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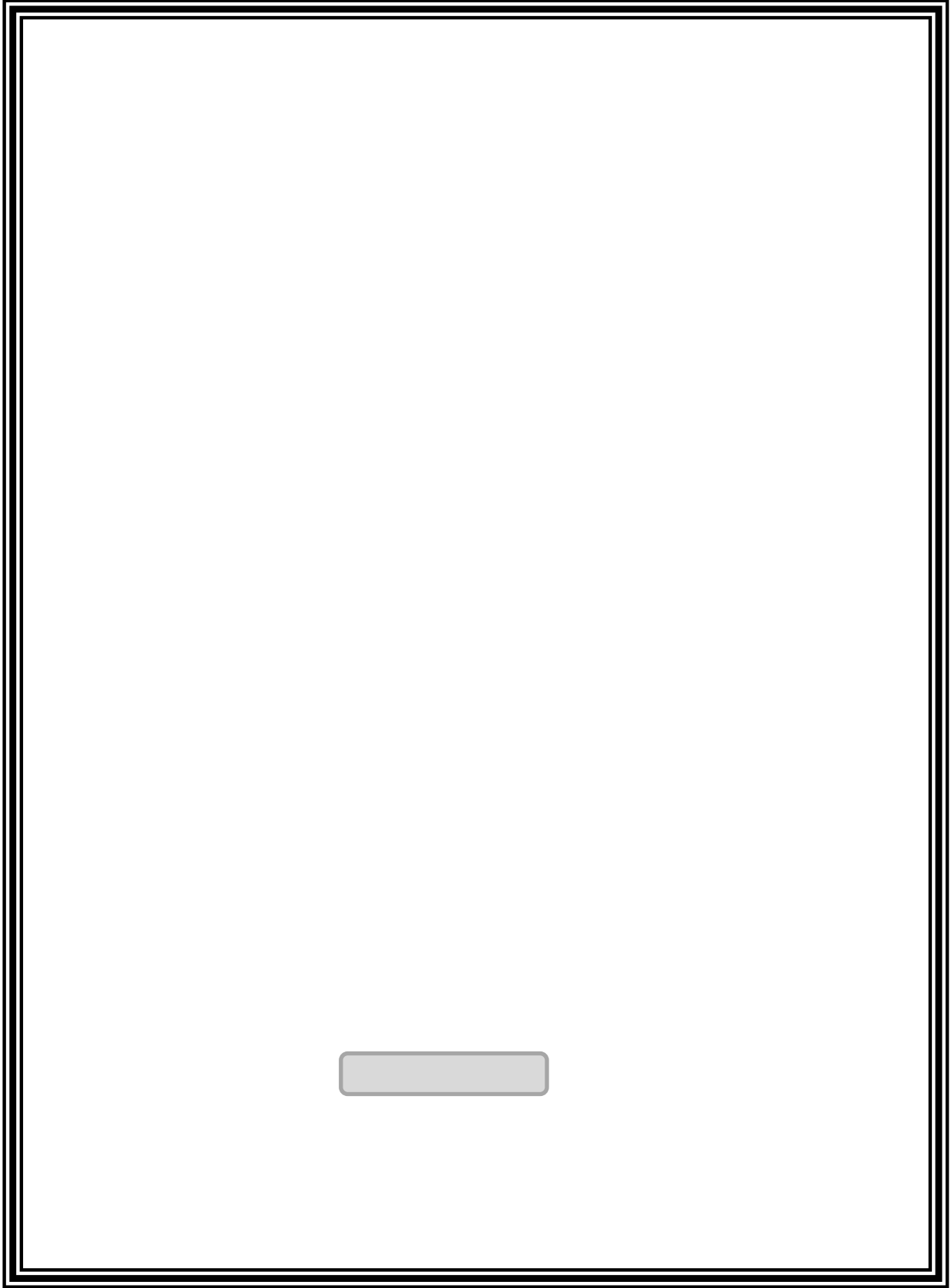
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Ideological Discourse Analysis of Iraqi Political TV. Interviews

Lecture Dr.

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Ideological Discourse Analysis of Iraqi Political TV. Interviews

التحليل النصي الايديولوجي لمقابلات السياسيين العراقيين على التلفزيون

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وزارة التربية / مديرية تربية النجف الاشرف

Abstract

One of the most significant changes in Iraq is the emergence of satellite channels in Iraqi life which was accompanied by discussions and dialogues among new politicians, which we previously lacked before 2003. Before this time, Iraqis were living under a single party, political discourse was often one-dimensional. Now, interviews and debates on Iraqi and Arab channels showcase competing visions, which is a hallmark of democratic life. In this study we reviewed several interviews, how they discussed,

argued, expressed their opinions and showed their arguments. We aimed to show to researchers and other people which ideologies where our politicians argued and how we applied Van Dijk, T.A. (1995a) models on their dialogues. We reviewed how politicians portrayed themselves positively and portrayed others negatively and let people judge who is right and who is wrong in his position. We took our data from Iraqi and some Arab channels. We followed the qualitative approach in analysing their dialogue. The study is divided

in two parts: theoretical which was about Van Dijk models and some researches on ideology analysis discourse like: Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Kedar, 1987; Kramarae, Schulz and O Barr, 1984; Kress, 1985; Ng and Bradac, 1993; Wodak, 1989). The second part was the practical

