject in the singular form. For example:

"--the answer is gonna be 'no' and then it is how can **we** make the structure more light,--"

And:

"This is something that **we** have to be much more vigilant about,--"

Similar pattern is present with the verb 'think' which is often following 'I' and before 'we'. For example:

"I think **we** can do change in a way that is respectful,--"

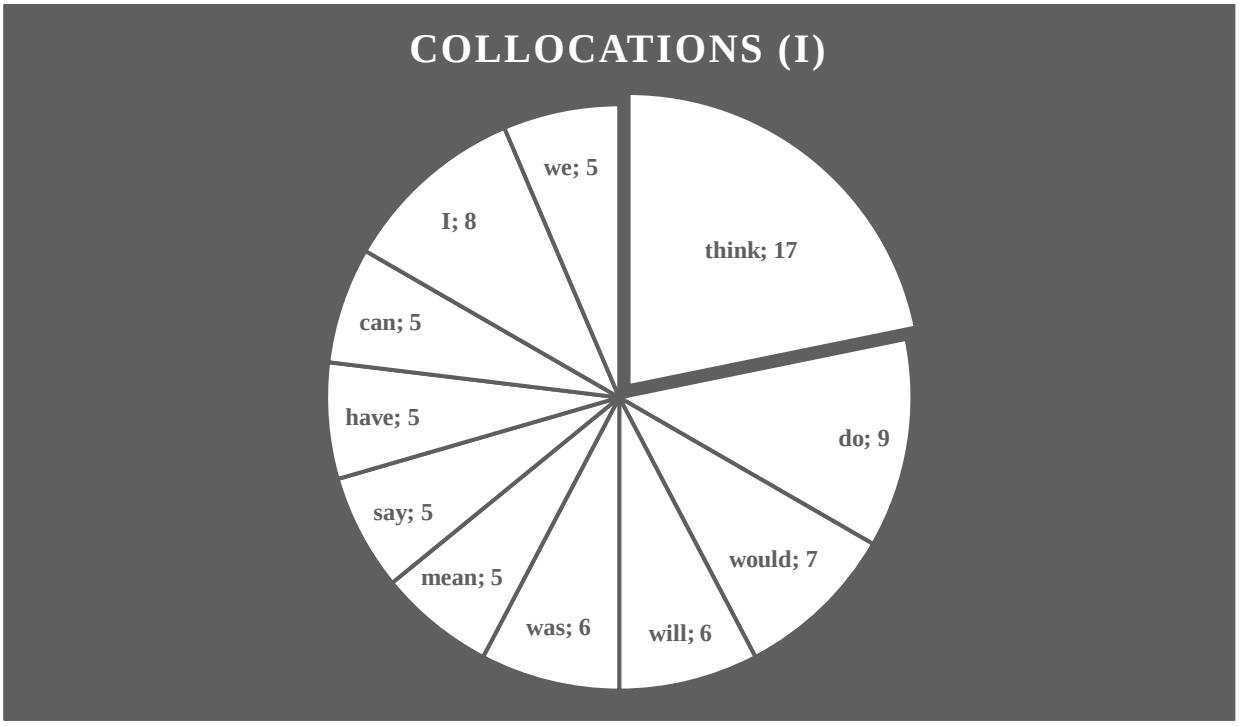

Figure 5. Most frequent noun and verb collocations of 'I'.

Moving on to personal pronoun 'I', the second most used pronoun in Naidoo's speech. Out of the 73 occurrences, 72 were references to Naidoo himself. In Figure 5, the most frequent noun and verb collocations of 'I' are presented (5 occurrences or more). From the figure it becomes clear that, in the same way as with 'we', the most frequent collocations are verbs. The only frequently present nouns co-occurring with 'we' are the subjective cases of 'we' and 'I'.

The most frequent collocation for 'I' is the verb 'think'. In most of the cases the verb follows the subjective pronoun. For example:

> "And the first thing is, uh **I** think it was really important that my colleagues"
>
> "I think within a year, **I** want that word off the table,--"

Collocation 'I' is present due to repetitions and moments where Naidoo interrupts himself, for example:

> "--and I uhm, **I** uhm am privy to a confidential report which uh,--"
> "--and so on, uh and I-, and **I** think that people in other sectors in government and business—"

A similar pattern is present with ‘we’, often as a collocation before the pronoun ‘I’. For example:

> “--was set up for charitable purposes and there are two cases where we- **I** do understand there were debates on it—”

‘We’ is also present after ‘I’, often preceded by verb phrases such as ‘I think’ or ‘I will’ where Naidoo is presenting his own feelings and attitudes about something they (‘we’) as an organization should do. For example:

> “Uh, **I** think we have to be bold, courageous, uh taking to account—"

And:

> “And- and that's been in the past but **I will make sure** we do it even more strongly in terms of transparency—"

This co-occurrence of ‘I’ (often ‘I think, expressing an opinion or belief or ‘I will’ expressing a statement and a level of promise to do something) and ‘we’ is rather interesting. It seems that Naidoo is very careful about not presenting specific feelings and courses of action as the organization’s, but as his own. Despite him talking about something the organization (‘we’) should do or go towards, he is at the same time emphasizing that this is in fact his own opinion and not necessarily a shared value or intention within the organization.

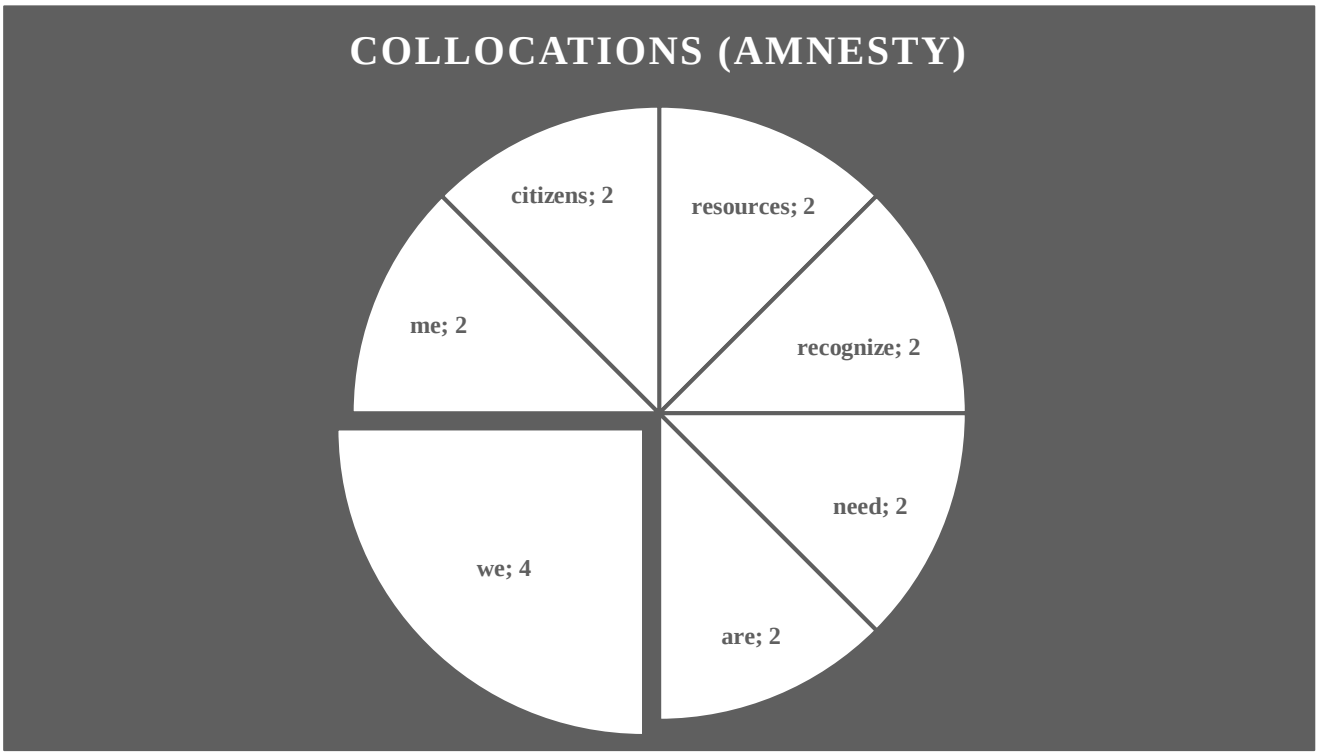

Figure 6. Most frequent noun and verb collocations of 'Amnesty'.

Finally, a significant common noun present in Naidoo's speech. In the hundred most salient words, 'Amnesty' comes in at 29th with 20 occurrences throughout Naidoo's speech turns. Out of common nouns, 'Amnesty' is also the second most used after 'people' (24 occurrences). Considering the context of the interview this comes as no surprise but is still valuable to examine. Thus, in Figure 6 the most frequent noun and verb collocations (2 or more occurrences) of the word 'Amnesty' are presented.

The most frequent collocation in this case is perhaps surprising, as the plural form of 'we' does not exactly co-operate with the singular noun 'Amnesty'. However, looking at the context of where 'we' occurs as a collocation for 'Amnesty', it becomes clear that it is either preceding the noun (example a) or following it (example d), often with the function of clarifying something, highlighting the organizational setting and Naidoo's status in it (example c) or as in one case, gets replaced by a noun when Naidoo decides to change the trajectory of his speech turn (example b).

a) -"-that our managers are better trained to provide the kind of wellbeing and care for the very passionate, talented and committed staff that we have in **Amnesty**."

b) "Now just to be clear, this report, we didn't- **Amnesty** didn't need to make it public."

c) "I will try, certainly as the secretary general of **Amnesty** moving forward that we have a very ethical approach to where we take money from—"

d) "J-just to be clear about it right, for **Amnesty** [pause] uh when we look at the, the report, uh or the reports, it uhm [pause] people were- felt free to speak in the reports, we created a safe space and I think that was positive."

With the collocation 'are' (plural form), it seems to only occur in sentences where 'Amnesty' is compared to something else in the plural form. For example:

"--we need to recognize that organisations like **Amnesty** are actually fighting a really uphill struggle—"

As for 'citizens', 'resources', and 'me' - despite the fact that these words co-occur with Amnesty only a few times and, given the main topics in the conversation (funding, wellbeing, affiliations), do not make the occurrence of these words that surprising, I feel they reveal much about the status 'Amnesty' is given in the conversation. The organization is connected with people, its members, as well as Naidoo himself. There is an attempt to bring the organization closer to the people, and also an attempt to create a connection with Naidoo and the organization. These things are not separate from each other, but quite the opposite - and this view is highlighted by Naidoo in his speech.

