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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Power and Ideology in Ilhan Omar's Victory Speech

A B S T R A C T

Critical Discourse Analysis supports the idea that there are hidden meanings in discourse which should be analysed beyond the borders of the structure of a text. Concepts like power and ideology are examples of these meanings. Such concepts can be discovered through analysing discourse critically. Critical discourse analysis is of great importance, as it is the tool through which these hidden meanings are explained. In the present study, Ilhan Omar's victory speech, who is an American Muslim politician and a member of the Congress, is analysed to reveal power and ideology in her speech. The methodology used in this study is Fairclough's three dimensional approach (2015). These three dimensions are: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. This study follows a qualitative quantitative method because it is devoted to describe power relations and hidden ideologies depending on the theoretical framework of the adopted model. Moreover, it has also been utilized to give accurate descriptions in terms of the frequencies and percentages in the occurrence of each dimension. The most important conclusions of the study are: (i) with respect to textual analysis, vocabularies are the most commonly used by Ilhan Omar, and (ii) concerning discursive practice, presupposition is used more than intertextuality

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تحليل خطاب نقدي للقوى والأيديولوجيا في خطاب النصر لألهان عمر

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الخلاصة:

إن تحليل الخطاب النقدي يدعم فكرة ان هناك معانيا خفية في الخطاب يجب ان تحلل بطريقة ابعده من حدود بنى النص . تعد مفاهيم القوى والأيديولوجيا أمثلة لهذه المعاني. يمكن اكتشاف هكذا مفاهيم من

خلال تحليل الخطاب نقديا. يعد تحليل الخطاب النقدي ذات اهمية كبيرة لأنه الاداة التي من خلالها يمكن توضيح هذه المعاني الخفية .

في هذه الدراسة , تم تحليل خطاب النصر لألهان عمر وهي السياسية المسلمة الامريكية وعضوة مجلس النواب الامريكي لكشف مفاهيم القوى والأيدولوجيا في خطابها . إن المنهجية التي استخدمت في هذه الدراسة هي منهج فيركلف ذي الثلاثة ابعاد لعام (٢٠١٥) . والثلاثة ابعاد هي: التحليل النصي, التطبيق الخطابى , والتطبيق الاجتماعى . ان هذه الدراسة تتبع منهاجا كميًا ونوعيًا لأنها كُرسِت لوصف علاقات القوى والأيدولوجيات الخفية معتمدة على اطار نظري للنموذج المتبنى . علاوة على ذلك, فأنها قد اعطت وصفا دقيقا عن طريق التكرار والنسب المئوية في الحدوث لكل بعد . أهم الاستنتاجات هي : فيما يتعلق بالتحليل النصي فان المفردات هي الاستراتيجية الأكثر استخداما من قبل الهان عمر, وفيما يتعلق بالتطبيق الخطابى فان الافتراض قد استخدم أكثر من التناس.

الكلمات المفتاحية : تحليل خطاب نقدي, خطابات سياسية, السياسيين الامريكان المسلمين, القوى والأيدولوجيا.

1. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) has become influential and prominent during recent years. Weiss and Wodak (2003:11) explain that CDA has roots which go back to Classical Rhetoric , Text Linguistics , and Socio-linguistics , in addition to Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics .

Critical Linguistics (henceforth, CL) which has appeared in the UK and Australia during 1970s has an initiation in its focus on language and discourse which the current CDA concentrates on. The upgrowth of CDA could be traced at the university of East Anglia in the studies of CL at the beginning of 1970s (Fowler et.al., 1979: 187).

Weiss and Wodak (2003:15) assert that the practitioners in CDA analyse “ opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance , discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” . As the interconnectedness is important, so the practice of critique in CDA requires situating the data within the social context in which it occurs . On this basis , CDA refers to certain factors like culture , society , and ideology in understanding the meaning and consequences of discourse.

Muslims have lived in America for decades. They have suffered a lot from negative perspectives towards them. Terms like islamophobia and terrorism are words used to describe Muslims. They lived marginally in America and their voice couldn't play a vital role in correcting certain beliefs and bad views against them. Now the situation seems to be different to some extent. There are American Muslim members in the Congress and those members can be the spokespeople of the American Muslims.

