

Islamophobic Discourses in Hillary Clinton's Speech at Council of Foreign Relations during US- Presidential Elections 2016

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The current study has concentrated on Hillary Clinton's diplomatic political ideology that positions her towards the Muslim community. The study aims to examine, and pin point the self-other representations that are evident in the form of explicit and implicit Islamophobia in Hillary's speech delivered at Council of Foreign Relations during the American Presidential Elections of 2016. In order to examine these discourses towards Muslims, the research engaged with Critical Discourse Studies as its framework, with a specific focus upon Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model along with NVivo 12 Plus for linguistic inquiry of the speech. The results showed that the self-other binary is strongly evidenced in Hillary's sampled speech where she employed various discursive techniques to represent ISIS-Iraq-Syria-Libya negatively, while representing herself as very patriotic to the country. To legitimize her implicit Islamophobic arguments, she deployed several rhetoric strategies, including victimization, presupposition, authority, number game, evidentiality, populism by creating a polarization of Self-Other against ISIS-Syria-Libya.

Key words: *US Presidential Elections 2016, Hillary Clinton, Speech at Council of Foreign Relations, Islamophobia, Ideological Square, Self-Others.*

Introduction

The United States is considered as the fundamental figure in global affairs because of its leading economy and their strong military forces (Dhiraj, 2019). According to Business Insider, the US is considered as the ‘world’s most influential country’. This explains why American politics always gets worldwide concentration and curiosity. The 2016 presidential elections in America were one of the most acrimonious and confrontational elections in history. In fact, this was the only election in American history that left the world astonished as the last ballots were counted, because of its controversial and divisive election campaign (Nuruzzaman, 2017).

Therefore, studies reveal that the election of Donald J. Trump, despite his lack of political background, as the 45th President was a surprise to many international politicians, pundits, and citizens, including his own followers and party leaders (Gabriel, Paravati, Green, & Flomsbee, 2018). In this historic election race, the Republican candidate Donald J. Trump won against the ex-secretary of the State and Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton by 77 electoral college votes. In addition, Trump had taken 304 electoral colleges and 62985134 popular votes while his opponent Hillary Clinton had got 227 electoral colleges and 65853652 popular votes from Americans (Lilleker, 2016). Furthermore, the anti-Muslim discourse became very evident during the recent American elections, when one American Presidential candidate, namely Donald J. Trump stated that Muslims would not be allowed to enter the country if he comes to power. Contrastively, Hillary Clinton was seen expressing her diplomacies towards the Muslim community.

However, Kazi (2017) argued that the portrayal of Muslims as negative stereotypes in the global media emerged during 9/11 and has remained prevalent over the years. Cheng and Society (2015), pointed out that a Muslim in America is usually discriminated based on racial identity, national origins, and political attachment and lastly treated as an American Muslim. Muslims and Arabs around the globe are facing many problems and tensions because of terrorism, kidnapping, murders and harassment activities, all of which increased after the events of 9/11. Read (2008), claimed that Muslims in America are also facing institutional, social and economic discrimination from the dominant class. In a nutshell, America is not a hospitable country for Muslims, which became the recipients of injustice and stereotypes, particularly after the 9/11 incident. However, when it turns to recent Presidential Elections, Kazi (2017) claimed that Islamophobia was a trademark of the 2016 elections, most disreputably personified by the Trump’s campaign but well seen in Clinton’s campaign too. This study specifically focuses and contributes upon Clinton’s discursive strategies, and Islamophobic rhetoric, which is based upon the dichotomous binaries of the *self-other*, where the other is always de-legitimized.

Highlights of Islamophobia during American Presidential Elections 2016

Before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Islamophobia was considered as a hidden phenomenon in the United States because it was not taken into consideration. Stereotypes, hatred and prejudices towards Muslims and those who perceived to be linked with Islam were taken lightly by Americans before 9/11. But after 9/11, all such things have been changed dramatically as Muslims have faced numerous acts of violence and discrimination in the United States (Bleich, 2012). Moreover, Marusek (2018) further argued that it is obvious that the prevalence of Islamophobia in the United States is much larger than before 9/11. Saylor (2014) claimed that there are almost 37 groups whose primary and fundamental purpose is to promote and improve prejudice and hatred against Islam and Muslims with an additional 32 supporting Islamophobic ideologies. These think tanks not only curb the media but always tried to change the mindset and perceptions of Americans towards Islam and Muslims in a purely negative manner.

Moreover, Francia (2018) argued that former Secretary, Senator, as well as Democratic Presidential Candidate Hillary Clinton, focused on distinctive and modest policies that were in favor of reducing abortions, and put an emphasis upon education, foster parenting, and the rapid economic growth of the country. She emerged as a rather Pro-Islamic candidate throughout the election campaign as she always used a diplomatic tone for a certain part from the American society. In comparison with her political rival; Donald Trump exacerbated the fears regarding Islam and made from Islam and Muslims the main topic of his electoral speeches. In addition, extraordinary political rhetoric, outbursts in distasteful discriminatory tones, and anti-Muslim invectives blemished the campaign of United States (US) Presidential Elections of 2016 (Nuruzzaman, 2017).

Moreover, there were openly crystal-clear pointers that, during the elections campaign, Muslim -Americans were nervous about Trump's policies and statements as well as Hillary's diplomacies. According to the Report. (2017) there are approximately 3.3 million Muslims living in the United States; there was significant fear along with some reported cases of harassment. During the campaign, more than 700 anti-Muslim and Islamophobic incidents were reported. These incidents occurred on the basis of religion, race, political affiliation, and hate. A report that was presented by the Southern Poverty Law Centre stated that anti-Muslim hate groups have nearly tripled in the United States since 2016, from 34 to more than 100. In addition, Considine (2017), mentioned that, during the last two months of 2015, Muslim-Americans reported 34 violent incidents involving mosques and other obstacles to worship.

