1. Azal Hani Zeidan
2. Hashim Aliwy Mohammed Alhusseini

College of Education for Humanities, Wasit University

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* Corresponding Author Email:
1.azalh902@uowasit.edu.iq
2.hilewi@uowasit.edu.iq

The Concept of Hijab in Selected Political Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis
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A B S T R A C T

In recent years, the hijab has transcended its traditional religious significance to become one of the most contentious topics in Western societies. The controversies surrounding the hijab have invoked associations with fear, terrorism, and coercion, contributing to a negative perception of Islam. This study aims to analyse the textual characteristics of references to the hijab in political discourse, focusing on the power dynamics and ideological constructs evident in political speeches. Employing a qualitative research approach, this study utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) through Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (1989, 2001) to examine the representation of the hijab in political rhetoric. The findings indicate that politicians use varied linguistic strategies to refer to the hijab, often conveying underlying ideologies and implicit messages through specific pronouns and lexical choices, such as expressions denoting personal beliefs, hostility, or animosity. The study also reveals the strategic use of both formal and informal language, with formal language aligning with the context of official discourse, while informal language is employed to express personal viewpoints. Ideologically, the discourse is grounded in secular perspectives and reflects specific political attitudes.

تحليل خطاب نقدي للحجاب في خطابات سياسية مختارة

أ.د هاشم عليوي محمد الحسيني   الباحثة أزل هاني زيدان

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية   كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

جامعة واسط   جامعة واسط

الملخص

في السنوات الأخيرة، تجاوز الحجاب أهميته الدينية التقليدية ليصبح أحد أكثر المواضيع إثارة للجدل في المجتمعات الغربية. وقد استحضرت الخلافات المحيطة بالحجاب ارتباطات بالخوف والإرهاب والإكراه؛ مما أسهم في خلق تصور سلبي للإسلام. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل الخصائص النصية للإشارات إلى الحجاب في الخطاب السياسي، مع التركيز على ديناميكيات القوة والبناءات الإيديولوجية الواضحة في الخطب السياسية باستخدام نهج بحثي نوعي، تستخدم هذه الدراسة تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA) من خلال إطار فيركلو ثلاثي الأبعاد (1989، 2001) لفحص تمثيل الحجاب في الخطاب السياسي. وتشير النتائج إلى أن السياسيين يستخدمون استراتيجيات لغوية متنوعة للإشارة إلى الحجاب، وغالبًا ما ينقلون الإيديولوجيات الأساسية والرسائل الضمنية من خلال ضمائر محددة واختيارات معجمية، مثل التعبيرات التي تدل على المعتقدات الشخصية أو العداء أو العداوة. وتكشف الدراسة أيضًا عن الاستخدام الاستراتيجي للغة الرسمية وغير الرسمية؛ إذ تتوافق اللغة الرسمية مع سياق الخطاب الرسمي، في حين تُستخدم اللغة غير الرسمية للتعبير عن وجهات نظر شخصية. ومن الناحية الإيديولوجية، يرتكز الخطاب على وجهات نظر علمانية ويعكس مواقف سياسية محددة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل خطاب نقدي, الخطاب السياسي, الإيديولوجية, القوة, الحجاب.

1.Introduction

Ghumman and Ryan (2013) note that the term "hijab" is predominantly utilized in Western societies, whereas within the broader Muslim community, it encompasses various garments such as long coats, pieces of cloth, or headscarves that cover a woman's body (Ruby, 2006). Consequently, multiple terms are used to denote the practice of head and face covering, with "hijab" serving as a general term due to its diverse and multifaceted nature. For example, while a Saudi woman may

refer to a niqab or face veil as hijab, a Canadian Muslim woman might use the term to describe a simple headscarf (Ruby, 2006; Cole & Ahmadi, 2010).