The political speeches are full of covert ideologies that can be analysed through using certain linguistic tools. Ideology is an important aspect in the field of critical discourse analysis because it deals with uncovering the unseen messages of daily discourses. The political speeches of the American Muslims have various representations of beliefs and ideas that reflect the ideology and power. The way those politicians try to portray the image of Muslims in general and American Muslims in particular through their political status as members of the Congress will be of great importance. Another important aspect is that their attempts to re-correct the distorted view that others try to convey about American Muslims or Muslims in general is also of importance.

To the best of the researchers' knowledge, no previous study has conducted an analysis of Ilhan Omar's speech. In this study, the concepts of power and ideology will be discussed and since this study is a critical discourse analysis one so it can reveal hidden relations. The present study tries to reveal power and hidden ideologies in American Muslims political speeches adopting Fairclough's model (2015). It is an effort to explore textual, discursive, and social strategies employed in Ilhan Omar's victory speech.

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To achieve this aim, the researcher has put certain research questions to be answered throughout this study. These questions are:

1. What are the textual strategies used in Omar's victory speech?
2. What are the discursive strategies found in the speech under study?
3. What are the social strategies that are used to reveal power and ideology?
4. What is the most commonly strategy used in the speech under investigation?

2. Fairclough's Approach

Norman Fairclough is one of the top leading figures of CDA . His approach has provided the basic contributions to CDA studies. In 1989 , Fairclough has presented what he has called Critical Language Study (henceforth, CLS). In the introduction of his book *Language and Power* (1989) , he states that his work has two basic objectives . The first one is theoretical which sheds light on the strong relationship between language and power and how one can achieve power through using particular ways in a language. The second objective is a practical one which helps 'increase consciousness' of the role which language plays in building social relationships (Fairclough, 1989: 5).

Later, Fairclough has developed his work through his books *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), *Discourse and Society* (1993), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995), Chouliaraky & Fairclough *Discourse in Late Modernity* (1999) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2010).

Fairclough (1992: 64) depends on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which regards discourse as multifunctional having three basic functions: (i) identity function which participates in the construction of identity or social self, (ii) relational function that participates in constructing social relationships in society, and (iii) ideational function that contributes in constructing system of knowledge and beliefs.

Concerning conceptualizing ideology, Fairclough advocates a Marxist approach . He confirms that ideologies are "constructions of practices from particular perspectives" which serves to "iron out the contradiction dilemmas and antagonisms of practices in ways which accord with the interests and projects of domination" (Chouliaraky and Fairclough , 1999:26).

Fairclough (2010: 7) considers CDA as a study that " brings a normative element into analysis . It focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution ,

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an organization , etc.) and how 'wrongs' might be 'righted' or mitigated ,from a particular normative standpoint". The analysis of communicative event requires three analytical focuses :

- i) it is a spoken or written language text ,
- ii) it is an instance of discursive practice involving the production and interpretation of text, and
- iii) it is a piece of social practice .

Such analytical focuses involve a three dimensional framework. The first is the analysis of texts which is called description, the second part is the analysis of interaction or discursive practice which is called interpretation , whereas the third dimension deals with the analysis of social practice which is called explanation. The three dimensional frameworks can be explained as :

1. Textual Analysis (Description)

Fairclough (1992: 75) asserts that analysing texts falls into four basis headings : vocabulary which deals with individual words , grammar which deals with how words are combined into clauses and sentences , cohesion which shows how clauses and sentences are linked and the last heading is text structure which deals with “larger scale organizational properties of text” . The analysis of these linguistic features is, in fact , significant for a CDA method of analysis approach.

2. Discursive practice (interpretation)

This dimension is what distinguishes Fairclough approach from other approaches. It has three basic processes: “Production, distribution, and consumption”. These processes differ according to differences in social factors (Fairclough , 1992 : 78-79). Fairclough (1989 : 141) shows that the process of interpretation is achieved by the interpreter through activating his/her member resources (henceforth abbreviated as MR) which s/he has in mind. Text features can work as cues for the process of interpretation because they activate MRs which ,according to Fairclough, are interpretative procedures as they participate in generating interpretation.

The important headings within discursive practice that are offered for investigation are presupposition and intertextuality. Presuppositions are clues inside texts. They have ideological functions as what these presuppositions take on has the common sense in the service of power (Fairclough, 2015: 165). The

second heading within discursive practice is intertextuality which is “the property of being full of snatches of other texts which the text may assimilate , contradict , ironically echo and so forth” (Fairclough , 1992 :80-84).