In addition, Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton argued about Islamophobia that radical jihadism and radical Islamism is creating numerous problems in the line of peace as everyone had seen the incident of 9/11 by Osama bin Laden; the founder of militant jihadist organization Al-Qaeda (Wright, 2016). She further added during these elections campaign that

Islamophobia is one the most ‘distressing’ aspect around the corner. Similarly, Tolan (2016) mentioned about Hillary Clinton while replying to a question by Muslim mother having three kids and air force veteran *Erum Tariq Munir* that increasingly Islamophobic comments made by Donald Trump and Ted Cruz are shameful and against our values. She added that during this election campaign, the language of Republican candidates is disrespectful especially their frontrunner Donald Trump who is very dangerous to minorities especially Muslim-Americans. But contrary to it, when it comes to Muslim country Iran, she claimed that Iran and ISIS share same ideologies in terms of terrorism same as both are spreading terrorism worldwide. Thus, with this overall background, currents research depicts how Hillary Clinton taken Islam and Muslims as a hot issue in US politics during 2016 Presidential Elections. For the further investigation, the researchers have used Ideological Square; a very relevant framework developed under the umbrella of critical discourse studies to pin-point polarizations of self-others.

Ideological Square

The Ideological Square Model that was presented by Teun A. Van Dijk under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis because it specifically focuses upon the polarizing macro strategy of ‘positive self-representation and negative other-representation’ (Ghauri, 2019). Several recent studies (Adegoju & Oyebode, 2015; Cabrejas-Peñuelas & Díez-Prados, 2014; Mazid, 2008; Reynolds, 2018; Khan et al., 2019)), suggest that this approach is very relevant and suitable for analysing the type of discourses in the political or media domains where we see the construction of ‘self’ and ‘others’ on the basis of ideological conflicts.

Accordingly, Van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006, 2009) asserts that this analytical tool is well suited for exploring and highlighting the polarization of ‘us’ vs ‘them’, where the speaker and his or her allies are considered to be ‘us or in-group’, while his or her opponents are placed in the ‘them’ or ‘out-group’ category.

Thus, since current study is all about Islam and Muslims’ portrayal in Hillary Clinton’s speech, thus by using this model, the researcher aims to prove that Hillary’s speech could be a type of ideological discourse.

Additionally, Van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006) posits that there are two possible stages of the analysis;

- i. macro- analysis
- ii. micro-analysis

For the macro-analysis, Van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006)has identified four basic strategies that are used in order to legitimize the self and de-legitimize the other;

- i. Emphasize positive things about ‘Us’
- ii. Emphasize negative things about ‘Them’
- iii. De-emphasize negative things about ‘Us’
- iv. De-emphasize positive things about ‘Them’

Thus, in terms of macro-analysis, the research’s epistemic underpinning focuses upon the *self-other* binary is as demonstrated below;

Hillary Clinton: Self, We, Us → In-group

Muslims and their surrogate terms: Others, They, Them → Out-group

For micro-analysis, this model also comprises 25 key terms or can be said as rhetorical political strategies;

Actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactual, disclaimer, euphemism, evidentiality, argumentation, illustration/example, generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization (us-them), populism, presupposition, vagueness and victimization (Van Dijk, 1998;2004;2006).

The Ideological Square thus not only reinforces the research’s epistemic underpinning of the ‘self-other’ schema, but it also provides a basis for the investigation of the schema with a series of discursive strategies through which the self-other schema is operationalized in language.

Research Methodology

This study was conducted qualitatively due to its comprehensive examination of the content, time and place settings, as well as the basis that triggered the problem. The elements from the Ideological Square Model was adopted in this study to explore the portrayal of Islam, Muslims, and their associated terms found in Hillary’s selected speech. Additionally, Critical Discourse Studies approach which was developed under the Critical Research Paradigm by the constructionists was also employed in this study. Critical discourse studies (CDS), is an approach covering almost every aspect of language use in either social or political matters. Most recently, it has been argued that CDS is an increasingly important tool for critical-qualitative-communication research (Reynolds, 2018). CDS is not a school of one inclination but rather an approach and a research tool under the scope of which we can find many trends and schools of thought (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Simply, CDS aims to expose the socio-political inequalities, power relations rooted in political, economic, cultural, and religious contexts. (Mogashoa, 2014).

Moreover, when it comes to sampling it is noteworthy that the sample size is not the sole concern among the analysts in discourse studies as it is generally known that having a large sample has its benefits, but it can also lead to insurmountable data yet adding nothing to the analytical outcome. Hence, it is possible to use smaller sample size of the corpus in order to gain useful analytical interpretations in discourse studies (Waikar, 2018). Baker (2006), previously stated that the selection of corpus in discourse studies is usually more specific and meticulous, with the focus on the quality instead of the quantity of the data. The sampling procedure in qualitative research according to Glaser, Strauss, and Strutzel (1968), is described as flexible, continual, and evolving in nature. Therefore, due to the universal magnitude of 'Hillary's Speech', it has been chosen as the data for this study as this speech featured the basis of her Islamophobic rhetoric. In fact, this historic policy statement of Hillary was a baseline of her Islamophobic political ideology as well as a clear reflection of his forthcoming foreign policy. Hillary Clinton delivered her historic speech on 19 November 2015 at Council on Foreign Relations in New York city during her election campaign. This speech is about 1 hour, 02 minutes and 48 seconds and consists of 4271 words. Therefore, the researcher has downloaded the speech from the official website of American Presidency Project by using the link;

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=111416> and also verified it word by word from YouTube link; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fy_WJEs71Gw .