تحكم من هو على الصواب ومن هو على جانب الباطل في موقعه. كنا قد اخذنا معلوماتنا من القنوات الفضائية العراقية وبعض القنوات الفضائية العربية. وقد اتبعنا المنهج التحليلي النوعي في تحليلنا لحوارات السياسيين. وقد قسمت الدراسة الى قسمين: النظري وقد كان عن نماذج فان جيك وبقية الباحثين عن موضوع تحليل الحوار الايديولوجي: (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Kedar, 1987; Kramarae, Schulz and O Barr, 1984; Kress, 1985; Ng and Bradac, 1993; Wodak, 1989). والقسم الثاني كان عن التطبيق العملي وكان عن مقابلات السياسيين العراقيين في القنوات الفضائية وكيف حللنا مقابلاتهم طبقا الى نماذج فان جيك. الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب الأيديولوجي، المقابلة، نماذج فان جيك، السياسيين، إيجابيا وسلبيا.

and it was about the interviews of Iraqi politicians on channels and how we analysed them according to Van Dijk models.

Key words: ideology analysis discourse, interview, VanDijk models, politicians, positively and negatively.

ملخص البحث:

ان من ابرز المتغيرات التي شهدها العراق هو بروز القنوات الفضائية في الحياة العراقية والتي رافقها النقاشات والحوارات بين السياسيين الجدد، والتي كنا نفتقدها قبل عام ٢٠٠٣. قبل هذا التاريخ كنا عندنا فقط نقاش الحزب الواحد. ان هذه الحوارات والنقاشات قد ميزت حياتنا السياسية الجديدة. فقد انتقلنا من الايديولوجية الواحدة الى عدة ايديولوجيات والتي انعكست على المقابلات في التلفزيون. وقد شهدنا هذه المقابلات على القنوات الفضائية العراقية والعربية. في هذه الدراسة قد استعرضنا بعض هذه المقابلات، وكيف ناقشوا، وتجادلوا، وعبروا عن ارائهم، واطهروا حججهم. نهدف الى ان نبين للباحثين وبقية الناس عن اي حوارات حيث يناقش سياسيون وكيف طبقنا نماذج فان جيك (١٩٩٥ اي) على حواراتهم. واستعرضنا ايضا كيف رسم السياسيون لانفسهم الصورة الايجابية ولغيرهم الصورة السلبية وندع الناس هي التي

1. 1. Introduction:

Ideological analysis of language and discourse has been widely discussed by scholars and decisive attempt in the humanities and the social sciences. The idea or supposition about such analyses refer to that ideologies of speakers or writers can be 'disclosed' by analysis, close reading or understanding, if speakers (language users) frankly or by accident 'express' their ideologies by using language and communication.

The study aimed to show how that ideological discourse analysis should be seen as one specific branch of socio-political discourse. This analysis tries to connect among other things between structures of society and structures of discourse. That means is to show the relation between social components of relations of e.g., class, gender or ethnicity, are thus systematically linked with the following structural units, levels, or strategies of talk and text planted in their social, political and cultural contexts. And we can say that this relation exists between social organizations, institutions, groups, roles, situations, power, or political decision making, on the one hand, and discourse structures, on the other hand. [11; 1989, 12;1992, 24; 1987, 26; 1984, 27;1985, 31;

1993, 40; 1989]. We don't try to justify whether this ideology or that is false or that is true. We shall review the definition of ideologies as systems that are at the basis of the socio-political cognitions of groups [28;1986, 33;1988]. In this way, ideologies organize social group attitudes consisting of schematically organized general opinions about relevant social issues, such as abortion, nuclear energy or affirmative action [10;1993].

The statement of the problem

Since 2003, visual media has emerged as the primary source of information for Iraqis, valued for both its popularity and perceived credibility. Television, in particular, has become a central arena for the dissemination of ideologies and the construction of legitimacy. Within this medium, discourse often reflects indirect forms of ideological control, where habitual variations and contradictions—similar to those observed in surveys, interviews, and other communicative practices—become evident. A good comprehension of language, discourse, society and discourse enable the researcher to identify these patterns with relative reliability. The study of discourse structures serves as a standard for social judgment, ideological

influence is revealed through the way opinions are expressed. It is the first time Iraqis are subjected to such a crucial situation in adopting which ideology is suitable for theirs. Every side uses his language means to affect on others. Every party portrays himself as the good one and the other is negative. This conflict is run by language means and we are going to study it from linguistic aspect. [21;1992, 22; 1988].

1.3. Objectives of the research

1-To identify the discourse analysis of legalization of ideology.

2-To show the manipulation which used by politicians with terms and frequently used words in visual media where explain the ideologies of the speakers.