The concept of the hijab is widely misunderstood, misrepresented, and often targeted for criticism in contemporary global discourse. It appears that no other subject pertaining to Muslims garners as much attention as the matter of women's modesty (Sulaiman & Raifu, 2020). In Western contexts, the hijab is perceived as one of the most debated aspects of Islamic practice (Abu Hwaij, 2012). Consequently, the global political narrative that associates Islam with terrorism has complicated the legitimacy of symbolic representations of Muslim identity in public spheres. Similarly, the veil is often viewed as a symbol of violence and oppression by many in the West (Haddad, 2007). For instance, France's legal ban on the hijab for schoolgirls and civil servants is justified under the concept of *laïcité* (or secularism), which advocates for religious freedom or state neutrality and protection from religious expressions in public (Liederman, 2000; Killian, 2003; Ezekiel, 2005; Shadid & Van Koningsveld, 2005).

This study aims to examine and analyze the textual features of references to the hijab in political discourse, with a focus on power dynamics and ideological constructs as reflected in political speeches. Utilizing a qualitative research methodology, this study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (1989, 2001) to investigate the portrayal of the hijab in political rhetoric.

2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Tannen et al. (2001) argue that the term "discourse" serves as an umbrella covering a wide array of fields in linguistics as well as other disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, and psychology. Discourse encompasses linguistic

phenomena that extend beyond individual sentences to include broader social contexts. Historically, CDA emerged in the 1990s following a pivotal conference in Amsterdam, and it has since been developed and studied by scholars such as van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak (Alhusseini, 2020).

CDA is an approach aimed at exploring the relationship between language and social structures, including aspects such as power, social roles, and identity (Fairclough, 1992). Widdowson (2004) emphasizes that CDA seeks to understand how power abuse is communicated linguistically and how language is employed to distort reality. Fairclough (2003) posits that CDA is a method for examining the use of language in political and social contexts, providing a means to critically investigate the relationship between ideology and power.

CDA focuses on discourse analysis from a critical perspective, addressing real and complex social interactions characterized by specific linguistic forms (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, as cited in Alhusseini, 2020). According to van Dijk (2001), CDA is concerned with understanding how social power, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted through written texts and spoken discourse in various social and political contexts.

2.1 Fairclough's Approach to CDA

Norman Fairclough is one of the key figures in the domain of CDA. Fairclough (1995) focused in his approach on concepts like dominance, difference, and resistance. He argued that language is an essential tool of social control and power. Therefore, Fairclough (1989) offered forward three stages of discourse analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation respectively as seen in Figure 1 below.

2.2 The stages of Fairclough's Model

According to Fairclough (1992), three-dimensional methods have special features to discourse analysis that is the link between its three stages. Fairclough (1995) regards this aspect as a crucial tenet of CDA. It emphasises that the study of text should not be artificially separated from the analysis of institutional and discursive processes in which texts are embedded. The three stages of Fairclough's (1989, 2001) are listed below:

2.2.1 The Description Stage

The first stage focuses on examining the formal properties of texts or "discourse fragments," which includes both the visual-verbal and visual texts. At this level, the researcher has the freedom and flexibility to pick whatever linguistic elements that is appropriate and suited for the desired data. Fairclough describes this step as "selective". The analysis is done by investigating and choices from among the options of grammar or vocabulary (Fairclough, 1989). He highlights a set of textual features that is selective and tends to be most significant to a CDA. For him, the three parameters to be analysed in any text are vocabulary, pronouns, and textual structure.

- **Text Structure**

Fairclough (1989) shows that the text structure may be defined as the deliberate arrangement of information inside a text, following a predetermined sequence. According to Fairclough (1992), the descriptive component pertains to the examination of the wide organisational characteristics of discourse. The analysis of text structure plays a crucial role in examining how many aspects of a text are organised to shape its overall appearance.

- **Vocabulary**

The second linguistic element used in the examination of the chosen texts is the aspect of vocabulary. The selection of words in a work is contingent upon and

contributes to the establishment of social dynamics among its participants. According to Fairclough (1995), the vocabulary used within a discourse is indicative of the speaker's perception and understanding of both the natural and social realms. The word "experiential value" was used by the author to denote this particular function of language. The examination of words serves to demonstrate the perceived social dynamics between the speaker and the recipient(s).