Furthermore, data has been collected out of the entire speech and divided into ten excerpts based on specific key words under various themes for a more extensive analysis. The software for qualitative inquiry; NVIVO 12-Plus is also employed to aid data collection and data analysis for this study. The usage of this software to secure reliability and validity of the data and it's in depth analysis.

Analysis and Findings

Computer-assisted Analysis

Firstly, the researcher has analyzed the entire speech using NVivo 12 Plus where the researcher has acquired word cloud, word tree and tree map. Similarly, below-mentioned Figure 1 shows a word cloud where the frequent lexical choices like ISIS, terrorist, Syria, Iraq in the speech of Hillary Clinton while talking about Islam and Muslims can be seen.

Figure 2. Word-Tree of different Discursive Strategies of Hillary Clinton.

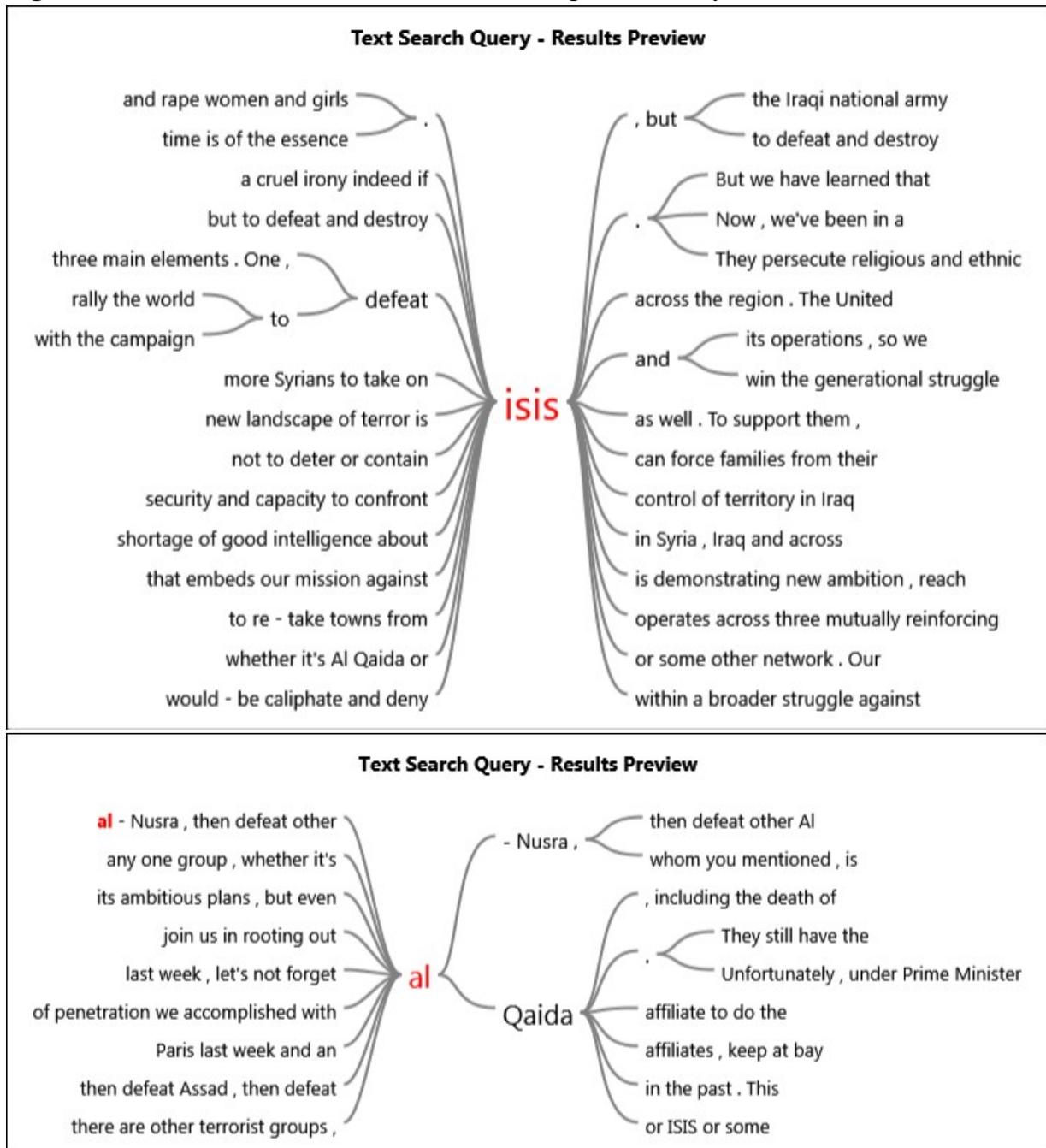


Figure 2 is in fact a way of talk that how Hillary Clinton referred to the Islamic community through her discursive and rhetorical strategies, it can also be seen that Hillary Clinton spoke a great amount about ISIS, Syria, al-Qaida in relation with terrorism. Furthermore, Figure 3 shows the consequences of these lexical choices of Hillary Clinton towards Islam and Muslims.

Figure 3. Tree-Map analysis of frequently used Terms in the Speech.