1. 1.Theoretical background and ideological discourse analysis

We can look to ideological discourse analysis as one specific kind of socio-political analysis of discourse. Such type of analysis aims to connect structures of discourse with structures of society. It refers to components of society or relations of, e.g., class, gender or ethnicity, are in this way systematically accompanied with structural units, levels, or strategies of talk and text formed in their

social, political and cultural contexts. And the same relation can be found between social organizations, institutions, groups, roles, situations, power, or political decision making, on the one hand, and discourse structures, on the other hand. [11; 1989, 12;1992, 24;1987, 26;1984, 27;1985, 31; 1993, 40;1989]. The question is whom are the language users? The answer is they are members of communities, groups or organizations, and are supposed to speak, write or understand from a specific social position. The aim of ideological analysis checks what ideologies are typically associated with position, for example, so that to defend or legitimate that position, and that happened by discourse. The ideological analysis is subjected to socio-political approach and hardly explicit. And this approach fails to tell us how social positions of language users or of the groups or the members of groups affect or are affect by text and talk. Members of groups or institutions may recourse to specific topics lexical style or rhetoric. As is the case in sociolinguistics, the ideological analysis limited to correlation description It neither explains nor

specifies how such group members may thus express their social positions. Since groups don't write or speak or understand discourse, there is no social structure may affect text or talk unless through the agency of communicating individuals as members of groups or social categories. The relation between discourse and society needs to cross the famous macro-micro and society-individual divide [1;1987, 25; 1981].

in this we need a theoretical interface where the social and discursive can meet and be clearly related to each other. And this situated in social interaction itself. [8;1981,13; 1991]. We go back to ideologies as systems which is the axis of the socio-political cognitions of groups [28;1986, 33;1988]. In this way ideologies form social group attitudes shaped in a schematic organized general opinion about relevant social issue. [10;1993]. The point of ideological discourse analysis is not merely to discover underlying ideologies, but to systematically link structures of discourse with structures of ideologies.

As long as ideologies are the basis of people's judgements, and propositions are often controlled by ideologies which express opinion

statements, expressions of such opinions, e.g., those about Others, will often indicate what ideological obstacles are involved. Intergroup choses lexical items to describe outgroup an in the case of famous pair of freedom fighter and terrorist. Slightly more indirect or coded is the use of moderate (vs. radical) when describing groups, parties or countries that adopt our ideologies, that are our friends or that do not threaten our interests [21; 1992, 22; 1988].

Briefly the language and discourse share a broad range of structural possibilities to emphasize and de-emphasize information so the ideologically monitored concepts about ingroups and outgroups.

2.2.The aim of critical discourse analysis

The aim of critical discourse analysis is to study how "... social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" [39; 2001 p.352]. Analysts in their analyses uncover how discourse discriminates against minority and powerless groups drawing from wider structural contexts [42; 2005]. In CDA the basic units of analysis are texts and the corresponding context is crucial.

Here, texts are not only written documents; they can also refer to oral discourse or visuals or even to a combination of these forms.

Critical discourse analysis adopts a political perspective that tends to have an influence on social practice and social relations by showing taken-for-granted power relationships [36; 2000]. Ideologies are main components in discourse which can be defined as sets of beliefs that activate practices and attitudes maintaining inequality. Since discourse includes ideological hypotheses, such assumptions operate to keep the interests of powerful groups [41; 2007]. In CDA the basic units of analysis are texts. And, texts are not only written documents; they can also refer to oral discourse or visuals or even to a combination of these forms.

2.3.The definition of political news interview

We can identify that the traditional journalistic interview is often combative, relying on “gotcha” (*I have got you (used to express satisfaction at having captured or defeated someone or uncovered their faults)*) journalism, or an attempt to reveal insider information from public officials and political pundits [23; 2009]. These interviews (such as the ones seen on

programs like Hannity or NBC’s Meet the Press), Jones competitions, are “centripetal,” meaning that they present viewers “with a single conception of what ‘makes sense’ at any given moment” and are rooted in an “agreed-upon reality that other insiders are expected to accept” [ibid.23; p. 104].

2.4.The characteristics of political news interviews

The main characteristics of political news interviews involve neutrality in political news interviews, the possibility of interviewees challenging the interview layout and the conflictual potential of such interviews [16;1985]. The analysis of political news interviews could be attributed to field of institutional talk. Such institutionalized interaction can be regarded in many ways as different from ordinary conversation [2;1982, 3;1991]. Everyday talk is combined of conventions and practices suitable for various social goals, while institutional interaction covers restricted interactional rules [17;2004]. In general, political news interviews come in shape of question-and answer sequences.

In other words, they cover a normative turn-taking system that limits participants to either asking

questions or answering them [14; 1986, 15; 1988, 4; 1988, 5; 2010, 34; 1988/89, 18; 1991, 19; 1995]. The interviewer's behaviour is influenced by the cooperativeness of the interviewees. Interviewers have the right to keep speech till a question is done. The interviewers can achieve a great number of actions, such as challenging or supporting, but they have to be carried out in question format [5; 2010]. Interviewers should keep a formally neutral stance while interacting with their interviewees [6; 2002]. Another technique which used by interviewers is "mitigating". This type of technique is used when he/she gives an evaluative statement and he/she tries to mitigate its strength [ibid 4, p.487]. The interviewers added another technique which is "formulating" that means [20; 1980; 16; 1985, ibid 5; 2010]. The aim of using Formulations is to clarify, refocus or underline prior talks in addition to cooperate or challenge interviewees' statements. Again, by using these types of techniques the interviewer can keep a neutral stance. Interviewers usually do not show their personal opinions and perspectives on the topic of discussion. If the interviewers be away from their role as questioners,

they try to use certain strategies to still maintain a neutral situation [ibid 4, ibid 18].