Fairclough (1995) posits that the concept of wording encompasses the use of lexical elements across several registers. Lexical elements often include both connotative and denotative meanings, which subsequently serve to provide indications of the speaker's ideology, whether directly or implicitly. Leech (1996) defines connotative meaning as the kind of meaning that imbues a term with communicative potency. Alternatively, Crystal (1997) provided a definition of denotative meaning as the objective relationship between a word and the actual reality it signifies.

- **Pronouns**

Pronouns can be classified into eight categories: possessive, personal, interrogative, reflexive, indefinite, demonstrative, and relative pronouns (Crystal, 2003, as cited in Madhlum & Al-atabi). The pronouns "I" and "me" serve as representations of the first person pronoun, with "I" being used in the subjective case and "me" in the objective situation (Bache, 2000). These two pronouns are used when the speaker has the intention of excluding others from a certain perspective. Biber et al. (2015) stated that "they" and "them" are pronouns used to denote the third person plural in both the subject and object cases. These pronouns play a crucial role in the process of "othering." Fairclough uses the term "out-group reference" to describe the situation in which a speaker intends to refer to others who are not part of their immediate social group. The speaker uses the pronouns "they" or "them" to refer to individuals who are distinct from both the speaker and the addressees (Jensen, et al,

2016). Biber et al. (2015) provide a clarification of the concepts of inclusive and exclusive "we." The concept of inclusive "we" refers to the inclusion of both the speaker and the listener in the statement being made (i.e., I and you). On the other hand, exclusive "we" denotes the exclusion of the listener from the statement (i.e., I and others, but not you).

2.2.2 Interpretation

The second stage focuses on examining the processes of production (writing, speaking, and designing) and consumption (reading, listening, and viewing) of texts. The discursive practice level, which includes the relation between text and interaction as follows:

- **Situational Context**

The first domain in the interpretation stage is the situational context, which could be examined through four questions proposed by Fairclough (1989) that correspond to three discourse types. These are as follows: First, what's going on corresponds with the contents of the situation including its topic, purpose, and activity. Second, who are involved matches the subjects of the situation. Finally, in what relations, relates to the relations between participants in the discourse or, as put by Fairclough (1989), power relations that are raised and introduced in a specific speech event.

- **Intertextuality**

The second aspect of the interpretation stage is the intertextuality, a concept defined by Fairclough (1992) as the existence of elements from other texts within a given text. The significance of analysing intertextuality lies in its ability to unveil how an author incorporates elements from previous texts to create something new. In simpler terms, it highlights the historical connection between a particular text and earlier texts that are either similar or related.

2.2.3 Explanation

The third stage of analysis in Fairclough's model is the explanation stage. Fairclough (1989) suggested that explanation stage focuses on the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects. It focuses on the level of the sociocultural practice specifically examining the hidden ideologies of power behind discourse and the entire processes that governs the relations of power in discourse. At this level, analysing critically tries to reveal the shaping of ideological patterns and power.
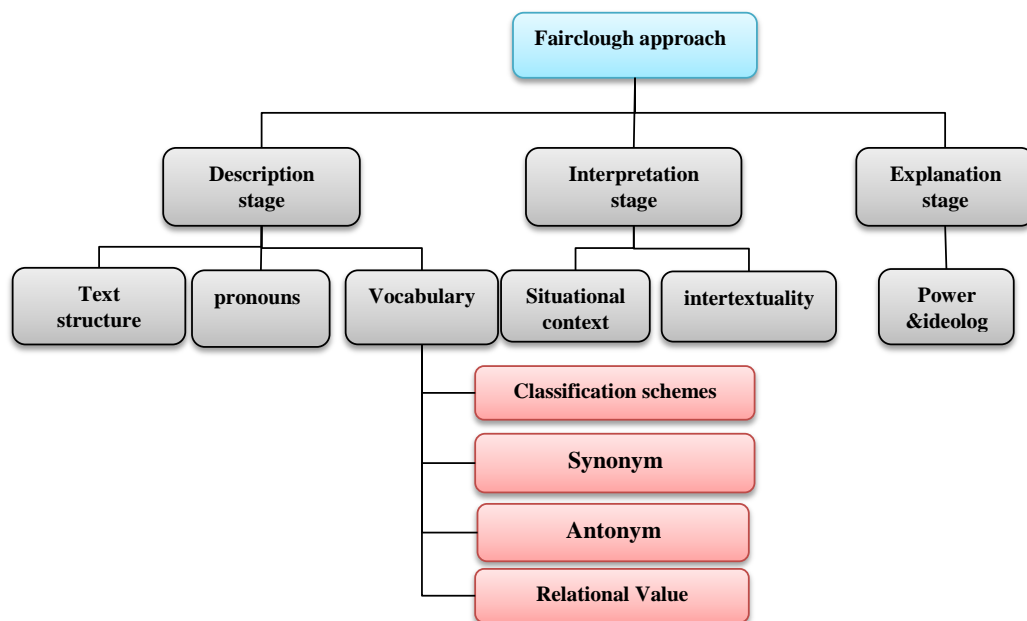
2.2.3.1 Ideology