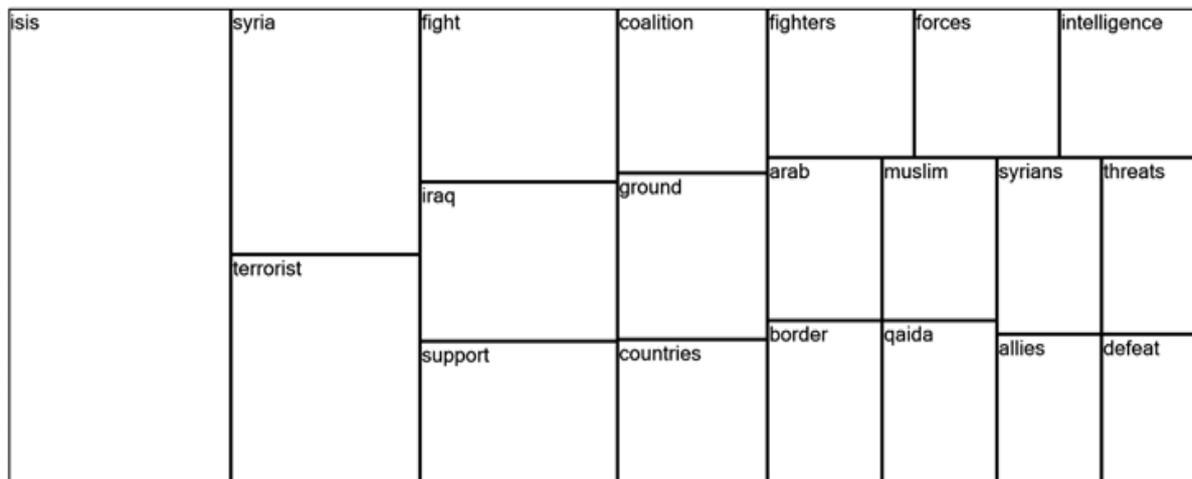


Figure 3 is a tree-map and its consequences of certain frequently used by Hillary Clinton while talking terror groups; Al-Qaeda and ISIS. It has also seen that she implicitly linked Syria and Iraq with ISIS and terrorism and as a result, she was trying to associate them with global terrorism activities including recent Paris incidents by creating a polarization of *us vs. them*.

Critical Discourse Analysis of the Speech

In this particular stage of analysis, the researcher has analysed all sampled excerpts of Hillary Clinton’s speech by using the Ideological Square Model developed under the umbrella of Critical Discourse studies.

Excerpt 1(see appendix 1)

In the very first excerpt of her speech, **actor** Hillary Clinton used **evidentiality** as she mentioned historical bloodiest incident; “*United States was hit on 9/11*” and **consensus** where she talked about American allies; “*our allies*” that means if one of them is being targeted by the terrorists, that means they all should considered to be affected ones. In addition, **actor** Hillary Clinton created a **national self-glorification** as she asserted about solidarity with France. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton tried to create **consensus** with different countries that already faced numerous terrorist attacks such as Nigeria, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey and Russian civilian in the past decade. Moreover, by using **presupposition**; “*terror is ISIS*” and **lexicalization**; “*kidnap and behead civilians*” that in the current era, an Islamic organization of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) that was appeared to be an Islamic organization is totally responsible for all kind of terrorist activities. She further criticized ISIS by using **presupposition** and claimed “*torture and rape women and girls*” on the basis of their religious radicalization.

In terms of macro-analysis, this excerpt is all about the terrorist attacks in Paris and solidarity of Americans towards France and its other allies in the line of terrorism. Similarly, according to Ideological Square Model, this discourse is very much reflecting **2nd feature; emphasize negative things about Them** as she mentioned “*terror is ISIS*” and claimed that only the ISIS is behind every terrorist activity that appeared around the globe. Thus, from this indication, it can also be argued that this is clearly *Self-Other* binary that was why ISIS being targeted as *Other*.

Excerpt 2 (see appendix)

In this stage of micro-analysis, former Secretary of the United States Hillary Clinton used **populism** as she mentioned her future strategy and created a **polarization** “*defeat ISIS in Syria, Iraq and across the Middle East,*” and **hyperbolically** asserted they were going to demolish and defeat ISIS and its supporters everywhere around the world. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton employed **populism** as she mentioned “*deny ISIS control of territory in Iraq and Syria*” and **hyperbolically** targeted ISIS she would make a more effective alliance towards ISIS along with latest weapons and demolish it from a broader level and spirit. Moreover, she again used **populism** that to dismantle ISIS, they have to improve their intelligence system that should be based on modern technology as well as experienced Arabic leaders. In next sentences, **actor** Hillary Clinton used *Al-Qaeda* as an **authority** as well as **populism** and **hyperbolically** claimed that they can easily demolish ISIS from its roots if they follow their previous plans made for Al-Qaeda. In addition, she again took **populism** as a political strategy where she delineated, “*air campaign is necessary*” that they need to accept the fact that airstrikes are very important if they combine them with their ground that could be successful in targeting ISIS. In the next sentences, **actor** Hillary Clinton used former President of the United States; *Barack Obama* as an **authority** as well as **number-game** where she asserted, “*100,000 American troops*”, that they were not going to do this again because they should look and learn from the war in Iraq and Afghanistan where they got nothing. In addition, she further employed **populism** tactic and asserted, “*we cannot substitute for them*” that now they were going to change their policies because, the United States could only be a partner with any nation but not a front liner in the line of terrorism. Thus, she said that every country should come forward and do some actions for their people.