Intertextuality , in terms of production , stresses the historical side of texts by constituting additional information to existing texts through attaching it with prior texts . Whereas, intertextuality , in terms of distribution , is helpful in exploring rather fixed networks that texts move along passing through expected information. For example , political speeches may often be transformed into news report .The last process of intertextuality is consumption through it the intertextuality stresses that not only the text shapes interpretation , but rather other texts that bring interpretation dimension to the interpretation processes . For instance, the description which includes linguistic analysis that has the form of inetrtextuality (Fairclough, 1995 : 61).

3. Social Practice (Explanation)

This dimension analyses discourse in relation to power and ideology. According to Fairclough (1989: 163), this dimension has an objective which is to “portray a discourse as part of the social process” i.e., a social practice . He explains that discourse , MRs , and the social structure can affect the construction of each other . For example, MRs are shaped by social structure, and the social structure is also changed or shaped by discourse. Fairclough shows that the social practice stage might have two dimensions (a) discourse as part of social struggle. The emphasis of this type is going to be on the social effects of discourse , creativity and on the future. (b) Discourse is determined by power relations in which relationships of power holders determine the discourse. Fairclough (1992: 86) views power as a means of hegemony. According to Fairclough (1989:59) “Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation and their social effects”. The analysis of this dimension has reference to the social, historical and cultural contexts .Fairclough(1995 : 95) asserts that the hidden information of power , ideology and language are investigated through institutional and societal context . The explanation stage corresponds to sociocultural practice.

3. Core Concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis

This section is intended to explore some of the most important concepts related to CDA. Below is an account to each one of them.

3.1 Power

According to Weiss and Wodak (2003 : 15) power is one of the main concepts within the fields of CDA. It is usually related to relations in social structure . CDA interests are in the linguistic units which are used in different ways and manipulations of power. So power is not recognized by the grammatical units of a text only, but rather by the person's control of certain social event via the genre of a text .

Thomas et.al., (2004: 10-11) state that the term power can be defined ,according to *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (1999: 678), as “ The ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will.” The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau has added “ The strongest man is never strong enough always to be master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty.” All of this is done by language. Some other scholars say that language is the domain where the concepts of rights and duties are created. In this sense, power is created by language and performed within it.

In summary, it should be mentioned that power is not considered as bad in itself rather the power of people which enables them to do things is undoubtedly a social good. The important thing ,here, is to distinguish ‘power to’ do things from ‘power over’ people. The binary relation between the two is really a dialectical one because having power over people is simply increasing power to do things. It is sometimes conditional that to have power to do things requires having power over people. To have power over people is also not bad if it is legitimate. People elect their representatives in governments or councils and those representatives have certain forms of power that is legitimate over other people. Exercising power over other people can be criticized only if it is not legitimate or when it brings damage or bad effects to people and to social life in general (Fairclough, 2015: 26-27).

3.2 Ideology

The French philosopher Destutt de Tracy is the first to use the notion of ideology to mean ‘the science of ideas’. Later, Marx and Engels show that the notion of ideology got its negative inferred meaning as a ‘false consciousness’

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which refers to the mislead ideas of the working class concerning their severe conditions of existence and to the ruling class as a means of domination and exploitation (van Dijk, 2011 : 381) . North (1981: 9) explains that ideology can be defined as a “cluster of beliefs concerning the world like the beliefs about the moral values of political action or the existing institutional structure of a community.” According to Thompson (1990: 37), ideology means “ a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but which represents relations in an illusory form”.

Hall (1996: 26) confirms that ideology is ‘the mental frameworks’. This means that ideology refers to thoughts, concepts, languages, and system of presentation that the social groups settle to show how the society works. Ideology can be considered ,here, as a framework of both mental and social representations. The main function of ideology ,in this way, is to interpret the social relations, structures and practices. Ideology can stabilize society through certain forms of dominance and power. Thus, according to her, ideology has cognitive dimension which includes ideas and beliefs and also social dimension which covers social groups in addition to power relations.

In summary, traditionally, the concept of ideology refers to ideas and the main characteristics of individuals. In order to explain this concept in details, the function of ideology should be shown. It can be said that the main function of ideology is the role it plays in a society. This is related to the current study in that it tries to analyse the speeches of American Muslim politicians. The two politicians are members of American Congress after being elected by certain group in the American society who shares the same ideas and beliefs i.e., American Muslims. Accordingly, there is a certain ideology to be spread.