2.5. The difference between political interview and economic interview

At the beginning the researcher would like to identify the political news interviews as question-and-answer exchanges between two or more participants, which often are confrontational and challenging in nature, since adversarial and competitive questions occur frequently [30; 2002]. Or we could say that the interaction is formal and institutionalized, produced for an overhearing audience that does not actively participate [16; 1985, 7; 2002]. But for the term discursive conflict which can be defined "... the interaction of interdependent people [can include two or more participants] who perceive opposition of goals, aims, and values, and who see the other party as potentially interfering with the realization of these goals" [32; 1987 p.552].

Political news interviews can be distinguished as an institutional genre; such an interaction is different from ordinary talk where ordinary talk is a form of interaction which is not restricted to a particular setting while institutional

interaction covers restricted interactional rules (political news interviews) [17; 2004]. The term “(Inter)subjectivity deals with the linguistic expression of the speaker’s relation to what is called textually referenced or allowed statements, assumptions and inferences” [9; 2011 p. 40-71].

Martin and White [29;2005] distinguish two basic types of Engagement: monoglossic and heteroglossic. Monoglossic statements are those which are not modified.

Heteroglossic assertions are modified by various linguistic expressions influencing the illocutionary force of utterances. While proclaim appears in political interviews much more. The politicians resort to proclaim to seem convincing and powerful in their propositions, to present their statements reliable and well-founded with rarely for further arguments. This case refers to a high degree of speaker involvement. And with economists there is nothing like, they rely on more dialogically expansive statements.

*Today I **strongly agree** with the Treasury analysis and the view of the Permanent*

*Secretary that a currency union between an independent Scotland and the rest of the UK **would be bad** for Scotland and **bad** for the rest of the United Kingdom. I,*

*as a Chancellor, could not sign up to an agreement which I knew **would be bad** for*

*Scotland and **bad** for taxpayers across the rest of the UK. (E. Balls) In forementioned we have several instances of proclaim. The speaker shows his agreement. The speaker wants the audience to be influenced by his personal opinions.*

*That’s a key reason why we should never join the euro. I’m **absolutely clear about***

that. So I very strongly agree with that argument. (W. Hague).

Here also, the politicians show his confidence about not joining the Euro union very clearly and directly. He tries to seem very convincing in front of his audience and influence the audience in his own direction.

The pragmatic functions of dialogic contraction in economist interviews are a bit different from those existed in political discourse.

For economists, their way in influencing the listeners is different from the politicians do, but they just take a decision towards the issues they are justifying where the

economists explain how difficulties the situation in some European countries is as regards the money union. For economists not intend to be authoritative as politicians.

Economists do not attempt to influence the listeners in the way politicians do, but they just take up a stance towards the issues they are explaining, as in (5), where the economist clarifies how difficult the situation in some European countries is as regards the monetary union. They do not sound as authoritative as politicians.

In this field, Martin and White [29; 2005 p. 117] indicate that proclaim is

regarded as a reinforcement of the speaker's position and disclaim is connected

with expressing contrast and negation, which is valid both for politicians and economists.

So how serious, David, do you think the issue of contagion still is within the

Eurozone? For example, we've seen in recent weeks that apart from the crisis in

Portugal and Ireland, Spain and even Italy are being downgraded. Would you

agree that there's an issue here?

A: It's very hard to be in a monetary union in Europe, which is so asymmetric.

The North, led by Germany, is recovering after the financial crisis and growing.

(D. Vines)

Martin and White [29; 2005] divide Heteroglossic Engagement into two dialogic orientations contingent on the kind of intersubjective positioning: Dialogic Contraction and Dialogic Expansion. Disclaim is associated with various linguistic means expressing negation. The category of Proclaim relates to emphasizing the validity of the proposition.

The appearance of disclaim is very similar with economists and politicians.

There are three subcategories of Proclaim: Concur (involving expressions of agreement or supporting a certain view expressed in the text, e.g., of course, obviously, naturally), Pronounce (including emphasizing expressions of the author, e.g. I contend, we must agree that, there is no doubt that), and Endorse (the information contained in the proposition is assigned to a reliable external source, e.g. As X has shown/demonstrated/ pointed out.).

2. 1. Models of analysis: Van Dijk [38; 1995a]

As it is understood from the analysis of some articles in American newspapers [35; 1982; see also 37; 1988 p.16] shows the relationship between ideology and discourse. As part of the ideological study of editorials and opinion articles in the U.S. quality press, which we assume express the (comparatively small) range of the ideological mainstream in that country, have divided the intellectual arena into two sections: good, bad, black, white, peaceful, troublemaker, terrorism, security, etc..... Anyone who is not with us or with our side he will be our foe. One who thinks that his culture is the best and the other is the worst. One who belongs to the first world and the other belongs to the third world. We will review some discursive structures and strategies [38; 1995a]. Discourse analysis as ideology analysis. In Wenden, A. and Schaffner, C. (eds) Language and Peace (in press.):

Negative lexicalization: It is clear from the title that the selection of (strongly) negative words to refer to the negative features of others and to describe the actions of the Others: *destroy, traumatize, terrorism,*

paralyzing fear, inflaming hatred, gangs, murky, poisoned, obsession, extremism, etc.

Hyperbole: another technique used by friends to amplify the actions of foes. A description of an event or action in strongly exaggerated terms. for instance, the bomb attack at the WTC, in which only a few people died, or other, possible terrorist attacks, are compared with a nuclear holocaust.