Furthermore, this entire excerpt is all about Hillary Clinton’s future strategies towards ISIS. According to her, to completely dismantle ISIS global network, all allies must work together with the United States and establish an up to date intelligence system. Similarly, by applying Van Dijk’s Ideological Square Model, we can argue that this discourse is very much about **2nd feature; emphasize negative things about them** as she asserted that they would not let ISIS control any nation. As such, some part of this excerpt also highlighting **1st feature** of the model i-e **emphasize positive things about Us** as she stated that in the past they had fought with

terrorist groups in Iraq and Afghanistan as a front liner and helped local governments only to eliminate terrorism from its roots.

Excerpt 3 (see appendix)

In this particular extract of the speech, **actor** Hillary Clinton built a **consensus** with Syrian Sunnis and **authority** as mentioned, “*Assad*” as well as **presupposition** where she claimed, “*killed many more Syrians than terrorists,*” that they need to block ISIS from Syrian’s border, and for this they need to acknowledge the efforts of Syrian Sunnis that are already fighting in contradiction of Syrian president *Bashar Al-Assad* who killed so many innocent Syrians on the basis of sectarianism. In next sentences, Hillary Clinton is likely to take **populism** as she stated and **consensus** with Syrians as she asserted **hyperbolically** that now it’s time to begin political talks with Syrian administration regarding ISIS and should motivate and reassure many more Syrians to participate in this battle. Furthermore, she employed **populism** as asserted, “*we have models*”, and **consensus** with Lebanon, Bosnia, Russia and Iran as well as **evidentiality** where she claimed that if they look into the past, they came to know that they had already this kind of coalition but ended up with nothing while on the other side they had seen that due to sectarianism in Lebanon and Bosnia and dictatorships in Russia and Iran, people faced numerous problem in terms of stability and terrorist activities.

Moreover, regarding macro-analysis, Hillary Clinton stressed upon Syrian opposition parties and other global partners to enhance collaboration in Syria. In addition, in this excerpt, she emphasized on halting ISIS from Syrian and Turkish borders as well as killings of Syrians by Syrian president *Bashar Al-Assad*. Thus, by applying Ideological Square model to this excerpt, it can be claimed that this excerpt is very much highlighting **2nd feature; emphasizes negative things about them** as she asserted, “*Assad who killed many more Syrians than the terrorists*” that considering Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad as others category and targeted him in a negative manner that he is the responsible along with ISIS for all kind of mishaps in Syria.

Excerpt 4 (see appendix)

In micro-analysis, **actor** Hillary Clinton created a **consensus** with Syria and **norm expression** as she delineated, “*Syria as unitary, nonsectarian states*” and **hyperbolically** claimed that Russia could also take a vital role in determining these conflicts within Syria, and they are also available for joint efforts to eradicate Syrians from any sectarianism and instability. In addition, she employed **norm expression** that the citizens of Syria must come forward towards a political change and get rid of the dictator and current president; *Bashar Al-Assad*. Furthermore, she again created a **consensus** with Islamic country Jordan and claimed that this is actually the war of Arab and Turk countries and the United States will remain on its back for any kind of support, but they want them to act just like Jordan is doing. Moreover, **actor** Hillary

Clinton employed **presupposition** as claimed that they know very well that Turkey has a bloody history with Kurdish terrorists but they will not let Turkey to fight with them because they are actively participating as their allies in Syria to demolish ISIS terror network.

Thus, in terms of macro-analysis, Hillary Clinton is referring to her allies to present their role in a fight with ISIS and other terror organizations. So, by applying four basic strategies of Ideological Square Model, it can be claimed that this discourse is reflecting **1st feature; emphasize positive things about Us** as she claimed, “*we have indicated a willingness to work with them toward an outcome that preserves Syria,*” as well as **2nd feature; emphasize negative things about Them** as she stated, “*threat from ISIS,*” that ISIS wants to control Syria as well as other Arab countries, but they along with their partners will not let ISIS do that. Thus, by criticizing *Bashar al-Assad* in connection with ISIS is in fact a clear indication towards *Self-Other* schema within an Ideological Square of beliefs and ideological conflicts.

Excerpt 5 (see appendix)

In this excerpt, Hillary Clinton used **populism** tactic as well as **consensus** with Arabic world and **presupposition** where she claimed, “*threat from Iran*” that they are going to enhance their diplomatic ties with their Arab allies they are actually very much conscious about recent reactions of Iran. In addition, she employed **illustration** and **evidentiality** as mentioned, “*Saudis, for example*” that all Middle East countries are currently preferring their interests rather than fight with ISIS. She argued that they had already seen that Saudi Arabia has diverted its attention from Syria to Yemen as it faced numerous threats from Yemen. Furthermore, she took **populism** as she asserted, “*plan to counter Iranian*” as well as **presupposition** where she argued, “*support for terrorist proxies*” and **polarization** as she mentioned, “*Hezbollah and Hamas*”, “*Iran and ISIS*” that during this election campaign, back in September 2015, she already announced her strategy focusing Iran as a threat within the region as well as strong supporter to terror organizations such as Hezbollah and Hamas. As such she further claimed by using a **disclaimer** where she claimed, “*cannot view Iran and ISIS as separate*” that Iran is also doing the same regarding terrorist activities like ISIS, but they are going to face both in the same pace. As such, she mentioned that the United States is going to enhance its partners’ capabilities towards Iran’s bad actions and due to countering Iran, they can get better results in this fight against ISIS.