According to Volosinov (1973), ideology is defined as a class conflict that is expressed via linguistic signs and influences all aspects of language use (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Ideology is a word that describes a collection of views or philosophies that are ascribed to an individual or a group of individuals based on their understanding of knowledge (Honderich, 1995).

2.2.3.2 Power

Fowler (1991) defined power as the capacity of individuals and organisations to exert control over the actions and material lives of others. According to linguistic theory, having power is akin to being able to manipulate and influence the thoughts of others with words. CDA is used to analyse power, dominance, and inequality, since these concepts are the primary focus of CDA.

Figure (1):

Fairclough's Three Dimensional Stages (adopted from Fairclough, 2001)

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Fairclough approach │
                        └─────────────────────┘
         ┌────────────────────┬────────────────────┐
  ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐
  │ Description  │    │Interpretation│    │ Explanation  │
  │    stage     │    │    stage     │    │    stage     │
  └──────────────┘    └──────────────┘    └──────────────┘
   ┌─────┬──────┬──────┐      ┌──────────┐         │
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│ Text  ││pronouns││Vocabulary││Situational││intertextuality││  Power   │
│structure││      ││          ││ context  ││              ││ &ideolog │
└───────┘└────────┘└──────────┘└──────────┘└──────────────┘└──────────┘
                        │
              ┌───────────────────────┐
              │ Classification schemes│
              └───────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────────────┐
              │       Synonym         │
              └───────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────────────┐
              │       Antonym         │
              └───────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────────────┐
              │    Relational Value   │
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3. Hijab

In the twenty-first century, the most prominent and contentious aspect of Islamic practice is the observance of modesty or covering, often referred to as a hijab (Cooke, 2007). The Arabic term "Hijab" simply means "covering" (Halrynjo & Jonker, 2016). Hijab is defined as a piece of cloth worn by a woman to hide and cover her forbidden parts from strangers. Hijab covers all of the body parts from top to toe. It is known as a garment that noticeably shows a woman's head cover (Mizel, 2019).

3.1 Political Views about Hijab

Political discourse is identified by its authors or actors viz., politicians. In other words, Political discourse includes presidential campaigns, political speeches, and debates (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). According to van Dijk (1997), politicians are

those people who are elected, appointed, or self-designated as the primary participants in the political system. Politics, thus, encompasses all formal and informal political entities, settings, actions, events, encounters, and discourses, but also compasses abstract political processes, or political systems (like democracy and communism), political ideologies (like liberalism), and political (group) relations (such as power, inequality, hegemony, and oppression).

Political language encompasses an abstract conceptual terms that focus on the moral rather than philosopher meanings. Its purpose is to convey information to recipients and address various aspects of people's affairs, including both simple and complex matters such as issues related to war and peace (Al-Majali, 2015).