Another important notion is the presence of the verb 'need', both with 'we' and 'Amnesty'. With 'we' the co-occurrence is much higher, however, I think it is interesting how this verb is frequent with both key words, and absent with 'I'. This is one example of a very deliberate choice of words by Naidoo.

On the basis of a corpus analytic examination of my data, the following conclusions can be dawn. From the use of pronouns and their frequency and context, especially of the pronoun *we*

being more present than any other pronoun or noun, it would seems that Naidoo prefers to use plural forms when talking about the organization he is "the leadership of". *We* can be seen as something characterizing people rather than an inanimate entity, creating a feeling of community and closeness in a way that *Amnesty* cannot perhaps be used or understood. In this way then, Naidoo seems to not want to distance himself from the issue or organization, by making the decision to avoid the use of the singular pronoun 'I' – which is mostly only used in situations where Naidoo feels the need to bring out his own belief, attitude or feeling about the issue in hand.

Thus, when talking about the issues Amnesty as an organization is facing, and even in some moments where the interviewer is asking about Naidoo's personal opinion, he opts for plural pronouns, and 'Amnesty' in some cases, instead of the singular pronoun. This has the implication that there is no clear distinction made between Naidoo as the leader of the organization and the organization itself - or its other staff. Naidoo attempts to put the responsibility and blame on the shoulders of the organization as a whole, not on any one person, including himself.

Table 4. Quantitative analysis: Defence strategies in the data.

Defence strategy	**Category**	**Example**
Specific word choices	Deliberate, Face-saving	*"Now just to be clear, this report, we didn't- Amnesty didn't need to make it public."*
Specific sentence structures	Deliberate, Face-saving	*" I think the important thing that people need to know is that uh we're in a very difficult situation here, right."*
Refraining	Deliberate	*"B: So you're happy at the moment yeah-* *N: Well you know listen, if we wanna be blunt, all money is dirty, right."*
Diversion	Evasion	*see example above*

Table 4 displays the defence strategies that I was able to identify based on the quantitative analysis above with examples from data. The deliberate intentionality behind specific word and structural choices becomes clear, for example in how Naidoo changes from using 'we' to using 'Amnesty' mid-sentence and how he is careful to highlight his own opinions from the rest by

opting for the structures such as ‘I think’. A deliberative defence strategy is also found on the occasions when Naidoo refrains from using specific words or structures. For example, towards the end of the interview where the interviewer poses the question in a very direct way using *you* and Naidoo answers with ‘we’ and other structures, refraining from the use of ‘I’ in this case. The same example can be used to demonstrate a strategy of diversion.

The quantitative corpus approach thus allowed me to make some initial findings on the defensive strategies Naidoo is using. In this section, I have shown the connections between some key words and their collocations, as well as identified specific strategies from these moments characterized by high frequency and co-occurrence. These findings will act as a great base for the following qualitative analysis.

5.2 Qualitative findings

In this chapter, building on the quantitative findings presented in section 5.1, the qualitative findings achieved with the help of three approaches are presented. In each section, the analysis process of each method is briefly recounted, followed by general, as well as more detailed analysis of the interview data. The data samples reflect shifts in intention (illocution), trajectory and mode or moments where verbal defence strategies are found. My analysis will move from a general examination of the text (thematic) to a more detailed and in-depth one (speech acts and conversational travel).

5.2.1 Thematic content analysis

Thematic content analysis is used to find patterns and gain a better understanding of the interview. The themes I intend to identify and present as initial findings are the main discussion points as well as Naidoo’s speech turn styles. By looking at the transcript from a thematic point of view, focusing on patterns and occurring phenomena in the speech (Gibbs 2012), the following findings could be made. The question format and the overall setting and interview topics have been discussed in Chapter 4.3.

The main topics in the interview are the KonTerra wellbeing report, AI's affiliations with other organizations, and its funding. When talking about the report, the focus is on the negative aspects it brought up and how Amnesty plans to go forward after its release. This also includes a brief discussion about changes in the leadership team, when some staff offered to resign. The majority of the interview is used to discuss topics related to the report. After this, a few turns are given to discuss affiliation and funding issues. The themes arising in the interview are credibility, change, inclusivity and transparency - all very important aspects in the NGO field.

Naidoo uses a total of 24 speech turns. The majority of these are answers to questions, thus following the systematic question-answer format present in interviews. A few of these turns are interjections, sometimes overlapping with the interviewer's speech turn, either adding to or reacting to what is being said in a brief manner (e.g. 'absolutely' or 'yeah'). Another element of following the question-answer format, is Naidoo's answer length and type, in the sense that his speech turns are notably longer than the interviewer's and resemble a monologue.

As discussed, the questions are rather challenging and negatively posed. In multiple occasions Naidoo attempts to shift the topic or the tone to more positive ones. In addition, his answers are often circuitous or vague in the sense that he avoids giving a direct answer, for example, by first providing background information on the topic in the beginning of his speech turn and then returning to the question in some way towards the end of his speech turn. Another example of this would be Naidoo's use of evaluative structures. For example, instead of answering directly to a question (e.g. 'yes' or 'no' type answers) he prefers to use structures such as 'I think', 'well you know', 'from what I understand' and so on.

Secondly, Naidoo uses personal experiences as examples. In an early stage in the interview, for example, he recounts his own experience working for Amnesty in Syria and the impact it has on a person before accepting the role of secretary general. This is perhaps an attempt to gain sympathy from the hearers by voicing the mental cost of working in a field such as human rights. Thirdly, Naidoo seems to use positive word choices over negative ones, for example, 'I am glad' and 'folks that work at Amnesty are passionate, committed'. He also makes sure that when he is using negative words, they are directed towards or used to refer to 'environment', 'the culture', 'our organization' or something else inanimate.

In this section, initial findings on Naidoo's speech style, regularly occurring verbal features, as well as discussion topics were briefly introduced.

5.2.2 Speech act theory and illocution

In this section of my qualitative analysis, I aim to identify moments where specific speech acts (illocutionary acts) are used. From these moments, I intend to find and select the utterances that have a defensive intention and analyse those further.

To start the analysis from the point of view of speech act theory, I colour coded the five different illocution types in the interview transcript. As a reminder: commissives are speech acts committing the speaker to a future action, whereas directives influence the hearer to do a specific action. Declarations are utterances that simultaneously perform an action. These can be implicit or explicit, and positive or negative, as we will soon notice from the data samples. Assertives indicate the speaker's beliefs, while expressives indicate the speaker's feelings and attitudes. Differentiating between these two, assertives and expressives, was challenging as it is not always clear whether an utterance is expressing a belief, a feeling or an attitude.

Table 5. Examples of illocutionary utterances in the data.

Type of illocutionary act	**Example from data**
Commissive	*"--people are also looking at why individuals, good people, make bad errors [laughter]. And- and that's something we need to have the honesty to be able to do."*
Directive	*"I think that people in other sectors in government and business must look at this as an example that they could emulate."*
Assertive	*"Because part of what is happening is that there is quite a high level of conflict -and it's not unique to Amnesty by the way- uh, and that, some of the conflict [laughter] is almost structurally, uh you know defined—"*
Expressive	*"I wouldn't use the word ruthless at all, and that's not in my nature and character [laughter]."*

Declaration	*Positive: "This is something that we have to be much more vigilant about, but I am saying that we rather take uh approach that we have to work with others--."* *Negative: "I make no apologies of saying to individual citizens around the world: Amnesty belongs to people, it was set up by ordinary people--."*

In Table 6, I have chosen one or two examples from Naidoo's speech turns in the data to represent each type of illocutionary act. This will hopefully clarify the differences between the different illocutionary speech acts.

Implicit declarative utterances can be thought of as utterances where an action is described, but it is not necessarily tied to that exact moment or context (e.g. "--as we enter a new strategy process, we are reminding ourselves of what they say—"). Explicit declarations on the other hand, refer to an action happening simultaneously with the utterance and are heavily tied to context (e.g. "I am saying that..", "I make no apology..."). Implicit declarations are more present in Naidoo's speech than explicit ones.

Out of the five types of illocutionary acts, three showed occurrences of defensive strategies in Naidoo's speech. These are assertives, expressives and directives. Below a detailed analysis of these three groups with data samples and findings is presented. The samples include moments where other illocutionary acts are present as well. However, the focus will be on assertives, expressives and directives.

First, assertives i.e. speech acts expressing the speaker's beliefs. As mentioned before, differentiating between assertives and expressives was difficult in some utterances. However, there were a few moments where beliefs were presented more clearly and, thus, I chose to focus on them. In Naidoo's speech assertives were most present with 'I', 'we', and 'Amnesty' sentences, thus occurring with all of the significant key words analyzed previously. For the analysis of assertives, I chose the following sample:

Data sample 1.

N: --Because **part of what is happening is that there is quite a high level of conflict -and it's not unique to Amnesty by the way-**

B: Mm.

N: -uh, and that, some of **the conflict [laughter] is almost structurally, uh you know defined,** meaning that uh if you add a particular job with a particular role, at the moment the way we are structured, it will put you in conflict with three of four different parts of the organisation. We need to clean all of that up and I am gonna try my best to convince people to come up with the moral courage in all parts of the movement, that we look at people failure, **of course, we are human beings, people make mistakes** uh, that's gonna be the easiest part to sort out. More difficult is gonna be the structure, the culture and so on and as we enter a new strategy process, we are reminding ourselves of what they say that '**your culture and your structure can eat your strategy for breakfast'**, so we are very [laughter]- we have to address the question of structural and cultural change, as well as ensuring that our managers are better trained to provide the kind of wellbeing and care for **the very passionate, talented and committed staff that we have in Amnesty.**

B: It seems in some ways that you're going to actually have to be quite ruthless in what you do with Amnesty, to make it fit for purpose?

N: I wouldn't use the word ruthless at all, and that's not in my nature and character [laughter]. Uh, I think we have to be bold, courageous, uh taking to account you know, for example what Einstein said that **'the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results'**. The stakes are extremely high right now.

In the sample above, the highlighted utterances are moments where I identified the use of assertives. I identified five different moments, which, after analysis also showed signs of defensive discourse. The first one is in lines 1 and 2 where Naidoo continues to explain the birth of tensions and conflicts in Amnesty, revealed by the report. The assertive intention, or belief here is that the conflicts and tensions are at least to some extent due to structural issues. At the same time, Naidoo is using face-saving and protesting rhetoric as a defensive strategy when he insists that these kinds of structural issues are "not unique to Amnesty". He is using these defensive strategies to construct Amnesty's identity in a more positive way, while at the same time deconstructing the other (organizational) contexts and identities. When we look at the next moment where assertive intention is present in lines 8 and 9, we see that face-saving rhetoric is used here as well. However, here the function is slightly different as Naidoo attempts to gain sympathy and create some level of solidarity by declaring that "of course, we are human beings, people make mistakes".