Moreover, on a broader level, this excerpt is all about Hillary Clinton’s future policies towards its fight with ISIS and other terrorist organizations. She proclaimed that the United States should work with all Arab countries and raising their confidence towards this battle in the line of terrorism. So, by applying analytical tool such as Ideological Square Model of Van Dijk, it could be claimed that this discourse is highlighting **emphasize negative things about them** strategy as she criticized Iran that it wants to control all its neighbor countries in the religion

as well as assists global terror networks such as Hamas and Hezbollah. In addition, she added that due to these activities from Iran they would not take it a separate issue but indeed, both Iran and ISIS are on the same page for us.

Excerpt 6 (see appendix)

In this extract of the speech, **actor** Hillary Clinton employed **populism** as stated, “*second element of our strategy*”, and **presupposition** where she claimed, “*immediate battlefield of Iraq and Syria*” that by keeping in mind terror groups in Iraq and Syria, they are now going to demolish its global connection through their advance encountering systems. Similarly, she took **implication** strategy towards Iraq and Syria as argued, “*a terror pipeline*” as well as **evidentiality** as she asserted, “*strike at the heart of Paris last week*”, “*Al Qaeda affiliate to do the same at Charlie Hebdo*” and **authority** where she mentioned, “*Al Qaeda*”, “*Osama bin Laden*” that in fact, ISIS got support from Iraq and Syria in terms of new fighters, finance, arms and global propaganda. In addition, she **hyperbolically** claimed that ISIS and Al-Qaeda both are in practice to target them again and again after the death of its founder Osama bin Laden. She used **illustration** and mentioned two recent attacks by ISIS and Al-Qaeda such as Paris attacks at Northern Suburb in previous week and a France based weekly newspaper Charlie Hebdo’s office in January 2015. She further added that Al-Qaeda operates from Yemen and North Africa too. In this regard, they should not restrict themselves only on a specific region or countries but to a global range. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton employed **populism** where she argued they need to stop external supporters as fighters to Syria and other countries. She added that these foreign fighters have dual nationalities that enable them to go here and there and once they come back to their current western countries having radicalized and battle-hardened nature. In addition, she **hyperbolically** criticized Turkey and claimed that until unless they close Turkish-Syrian borders, many fighters will be entering into Syria. Lastly, she made a **consensus** as claimed, “*our allies*” and **generalization** as she says, “*every fighter who has travelled to Syria*” that in this regard, their partners should also build up a strong check and balance regarding the identities and screening of travellers who intend to go to Syria.

Furthermore, in terms of macro-analysis, this entire extract of Hillary Clinton’s speech is all about criticizing ISIS and Al-Qaeda’s recent attacks in Paris and in connection with foreign fighters of Syria. Thus it can be claimed that this extract is highlighted **emphasize negative things about them** strategy as Hillary Clinton mentioned, “*Al Qaida, including the death of Osama bin Laden*” that after the death of Osama bin Laden; the founder of Militant Islamist Sunni Multi-national Organization; Al-Qaeda is targeting westerners again and again as it can be seen recent Paris attacks. It can also be claimed that by targeting ISIS and Al-Qaeda within an ideological discourse, Hillary Clinton in fact tried to create a binary of *Self-Other* and portrayed them as out-group entity with negative references.

Excerpt 7 (see appendix)

This excerpt starts with terrorist financing where Hillary Clinton employed **populism** as well as “*U.N. Security Council*” as an **authority** to validate her statement where she proclaimed that they need a strong cross-checking in funding and support for terror groups. She added that the United Nations Security Council should come forward and block all such funding. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton took **generalization** as claimed, “*for all others*” and **polarization** where she mentioned, “*the Saudis, the Qataris*” as well as **implication** as referred, “*extremist organizations as well as the schools and mosques around the world*” that the Saudi Arabia, Qatar and other related countries would not allow to give any sponsorship at any cost either directly or from their citizens in different means. She argued that Islamic schools and mosques around the world are actually preparing the young generation very much towards extremism and terrorism and targeting westerners as well. In next sentences, she employed **populism** tactic as argued, “*we have to identify hotspots*” and **illustration** where she mentioned, “*Paris attacks*” and built a **consensus** with Muslim community leaders that they need to go for a deep digging process from where they could see the original hotspots of such terror groups. In addition, **actor** Hillary Clinton **hyperbolically** claimed that with the help of Muslim leaders they could explore and dismantle the pinpoints of terrorist where all such recruitments are going to be made.

Moreover, on a broader level, the above-mentioned excerpt of Hillary Clinton’s speech has highlighted financial assistance to terror networks. Similarly, by applying Ideological Square Model it could be claimed that this entire excerpt is reflecting *Self-Other* schema and **emphasize negative things about them** discursive strategy of Ideological Square Model where she criticized people of Saudi Arabia and Qatar being funding to terror networks on the basis of their attachments with Islam. She added that they would not let Islamic schools and mosques of Islamic countries to produce terrorists and extremists.