Al Ghezzey (2023) stated that women are often portrayed with negative characteristics. Therefore, global politics that connects Islam to terrorism have complicated the legitimacy of symbolic representations of Islamic identity in the public domain in the Western nations. This issue gained prominence in many European countries after the events of 11 September 2001 by the law that bans hijab in public schools and other state institutions. Media reports on international military actions against global terrorism and states' efforts to circumvent terrorist acts and increase security have made Muslims in Western countries more visible (Byng, 2010).

4. Methodology

The choice between qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods should not be based on researchers' personal preferences but rather on the nature of the study and the specific objectives it aims to achieve (Ary et al., 2006). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define qualitative research as an interpretive and naturalistic approach, where researchers seek to understand or interpret phenomena based on the meanings people assign to them. This method generally involves smaller sample sizes, and researchers

play an active role in data collection within natural settings, employing techniques such as description, explanation, and exploration (Suter, 2011).

In this study, a qualitative approach was chosen to analyze the representation of the hijab in political discourse. By adopting Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) through Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (1989, 2001), the study aims to uncover the underlying power dynamics and ideological constructs evident in the speeches of selected political figures.

5. Data Analysis

This section presents an analysis of two political extracts concerning the hijab by Marine Le Pen and Pauline Hanson. The choice of these two politicians is attributed to their extreme views on Islam and the hijab. The texts have been analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (1989, 2001).

5.1 Analysis of extract (1): Marine Le Pen says she would ban the hijab during French presidential debate

5.1.1 Description Stage

The description stage is the first stage of the analysis in Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. This stage is comprised of three distinct subsections: text structure, pronouns, and vocabulary.

In the first stage of analysis, the focus is on the formal properties of the text, such as structure, pronouns, and vocabulary. Marine Le Pen begins her speech by expressing strong opposition to the hijab, portraying it as a religious imposition and a symbol of extremism. The conversation then shifts to Emmanuel Macron's more neutral stance, highlighting the contrasting views between the two political figures. Le Pen's use of pronouns, such as "I" and "we," reflects her personal and political

party's views, emphasizing a sense of responsibility to "free" Muslim women from perceived oppression.

5.1.1.1 Text Structure

The extract begins with statement said by Marine Le Pen, a political French figure. She describes her views about the religious form. Her speech shows her enmity towards religious symbol headscarves. Similarly, she states that the veil is a religious form imposed by Islamic figures. Therefore, in her state, she stands against hijab and any other Islamic religious symbols. Then, the conversation turns to describe another political figure Emmanuel Macron view. He describes his position which is neutral as supporting his political stance. The last section is a warning to Marine for stating such law. It also describes the two politician's stance clearly; Macron who stands positively with religious symbols in the public sphere, on the other hand Le Pen who puts a law that prevents women from wearing it.

5.1.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns in this conversation serve to clarify positions, emphasise points, and highlight the contrasting views. The pronouns that are used above refer to the parties in the conversation who takes part in the event. Le Pen uses the first person singular pronoun "I" to show her stance against the veil which was absolute rejection. Then, she uses the pronoun "we" to express her personal and party's views. She takes upon herself the responsibility of freeing Muslim women from what she thought were their rights, and she took their parties with her.

Macron also uses the first person pronouns "I" and "me"'. He is presenting his personal stance, belief and ideas as the President of France and the highest authority in the country. Macron also uses the pronoun "you" to refer to Le Pen and her political parties excluding himself from their actions. As a result, the pronouns also highlight

the clash of ideas and ideologies between the two individuals. Le Pen's use of "we must" reflects her belief to what she thinks is imposed by higher authorities in the Islamic countries. She believes that there is an urgent need to take a strong stance against what she sees as Islamist imposition.

5.1.1.3 Vocabulary

At the beginning of this conversation, Le Pen uses the word "the gravity" which means "dangers" to describe the danger of spreading Islamism in France. It was also noticed that the two words "against, and pro banning" describes the enmity of Le Pen against Muslim women's dress code. The word "uniform" is used with its connotative meaning. In this context, she is not referring to a literal uniform like a military or work uniform, but rather using the term to suggest that the veil is a symbol or a dress code imposed by Islamist groups on women. Le Pen believes that the wearing of the headscarf is not a voluntary choice for many Muslim women, but rather something they are compelled to do due to societal or religious pressure. By calling it "uniform" she is implying that it represents a form of conformity or submission to a particular religious or ideological group. Another word used by Le Pen is "free" with its associated meaning, it expresses that Le Pen puts upon herself the responsibility to take an action to free women from wearing a veil.