4. Islamophobia

The concept 'Islamophobia' is a blending word. It consists of 'Islam' and the suffix 'phobia' which means 'fear of Islam' or 'hatred towards Muslims'. Evolvi (2018: 307) claims that the term 'Islamophobia' may go back to the seventh century. However , in America , Islamophobia after 9/11 events has become one of the debatable discourses . Another view is stated by Bazian (2018: 282) which shows that the term islamophobia is a natural result of the 'Clash of Civilizations' which is related to Huntington's concept of 'Islamic Extremisms'. As a matter of fact, Islamophobia is the unfounded hatred and hostility against Muslims' communities all around the world . Waikar (2018: 26) has a similar view arguing that the idea of Islamophobia has one of the most expressive forms of

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discrimination and racism. Drabu (2018: 283) also confirms that Islamophobia is a term which has the ability to highlight the wide zone of racism, discrimination, prejudices and hatred towards Islamic religion and Muslims by Westerners. The global political view which is supported by the global media is associated with the negative stereotyping and perceptions of Muslims.

In recent years, the term 'Islamophobia' has become an influential political concept which is employed in many research studies and used by many politicians. This term has been used by many researchers to classify the history,

roots, consequences, and intensity of anti-Islamic feelings. Scholars consider it as a social anxiety and stress against Muslim culture and Islam across the globe. Others think that it refers to the rejection of Muslims' religion because they relate it to terrorism (Bleich, 2012: 80-89).

In summary, it can be said that 'islamophobia' passed through certain stages, but the most distinguished one is before and after 9/11 events. Allen (2010 : 83) states that Islamophobia has a distinguished pre 9/11 context and post 9/11 . After 9/11 events terms like Islam and Muslims have a deep influence on a wide distance in all fields whether it is political , social or economic.

5. Methodology

In this section, the research design will be highlighted. It also presents the model adopted for analysis in conducting this study.

5.1 Data Description

The data chosen for the analysis is Ilhan Omar's victory speech on (November 06, 2018). It is downloaded from <https://www.facebook.com/IlhanMN/videos/73697916731905>

5.2 Research Design

The method of the present study is a mixed method. It is both qualitative and quantitative study. The qualitative method deals with description of events without any reference to statistical results. It is also regarded as a subjective analysis as it is influenced by the writer's or speaker's feelings. This method is useful in CDA studies because it can reveal the hidden ideologies and power relation in discourse. The quantitative method includes the statistical results that

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the researcher has reached at. It is an objective analysis as it deals with facts and cannot be biased by the writer's or speaker's feelings.

5.3 The Model Adopted

Power and ideology in the selected speeches are analysed according to Fairclough's model (2015). This model has three dimensions : textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Fairclough (2015: 128) asserts that the analysis of texts can participate in discovering power relations and ideologies in discourse. Text analysis is included in discourse analysis in addition to interaction and social context. These parts include description of text, interpretation which shows the relation between text and interaction, and explanation which elaborates the relation between interaction and social context.

6. Data Analysis

6.1 Qualitative Analysis

6.1.1 Textual Analysis

6.1.1.1 Vocabulary

Rewording

Ilhan Omar has started her speech with *As-Salam aleikum* (line 1) instead of other greetings used by the Americans. It seems to be that ,ideologically, she wants to present her identity as a Muslim. Rewording has an experiential value.

Another instance of rewording is the use of *Alhamdulillah, Alhamdulillah, Alhamdulillah* (line 1) which means all praise be to Allah. This word ‘Alhamdulillah’ is used by Muslims and Arabs. Again, the speaker insists on showing her identity.

Overwording

The speaker has repeated word *Alhamdulillah* (line 1) three times announcing and testifying her thanks to Allah. According to her ideology, she thinks that she would not win in the election without Allah’s will, so she wants to thank Allah for this bounty. Overwording has an experiential value.

Another instance of overwording is found in the words *homes* and *tents* (line 15). These words are not different in their meaning but rather different in their reference to different living conditions. Omar is dissatisfied with the services the American administration presents to the Americans, and believes that a country like America has the ability to present more to its people.

The speaker has also used the synonyms *sorrow* and *sadness* (line 22) to describe the severe situations that one may face. The ideological message she wants to send is that she has a mission and she will never give up or be defeated, but rather fight back to get her rights.