Excerpt 8 (see appendix)

In this excerpt, **actor** Hillary Clinton used **presupposition** as she proclaimed, “*happening online*” as well as created a **polarization** where she claimed, “*Jihadists communicate with followers*” that in this modern era, they had seen already that all terror networking is going to happen online where they could see that all such Jihadists communicating online with their leaders through different websites and social media outlets. She **hyperbolically** asserted that they must break this platform too. In addition, she stated by using **populism** as mentioned, “*I built up a unit*” as well as **polarization** where she mentioned, “*Urdu, Arabic, Somali*” that for online encounter against terror groups, when she was secretary of the State, she had built an online communication unit in different regional languages to communicate with such jihadists. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton took **presupposition** as she proclaimed, “*an ideology of*

hate” as well as **disclaimer** where she argued, “*Islam is not our adversary*” and **generalization** as she claimed, “*Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people*” that they should not care about online or offline recruitment of terrorists, but indeed their fight is against their ideology that full of hate towards westerners. In addition, she claimed that Islam and Muslims are indeed not our foes because they are very humble, calm and loving people. As such Hillary Clinton also claimed that Muslims are also victimized due to terrorism and in fact, good Muslims are not terrorists. Moreover, **actor** Hillary Clinton used **lexicalization** as she asserted, “*clash of civilization*” as well as **polarization** where she asserted, “*criminals, these murderers*” that they faced some anger towards Muslims on the basis of their ideologies and civilizations, but their fight is going on against these terrorists. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton employed **evidentiality** where she mentioned, “*bin Laden*” that their main focus should be on how they tackle these terror groups rather focusing on from where they appear and whom they are. Additionally, she **hyperbolically** argued that their success is the death of founder of militant group; *Osama bin Laden* is rather focusing on how powerful Osama was. Moreover, Hillary Clinton took **generalization** where she referred, “*Muslim world*” and **number game** as mentioned, “*few in numbers*” that it is a well-known fact that these terror networks appear from Muslim countries and build their chain to other parts of the world too. These groups are capable to damage a country with extreme terror and violence.

So, on a broader perspective, she stressed upon the online communication of terrorists with their followers globally. Thus, by applying the Ideological Square Model it can be claimed that this discourse is very much reflecting **emphasize negative things about them** because she asserted that the origin of these terror networks are Muslims countries. She argued that indeed they are very few, but they could spread worldwide terror and very dangerous for the whole world just like happened in Middle East. In this ideological square, she in fact tried to create a *Self-Other* schema with Islam and Muslim world and criticized them as out-group entity with implicit strategies.

Excerpt 9 (see appendix)

In this excerpt, **actor** Hillary Clinton used **victimization** as she mentioned, “*New York was attacked on 9/11*” as well as **polarization** where she referred, “*Republication President*” and **authority** as she mentioned, “*American leadership*” that when terror group; *Al-Qaeda* targeted World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001, the Republican Political Party was enjoying the powers of government. She added that their party had worked in collaboration with former President; *George W. Bush* and his team in order to restructure their nation and protect their citizens. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton used **illustrations** and **polarization** as a political discursive strategies where she claimed, “*sanction in history on Iran*” that being leader, the United States had faced gigantic international critique when several countries like Iran were facing numerous sanctions due to their cruelty. She further **hyperbolically** claimed that the

United States had used its powers regarding smart diplomacy, advanced technology, powerful military and cultural values only to safeguards the citizens internationally where they seem in trouble. Moreover, **actor** Hillary Clinton took **evidentiality** where she mentioned the killing of *Osama bin Laden*, that the United States has the ability to act destructively where diplomacy does not work properly.

Thus, in terms of macro-analysis, Presidential Candidate of the Democratic political party Hillary Clinton discussed the incident of 9/11 and rehabilitation afterwards. She also referred the United States' role in the fight against ISIS and global jihad. Hence, by applying four basic discursive strategies of the Ideological Square Model, it can be claimed that this excerpt is reflecting **1st strategy; emphasize positive things about Us** because she claimed that the United States has enough powers to play the role as a front liner in this war against terrorism and radicalism. As such, this excerpt also highlighting **de-emphasize negative things about Us** strategy where she argued, that the United States had already taken these steps to safeguard the international community, but according to Ideological Square model, Hillary Clinton has mitigated her bad actions and took as positive manner within *Self-Other* binary.

Excerpt 10 (see appendix)

In this excerpt of the speech, former secretary of the State Hillary Clinton employed **evidentiality** where she asserted, "*his name was Lassana, a Muslim immigrant from Mali*" that the terror incidents in France are condemnable. She claimed that recently she saw a Muslim immigrant who also had negative thoughts towards these radicals and extremists. Furthermore, **actor** Hillary Clinton used the Muslim immigrant's statement as an **illustration** as she argued, "*if they were Jews or Christians or Muslims. We're all in the same boat*" that according to him he does not pay attention about nationalities and races here in the market where terrorists attacked them. In the last sentence, Hillary Clinton has used an **illustration** where she asserted that this Muslim man has given a pleasant answer by his action to those extremists who hate Westerners and cross races.

Thus, in terms of macro-analysis, this selected excerpt of the Hillary Clinton speech is all about the positive attribution of the west and negative portrayal of radicals and extremists using a statement of a Muslim immigrant. In this extract, it can be easily probed the **1st feature; emphasize positive things about Us** of Ideological Square Model where Hillary Clinton argued that in Westerners' societies, they spread the lesson of love and brotherhood as they had seen the reaction of this young Muslim immigrant who wanted to rescue all of his Jewish and other cross races customers by putting his own life in danger.

Discussion and Conclusion

Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton was the first woman who was nominated as the presidential candidate by a US leading political party; the Democratic Party. Similarly, 2016 elections campaign was her second campaign, as she lost her run for presidency in 2008. During 2016 elections, she was considered as the most powerful and favourite candidate due to her family background and past experience. She has mostly been portrayed as a politician who always stresses the importance of logical argumentation, objective facts, management of detail and profound knowledge of public and foreign policy. In this campaign, her discursive style and choice of lexicalization has been influenced and nourished by her several years as a political figure when she served as Secretary of the state, Senator and First Lady of the United States of America.