Then, Le Pen uses the word "law" to indicate her style of dealing with Muslim women through putting a law to their dress code. She passes a law that ban wearing veil in public places. In other words her policy is against wearing religious symbols in public places.

In classification schemes the positive and negative description are used. Le Pen states her attitude by using negative words. "I am against", "pro banning headscarves" and "the veil is a uniform imposed" are expressions used by the politician Le Pen to express her views which is negative one. The positive description appears with Macron words such as "Secularism isn't about fighting religion" and

"neutrality is absolute." He states his positive position by using positive words. He describes religions as neutral and it is appropriate to stop fight them.

The word "headscarve" (means head cover) and "Hijab" are near-synonymous. The word hijab with its connotations mention four times in this speech. The phrase "pro banning headscarves" is near- synonym with "forbidding hijab" and "outlawing hijab". The opposite meaning of "pro banning headscarves" is "permitting hijab or allowing hijab" both of them convey the meaning of allowing wearing of headscarves.

The conversation between Marine Le Pen and Emmanuel Macron about the wearing of headscarves in public settings is mix one informal and formal by portraying a high-stakes political discussion between two presidential contenders. Marine uses formal language to state her position then she uses informal when she addresses Macron by using his first name and more personal statement. In contrast, Macron's answer is mostly formal, since he specifically discusses the matter of secularism and the legal framework in France. The candidates engage in discussions pertaining to sensitive and consequential matters, and their choice of language and tone aligns with the level of formality expected in this environment.

5.1.2 Interpretation Stage

The interpretation stage examines the situational context and intertextuality. The conversation revolves around the appropriateness of religious symbols in public spaces, specifically the hijab. Le Pen's stance is rooted in the concept of *laïcité*, advocating for a ban on religious symbols in public institutions. Intertextual references to previous laws and political documents underscore her argument for the restriction of religious expression.

5.1.2.1 Situational Context

The first part of the interpretation stage is situational context. It investigates the topic, the purpose, and the participants in the speech. The topic of the conversation revolves around religious issue in public spaces, specifically the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women, and the broader issue of Islamism in France. The conversation touches on various aspects of this topic, including the government's response to Islamism, the question of whether to change laws regarding religious expression, and the contrasting viewpoints of Marine Le Pen and President Emmanuel Macron on the banning of headscarves in public spaces. The purpose of this conversation is to explore and debate differing viewpoints on sensitive and contentious issues related to religion and secularism in France.

The participants in this extract are three. Since it is a conversation, the roles of the addresser and the addressee are interchangeable. Mrs Le Pen holds the role of addresser in the first part of this conversation and Macron and the reporter are the addressee. Then, the reporter holds the role of addresser and Mrs Le Pen is the addressee. In the last part Macron is the addresser while Le Pen is the addressee.

5.1.2.2 Intertextuality

There is an implicit manifest intertextuality in this extract. In her speech, Mrs Le Pen refers to her law. This law is the French's law which is against wearing the veil. It also gains the supports of Mrs Le Pen in her political processes. The content of this law is to ban hijab in public spaces. There is a reference to an earlier document published by Le Pen that is supposed to be known by the addressee.

5.1.3 Explanation Stage

In the explanation stage, the analysis focuses on power and ideology. Le Pen, as a prominent right-wing political figure, seeks to exert control over public

perception by framing the hijab as a symbol of coercion and terrorism. Her discourse reflects a secular ideology that opposes visible religious symbols, particularly those associated with Islam, thus constructing a narrative of exclusion and control. She expresses her stance in favor of banning headscarves in public spaces and is advocating for what she believes is a strong stance against Islamism. However, she does not hold an official government position at the time of the conversation. In terms of power dynamics, Macron, as the sitting President, he holds the power. He holds the highest political office and wields significant political influence and authority. Marine Le Pen, as the leader of an opposition party, does not hold the same level of power as the President but still has influence and a platform to express her views.