Compassion move: to bring the tears of the others of what enemies done with the victims and to get empathy or sympathy for (weak) victims of the Others actions, so as to enhance the brutality of the Other: *destroy the real lives of American working people; traumatize actual American children; mercy for their own people.*

Apparent Altruism move: Related to the compassion move, this move is used to emphasize understanding for the position or interests of (some of) the Others. The writer tries to show his altruism for others and he seeks about their interest apparently not truly. The move is called Apparent Altruism , because the argument is usually not developed, and merely has a disclaiming and positive self-presentation function (altruism is obviously a positive value).

Apparent Honesty move: another type of evasiveness when used by intergroup to show himself speak honestly. The Honesty move is a well-known form of disclaiming possibly negative statements. One way to do this is to use phrases such as Frankly,.. , or We should not hide the truth, and... , and so on.

Negative comparison: this reflects the strategy used by “us” to compare “them” with bad images. To emphasize the bad qualities of the Other by comparing the target person or outgroup with a generally recognized Bad person or outgroup. George Bush’s comparison of Saddam Hussein with Hitler during the Gulf War is a well-known example.

Generalization: to attribute the bad actions from some people or a small group and generalize it on other communities. Generalizing from one person or a small group to a larger group or category. Thus, possible bomb attacks in the USA are no longer the (possible) actions of small groups of specific terrorists, but are more generally attributed to (a few) unidentified immigrants, and hence to any immigrant.

Alliteration: the conflict between intergroup and outgroup makes “intergroup” to resort to linguistic means to describe “enemies”

actions rhetorically. Phonologically based rhetoric is well-known in tabloid headlines and op-articles, and generally serves to emphasize the importance or relevance of the words thus being marked, as is the case for the alliteration in: domestic dissidents and foreign foes.

Warning: to warn people from actions or people which in reality not exist only in imagination. More generally, even without evidence about facts or probable developments, the opinion articles in the NYT and WP are emphasizing possible threats and terror. Doomsday scenarios are rife, and generally intended to both demonize the Others as well as call to action those of us (and especially the politicians) who are not taking things seriously enough.

Norm and value violation: the intergroup in front of people claim that they keep norms and serve values and others violate them. The most fundamental way of establishing a distinction between THEM and US is not only to describe ourselves in benevolent terms and them in negative terms, but to emphasize that the Others violate the very norms and values we hold dear.

Presupposition: another type of glorifying “ourselves” and presupposes

others as fearful of "our" great culture as if they are worried from contagiousness of ours. A well-known semantic device to indirectly emphasize our good properties and their bad ones is presupposition. That is, these properties are simply assumed to be known, as if they were common sense, and hence need not be specifically asserted.

4.1. Samples of analyses:

Sample number one:

Section: 1

انا ضحية ولا اطلع على نتائج التحقيق الا القليل."

"I am a victim and only a few things am known"

Compassion move: the interviewee here tried to get the compassion of the audience by showing himself as a victim of his opponents or he may also show the brutality of them.

تعتيم من قبل الاجهزة الرسمية حول محاولة "2- اغتياي حتى لا يقال بان الوضع الامني عاد الى مرحلة الاغتيالات وتقل فرص الاستثمارات"

" A blackout by the official offices about the attempt to assassinate me so that it would not be said that the security situation has returned to the stage of assassinations and that investment opportunities will diminish."

Section 2:

Apparent honesty move: Sheikh Ghaith Al-Tamimi spoke in front of his audience and expressed his truthfulness by mentioning that the

government didn't tell the people about his assassination and the sheikh mentioned the aim of the government's to hide the truth.

Section 3:

السوداني كالبيرية جاؤوا به ووضعوه حتى "7- يحجزوا به كرسي رئاسة الوزراء (نظرية البيرية)"

"Al- Sudani is like a beret. They brought him and appoint him in order to seize the prime minister's seat (Beret theory)."

Concretization: to emphasize the negative acts of his opponents Ghaith portrayed the acts in detail, and in concrete, visualizable terms. Thus when our speaker compared the reserving a chair in a car with seizing the positioning of prime minister in detail.

These sayings were said by the interviewee Sheikh Ghaith Al-Tamimi who is the head of the Citizenship Project on Zagros channel on September 7, 2023. The interviewer was Muhammad Jabbar, the topic is: "The assassination's attempt on Sheikh Ghaith Al-Tamimi. Programme's name: "Bewedouh", Clearly". Number of views: 244,7000 thousand views.

Sample number two:

Section 1:

التبجح والتفاخر باسقاط صدام من المعيب على " تلك الاطراف ان تفخر بسقوط صدام بعد ما حصل من النهب والسرقة والقتل"

"Boasting and bragging about overthrowing Saddam. It is shameful for those parties to be proud of the downfall of Saddam after the looting, theft, and killing that happened."

Negative lexicalization: here also Bahjat Al-Kurdi replied on his guest using negative words by the same weapon (negative lexicalization) as if they were competing.

Section 2:

تلك الجماعات (تعالوا واحتلوا وطننا) ليس " عندها ذرة غيرة على العراق. ان القادة السياسيون الحاليون تحالفوا مع الامريكان لاسقاط صدام. ان الاهالي منكوبون وخصوصا "في وسط وجنوب العراق

"These groups (come and occupy our homeland) do not have an ounce of jealousy over Iraq. The current political leaders allied with the Americans to bring down Saddam. The people are afflicted, especially in centre and south of Iraq."