Moreover, during 2015-16 campaign season Hillary Clinton used othering or Self-others in different domains of her political discourse. It can be said that Clinton's campaign discourses for the American presidency are of great significance from a critical discourse studies perspective because ideology has used an instrument of self-promotion or personality projection with the help of Van Dijk (1998;2004;2006) Ideological Square. On a broader level, she wished to be the president of not only her followers or few Americans instead she changed her political rhetoric by mentioning the president of all Americans irrespective of creed, religion, gender, culture, sect and even nationality. According to her, all citizens of America should be given equal respect and importance.

Furthermore, when it comes to Islam and Muslims discourse, she has been seen taken it very diplomatically. Sometimes she seems pro-Muslims but, on some occasions, she has changed her tone dramatically. It has been seen that Hillary Clinton tried her best to create a polarization of self-other against ISIS, jihadists, Syrian and Libyan terrorists and related lexical choices. She has given such indirect negative references to Muslim countries such as Syria and Libya in order to associate them with global terrorism. Seitz-Wald (2015) argued that during her speech, she stressed upon her forthcoming plan towards demolishing of ISIS and homegrown radicalization to protect Americans. She warned that, Islamophobia is not only offensive but very dangerous to American security and peace. In comparison, Gharib (2015) claimed that Hillary's stance on Muslim issue is very diplomatic. During speech, she asserted, "Islam is not our adversary. Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people and have nothing whatsoever to do with terrorism".

Furthermore, she stressed upon a fight with ISIS and gave implicit references to Muslims from Iraq and Syria in connection with terror groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda. Khalil and Abbas (2018), also found that she has supported her warfare decision by manipulating their

fight against ISIS in Iraq. Kazi (2017), pointed out that Hillary Clinton presented the ideology of 'good' and bad Muslims where 'good' Muslims are in eager to fight against 'bad' Muslims who plays into the hands of terror groups such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda etc. Cherkaoui (2016) also supported this finding that Hillary Clinton always tried to criticize Islam and Muslims in relation with Jihad, radicalization and extremism. Furthermore, she criticized ISIS in a way that, it is involved in the persecution of religious and ethnic minorities, kidnap and beheading of innocent civilians, murder children, enslaves, torture and rape woman and girls systematically. Munestri et al. (2017), also supported this finding and noted that according to Hillary Clinton real threat is ISIS which spread violence and terrorism round the clock. Similarly, she further asserted that ISIS is operating in three different domains such as its physical presence in Iraq and Syria, its international terrorist network and its ideological movement of radical jihadism across the globe. Regarding this finding, Paletta (2016) also claimed that when the Islamic terror state from Iraq and Syria also known as ISIS seized Raqqa in Syria back in 2013, it has changed the perceptions of US and other Western countries about Islam and Muslims dramatically.

Referring to Turkey, she asserted that Turkey is in war with Kurdish fighters from Syria and this is a substantial hurdle in battling with ISIS because Kurdish fighters are also in a fight with ISIS. Paletta (2016) also pointed out that Hillary Clinton supported Kurdish forces and Sunni Muslims combating ISIS. Thus, the US will not allow Turkey to further bombing to Kurds. Furthermore, when it comes to Iran, she asserted that Iran is a complete treat for the entire region. She criticized that Iran and ISIS are similar challenges for US. In this regard, she once again proposed war against Iran with the help of Israel. Paletta (2016) also found that Iran is playing a dominant role in the conflicts within Iraq and Syria. At the same time, harsh comments from Iranian leaders to destroy US and Iran having nuclear weapons have made Iran an adversary of US for years. At times, she has taken the credit of negotiations with Iran and also supported historical US-Iran nuclear deal, but she changed her tones time to time.

Moreover, she pointed out that Al-Qaeda is also still included in her future plans. She argued that though they killed the Founder of Al-Qaeda; Osama bin Laden but still Al-Qaeda is very powerful in making bombs and achieving desirable targets especially in Yemen and North Africa. She proposed a second strategy to dismantle ISIS, that there should be a screening of people coming to West from ISIS households and block their Western passports. In a contradiction, Paletta (2016) concluded that according to Hillary Clinton, banning Muslims will harm US-Muslim world relations in the line of fight against terrorism. Furthermore, Hillary Clinton asserted that citizens of Saudi Arabia and Qatar found that they are financing terror or extremist organizations that are established in the name of Islam. She criticized that they must stop sending their kids to Islamic centres such as mosques and madrassas.



In support of this finding, Norton (2016) also found that recent email by Hillary Clinton acknowledges that Saudi Arabia and Qatar have supported ISIS and other radical Sunni groups in the region. The ideology of ISIS is very much similar to Wahhabism; an extremist Sunni ideology spread by Saudi Arabia (Norton, 2016). Similarly, she criticized Islamic schools and mosques around the world and proclaimed that these institutes are spreading radicalization against West. Therefore, when it comes to Syrian refugees, she asserted that there must be a vigilant visa system and background checks required, but this does not mean that US doors should be closed for these refugees. Cherkaoui (2016) also found that Clinton has been seen as a supporter of Syrian refugees and criticized Trump that the idea about banning immigrants and refugees is totally against American values.

So, it can be argued that Hillary Clinton expresses her Islamophobia implicitly by making a connection between ISIS-Iraq-Libya-Syria and giving substantial amount of negative references to Syria, Libya, Iraq and Iran during historic speech at council of foreign relations. Thus, it can be concluded that this historic speech is considered as a preamble of her forthcoming foreign policy especially towards her war against ISIS in relation with Muslim countries.



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Appendix

*Hillary Clinton's Full Speech at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City
November 19, 2015*

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=111416>