Ilhan Omar has used the word *fight* (lines 30, 33, 34, and 36) many times to ensure that there are significant issues like health care for all, a living wage for working families, a world-class education, tuition free college, abolishing ICE, protecting refugees, protecting women’s rights and standing against climate change deserve to be dealt seriously. According to her ideology, she believes that those issues are beyond dispute and one should fight for.

Another instance of overwording is the use of pseudo- synonyms which are *racism* and *white supremacy* (lines 39-40). Omar stands against these two phenomena and regards them as an enemy which threatens the American very existence.

The speaker has used many adjectives describing her identity as *immigrant*, *black*, *Muslim woman* (line 41) and *the first woman to wear hijab* (line 6) to become a Congresswoman. Such features are evaluated negatively by discriminators, so the speaker wants to say that the way is not easy and many challenges are going to be faced. Ideologically, she thinks that no difference between black and white, and immigrants should be dealt with in a better way.

Omar has also used opposite words like *cold* and *warm* (line 46) to describe both the weather and people of Minnesota. She seems to be in a concord with the Minnesotans' behaviour as they have intimate relations and they deal with immigrants leniently. Again Omar's Islamic ideology leads her to that bias.

Metaphor

An example of metaphor is the use of the word *rock* (line 26) to describe one of the speaker's friend. The features of a rock are unbreakable, stable and strong. And when someone says 'you are my rock' it means you can rely on and find when life gets tough. So, Omar wants to express her gratitude to her friend

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Ahmed who has participated in her election campaign. Metaphor has an experiential value.

Another instance of metaphor is found in *the North Star* (line 37). Omar makes similarity between the Minnesotans and the North Star as the North Star depicts a beacon of hope and inspiration for many and it is a sky mark that helps people to determine their direction because it glows brightly. In return, the Minnesotans do not just welcome immigrants, they send them to Washington. So, Ideologically, Omar is against immigration limits and tries to protect immigrants.

Euphemism

An instance of euphemism is the use of the expression *first woman of color* (line 5) instead of first black woman. Omar tries to reduce the bad and negative evaluation that the black get from the racists, so she uses this description. Euphemistic expressions have a relational value.

Formality

Although, the speaker has ,in fact, used some informal words to welcome and thank her supporters, she has used a number of formal words to show the formality of situation she was talking about. Examples of formal words which may be replaced by some others are *represent* (line 5) instead of stand for , *opportunity* (line 18) instead of chance, *children* (line 25) instead of kids, *vision* (line 30) instead of sight, *finally* (line 34) instead of in the end, and *call* (line 38) instead of ringing up. Power can be represented in the formal use of language. As Omar becomes a member of the Congress, she has a legislative authority and she is a responsible person having political status. She has used the word *represent* to inform others that she is going to be their spokesperson. She has also used the word *opportunity* describing America as the land of opportunity to show the high status of America that is supposed to be. Other selected formal words are: *children*, *vision*, *finally*, and *call*. All these formal words participate in creating the formal setting of the speech which the speaker tries to present.

6.1.1.2 Grammar

6.1.1.2.1 Transitivity

(1) *The first woman to wear hijab to represent us in Congress* (lines 6-7). The agent of this sentence is 'the first woman', the verbs 'wear' and 'represent' express the process of action, 'hijab' and 'us' are the themes being the entities affected by the action of the agent and have got a change in state. 'In Congress'

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represents the location of the action. It seems to be that the speaker tries to describe herself being the first woman, wearing hijab, and representing the American Muslim community in Congress. Power can be analysed through having the ability to become a member of the Congress. The ideology of the speaker

can be discovered through using the expression “to wear hijab” because ‘hijab’ is used by Muslim women to cover their heads.

(2) *...I heard of its promises* (line 11). ‘I’ is the experiencer because it is followed by one of the sense verbs, ‘heard’ represents the process of action, and ‘its promises’ is the theme of the sentence. Ideologically, the speaker believes in the American promises and these promises are the motives behind her immigration with her family to America.

(3) *My grandfather taught me that when you see injustice, you fight back* (lines 21-22). The agent is ‘my grandfather, the verb ‘taught’ refers to the process of action, and ‘me’ is the theme , the pronoun ‘you’ is the experiencer, the verb ‘see’ expresses another action process and ‘injustice’ is the theme. Ideologically, the speaker wants to say that they have a long history of injustice and she has learned what to do when she confronts it.