Two of the assertive moments include quotes. In lines 11, 12, 19, and 20 Naidoo is quoting an anonymous source, and Einstein later on. These citations are used to strengthen his argument for why Amnesty is choosing to act or change in a specific way after the report. The defence

strategy used here is simple: by quoting others Naidoo is opting for very specific words and structures. In these cases, the intention in the actual quotations could be considered negative. However, the intention behind their use by Naidoo is clearly more positive as they are given as reminders of what Amnesty is trying not to do or trying to remember going forward.

Finally, in line 14, Naidoo describes the staff in Amnesty as "passionate, talented and committed". These adjectives recur in Naidoo's speech turns more than once when he is talking about the people working in Amnesty. Based on this, I identified the utterance as an assertive one, i.e. as an utterance expressing a belief more than a feeling or attitude. Another interesting observation here is the structure of his utterance, and how it ends with "in Amnesty". This might seem unimportant at first, compared to ending the sentence only with "that we have". However, I believe the same defence strategy is present here as with the previous two utterances; the strategy of opting for specific words and structures. Here the plural form ('we') and the proper noun forms ('Amnesty') are preferred over singular forms. At the same time, Naidoo aims to highlight the organizational context by ending the sentence with "in Amnesty". This is another attempt to positively reconstruct Amnesty's organisational identity, in this case by using positive adjectives and thus creating a positive association with the staff, the people and the organization.

Moving on to Naidoo's use of expressives, i.e. speech acts expressing the speaker's feelings or attitudes, it is noteworthy that they were mostly present in utterances beginning with the singular pronoun 'I'. To exemplify Naidoo's use of expressives, I chose the data sample below. The sections in which expressives are used are highlighted.

Data sample 2.

1 Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history, do you think?

2 N: The challenge Amnesty currently faces is uh based on four things. One, the fact that our mission,
3 what we work for, what our staff are committed to, while we are winning the battles we are losing the
4 war [pause]. -- The third problem is our culture. We have a culture where we need to re- we need to
5 have much higher levels of trust. Because you see there's this thing where you come to Amnesty so
6 you're working for human rights**,** like for example I was in Raqqas Syria with a team of colleagues.
7 You know**, what you see there is so horrific**, the impacts that you have on you as a person. I mean,
8 I- other staff had to go for counseling and so on and we came out after seeing mass graves and so on.
9 But, in that environment there's almost the sense like [pause] you know, the cause is so important so
10 you put every- you cut a little bit of corners here and there and you think it's okay. And what we are
11 saying is moving forward [pause] **it's not okay** that we actually don't take our internal wellbeing as

much as we fight on the outside, and of course within that there is individual failure as well and I- this report was commissioned before I arrived-

B: Sure.

N: -and **I'm glad** that the board and my predecessor made a commitment to make it publicly available and for Amnesty, just one case of racism or sexism is one case too many.

B: How damaging is this report to Amnesty's credibility? Surely it's very difficult for you to hold others to account, to hold them to high standards, to criticize them when so many of your staff feel that they are like victims.

N: Absolutely, it is uh very somber and painful reading, as a new person coming on board it was **very difficult to read** this. However, **I think** now [pause] **we must be judged by** how we move forward and how we address it. And the first thing is, uh **I think it was really important that** my colleagues on the senior leadership team reflected uh on all the reasons that contributed to this and as I say it was not just individual failure it was systemic and structural reasons as well. And I don't know of any other sort of uh situation where an entire cabinet or an entire uh management of any company [pause] where people reflected, offered a collective apology, took their responsibility and offered to step aside. And that's just happened as an act of accountability, that's the first step. We are now investing moving forward in terms of a range of wellbeing interventions to ensure that there's proper safeguarding, there's adequate support for people who reach vulnerable positions and so on.

In some utterances Naidoo seems to be clearly expressing his own feelings and attitudes (e.g. "I think it was really important", line 22) whereas in some he seems to be talking more on behalf of Amnesty and about the organizational feelings and attitudes (e.g. "it's not okay that we actually don't take our internal wellbeing—", line 11). Mostly, however, the expressive utterances in the sample above are expressing the speaker's own feelings and attitudes. In fact, this is the case with five of the six highlighted moments. Contrary to the previous data sample and the analysis on assertives, none of the highlighted utterances here include clear examples of defence strategies.

The first highlighted moments in line 7 follow right after Naidoo has explained the main challenges Amnesty is currently facing and shared a personal experience of working for Amnesty before accepting the position of secretary general. More precisely, Naidoo shares his feeling, based on his own experience of how "horrific" the things some employees have to face when doing field work for example. His intention here seems to be to expand the context of the issues in question, share a personal experience and gain sympathy and understanding from the hearers. When we expand the context a bit further, looking at the question before Naidoo's answer ("Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history, do you think?") it would seem evasive defence discourse is also present. Evasiveness in this case is the circuitous way in which

Naidoo is answering the question: he in fact never directly answers it by avoiding sharing his own thoughts on whether this is "the lowest point" or not. Instead, he focuses on building the context around the report and on sharing personal experiences. Thus, the defensive discourse strategies present in the first utterance in the data sample are opting for specific words and using circuitous (evasive) language.

The second highlighted moment in line 15 shows Naidoo continuing his speech turn after a brief interruption from the interviewer. In this example Naidoo is expressing his positive feelings about the leadership team's decision to make the report public, i.e. the reaction to it and how it was handled. This is, again, an attempt to build on positive associations between Amnesty, the report and its consequences, perhaps as a counter reaction to the negative backlash the report and Amnesty received after its publication. In fact, whenever Naidoo is talking about the report there seems to be an effort to not use negative words or structures (i.e. he is refraining from using specific words) – with a few exceptions of course (e.g. in line 20).

This brings us to the next moment when expressives are used. The interviewer asks "How damaging is this report to Amnesty's credibility?" and Naidoo, again evasively to some extent, starts by sharing his personal experience of reading the report in lines 20 and 21. In this utterance, Naidoo is expressing his personal negative feelings of reading the report. If one were to identify a defensive strategy here one could say that there seems to be an intention, in addition to expressing personal feelings, to gain sympathy from the hearers which is achieved by opting for specific words and creating distance between Naidoo himself and the issues named on the report ("as a new person coming onboard").

The last two moments in lines 21 and 22, closely follow the previous one. In the first one Naidoo quickly shifts the conversation from a negative past to a brighter future and suggests that "--we must be judged by how we move forward and how we address it". Evasiveness is present here as well, as Naidoo, again, refrains from answering the posed question in line 17 and instead shifts attention to the positive things following the report. In line 22 this kind of discourse continues when Naidoo again highlights how "important" the reaction from the leadership team was. Thus in this data sample, the most prominent defence strategies would seem to be circuitous language and word choices – refraining from as well as opting for specific ones.

Finally, we will have a look at directives, speech actions where the illocution or intention is to influence hearer to do an action. For the analysis of directives, I chose the following data sample.

Data sample 3.

1 B: Seven of your senior leadership team have offered to resign. Will you accept the resignations?

2 N: Uh, firstly I think, I want to acknowledge that this was an act of courage on my colleagues, it was
3 not uh easy to do for them to do it collectively and so on, uh and I, and **I think that people in other**
4 **sectors in government and business must look at this as an example that they could emulate.** I
5 will not accept all the resignations because uh firstly it's very important to note that all the various
6 reports and all did not find individual accountability, in the sense no individual, uh [...]-

7 B: -it was the culture

8 N: -it was the culture and these folks obviously inherited the culture it wasn't them that created it.

First, I think it is important to note that directives were less present in Naidoo's speech than assertives or expressives. The moments in which directives were used by Naidoo are very brief and could be considered rather indirect as well, as they do influence the hearer to do something but these influenced actions have more to do with feelings and attitudes than actual physical actions. For example in lines 3 and 4 Naidoo is influencing the hearers to take the offered example as something to copy in a possible future situation similar to the one Naidoo describes. It does not directly affect the hearers actions in the moment, but possible in the future by encouraging hearers to consider this as an example to learn from. The following examples represent this implicitness or indirectness in Naidoo's use of directives. The last two examples are more direct and concrete, whereas the first one is influencing the hearer's feeling or attitude (action = to feel assured).

a) "Well firstly just to assure your viewers—"

b) "uh join as if you [can]—"

c) "If you look at Shell and you look at Shell's marketing budget alone—"

In the shorter Data sample 3, I identified only one moment where directives are used. This happens in lines 3 and 4 when, after acknowledging that the actions from the senior leadership

team was in fact an “act of courage”, Naidoo encourages hearers and especially those working in the public sector, quite strongly to “emulate” this action of collectivism and reflection. Naidoo is influencing hearers by using words and structures such as “must” and “as an example that they could emulate”. However, in the beginning of the utterance Naidoo uses “I think”, which in some way softens the demand (‘must’) in the utterance. From a defensive discourse point of view, a conclusion can be made that Naidoo is using persuasive rhetoric with the intention of influencing or persuading the hearers to feel sympathy (“act of courage”, “not easy to do”, lines 2 and 3) and to copy the actions referred to and taken by Amnesty.

Based on the qualitative analysis on moments of illocution, especially assertives, expressives and directives, I can now conclude that the following defence strategies are present in association with these speech acts by Naidoo:

Table 6. Speech act analysis: Defence strategies in the data.

Defence strategy	**Example from data**
Opting for positive words	*“--the very passionate, talented and committed staff that we have in Amnesty.”*
Face-saving rhetoric	*“--of course, we are human, people make mistakes--”*
Circuitous language	*“--for example I was in Raqqas Syria with a team of colleagues-- what you see there is so horrific, the impacts that you have on you as a person.”*
Persuasion rhetoric	*“I think that people in other sectors in government and business must look at this as an example that they could emulate.”*

In this section, I have shown examples of different utterances with different intentions in Naidoo’s speech. Building the analysis from these moments of specific speech acts allowed me to identify defensive discourse strategies used by Naidoo – and to make further conclusions on them. Next, I will analyse Naidoo’s speech and the data samples used here from the point of trajectories and modes, i.e. the conversational travel model.

5.2.3 Trajectories, modes and talk as supplementing

In this section, the conversational travel model is used to deepen the analysis on the already identified moments of illocution in the previous section. From these moments, I will look for

shifts in the trajectory (direction) or mode (mood) of the conversation. As has been argued, the conversational travel model often helps researchers in finding significant moments other methods might miss (Ramsey 2016: 214) – especially "moments of leadership" (Ramsey 2016: 204). Hopefully the same will be enabled here and a deeper understanding of the identified moments, as well as the emerging defensive strategies will follow.