Apparent altruism move: Al-Kurdi addressing his guest Al-Musafer showing his keening on his country's interests and his enemies treason of their country. He showed his patriotism in a highly way. Al-Kurdi set up himself protector of his country.

Section 3:

لماذا يعمم وصف السرقة فقط على الشيعة ولا "يشمل بقية الطوائف

"Why is the description of theft only generalized to Shiites and not to include other sects?"

Generalization: Al-Musafer requested his guest about generalization of corruption on Shiites and not covered other sects because they were some bad people from Shiites were bad and others are innocents and this would be not a right thing.

Section 4:

"يقارن ضيفه بمسيلمة الكذاب"

"He compares his guest to Musaylimah the liar"

Negative comparison: the guest Al-Musafer made a negative comparison between is guest Al-Kurdi and an ancient character where he falsely claimed prophecy the similarity between them is lying.

Section5:

من يقف امام قطار الحرية ويتمنى عودة البعث "فسوف يتم سحقه

"The one who hingers the train of the freedom train and hopes for the return of the Baath Party will be crushed."

These sayings were said by the two interviewees, Mr. Imad Al-Musafer, researcher in political affairs and Mr. Bahjat Al-Kurdi, researcher in political affairs On the Al-Musteqla channel on 26 Shaban 1444 - 18 March 2023. The interviewer was Zakaria Al-Hamidi, the topic is: "

After two decades of fallen of Saddam Hussein, what have the Iraqis reaped? Programme's name: "Akbar Al-Iraq ", "News of Iraq". Number of views:14,600 thousand views.

Sample number three:

Section 1:

" الاطار نفعي ومصلحته الشخصية اعلى من "مصلحة البلد."

"Al-Itar is utilitarian and its personal interest is higher than the interest of the country."

Negative lexicalization: Dr. Iyad Al-Anbar said this to his interviewer to refer of selection such (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the "Others". Such negative words like: utilitarian and personal interest assured his speech.

Section 2:

" اذا اريد للعراق ان يكون مثل ماليزيا فعلى " الدولة ان تعي كيف تتصرف ولماذا واين وكيف تتجه."

"If Iraq is to be like Malaysia, the state must be aware of how it is behaving, why, where and how it is heading."

Warning: also the interviewee Al-Hilali warned his government of the next future if the government didn't behave correctly or took the wise policy the country would be gone in unknown world. Al-Hilali gave an example of a developed country like

Malaysia to be taken as an example for developing country.

Section 3:

" الحكومة عبارة عن ديوان مفتوح."

" The government is like an open diwan."

Concretization: To emphasize Their negative acts, another well-known move is to describe the acts in detail, and in concrete, visualizable terms. This saying said by Al-Anbar to criticize the Iraqi government about the disorder that distinguish it in managing the state because the Iraqi government lacks of planning and order.

These sayings were said by three interviewees, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Ahmed, Professor of Political Science, Mr. Aed Al-Hilali is an independent politician and Dr. Iyad Anbar, Professor of Political Science. On the U T V channel on 28 Rajab 1444 – 19 February 2023. The interviewer was Adnan Al-Taie, the topic is: " The foreign relationships and Al-Sudani policy with international poles" Programme's name: " Al-Haq Yqal", "Truth be told". Number of views:58,1 thousand views.

Sample number four:

Section 1:

" التعدي على اصحاب الصيرفة سيؤدي الى " تدمير الدينار العراقي. ان اسباب ارتفاع الدولار في العراق لاننا نشترى البضاعة من والدول

المعاقبة نقدا وحدودنا مفتوحة وتجارنا مفتوحة.

"Attacking the money exchangers will lead to the destruction of the Iraqi dinar. The reasons for the rise of the dollar in Iraq are because we buy goods from the sanctioned countries in cash, our borders are open, and our trade is open."

Warning: more generally, even without evidence about facts or probable developments, Al-Kharbit intended to demonize the others and call especially politicians to take things seriously enough. He wanted attentions from government to take this warning in consideration.

Section 2:

إذا لم تكن هنالك محاسبة، فليس هنالك دولة. " الاحزاب لاتريد دولة فهي تحارب كل اشكال القانون وتعتبر القانون والنظام والمحاسبة تهدد وجود الدولة.

"If there is no accountability, there is no state. The parties do not want a state. They fight all forms of law and consider law, order and accountability to threaten the existence of the state."

Norm and value violation: The most fundamental way of establishing a distinction between THEM and US is not only to describe ourselves in benevolent terms and them in negative terms, but to emphasize that the Others violate the very norms and values we hold dear. So

Al-Darraji differentiated between people who preferred chaos and those who preferred a state, order, checking others' works.

Section 3:

يقارن مع ما حصل لأردوغان مع مدير البنك المركزي التركي ومع مافلته الحكومة العراقية مع البنوك والصيرفات الاهلية. ويقارن مع مافله صدام ومن قبله من الحكومات العراقية. السابقة مع المصارف الاهلية.

"He compared with what happened to Erdogan with the director of the Turkish Central Bank and with what the Iraqi government did with the private banks and money changers. It is compared to what Saddam and the previous Iraqi governments before him did with private banks."