(4) *...we send them to Washington* (line 48). ‘We’ is the agent, the verb ‘send’ represents the process of action, ‘them’ is the theme, and ‘to Washington’ is the goal. ‘We’ refers to the Minnesotans and ‘them’ refers to the immigrants. The speaker has an ideology that people should welcome immigrants and do all the facilitations they need because she herself is an immigrant and knows well the severe conditions they face.

6.1.1.2.2 Passivization

(5) *Immigrants, promised the land of opportunity, are too often met with bigotry and hate* (lines 18-19). ‘Immigrants’ are the subject of the passive sentence, ‘are too often met with bigotry and hate’ is the event of the sentence. Omar doesn’t mention the agent of the sentence for political and ideological reasons, but at the same time she reveals her stance which is against the way which the immigrants are dealt with.

(6) *...for working families to ensure that they are paid a living wage and have access to save and sick time* (lines 31-32). The word ‘they’ is the subject of the passive sentence, and ‘are paid a living wage...’ is the event. The speaker seems that she is not a purely capitalist, because she encourages to improve the labors’

conditions. The ideological bias towards socialism and the sense of solidarity can be discovered in her speech.

6.1.1.2.3 Modality

(7) *I could not stand by on the sidelines and watch those promises go unkept* (lines 19-20). Modality is expressed by the verb ‘could’ in a negative form which gives the meaning of impossibility. According to the speaker’s ideology in the American promise, there is something wrong and people could not find that promise. She tells the audience that she is going to do something for that because she could not just stand and watch. Power can be seen through stating the speaker’s role in the sentence.

(8) *I would not be here tonight without my people* (line 23). The verb ‘would’ represents modality and gives the meaning of inability because it comes in a negative form. Omar expresses the social status and the political power she has got testifying the role of her people in achieving that.

(9) *You know, I will not bow down* (line 42). The verb ‘will’ expresses modality and gives the meaning of promise. She challenges the last American administration because it does not see her as an American because she is an immigrant, black, and Muslim. She accuses that administration of being racist. Power can be analysed through giving a promise to resist and predict her stance in the future.

(10) *I will stand strong with you* (line 43). The modal verb ‘will’ has the meaning of prediction. Power can be seen through the prediction of future by the speaker.

The modal verb *must* has been used three times by the speaker. (97) *We must stand side-by-side....* (line 50), (98) *we must fight for our rights and the freedoms we value* (lines 51-52), and (99) *we must do the work to create the America we believe in, the America we deserve* (lines 53-55). All the uses of the modal verb ‘must’ indicate obligation. Power is expressed through having the ability to use obligation. Ideologically, the speaker believes in teamwork to achieve the ambitions and rights they believe in.

6.1.1.3 Sentence Length Complexity

Omar's victory speech consists of (6) paragraphs. The longest paragraphs are number (3) and (4). These two paragraphs have (10) sentences each, whereas the shortest one is paragraph number (5) which consists of (2) sentences. The longest

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sentence has (53) words which starts in line (28), paragraph (3). It is a complex sentence. Long sentences are used to give enough explanations and details. In this long sentence, the speaker puts her vision. It contains both solidarity through showing gratitude to the people of fifth congressional district in Minnesota, and also reveals the ideology of the speaker; things that have a major priority to her.

Short sentences are used to describe ideas briefly. The shortest sentence is "*We are going to Washington*" which is in line (56), paragraph (6). It is the last sentence in this speech. This sentence explains the result of the hard work and efforts of the people who support her in the election campaign. The speaker has used the pronoun 'we' as if she and her supporters are one entity. Omar gives them a message that there are going to be in Washington; the place of decision making, because they have a person who represents them there. The total number of sentences in Omar's victory speech is 46, whereas the complex sentences is 16 sentences.

6.1.2 Discursive Practice

6.1.2.1 Presupposition

The presupposition triggers are the possessive constructions *your congresswoman-elect* and *my name* (lines 4-5). These two pronouns refer to existential presuppositions. It is true that the speaker's supporters have their representative in the Congress. In addition, their representative has certain characteristics like immigrant, black, and Muslim woman.

Other presupposition triggers are *the first woman of color...*(line 5), *the first woman to wear hijab...*(line 6), *the first refugee...*(line 7), and *...one of the first muslim women elected to Congress* (lines 7-8). These presupposition triggers consist of definite articles and noun phrases, so they are existential

presuppositions. Ideologically, the speaker presupposes her identity being a woman of color, wearing hijab, refugee, Muslim and member of the Congress.