With the conversational travel model, the focus will shift from illocution (intention) to conversational turns and specific moments of conversational shifts. In addition to trajectory and mode changes, attention will be paid to utterances from the point of view of talk as supplementing. This talk as supplementing approach considers every utterance as either offering, blocking or accepting something. Even though it has been argued that every utterance can be thought of as offering something, and in that way as inviting a response (Ramsey 2016: 2010), in this study, offers are used to describe those utterances that are clearly offering something (e.g. a question or a suggestion). Blocks are moments of disagreement, shifting focus, and avoiding the question or topic (offer). Acceptances are moments of agreement to what is being said or to a shift in focus or topic. Giving a direct answer to a question type offer is also a form of acceptance. The analysis will approach these methods in the same order as introduced here. First, however, a more general analysis of trajectories and modes in Naidoo's speech, after which a deeper analysis into the data samples presented in Chapter 5.2.2 is given.

First, I looked at the transcript to identify shifts in trajectory. The trajectories thus identified were categorized into five types, based on Ramsey's (2016) original categorization. These categories are *performing, going along or against topic lines* and *going towards agreement or disagreement.* Each trajectory was focused on individually. The examples below are extracted from the transcript to demonstrate the use and presence of different trajectories in Naidoo's speech.

The following sample demonstrates how three different trajectories are present in Naidoo's speech; the performing, going against topic line and going along topic line trajectories.

Data sample 4.

1 B: So you're happy at the moment yeah-

2 N: Well you know listen, if we wanna be blunt, all money is dirty, right. Show me one cent that has
3 been- is absolutely clean and I would do some prayer for it okay-

4 B: Thank you [laughter from both]

5 N: -I mean that's just the reality right and uh we need to accept it, right. But within accepting that we
6 have to have certain principles and values that we hold true to and I will try, certainly as the secretary
7 general of Amnesty moving forward that we have a very ethical approach to where we take money
8 from and how we transparently let the world know where we're taking money from. And and that's
9 been in the past but I will make sure we do it even more strongly in terms of transparency when
10 moving forward.

11 B: Kumi Naidoo, thank you for talking to Al Jazeera. Thank you.

12 N: Thank you very much.

The data sample in its entirety indicates performing, but there are also other trajectories within it, such as going along topic lines and going against topic lines. The performing action in the sample is concluding (going towards concluding the interview discussion). As for the other trajectories, there is a clear shift in which the trajectory moves from going against the topic line to going along with it. This happens in Naidoo's first utterance in lines 2 and 3 when he reacts to the suggestion from the interviewer ("So you're happy at the moment") by shifting the focus from himself to money in general and the issues with it, and thus goes against the offered topic. The same trajectory continues after the interviewer makes an effort to conclude in line 4 ("Thank you") and when Naidoo continues his speech turn by elaborating on the ethical issues with money, in this way blocking the interviewer's effort to conclude. Towards the end of Naidoo's speech turn, however, he shifts the topic back to himself ("I will try, certainly as the secretary general of Amnesty moving forward that—") and in this way returns to the original topic line (going along). Shortly after, in line 12 Naidoo also accepts the concluding act by participating in it.

The following sample shows a shift in trajectory in terms of agreement and demonstrates how this specific trajectory is present in the interview and in Naidoo's speech. In sample 5, the conversation shifts to going towards agreement in all of the six speech turns, both by the interviewer and Naidoo. In lines 5 and 8, for example, we see Naidoo agreeing on what the interviewer is saying about the current topic (importance of supporters and related credibility).

Data sample 5.

B: Yeah and the other problem of course is that you rely, don't you, on your Amnesty supporters and if you uh associate yourselves with people who those supporters do feel do damage Amnesty's credibility, they're going to melt away aren't they. They're not going to be there for you-

N: Absolutely

B: [...] -if they feel so strongly, and they did, in this particular case, they felt very strongly about it.

N: Yeah no absolutely, and I mean you know sometimes of course our, our supporters also feel strongly that Guantanamo Bay was a- an abomination, that it was a violation of international law and still is and so on. So [pause] it is a- you know it's sometimes is not as black and white-

B: no it's not [..]

N: -as you make it. And- and we've learned from this and I can assure you that we will be vigilant about how we apply our approach to building a more inclusive movement that uh that has certain clear principles that guide uh that inclusivity.

The last trajectory sample, Data sample 6, demonstrates an opposite shift from the previous, i.e. a shift towards disagreement. The conversation moves towards disagreement in the sense that the interviewer describes the situation as "ruthless" and rather negative in the first lines, whereas Naidoo describes the situation as having to be "bold" and "courageous" in line 5. There is a clear opposing view on how negative the situation is and on how Amnesty is expected to react to it.

Data sample 6.

B: It seems in some ways that you're going to actually have to be quite ruthless in what you do with Amnesty, to make it fit for purpose?

N: I wouldn't use the word ruthless at all, and that's not in my nature and character [laughter]. Uh, I think we have to be bold, courageous, uh taking to account you know, for example what Einstein said that 'the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results

Moving on to different modes and changes within those in the transcript. The three modes I looked at are inquiry, argument, and affirmation (Ramsey 2016). Due to the

long speech turns by Naidoo and his conversational, sometimes stream-of-consciousness way of speaking, distinguishing the different types of elements in utterances proved somewhat challenging. This was the case especially with blocks and acceptances, affirmations and arguments as these tended to shift quite fast and be present in shorter utterances. Utterances can also include more than one mode, one trajectory or one intention at a time. The third aspect, making the identification of these elements more difficult, is that it is not always clear what the intention or mode, for example, is in one utterance even with context.

Let us start with the inquiry mode. The inquiry mode was present mostly in the interviewer's speech turns. Within Naidoo's speech turns I was able to identify only brief moments of inquiry in the form of one or two words, often used to present an idea, a fact, or a belief to the interviewer. For example, with uses of 'you know' and 'right' which both occurred multiple times in Naidoo's speech:

Data sample 7.

1 N: Yeah no absolutely, and I mean **you know** sometimes of course our, our supporters also feel
2 strongly that Guantanamo Bay was a- an abomination, that it was a violation of international law and
3 still is and so on. So [pause] it is a- **you know** it's sometimes is not as black and white-

A majority of the speech turns marked as going towards agreement or going along the topic lines (trajectories), I also marked downs as moments of *affirmation* (mode). In Data sample 8 below, affirmation is present in the way in which Naidoo reacts to the interviewers questioning of how fast Amnesty can in fact recover from the wellbeing and management issues that the report revealed. His first utterance, line 4, is agreeing with what the interviewer is saying and this same mode continues with his second utterance in line 6 where he confirms that "In one year we won't sort everything out", followed by a brief clarification on the issue.

Data sample 8.

1 B: That's quite a quick turn-around, quick timetable. A year to sort out, what the report said were
2 'tensions that existed long before the restructuring programme that Amnesty has been undergoing in
3 the past few years-

N: Yeah no no.

B: -it dates back further than that.

N: In one year we won't sort everything out but- but you know the term toxic is quite a loaded word [pause] I think within a year, I want that word off the table.

Next, a data sample and brief analysis on the argument mode, which seemed to be the most present in Naidoo's speech. A majority of the speech turns marked as going towards disagreement or diverting from the offered topic lines (trajectories), were also marked downs as moments of argument (mode) - with the exception that the argument mode can also include utterances where there is an effort to convince someone of something (argue for or against something). In the data sample below, both affirmation and argument modes are present.

Data sample 9.

B: You even take money from lotteries, which is essentially a form of gambling, are you comfortable with that as well?

N: A few cases uh and these are uh **lotteries which are, I understand to be sort of unconventional**, in the sense they are based on your postal code and it was **set up for charitable purposes** and there are two cases where we I do understand there were debates on it and there are range of other international entit- so I think we- we made the decision to do this historically before my time. Not in isolation but ensuring that those were group of like-minded NGOs that in fact some of them contributed setting it up, in in uh Holland and in Sweden I believe. It's probably a fair question to ask but I think from what I understand that as much due diligence has been put into it to ensure that it's as clean as possible.

In the sample we see that Naidoo is using both affirming and argumentative discourse. He shows affirmation (acceptance, agreement) to the topic change from government affiliations to fundraising money via lotteries by confirming the existence of these lotteries in lines 3 to 5. There is a shift, however, from affirmation to argument on the same lines where he shifts from confirming the lotteries to arguing for them by explaining their background in a more positive way by highlighting that they were set up for "charitable purposes" in line 4. Right after this there is a shift back to affirmation ("there are two cases where I do understand there were debates on it—") which quickly returns to the argument mode when Naidoo explains

that the decision (on setting up the lotteries) was made “historically before my time” in line 6. With this the intention seems to be to distance himself from the issue by shifting responsibility. The argument mode continues with Naidoo lists more positives within the issue in lines 7 and 9 (“other like-minded NGOs, due diligence was done, clean as possible”) and in this way is again arguing for it (the lotteries) but also slightly diverting from the previously offered topic line (fundraising via lotteries as negative).

Now that there is a clear understanding of the different trajectories and modes in the context of the present study and its data, let us finally examine closer the examples from Chapter 5.2.2 that were identified with speech act theory. I will represent each sample separately, followed by an analysis and discussion from the point of trajectory and mode changes. The first data sample was chosen because it represents assertive speech acts, acts that express speaker’s beliefs.

Data sample 1 from Chapter 5.2.2.

N: --Because part of what is happening is that there is quite a high level of conflict -and it’s not unique to Amnesty by the way--

B: Mm.

N: -uh, and that, some of the conflict [laughter] is almost structurally, uh you know defined, meaning that uh if you add a particular job with a particular role, at the moment the way we are structured, it will put you in conflict with three of four different parts of the organisation. We need to clean all of that up and I am gonna try my best to convince people to come up with the moral courage in all parts of the movement, that we look at people failure, of course, we are human beings, people make mistakes uh, that’s gonna be the easiest part to sort out. More difficult is gonna be the structure, the culture and so on and as we enter a new strategy process, we are reminding ourselves of what they say that ‘your culture and your structure can eat your strategy for breakfast’, so we are very [laughter]- we have to address the question of structural and cultural change, as well as ensuring that our managers are better trained to provide the kind of wellbeing and care for the very passionate, talented and committed staff that we have in Amnesty.

B: It seems in some ways that you’re going to actually have to be quite ruthless in what you do with Amnesty, to make it fit for purpose?

N: I wouldn’t use the word ruthless at all, and that’s not in my nature and character [laughter]. Uh, I think we have to be bold, courageous, uh taking to account you know, for example what Einstein said that ‘the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results’. The stakes are extremely high right now.