Negative comparison: Abdullah Al-Kharbit wanted to emphasize the bad qualities of the other by comparing the target person or outgroup with a generally recognized bad person or outgroup. Al-Kharbit made his comparison to warn the Iraqi government about the negative results of these two bad actions. This comparison may be rhetorically increased by comparing the negative results of what the Turkish done and what did the Iraqi governments did in the past and now.

These sayings were said by two interviewees Sheikh Abdullah Al-Kharbit former member of parliament, and former Member of

Parliament Rahim Al-Daraji - Secretary-General of the KAFA movement. On Dijla channel on April 30-2024. The interviewer was, Sahar Abbas Jameel, the topic is: "Rallying the allies... Sunni forces are preparing to end the political impasse with the hammer of Parliament" Programme's name: "Al-Qarar lakum", "The decision is for you". Number of views:13, 000 thousand views.

Sample number five:

Section 1:

وثيقة الصدر تتعارض مع الشرع والدستور "1- ومبادئ حقوق الانسان وهي تعتبر عبودية مدى الحياة. وقعوا على عبوديتهم."

"Al-Sadre's document contradicts Sharia, the Constitution, and human rights principles, and is considered lifelong slavery."

Negative lexicalization: our interviewee Najah Mouhammed Ali used these strongly negative words to describe the actions of the others. It is the best way to show in details their negative actions in political life.

Section 2:

في وثيقة الصدر توجد عبارة: بسمك اللهم "2- وهي تعتبر مسحة جاهلية وفي نفس الوقت تعتبر مسحة أموية."

"In Al-Sader's document there is a phrase: With the name of you Allah, which is considered a Jahilia anointing and at the same time it is considered an Amowia anointing."

Negative comparison: Najah used this comparison between the Amowian men and Al-Sadr's men to show the negative aspects in writing their documents. The use of the same "Basmala" might be rhetorically enhanced by comparing them with the same opening speech.

These sayings were said by the interviewee Mr. Najah Mouhammed Ali, writer and political analyst. On Zagros channel on 11-Shawwal 1444,1 May 2023. The interviewer was, Mouhammed Jabbar, the topic is: "Al-Tayar is imprinted with blood and Al-Atar is waiting for worry" Programme's name: "Bewidouh", "Clearly". Number of views:115,200 thousand views.

Sample number six:

Section 1:

الادعاء بارسال شكوى الى مجلس الامن كذب " الادعاء بانسحاب الامريكان كذب وكذلك الحديث عن جدولة الانسحاب الامريكي لاساس "له من الصحة."

"The claim of sending a complaint to the Security Council is a lie. The claim of the American withdrawal is a lie, and the talk about scheduling the American withdrawal is also baseless."

Negative lexicalization: here Al-Bayati wanted to show the bad actions of others by selecting strongly negative words. The rhetorical aim of this move was to

emphasize the negativeness of other side.

Section 3:

"الحكومة امام ثلاث خيارات اما الموافقة على " اقامة الاقليم او رفضه وتغيير الدستور او القتال .
"ضدنا."

"The government has three options: to approve the establishment of the region, reject it, change the constitution, or fight against us."

Warning: in general, Al-Bayati warned from terrors or possible threats. Even though he didn't have real evidences about these threats but he called for attention. Al-Bayati intended to demonize the others and call to actions those of them and especially the politicians who are not taking things seriously.

These sayings were said by the two interviewees Mr. Najah Mouhammed Ali, writer and political analyst and Sheikh Thaer Al-Bayati. On Zagros channel on 25 January 2024. The interviewer was, Mouhammed Jabbar, the topic is: " Washington threatens with hammers and the factions brandish fires" Programme's name: " Bewidouh", " Clearly". Number of views:59,200 thousand views.

Sample number seven:

Section 1:

ذكرت صحيفة كيهان الايرانية بانها تحذر "3- من حرب محتملة. ان خيارات الحرب حاضرة .
"اذا استمرت في استفزازاتها مع الاخرين."

"Iranian newspaper Kayhan reported that it was warning of a possible war. There are options for war if Iran continues its provocations with others."

Warning: in general, the interviewee warned others about facts or probable developments. He emphasized possible treats and terror. The interviewee intended to both demonize the others and call to action those of them (and especially the politicians) who were not taking things seriously enough.

Data analysis and results:

These sayings were said by the interviewee Mr. Ahmed Al-Yasiri, Mr. expert on Iranian and strategic affairs. On Al-Tagheer channel on 6 March 2023, 15 Shaban 1444. The interviewer was, Ahmed Al-Adhami, the topic is: " Washington is pushing the Pentagon towards Iraq at dangerous times" Programme's name: " Ras Al-Sater", " Line header". Number of views:117,0 00 thousand views.

Sample number eight:

Section 1:

" عدم وجود معارضة سنية، وانسحاب التيار الصدري جعل منظمة بدر تعيش في ترف سياسي."

" The lack of Sunni opposition, and the withdrawal of the Sadrist movement, made the Badr Organization live in political luxury."

Concretization: the second interviewee is Al-Masari replayed on his guest by emphasizing the negative acts of his opponent, another well-known move is to describe the acts in details and in concrete. The interviewee rhetorically used negative words to assured his ideas.