The presupposition trigger is the verb *know* (line 10) which is a factive presupposition. Power can be shown through the speaker's ability to presuppose what other think.

The presupposition trigger is the possessive pronoun *its promises* (line 11). It is an existential presupposition as it is true that ,according to the speaker's vision, America has promises to all people around the world and to its people.

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My grandfather (line 21) is the presupposition trigger. It is an existential presupposition. It presupposes that Omar has a grandfather. Ideologically, the speaker has inherited the beliefs and values she has from her grandfather. Power can be analysed through the writer's insistence on fighting for rights.

The presupposition trigger is the verb *know* (line 42) in both sentences. It is a factive presupposition which means that Omar is not going to bow down.

Our immigrant families (line 44) is the presupposition trigger. It is an existential presupposition. It presupposes that they have immigrant families, neighbours, children, planet, and community. The ideology of the speaker seems to be different from the ideology of the last administration.

6.1.2.2 Intertextuality

(11) *My grandfather taught me that when you see injustice, you fight back* (lines 21-22).

Omar mentions implicitly that there is injustice in America, because she uses intertextual weaving indicating her grandfather and his will. According to her ideology, she believes that the last administration is rather racist because it has problems with the black, immigrants, and Muslims, but she is not going to give up because she knows how to fight.

(12) ...*the people of the fifth congressional district, who in electing me have said that you will fight for our bold progressive vision, for healthcare for all.....(lines 29-31).*

This intertextual weaving, that seems to be a paraphrasing, is used by the speaker to insist that the basic issues she is going to deal with are the requirements which people who have elected her to perform them. They have the same vision.

6.1.3 Social Practice

The researcher has chosen two components of social practice that suit this study which are power and ideology.

6.1.3.1 Power Analysis

Power which has been shown in the analysis of the speech under study is called legitimate power. It is the kind of power that one can obtain from his formal position or office. The member of the Congress whose speech is under study has got her power through her political status being member of the

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Congress. The researcher has discovered that this member has not used coercive power in her speech. She tries to impose her vision which she believes that it will bring good results to her American Muslim community in a way that is accepted by her audience who are her supporters.

6.1.3.2 Ideology Analysis

1. The Hijab

The ideology of hijab has been explained by Ilhan Omar when she presents her identity being the first woman to wear hijab and become a member of the Congress (line 6-7 in her victory speech). Omar believes in wearing hijab as she is a Muslim woman. She is proud of her identity because she has tried to propagate it publically. At the same time, she tries to reveal the opposite ideology of rejecting hijab and standing against the Muslims' ideology as it is shown in her second speech (line 29) where others try to incite against Muslims.

2. Peace

Omar has also referred to the idea of peace when she mentions in her victory speech (lines 38-39) the danger of racism on peace. She says “ a time when racism and white supremacy threatens our very existence”. She determines the enemies of peace and public coexistence which are racism and white supremacy.

3. Religiosity

Omar has also used words which reveal her Islamic religion. In her victory speech (lines 6-7), she says “.....and one of the first Muslim women elected to the Congress. She discovers her religion as a Muslim. She has also shown her stance which has its roots from Islam when she reacts to the behaviour of the last president by saying “and what Islam teaches us and what I always say is that love Trump’s hate”.

6.2 Quantitative Analysis

Table (5.1) below shows that vocabulary as a textual strategy is the most commonly used in Ilhan Omar’s victory speech at (18) with (40.91%), followed by sentence length complexity at (16) with (36.36%), and then grammar at (10) with (22.73%).

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Table (5.1): The Frequency of Textual Strategies in Omar’s Speeches

Vocabulary	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Rewording	2	11.11%	40.91%
Overwording	7	38.89%	
Metaphor	2	11.11%	
Euphemism	1	5.56%	
Formality	6	33.33%	
Total	18	100%	
Grammar	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Transitivity	4	40%	22.73%
Passivization	2	20%	
Modality	4	40%	

Total	10	100%	
Sentence length & Complexity	Frequency	Percentage	36.36%
Complex Sentences	16	34.78%	
Total	46	100%	100%

With respect to discursive strategies, Table (5.2) shows that Omar has used the existential presupposition at (9) with (62.23%), followed by factive presupposition at (2) with (15.38%), and intertextuality at (2) with (15.38%).

Table (5.2): The Frequency of Discursive Strategies in Omar's Speech.