In the beginning we see Naidoo talking about the structural conflicts and issues within Amnesty. The question and topic in this moment of the discussion circles around the report and in what way and how fast Amnesty will and needs to change to fix the existing tensions within the organization. In the first few lines then, the trajectory moves along the given topic line. The same trajectory continues in Naidoo's following speech turn, starting in line 4 and going on till line 14, where he concludes his speech turn.

After this, starting in line 17 there is a shift towards disagreement in response to the interviewer's question in line 15 - and perhaps more importantly, the word choices in it ("ruthless"). This shift was analysed previously using Data sample 6. It was concluded that there is an opposing view on how negative the situation is and on how Amnesty is expected to react to it, and the trajectory shifts here are from towards agreement to towards disagreement, and going against the topic line to some extent as Naidoo, after disagreeing, continues to argue for a different approach to the issue. In line 20, Naidoo also shifts the topic to climate change (not seen on data sample) which is another element of going against topic line.

From the point of view of mode shifts, the same moments are highlighted. The modes present here are affirmation and argument. Affirmation can be identified in the same moments where Naidoo goes along the topic line, i.e. accepts the offered topic. Argument is present in moments where Naidoo goes towards agreement, for example in line 18, but also in moments where he is giving arguments against or for something, as happens in lines 19 and 20.

From this sample I identified two defensive discourse strategies with speech act analysis. These were the *opting for specific words* and *using face-saving rhetoric*. Based on the above analysis on trajectory and mode shifts I would add to this list? *opinionation* and *diversionary tactics*. Opinionation is perhaps most clearly present in line 17. In this case, opinionation is used to represent the speaker's own opinion very clearly and straightforwardly by opting to use the singular pronoun, negative verb structures ('wouldn't), and an intensifier ('at all'). Diversionary tactics are present in lines 1 and 2, as well as towards the end of this data sample where he in fact continues his speech turn by shifting the topic and focus from structural issues within Amnesty and the changes needed to go forward to climate change and the increasing global instability.

Next up, the data sample chosen to demonstrate expressive speech acts, meaning those that express the speaker's feelings and attitudes.

Data sample 2 from Chapter 5.2.2

1 B: Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history, do you think?

2 N: The challenge Amnesty currently faces is uh based on four things. One, the fact that our mission,
3 what we work for, what our staff are committed to, while we are winning the battles we are losing the
4 war [pause]. -- The third problem is our culture. We have a culture where we need to re- we need to
5 have much higher levels of trust. Because you see there's this thing where you come to Amnesty so
6 you're working for human rights, like for example I was in Raqqas Syria with a team of colleagues.
7 You know, what you see there is so horrific, the impacts that you have on you as a person. I mean, I-
8 other staff had to go for counseling and so on and we came out after seeing mass graves and so on.
9 But, in that environment there's almost the sense like [pause] you know, the cause is so important so
10 you put every- you cut a little bit of corners here and there and you think it's okay. And what we are
11 saying is moving forward [pause] it's not okay that we actually don't take our internal wellbeing as
12 much as we fight on the outside, and of course within that there is individual failure as well and I- this
13 report was commissioned before I arrived-

14 B: Sure.

15 N: -and I'm glad that the board and my predecessor made a commitment to make it publicly available
16 and for Amnesty, just one case of racism or sexism is one case too many.

17 B: How damaging is this report to Amnesty's credibility? Surely it's very difficult for you to hold
18 others to account, to hold them to high standards, to criticize them when so many of your staff feel
19 that they are like victims.

20 N: Absolutely, it is uh very somber and painful reading, as a new person coming on board it was very
21 difficult to read this. However, I think now [pause] we must be judged by how we move forward and
22 how we address it. And the first thing is, uh I think it was really important that my colleagues on the
23 senior leadership team reflected uh on all the reasons that contributed to this and as I say it was not
24 just individual failure it was systemic and structural reasons as well. And I don't know of any other
25 sort of uh situation where an entire cabinet or an entire uh management of any company [pause] where
26 people reflected, offered a collective apology, took their responsibility and offered to step aside. And
27 that's just happened as an act of accountability, that's the first step. We are now investing moving
28 forward in terms of a range of wellbeing interventions to ensure that there's proper safeguarding,
29 there's adequate support for people who reach vulnerable positions and so on.

This sample is from the very beginning of the discussion between Naidoo and the interviewer. From the first few lines, a shift in trajectory is detectable as, from the beginning on Naidoo's speech turn in line 3, he starts by presenting the current biggest challenges Amnesty is facing. Considering the posed question "Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history, do you think?" with the added emphasis on hearing Naidoo's own opinion, Naidoo's speech turns seems very detached and circuitous. In fact, Naidoo ends up refraining from answering to the posed question by recounting the challenges Amnesty faces (lines 2 to 5), a personal experience

of working with Amnesty (lines 5 to 11), as well as sharing feelings on the actions of Amnesty's leadership team (lines 15 and 16). It would then seem that the biggest shift in trajectory here, on these parts of the data sample, is going against the topic line.

In the second part of this data sample, starting in line 17 when the topic is slightly shifted by the interviewer from tensions within Amnesty to the potential credibility issue Amnesty has to face after the release of the report. The way in which Naidoo starts his speech turn here is quite different from the previous ones. Instead of shifting the focus, he instead reacts by sharing his experience of reading the report and the negative emotions it triggered. Despite Naidoo is not directly answering the question, he is going with the topic more here than previously and using an affirming tone ('absolutely'). However, in line 21 the mode quickly changes from accepting and going against topic line to blocking and shifting focus. In this case, Naidoo shifts focus by specific word choices (e.g. 'however') and using strong verbs ('must') to guide the conversation where he wants it to be.

Previously from this sample, with speech act theory I was able to identify evasive and deliberate defense strategies, especially circuitous language and opting for specific words. With the analysis on trajectory and mode shifts I am able to confirm these findings as the same strategies resurfaced here. In addition to these, opinionation is again present, especially in lines 22 and 23 where Naidoo is highlighting his own attitudes about the situation Amnesty is facing.

Finally, an analysis on Data sample 3 depicting directives, speech acts influencing the hearer, in Naidoo's speech from the point of view of trajectory and mode shifts:

Data sample 3 from Chapter 5.2.2.

1 B: Seven of your senior leadership team have offered to resign. Will you accept the resignations?

2 N: Uh, firstly I think, I want to acknowledge that this was an act of courage on my colleagues, it was
3 not uh easy to do for them to do it collectively and so on, uh and I, and I think that people in other
4 sectors in government and business must look at this as an example that they could emulate. I will not
5 accept all the resignations because uh firstly it's very important to note that all the various reports and
6 all did not find individual accountability, in the sense no individual, uh [...]-

7 B: -it was the culture

8 N: -it was the culture and these folks obviously inherited the culture it wasn't them that created it.

In Sample 3 Naidoo's answering style is again similar to the way in which he starts of his speech act by providing some kind of background information and context on the topic, often with a positive focus (positive word choices, e.g. "act of courage"). The aim here seems to be to divert or avoid the question at first, by going slightly against the topic line and in this way also blocking, for the moment at least, the offered topic or question. Naidoo does circle back to the question in this case and answers it directly in lines 4 and 5, but only after a fair amount of avoiding it. Even after answering the question, there is an emerging need from Naidoo's side to further explain the situation and where the blame should fall (lines 5, 6 and 8).

This data sample is an apt example of what going towards agreement often looks like in interview type settings. In line 6, Naidoo hesitates for a few seconds and is trying to find the right words when the interviewer interrupts him quickly in line 7 by suggesting that "it was the culture". Right after this in line 8, Naidoo repeats the sentence and in this way confirms it and agrees with it. This kind of back and forth turn style is present to some extent in the data and often with a trajectory of agreement – and furthermore, a mode of acceptance.

From this sample, I was able to identify the use of persuasive rhetoric as a defense strategy by looking at speech acts. With the above analysis on trajectory and mode shifts I was able to deepen this analysis by identifying evasive strategies, such as refraining (lines 2 to 4) and face-saving rhetoric (lines 5, 6, and 8).

Of the different trajectories, going against the topic line and going towards agreement seemed to be the most present. These two do not cancel each other out, though at first it might seem so. In this data and in this conversation, the trajectory seemed to move in a way that agreement and consensus was often found, despite efforts to shift the topic – and despite a few cases of opposing views and attitudes emerging. I would suggest that despite Naidoo's attempt at shifting the focus on more than one occasion (going against topic line), there is an equally important aim to be understood and not to create more conflict (going towards agreement and saving face). A similar discovery confirming these findings can be made of the modes present

in Naidoo's speech, as affirmation and argumentation were also often present in these mentioned moments of topic lines and agreement or disagreement.

Thus, based on the qualitative analysis on specific moments of trajectory and mode shifts, I can conclude that the following defence strategies, here listed with examples, are present in Naidoo's speech:

Table 7. Conversational travel analysis: Defence strategies in the data.

Defence strategy	**Example from data**
Opinionation	*"I think it was really important that my colleagues—"*
Diversionary tactics	*"Because part of what is happening is that there is quite a high level of conflict -and it's not unique to Amnesty by the way—"*
Circuitous language	*"However, I think now we must be judged by how we move forward and how we address it."*
Opting for specific words and structures	*"I wouldn't use the word ruthless at all—"*
Refraining	*"Uh, firstly I think, I want to acknowledge that this was an act of courage on my colleagues, it was not uh easy to do for them to do it collectively and so on"*
Face-saving	*"I don't know of any other sort of uh situation where an entire cabinet or an entire uh management of any company where people reflected, offered a collective apology, took their responsibility and offered to step aside."*

Some of the defence strategies in Table 7 were identified with the speech act theory and further confirmed with the conversational travel model (e.g. by opting for specific words and structures). Some, however, arose from the conversational travel analysis and in this way add to the previous findings and to our understanding of Naidoo's speech and the verbal defence strategies used (e.g. opinionation).

In this section I have demonstrated a particular way of looking at conversational research data with two various methods and how these can in fact complement each other in a fruitful way. It would seem that executing the data analysis in a way in which more than one method are used to deepen the analysis is beneficial in providing a more detailed analysis, as well being

able to strongly argue for the findings with this second level of analysis. In this study, the conversational travel model was used to do just this, to provide a second, deeper level of analysis to the findings based on quantitative and speech act theory analysis methods.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter a summary of the key findings, brief acknowledgement of the limitations in the study, as well as implications of study and suggestions for further research are given.