The hidden ideology is constructed between the various views of different politicians. Mrs. Le Pen believes that there is a problem and that the government must take action to stop it. She states that hijab is terrorism that threatens France. She says that the government does not take the danger of spreading Islam in France seriously. Therefore, she describes her political process in her next step or method to deal with these Islamic figures. Her enmity for Islamic symbols is obvious, and she uses clear affirmative sentences for instance, "I'm pro banning", "we must free these women", and "the veil is a uniform imposed" to express her idea clearly and reach to the recipient easily. She embodies the spirit of Secularism in her next political steps. In short, she shows hatred for religious dress, while, Macron takes a neutral position neither with nor against hijab.

5.2 Analysis of extract (2): Polémique autour du port du voile: Julien Odoul (RN) quitte la séance du Conseil Régional de BFC

5.2.1 The Description Stage

The text begins with Julien Odoul's request for a Muslim woman to remove her veil during a regional council meeting, citing "secular principles." His use of vocabulary, such as "Islamic veil" and "secular principles," reflects a clear opposition to the presence of religious symbols in public institutions. The use of pronouns like "I," "you," and "we" serves to establish authority and align his views with those of his political party and broader French secular values.

5.2.1.1 Text Structure

The text starts with a direct question from Julien Odoul for "Madam President" to ask the Muslim woman to take off her veil. In other words, the text begins by addressing the woman to remove her veil during a regional council meeting in France. Odoul's statement reflects his objection to the woman wearing the Islamic veil in this specific public context. As well, it shows his enmity towards Islamic symbols in public building. Julien Odoul then proceeds to provide a justification for his request, citing "secular principles" and the fact that they are in a "public building" and an "enclosure." He argues that, according to his interpretation of these principles, the woman should not wear hijab in this particular public setting. He completes his speech by telling that the woman is free to wear her hijab in other contexts. He emphasises that it is a matter of upholding the law of the republic. The last section depicts the regional council of the French-Committee answer to Odoul statement.

5.2.1.2 Pronoun

In this speech, the pronouns serve various functions. In Julien Odoul's speech, he employs first, second, and third person pronouns. The pronoun "I" refers for himself. He uses it to express his personal opinion and to make a request to the Madam President. It reflects his hatred for the Islamic veil. The second person pronoun "you" is used to address the Madam President directly in the phrase "Madam President, I am going to ask you", refers to her highest authority in the session that Marie-Guite Dufay can state orders. The pronoun "our" is used by the speaker to include himself with his parties. In other words, it indicates shared values or beliefs among people he addresses. Therefore, he states his belief and includes secular principles. Furthermore, the possessive pronoun "our" is used to denote possession and ownership as in the phrases, "our secular principles" and "our republican principles." It means that there are principles for his order and he embraces his parties with him.

Julien Odoul uses "we" to refer to the collective French people or the assembly in the room. It serves to create a sense of unity or commonality among people he is addressing. The pronoun is used to include all people in the assembly and to convince the hearer of Odoul belief. Lastly, the pronoun "us" is used to refer for people in the room, including herself and Julien Odoul, it serves to create a sense of inclusion.

5.2.1.3 Vocabulary

The selection of vocabulary reveals the underlying ideas of the speaker and their position towards the subjects addressed in the discourse. The speaker starts his speech with the phrase "I am asking you" which is associated with the social relationship that the speaker tries to establish with his addressee. Such expressions imply the social distance between the speakers. It also indicates that he has the social

power to give orders to a specific group of people. Then, he says "secular principles" which means he based upon certain rules for his rejection. In other words, rejection is a rule set upon specific principles. Then he says "to have the Islamic veil removed" these words indicate his anti-religious stance. Odoul uses a specific term to refer to hijab, instead of saying hijab or headdress he says Islamic veil. The phrases "we are in a public building" and "we are in an enclosure," indicate the idea that wearing hijab is forbidden in public places. He refers to hijab as a uniform that should wear in specific places. In the rest of the speech he uses different persuasive techniques trying to convince the hearer of his vision. The term "dictatorship" is another obvious example against Islam that he tries to show Islam as an extremist religion. All words and phrases that he uses in his speech is to underestimate Islam.