Discursive Strategies		Frequency	Percentage	Total%
Types of Presupposition	Existential	9	62.23%	84.38%
	Factive	2	15.38%	
Total		11	84.62%	
Intertextuality		2	15.38%	15.38%
Total		13	100%	100%

Table (5.3) shows that ideology as a social strategy is more commonly used by Omar than power. According to the percentage, Omar has used ideology as a social strategy at (15) with (71.43%), and power at (6) with (28.57%).

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Table (5.3): The Frequency of Social Strategies in Omar's Speech

Social Strategies	Frequency	Percentage
Power	6	28.57%
Ideology	15	71.43%
Total	21	100%

Table (5.4) and Figure (5.1) indicate that the textual strategy is the most commonly used one at (44) with (56.41%), followed by the social strategy at (21) with (26.92%), whereas the discursive strategy is the least commonly used at (13) with (16.67%).

Table (5.4): The Frequency of the Textual, Discursive, Social strategies in Ilhan Omar's Victory Speech.

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Textual	44	56.41%
Discursive	13	16.67%
Social	21	26.92%
Total	78	100%

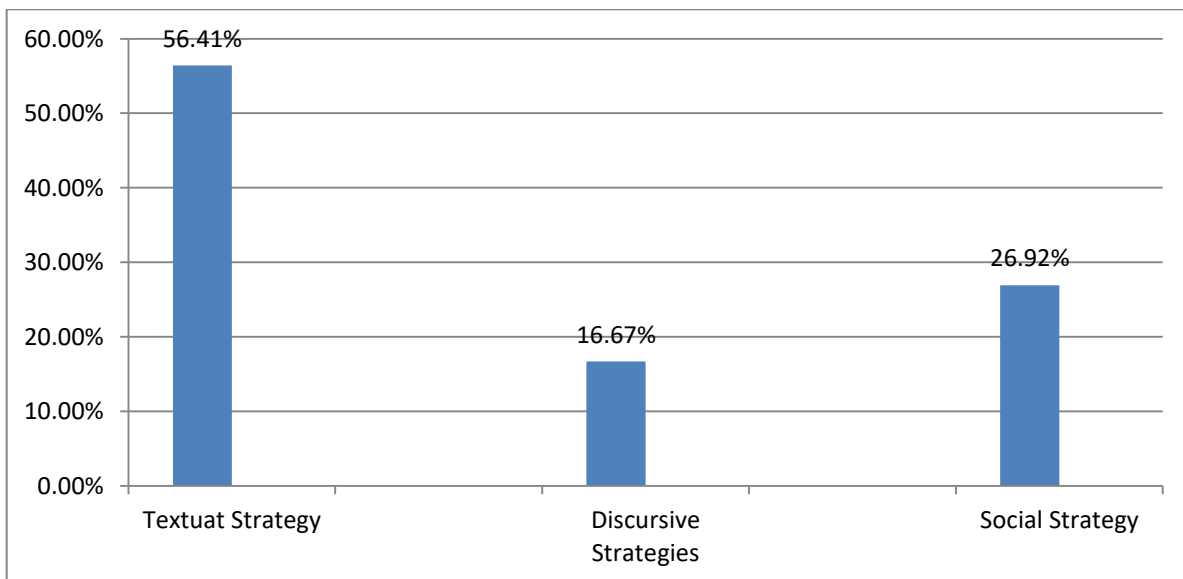


Figure (5.1): The Rate of Textual, Discursive, and Social Strategies in Ilhan Omar's Victory Speech.

7. Conclusions

1. With respect to textual analysis, vocabulary is the strategy which is the most commonly used by Ilhan Omar at (18) with (40.91%) out of the total number of the textual strategies. Sentence length complexity comes in the second rank at (16)

with (36.36), whereas grammar comes in the third rank at (10) with (22.73%). Correspondingly, the first research question has been answered.

2. Concerning discursive practice, presupposition is the most commonly used at (11) with (84.62%), whereas intertextuality at (2) with (15.38%). Thus, the second research question has been answered.

3. With regard to social practice, ideology is more commonly used in the social strategies at (15) with (71.43%) than power which is used at (6) with (28.57%) out of the total use of the social strategies employed by Ilhan Omar. Correspondingly, the third research question has been answered.

4. Textual strategies are the most commonly used by Ilhan Omar at (44) with (56.41%), followed by social strategies at (21) with (26.92%), whereas the discursive strategies are the least one at (13) with (16.67%). Thus, the fourth research question has been answered.

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