The research question of this study was specified as ‘what kind of verbal defence strategies leaders use in a crisis situation’ where the need to defend oneself, someone else, an entity or other can arise, for example as a result to a specific way of questioning or challenging with questions. The focus in this study was on organizational context, more precisely Amnesty International. In early 2019 the organization faced issues in staff wellbeing, management and leadership brought up by an in-depth report. In the interview with Kumi Naidoo, the then standing secretary general of Amnesty International chosen for further study, the report and the issues it brought up are discussed. A need to defend the organization and rebuild its identity with verbal strategies are clear in the interview, especially after a deeper analysis.

My goal was then to find out what is being said and how, and with what intention – more precisely, to see what kind of verbal defensive strategies emerge in Naidoo’s speech, why and for what purpose. To answer these, both quantitative and qualitative analysis methods were used. Quantitative analysis consisted of a corpus-assisted approach and the qualitative analysis of looking at thematic content, speech acts and shifts in the conversation (conversational travel model).

6.1 Summary of key findings

I will summarize and discuss my findings in three different sections. First, I will present the quantitative findings based on a corpus analysis. Secondly, I will describe the key findings from the point of view of speech act theory, followed by findings based on the conversational travel model. A brief discussion of findings as well as comparisons with previous research will conclude this chapter.

In the quantitative corpus-assisted analysis, I was able to show the connections between some key words (‘we’, ‘I’, ‘Amnesty’) and their collocations, and identify specific strategies from these moments characterized by high frequency and co-occurrence. Especially notable is that I was able to identify defensive discourse strategies by looking at the context of just three different key words. These strategies identified as typical of Naidoo included specific words and sentence structures, refraining from using specific words or sentence structures, and diversion tactics. Diversion tactics include, for example, evasive language such as giving an indirect answer to a direct question.

The qualitative analysis of the data consisted of a brief thematic content analysis, followed by more in-depth speech act and conversational travel analyses. With both of these I was able to identify significant moments in the interview, presented as data samples in Chapter 5 and further analyse them from the point of view of speech act and conversational travel model to identify moments where defensive discourse strategies were present. In the qualitative analysis on moments of illocution, especially assertives, expressives and directives, I concluded that the following defence strategies are present in Naidoo’s speech: opting for positive words, face-saving rhetoric, circuitous language, and persuasion rhetoric.

In the second part of the qualitative analysis, I looked at the data from the point of view of the conversational travel model emerging from speech act and leadership theories. This analysis allowed me to confirm the previous findings as well as build on top of them by identifying more moments and defensive strategies used in those moments. The new strategies identified using the conversational model were opinionation and diversionary tactics. Opinionation can be considered as belonging to persuasion strategies and diversionary tactics to diversion or evasive strategies.

Of the five suggested category groups for different defence strategies in Chapter 3.3, persuasion, protesting, face-saving, evasion and deliberate actions, it was noted that some were frequently present while others seemed to not manifest at all. The most frequent ones based on the quantitative and qualitative findings were deliberate actions, face-saving rhetoric and evasion tactics. Perhaps the most frequent examples of these in Naidoo’s speech were refraining from using specific words and choosing to use very specific words and structures. Persuasion

rhetoric strategies were present as well but not to the same extent as deliberate, face-saving or evasion strategies. Based on this then, protesting strategies were the only ones not used by Naidoo. Protesting strategies include, for example, combat and condemnatory rhetoric. As protesting strategies are often seen as unethical and can in this way create friction between the people in conversation (and the audience), it would make sense that Naidoo refrains from using these tactics and instead relies on saving face and going towards agreement – as was recognized in the analysis section.

The findings in this study highlight some findings from previous research introduced in the background chapters. For example, it would seem that rhetorical strategies and skills are highlighted and used a lot. This is not surprising, considering that leadership and leadership research for decades has been focusing on specific characteristics of individuals. And as, for example, Hart a Uhr (2008:10) have proposed, rhetorical skills are one of the characteristics being valued.

Another interesting comparison between previous research and the present findings is how Naidoo's speech style and use of defence strategies highlighted that he made a strong attempt at face-saving and sharing the responsibility and blame when it comes to the KonTerra report. These features were also suggested by Hermann and Pagé in their research on humanitarian as well as development NGO leaders (2016: 130-131). Other elements included, for example, higher focus on problem-solving (2016: 132) which seems to be present here as well considering Naidoo's very concrete efforts to explain in detail what the future actions of Amnesty, and of himself, are. As was noted in the analysis, often Naidoo also attempts to shift the focus from the past or from the negative to the present or future and shift the tone to a more positive one. In fact, this "capacity to maintain wellbeing and positivity" is another aspect present in previous research on important features of effective leaders (Hart & Uhr 2008: 79).

6.2 Limitations of present study

The present study has some limitations. When launching of the study, my goal was to produce and analyse data from interviews and a questionnaire specially designed for the purposes of this study, as well as targeted towards the leaders and members of Amnesty International. However,

due to challenges with contacting the international decision makers of the organization and getting a permission to execute the research in this way, I had to make the decision to shift its focus and use a pre-existing interview of a leader within the organization as my material.

Secondly, with the approaches I adopted to study leadership and the emerging defence strategies in leaders' language use, there are some limitations and biases worth acknowledging. An important reminder is that the definition of leadership given in this study, and the approaches, as well as methods chosen to look at leadership in more detail, are not the only ones. As Yukl (as cited in Datta 2015: 64) argued, these choices are always reflecting the researcher's pre-existing conception of leadership. In the present study the approaches and methods I selected are more in line with traditional research on leadership which take on an individualistic approach (focus on the leader, see Chapter 2.3.5) - and indeed reflect the westernized cultures and values on leadership more. In fact, a more balanced approach where the modern approaches would have been in the focus (e.g. focus on leader, but also on followers and the relationship of leaders and their followers), might have been better suited so as to give a more balanced view on the issue as it would have highlighted the collective and relational aspects of leadership, language and communication in general – instead of just focusing on the leader and their language use.

Furthermore, there were some limitations in terms of to my access to previous research. An important limitation of my study in this respect was that James MacGregor Burns was, and still is considered an important authority within the field of leadership studies, especially when it comes to transformational leadership and political leaders. He was also one of the people assisting with the shift from individual traits to leadership as interaction, among other things (see Chapter 2.1). His 1978 publication "Leadership" is considered a classic and cited in many of the research used in the present study as well. Even though I was able to gather some of his teachings from other sources (e.g. in Hart & Uhr 2002; McCleskey 2014), I still consider not gaining direct access to his original book a slight limitation.

6.3 Implications of present study

The findings of this study are applicable in more than one field, and to more than one group of people and professions. This research has the potential to provide information beneficial both to communities, societies, and professionals but also especially to leaders or people in management positions, all people working in the humanitarian field or in an organizational environment. Last but not least, the people following leaders or working alongside them can gain some valuable insights from this research.

First perhaps, the present study can offer information and insights to the regional AI context. For example, to people working and volunteering in these sections, it might prove useful to know some of the typical discourse strategies of leaders in a crisis situation. This might help them adjust to the situation themselves and, furthermore, be able to recognize a possible crisis situation from the type of discourses present in their working environment.

Secondly, I would urge both people in organizational context and others, to look at the possible benefits of the information given here in an even larger context – both within larger organizations, but also outside the organizational context. Knowing what the preferred discourse strategies of leaders are, be they defensive strategies or something else, can help anyone, in an organizational setting or not and independent of a person's status, to identify authentic leadership. In addition, both the background information, for example, on leadership and defensive discourse, and the presented findings on which defensive discourse strategies seem to be most dominant can help identify moments where leadership is present, or moments where perhaps someone is exploiting their leadership position, not being truthful or using strategies that are considered unethical, such as persuasion and protest rhetoric (Akinwotu 2014: 24). Knowing where and when to look for these can also help consume the everyday conversational input more critically– which in today's society is an increasingly valuable skill.

Finally, for those aspiring to be leaders. By analysing the use of defensive strategies by a leader in a specific organizational setting, this research has shown that language can be an integral part of leadership – and how it is used, for example, what discourse types are dominant in which contexts, shapes the types of leadership we encounter. For any current or future leader out there then, I would urge to look at this research and its findings as a guide towards a better

understanding of leadership and the role language plays in it - but also as a tool when practising leadership.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

During this research process, many ideas for further research were moved aside instead of incorporating them. This was done to maintain a clear focus and to ensure a doable research process. These ideas are presented here.

First, in future research, it would be interesting to compare the linguistic choices and resources of leaders in an interview from the point of view of English as foreign, second and native language. More specifically, this would be interesting because, a study like this would give the possibility of finding more about what kind of hindrances or possibilities language, and more precisely language levels, bring into the linguistic construction of leadership. Linguistic asymmetries and the effect of different levels of proficiency in the spoken language used in interview interaction have already been studied to some extent. These asymmetries or differences in proficiency are not necessarily meaningful when it comes to effective communication (Wong & Olsher 2000*)*. Despite this, more studies from this perspective are needed with focus not so much on effectiveness but perhaps on other features. For example, looking at language levels and linguistic resources from the point of view of leaders working in multicultural environments and multilingual contexts, such as Amnesty, might provide an interesting addition to existing research on the topic. In addition, studying other similar organizations and the language use of leaders within those organizations, would certainly be an interesting and current choice of research, providing further possibilities for comparison and stronger argumentation for language as integral in, for example, effective leadership or the effective construction of leadership.

Another possible approach would be to use the coordinated management of meaning theory (CMM). This theory is central when looking at communication and success. The CMM theory is widely seen as a tool in increasing dialogue and good conversations. Hedman and Gesch-Karamanlidis (2015) argue that the facilitating factor of CMM, especially in conversations and other communication situations is one of its best qualities. It suggests that effective

communication leads to effective change and development. (ibid.). Just changing the approach from the speech act theory and defensive strategies to the CMM theory, or using that simultaneously with the other methods introduced in the present study, might bring some more insight into the reasons behind some discursive choices.

Finally, utilizing the corpus-assisted or corpus-based analysis methods even more might bring out valuable insights in terms of, for example, the intention behind choices with language. It has been acknowledged that corpus-assisted research can help researchers gain a deeper access to the meanings in language (e.g. meanings behind the choices of how language is being used). I would suggest looking at leadership language using a similar approach as in the present study, combining quantitative and qualitative methods but with a larger focus on different discourses and contexts. One way to shed light on these would be with the help of corpus linguistics.

This study has intended to broaden the general understanding of leadership and the role language plays in it, for both researchers and others interested in or in another way involved in the topic. In today's society leadership is gaining momentum – and the types of leadership we encounter are increasing as well. Looking at leadership language helps us understand the intentions and goals of leaders and be able to critically look at what is being said and why and to identify the specific linguistic strategies and tools used – for example verbal defence strategies as was the case in the present study. Despite the limitations and changes in direction due to data challenges introduced previously, I am very satisfied with the present study and sincerely hope it brings valuable information to everyone who comes across it.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

B: Felicity Barr, interviewer
N: Kumi Naidoo, interviewee

Transcription conventions:

[...]	unclear or inaudible speech
[pause]	definite pause
[laughter]	laughter
[word?]	speech not identified with certainty
wor-	cut off speech

B: Kumi Naidoo thank you for talking to Al Jazeera

N: Thank you for having me.