Positive and negative descriptions are used in this extract to show the two opposite views. Positive description is captured by using the following phrases "deepen the divides", "stir up hatred" and "fuel meanness" by Marie speech. She describes the action of removing the veil as spread hatred between citizens and should be stopped. Although she uses negative words but it hold positive meaning to idea of veiling. The phrases "to have the Islamic veil removed", "to remove their veil" and "dictatorship" are used by Julien Odoul to express the negative attitude towards Islamic veil.

The word "veil" means covering and its connotation word "Hijab." It appears five times in this speech. The word "headscarves" is a near-synonym with the word "veil". The word "unveil" is the antonymous word to "veil," it means reveal or discovers.

The language used in this extract is formal one. The use of formal language due to the formal setting which is council meeting.

5.2.2 The Interpretation Stage

The situational context here is a public meeting where Odoul confronts a Muslim woman over her choice of dress. His speech aims to convey a message to Muslim women in France that the hijab is not acceptable in public spaces. The intertextual references to "secular principles" allude to the legal and cultural frameworks that govern religious expression in France.

5.2.2.1 Situational Context

The topic of this speech is the appropriateness of wearing the religious symbols in public government or political setting and in the public space. The purpose is to deliver a message to all Muslim women who live in France that wearing hijab in public places is unacceptable matter.

The people who participate in this speech are two the addresser is Julien Odoul who expresses his belief against hijab, the addressee is Marie-Guite Dufa and the Odoul speech is about a woman who is seen to violate secular principles which can be any Muslim woman who lives there.

5.2.2.2 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is one of the techniques used in this extract. It contains manifest, implicit intertextuality. Julien Odoul mentions his "secular principles" which means that there are specific principles that ban the wearing of hijab. These principles seem to be known to the hearer and the community. They contain clear orders that should be respected by all. It also contains obvious rules that constrains women freedomity.

5.2.3 The Explanation Stage

Odoul's remarks are analyzed in terms of power dynamics and ideology. As a representative of the Regional Council, he seeks to impose his secular beliefs on the public, reflecting an ideology that strictly separates religion from state affairs. His speech embodies a desire to regulate religious expression in public spaces, portraying the hijab as a challenge to secular norms.

The ideology conveyed in this speech revolves around Julien Odoul's request for the woman to remove her hijab, which stems from the principle of secularism. Secularism, in the French context, means a strict separation of religion from public institutions. His request suggests a deep-seated concern that the presence of religious symbols, like hijab, in a public building challenges this secular principle. This underlying the idea that secularism should be rigorously upheld and religious symbols should be confined to private spaces. In this speech, the speaker seeks to impose his secular principle onto individuals of all religious no matter what they believe in.

6. Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the two political extracts, several key conclusions can be drawn. In the explanation stage, the use of pronouns reveals implicit references to political figures and their constituencies. Pronouns such as "we," "you," and "our" are strategically employed to align the speaker with their audience, while "I" and "me" are used to assert personal viewpoints and authority.

Intertextual references in the speeches serve different purposes. Politicians often invoke laws or principles previously established to legitimize their arguments. The discourse surrounding the hijab is framed within the broader political agenda of promoting secularism and combating perceived threats to national identity. The analysis reveals that politicians frequently employ negative language to depict the

hijab as a symbol of oppression and backwardness, reinforcing the notion that it is incompatible with Western values of freedom and choice.

The findings indicate that political discourse on the hijab is driven by dominant figures who hold power over public narratives. These figures use language strategically to shape public opinion, often portraying the hijab in a negative light to justify policies of exclusion. The study concludes that such discourse perpetuates stereotypes and contributes to the marginalization of Muslim women in Western societies.

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