B: Human rights violations, bullying, sexism, racism, abuses of power; injustices that you work so hard to expose in corrupt organisations, governments, and yet injustices that Amnesty itself has now been found guilty of in this very shocking, very damning, very critical report. Has Amnesty fallen to the lowest point in its history, do you think?

N: The challenge Amnesty currently faces is uh based on four things. One, the fact that our mission, what we work for, what our staff are committed to, while we are winning the battles we are losing the war [pause]. And that contributes to a very kind of stressful environment because all the folks that work at Amnesty are passionate, committed and wanting to make big con- and and they also understand that while we're winning, here and there in important battles, they can see that human rights are slipping away from us. The second problem is, our organisation, set up in 1961, has added one layer of complexity after the other as it's evolved and now to be honest we need a complete reorganizing because in fact the very structure of Amnesty right now is a source of sudden conflicts and tensions that we need to fix urgently. The third problem is our culture. We have a culture where we need to re- we need to have much higher levels of trust. Because you see there's this thing where you come to Amnesty so you're working for human rights, like for example I was in Raqqas Syria with a team of colleagues. You know, what you see there is so horrific, the impacts that you have on you as a person. I mean, I- like other staff had to go for counseling and so on and we came out after seeing mass graves and so on. But, in that environment there's almost the sense like [pause] you know, the cause is so important so you put every- you cut a little bit of corners here and there and you think it's okay. And what we are saying is moving forward [pause] it's not okay that we actually don't take our internal wellbeing as much as we fight on the outside, and of course within that there is individual failure as well and I- this report was commissioned before I arrived-

B: Sure.

N: -and I'm glad that the board and my predecessor made a commitment to make it publicly available and for Amnesty, just one case of racism or sexism is one case too many.

B: 65% of staff who responded in this report, say they don't believe their wellbeing is a priority for Amnesty, they say there's a toxic working environment. 39% of staff say they've developed mental, physical issues because of working at Amnesty. And not just because of the human suffering they experience but because of the working culture in itself. How damaging is this report to Amnesty's credibility? Surely it's very difficult for you to hold others to account, to hold them to high standards, to criticize them when so many of your staff feel that they are like victims.

N: Absolutely, it is uh very somber and painful reading, as a new person coming on board it was very difficult to read this. However, I think now [pause] we must be judged by how we move forward and how we address it. And the first thing is, uh I think it was really important that my colleagues on the senior leadership team reflected uh on all the reasons that contributed to this and as I say it was not just individual failure it was systemic and structural reasons as well. And I don't know of any other sort of uh situation where an entire cabinet or an entire uh management of any company [pause] where people reflected, offered a collective apology, took their responsibility and offered to step aside. And that's just happened as an act of accountability, that's the first step. We are now investing moving forward in terms of a range of wellbeing interventions to ensure that there's proper safeguarding, there's adequate support for people who reach vulnerable positions and so on. I'm not saying it's gonna be easy, for us to recalibrate and move forward uh with the healing uh approach, if you want, but the commitment is there from myself, the board and all parts of the organisation and we are focused on acting on it. Now just to be clear, this report, we didn't- Amnesty didn't need to make it public. It could have been held privately and so on. I [pause] don't take any credit because this decision was made before me. It was a right thing as an organisation that work in the public, as [was?] said, if we are judging others we need to say where we have failed so that we can learn from it and move forward to address it in a serious way. It's- it's not gonna be overnight but I'm quite convinced that in a short space of time, with the kind of commitment I have seen in all parts of the organisation to improve wellbeing as well as improving our capability to win bigger battles faster, uh I'm uh cautiously confident that within a year we'll be able to turn things around quite substantially.

B: That's quite a quick turn-around, quick timetable. A year to sort out, what the report said were 'tensions that existed long before the restructuring programme that Amnesty has been undergoing in the past few years-

N: Yeah no no.

B: -it dates back further than that.

N: In one year we won't sort everything out but- but you know the term toxic is quite a loaded word [pause] I think within a year, I want that word off the table, but that doesn't mean we won't have to do some really difficult work around asking 'is a structure that was set up in 1961 [pause] relevant in 2019'. The answer is gonna be 'no' and then it is how can we make the structure more light, more nimble, more people-friendly and and you see, what has happened is because the stakes have gotten higher and higher in human rights, and as we see us, you know countries like the United States that were on the positive side of human rights and now like one of the worst countries in some ways. When we see all of these things happening it is saying to us that [pause] we have to be willing to do things differently, we must be willing to question current ways of operating, and all of that is gonna take moral courage, it's gonna take people who might have held, or parts of

the organisation, that might have held power in a particular era, we have to be willing to now look at how do we bring different parts of the organisation closer together. Because part of what is happening is that there is quite a high level of conflict -and it's not unique to Amnesty by the way-

B: Mm.

N: -uh, and that, some of the conflict [laughter] is almost structurally, uh you know defined, meaning that uh if you add a particular job with a particular role, at the moment the way we are structured, it will put you in conflict with three of four different parts of the organisation. We need to clean all of that up and I am gonna try my best to convince people to come up with the moral courage in all parts of the movement, that we look at people failure, of course, we are human beings, people make mistakes uh, that's gonna be the easiest part to sort out. More difficult is gonna be the structure, the culture and so on and as we enter a new strategy process, we are reminding ourselves of what they say that 'your culture and your structure can eat your strategy for breakfast', so we are very [laughter]- we have to address the question of structural and cultural change, as well as ensuring that our managers are better trained to provide the kind of wellbeing and care for the very passionate, talented and committed staff that we have in Amnesty.

B: It seems in some ways that you're going to actually have to be quite ruthless in what you do with Amnesty, to make it fit for purpose?

N: I wouldn't use the word ruthless at all, and that's not in my nature and character [laughter]. Uh, I think we have to be bold, courageous, uh taking to account you know, for example what Einstein said that 'the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results'. The stakes are extremely high right now. We- when we have, you know, the climate scientists saying that we've got 12 years to get emissions to peak and start coming down, we have to be willing to change to be fit for purpose. But I do not believe [pause] that it is necessary for us to make those changes in a way where you're brutal and you don't have a sense of humanity in the way you do it. I think, yes [pause] sometimes change is- well actually always change is painful, but uh, I think we can do change in a way that is respectful, that is humane and is uh putting the humanity of everybody that is involved in the process uh you know at the centre of how we make change happen.

B: [I'd guess?] from your perspective one of the key problems with staff feeling like this is that how can they go out and challenge others who Amnesty feels have been guilty of human rights violations, when they themselves have, as they say in this raport, they've been frightened to actually say what's going on in their own organisation. That must be really troubling [for you]?

N: Well, well.. J-just to be clear about it right, for Amnesty [pause] uh when we look at the, the raport, uh or the reports, it uhm [pause] people were- felt free to speak in the reports, we created a safe space and I think that was positive. I think this was a problem that was left festering for decades, right, and the fact that [pause] uh we said the time has come now for us to actually look at ourselves internally, we cannot simply be looking at external uh weaknesses on the part of governance, business and so on because we want to, as Gand- Mahatma Gandhi said 'be the change we want to see in the world'. So uh, but I would urge not to see it as- that this is like a massive issue within the organisation- and for example with the cases-

B: yes.

N: -and I uhm, I uhm am privy to a confidential report which uh, which documents particular cases, names and so on, and I'm going through each one of them and I want to assure people that for e- you know for example you know the speculations about how bad it is, is there sexual harassment there, which there isn't and so on. Uh but I take the approach, as the leadership of Amnesty at the board level and so on that given our values and given what we stand for that one case or two cases [laughter] of racism or sexism or bullying are one case too many and therefore we uh- and I've been in Amnesty for 6 months now, right and I can tell you I've not seen a case of bullying in six months, I've not seen a case of uh you know uh-

B: -doesn't mean it's not happening.

N: -no yeah absolutely, absolutely, and and and that's part of what we've done through this process which is we've created a context now [pause] where, wherever it is in the organisation, people are free and I encourage them to actually come forward and report on and I've said if people feel that they cannot report to their manager level or director level that people can come straight to me and a few people have come to me but the- what's positive for me is that most of the people that have reached out to me, have reached out with solutions. You know, they've named a particular issue- and and people have quite a you know uh structural and systemic way of analysing it, not only saying 'well somebody, and individual made an error' but they unders- people are also looking at why individuals, good people, make bad errors [laughter]. And- and that's something we need to have the honesty to be able to do.

B: Seven of your senior leadership team have offered to resign. Will you accept the resignations?

N: Uh, firstly I think, I want to acknowledge that this was an act of courage on my colleagues, it was not uh easy to do for them to do it collectively and so on, uh and I, and I think that people in other sectors in government and business must look at this as an example that they could emulate. I will not accept all the resignations because uh firstly it's very important to note that all the various reports and all did not find individual accountability, in the sense no individual, uh [...]-

B: -it was the culture.

N: -it was the culture and these folks obviously inherited the culture it wasn't them that created it. So uh, I will not accept all the resignations, I will make my decisions based on uh the structure that we need moving- moving forward and for those uh offers that I do decide to accept I will do it in a thoughtful, considered, phased way so that it does not impact on our operational capacity. And uh, but certainly we want to send a signal that we want to refresh our leadership team as we move forward, and the structure will look different and ultimately the composition will look different uh as well.

B: Critics say that Amnesty isn't careful enough about the company that it keeps. Back in 2010, which is obviously before your time, [Agita Shahil?] who was the head of the gender unit then, was suspended after she urged Amnesty not to work with the organisation that caged prisoners and the former Guantanamo detainee [...] here in London saying, he is quote 'Britain's most famous supporter of the Taliban'. She also said that the alliance undermined Amnesty's campaign for women's rights. Seven years later Amnesty finally cut those ties with Cage. In your opinion, is Amnesty too careless about it's associations and again, you know risking it's credibility because of that?

N: Well the details of this, as you say are before my time, let me just say that Amnesty is uh, uh when I- uh my first day started I said we need a bigger, more bolder and more inclusive human rights movement. The more inclusive challenge is that we have to work with a wild- a wide ray of uh actors, some in governance,

some in business, and and uh the example you gave is within civil society. Uh, we cannot seek to have a 100 percent agreement with every organisation that we partner with. However, we do expect that the people we partner with, we need to have a broad sharing of values, while we might disagree on specific uh policies. So for example, I would say that with the religious leaders for example uh you know religious leaders are doing some really good work right now on climate change, on refugees and so on, and I do not think it is a problem for us to engage- in fact I would encourage us to engage with the, the faith community on that. It doesn't mean that we agree with everybody in the faith community, the faith community is of course divided on issues such as LGBTIQ or the women's right to choose and so on. There are different opinions within the faith community there and- but because we have this disagreement, I do not think we should not have principled alliance around areas where we agree. Having said that, uh, this is not a perfect science uh because organisations uh that you might enter into a partnership at the beginning, might be [pause] you know, working on certain things and when leadership changes and so on, the organisation might transform. This is something that we have to be much more vigilant about, but I am saying that we rather take uh approach that we have to work with others but make sure that we have very clear principles. The principles that we have is for example, ensuring that a partnership is increasing our impact to have- our possibility of impact, ensuring that there's a values commonality and also things like, sometimes we might not enter into a partnership, not because we have a disagreement on values or policy but because for us entering into a partnership, we put a human rights uh activist under threat because Amnesty entering into a partnership might th- you know, raise risk levels for a person working in a depressive environment.

B: Yeah and the other problem of course is that you rely, don't you, on your Amnesty supporters and if you uh associate yourselves with people who those supporters do feel do damage Amnesty's credibility, they're going to melt away aren't they. They're not going to be there for you-

N: Absolutely.

B: [...] -if they feel so strongly, and they did, in this particular case, they felt very strongly about it.

N: Yeah no absolutely, and I mean you know sometimes of course our, our supporters also feel strongly that Guantanamo Bay was a- an abomination, that it was a violation of international law and still is and so on. So [pause] it is a- you know it's sometimes is not as black and white-

B: no it's not [..]

N: -as you make it. And- and we've learned from this and I can assure you that we will be vigilant about how we apply our approach to building a more inclusive movement that uh that has certain clear principles that guide uh that inclusivity.

B: Amnesty is of course a non-governmental organisation but it does accept money from governments that quote "projects that educate communities about their human rights". That sounds a little bit vague. How can we be sure that Amnesty doesn't actually bow to pressure to spend that cash purely on projects that said government approves of?

N: Well firstly just to uh assure your viewers that we hardly ever take any many from governments, right. 90 % of the resources that Amnesty uses comes from individual citizens around the world with the average donation being five dollars a month. We think that the responsibility of human rights education should be a responsibility of government. Our governments have signed various UN protocols, the universal declaration of human rights and multiple other human rights international frameworks. And it is their responsibility to

educate their citizens as to what they have signed up o- to, and to ensure that uh you know we don't have the anomalies like we have for example in the uh Nordic countries, right. You know, the Nordic countries are seen at the moment [great leaders?] they are great leaders in gender equality but I've just come from Denmark and Finland where the rape legislation does not include consent. So whether a woman gives consent or not for somebody to be [pause] accused and convicted of uh rape they must've used violence and whether they, a woman said I- yes or no,and that's why we've launched this campaign 'Let's talk about yes'. And Sweden only changed the law last year and we're now in the process of uh hopefully getting Denmark and Finland doing so in the next couple of uh you know coming months.

B: But should that be completely separate from Amnesty? Should Amnesty be taking the governments money for th- those educational projects or should not the government be doing that as-as-as-as a separate project and being completely sep-, non-governmental-

N: yes yes yeah yeah.

B: -I was actually quite surprised, non-governmental to me meant no, nothing no involvement with government-

N: Oh whoa, just to be clear [laughter], most non-governmental organisations in the world [pause] are taking money from government and business. Amnesty actually takes very little money and there's a very high threshold uh ethical guidelines policy uh and and really the- when I say 90 % comes from the individual citizens and the 10 %, where does that 10 % come from, that really comes from primarily uh foundations and trusts which meet very high ethical standards and there's absolute transparency on every single grant that we have. It's uh you know available on our website, we report it annually to the global assembly and so on and we have a range of safeguard procedures. So for example if uh somebody wants to give an anonymous donation uh we would uh accept if people want to but we wouldn't uh they can't place any conditions on it on on uh- I mean nobody can place conditions on uh, uh grant, unless it fits in with what we are doing and there's a commonality and we sign a agreement uh with the foundation which is working in the same area. Uh we also ensure that there's a third party verificator to do [diligence is done?]. I have to tell you it's very complex, it takes a lot of time, it sometimes means that we lose grants uh that we need. I think the important thing that people need to know is that uh we're in a very difficult situation here, right. If you just take one company, let's take Shell for example, right where we have various issues with Shell, especially around how slowly they are withdrawing out from fossil fuels, right. If you look at Shell and you look at Shell's marketing budget alone, right, that is like ten times the size of all of the Amnesty entities around the world's resources. And in a context where the information environment in- within which we operate is so complex and difficult to get our message across, uh, we need to recognize that organisations like Amnesty are actually fighting a really uphill struggle to get our messages out and so I make no apologies of saying to individual citizens around the world: Amnesty belongs to people, it was set up by ordinary people, uh join us if you- and and the other important thing is I would say [laughter], it's not just about money. For me, right now I would say if we're gonna build a strong Amnesty we need to recognize that people's contribution in terms of voice is just as important in t- you know in terms of whatever financial contribution they can make and that is why at the moment we have a huge emphasis on seriously growing our supporter base uh from eight million to 25 million over the next couple of years.

B: You even take money from lotteries, which is essentially a form of gambling, are you comfortable with that as well?

N: A few cases uh and these are uh lotteries which are, I understand to be sort of unconventional, in the sense they are based on your postal code and it was set up for charitable purposes and there are two cases where we

I do understand there were debates on it and there are range of other international entit- so I think we- we made the decision to do this historically before my time. Not in isolation but ensuring that those were group of like-minded NGOs that in fact some of them contributed setting it up, in in uh Holland and in Sweden I believe. It's probably a fair question to ask but I think from what I understand that as much due diligence has been put into it to ensure that it's as clean as possible.

B: So you're happy at the moment yeah-

N: Well you know listen, if we wanna be blunt, all money is dirty, right. Show me one cent that has been- is absolutely clean and I would do some prayer for it okay-

B: Thank you [laughter from both].

N: -I mean that's just the reality right and uh we need to accept it, right. But within accepting that we have to have certain principles and values that we hold true to and I will try, certainly as the secretary general of Amnesty moving forward that we have a very ethical approach to where we take money from and how we transparently let the world know where we're taking money from. And- and that's been in the past but I will make sure we do it even more strongly in terms of transparency when moving forward.

B: Kumi Naidoo, thank you for talking to Al Jazeera. Thank you.

N: Thank you very much.

Appendix 2

Key words list from text analyzer.

	Word	Part of speech	Occurrence
1.	and	conjunction	146
2.	the	determiner	134
3.	we	pronoun	122
4.	that	determiner / conjunction	113
5.	to	preposition	104
6.	uh	interjection	80
7.	of	preposition	78
8.	a	determiner	74
9.	I	pronoun	73
10.	it	determiner / noun	64
11.	is	verb	61
12.	in	preposition	59
13.	you	pronoun	53
14.	have	verb	46
15.	on	preposition / adjective	45
17.	for	conjunction	37
18.	as	conjunction	33
19.	so	conjunction	32
20.	are	verb	32
21.	be	verb	27
22.	know	verb	27
23.	not	adverb	27
24.	there	adverb / noun / interjection / adjective	24
25.	people	(common) noun	24
26.	but	conjunction	23
27.	with	preposition	21
28.	our	pronoun	20
29.	amnesty	(common) noun	20
30.	was	verb	20
31.	do	verb	19
32.	this	adjective. / determiner / adverb	18

33.	right	noun / adjective	18
34.	at	preposition	17
35.	think	verb	17
36.	from	preposition	16
37.	very	adverb	16
38.	need	verb / noun	16
40.	they	pronoun	15
41.	all	noun	15
42.	where	conjunction	15
43.	make	verb	14
44.	now	adverb	14
45.	what	noun	14
46.	well	interjection / adjective	13
47.	just	adverb	13
48.	if	conjunction	12
49.	or	conjunction	12

51.	example	noun	12
52.	because	conjunction	12
53.	human	noun	11
54.	organisation	noun	11
55.	can	verb	11
56.	us	pronoun	10
57.	take	verb	10
58.	forward	adverb	10
59.	like	verb	10
60.	more	adjective / adverb	10
61.	rights	noun	10
62.	one	pronoun	10
63.	will	verb	10
64.	an	determiner	9
65.	me	pronoun	9
66.	my	pronoun	9
67.	look	verb	9
68.	gonna	verb	9

69.	want	verb	9
70.	how	adverb	9
71.	say	verb	9
73.	up	adverb / preposition	8
74.	individual	noun	8
75.	come	verb	8
76.	change	verb	8
77.	might	verb	8
78.	within	preposition	8
79.	see	verb	8
80.	said	verb	8
81.	way	noun	8
82.	which	adjective / pronoun	8
83.	some	determiner / pronoun	8
84.	other	ajd. / noun / pronoun	7
85.	saying	verb	7
86.	would	verb	7
87.	structure	noun / verb	7
88.	when	conjunction	7
89.	out	preposition	7
90.	work	verb / noun	7
91.	important	adjective	7
92.	no	adjective / adverb / noun	6
93.	actually	adverb	6
94.	culture	noun	6
95.	parts	noun	6
96.	money	noun	6
97.	absolutely	adverb / interjection	6
98.	moving	verb	6
99.	case	noun	6
100.	really	adverb	6

Appendix 3

Key phrase lists from text analyzer tool.

Top phrases containing 6 words	**Occurrence**
we have to be willing to	3
ve not seen a case of	2
i ve not seen a case	2
i will not accept all the	2
that we have to work with	2
will not accept all the resignations	2

Top phrases containing 5 words	**Occurrence**
have to be willing to	3
we have to be willing	3

Top phrases containing 4	**Occurrence**
we have to be	5
parts of the organisation	5
and so on and	5
that we have to	4
to be willing to	3
we need to have	3
just to be clear	3
all parts of the	3
have to be willing	3

Top phrases containing 3 words	**Occurrence**
and so on	15
we need to	10
we have to	9
that we have	9
uh you know	7
parts of the	6
you know the	5
we have a	5
have to be	5
so on and	5
and that s	5
of the organisation	5

Top phrases containing 2 words	Occurrence
that we	24
you know	24
we have	23
and i	18
and so	16
so on	15
it s	15
in the	15
we need	14
to be	13
i think	13
need to	12
have to	11
we are	11
of the	11
human rights	10
and and	10
it was	10
for example	10