Section 2:

"العامري طبيب الشان البدري يقول احمد "الموسوي: نحن جنود مجنونة للعامري."

"Al-Amiri, is the doctor for Badri affairs, Ahmed Al-Musawi says: We are soldiers recruited for Al-Amiri"

Alliteration: rhetorically speech Al-Masari used the move of alliteration to emphasize the importance or relevance of the words. Alliteration is one of the beauties that adorn the Arabic language, and it is a verbal refinement that makes the reader of the text it contains the illusion of the repetition of a word. In fact, this is not repetition, as the two similar words each have a special meaning. These sayings were said by the tow interviewees Abu Mithaq Al-Masari, member of the Badr Organization and the second interviewee was Dr. Yahya Al-Kubaisi Researcher in Iraqi affairs. On UTV channel on 18 February 2024. The interviewer was, Ahmed Mala Talal, the topic is: "About the political crisis in Diyala" Programme's name: " Ma Mula

Talal", " With Mula Talal". Number of views:1,700 thousand views.

Sample number nine:

Section 1:

"أتركوا شعرة معاوية."

"Leave Muawiyah's hair."

Concretization: Faiq Sheikh Ali tried to emphasize his opponent negative acts, another well-known move is to describe the acts in detail, and in concrete, visualizable terms. He said they should leave a space for wisemen to do for the interests of the country. Rhetorically speaking he used proverbs to support his ideas.

Section 2:

Hyperbole: Faiq in his description of event exaggerated the long term would take the prime minister's programme in achieving it. He prolonged the time of doing such a programme which would continue after life it is ironically speaking.

These sayings were said by the interviewee Faiq Sheikh Ali, Iraqi politician and former MP. On Al-Hadath channel on 23 February 2023. The interviewer was, Hussein Al-Sheikh, the topic is: " Behind the scenes of the parliamentary elections and who is the expected President of Parliament: " Muqabala Khasa", " Private interview". Number of views:992,0 00 thousand views.

Sample number ten:

Section 1:

"يجب ان نكون حذرين من الارهاب."

"We must be careful of terrorism."

Warning: in general, the president warned about facts or probable developments. He tried to emphasize possible threats and terror. The trend is to demonize the others as well as call to action those of him (and especially the politicians) who were not taking things seriously enough.

These sayings were said by the interviewee Mr. President of Republic of Iraq Abdul-Latif Rashid. On Al Jazeera channel on 2 November 2022, 8 Rabie Al-Awal. The interviewer was, Abdul-Fatah Faid, the topic is: " Conditions in Iraq after electing the Iraqi government" Leqa Khasa", " Private meeting". Number of views:11,000 thousand views.

Sample number eleven:

Section 1:

"يا خونة ارجعوا اموال العراق وكل من باع " ضميره. طابقتنا ادمت الاخرين."

"O traitors, return the money of Iraq and everyone who sold their conscience. Our brick made others bloody."

Negative lexicalization: The interviewee Mustafe Jabbar Saned selected strongly negative words to describe the actions of others:

traitors solid their conscience and bloody. These negative words supported his ideas.

Section 2:

"تكدح ثلاث محافظات والاقليم مُدلل و اقليم كردستان يقوم بتصدير النفط بصورة خفية علمنا ذلك من خلال مصادر ثانوية."

"Three provinces are toiling, the region is spoiled, and the Kurdistan region is secretly exporting oil. We learned this through secondary sources."

Concretization: For Mustafa to emphasize their negative acts, he referred to a well-known move was to describe the acts in details, and in concrete visualizable terms. This when three provinces portrayed as people toiled and region of Kurdistan spoiled, they are actually toiled to satisfy the others.

These sayings were said by the interviewee Mr. Mustafe Jabbar Saned, member of Iraqi Parliament. On Al-Itejah channel on 18 January 2024. The interviewer was, Ibrahim Al-Maliki, the topic is: " Presidential Tahoe is an alternative to Al-Attar mixture". Programme's name "Al-Murtakaz", " The anchor". Number of views:852 thousand views.

Sample number twelve:

Section 1:

"الكتلة الشيعية الاكبر هي الراعي الابوي -3 للعملية السياسية، والخلافات بينهم تنعكس سلبا على الشارع العراقي."

" The largest Shiite bloc is the paternal sponsor of the political process, and the disputes among them reflect negatively on the Iraqi street."

Compassion move: showing empathy or sympathy for (weak) victims of the Others' actions so as to enhance the brutality of the other: *disputes reflected on street*. Al-Dulaimi tried to show his sympathy on Iraqi people by referring to the largest bloc which has influence on the political street.

Section 2:

" نستهنج موقف حيدر الملا من خلال ادعاءه " بتعرضه الى محاولة اغتيال من قبل حماية الحلبوسي."

" We deplore Haider Al-Mulla's attitude by claiming that he was subjected to an attempt of assassination by Al-Halbousi's guards."

Norm and value violation: The most fundamental way of establishing a distinction between HEM and THEIR is not only to describe himself in benevolent terms and them in negative terms, but to emphasize that the Others violate the very norms and values we hold dear as Abraham Al-Dulaimi mentioned this in his answering to the interviewer. That's they violated the norm and values of political process according to the interviewee's opinion.

These sayings were said by the two interviewees, first was Mr. Abraham Al-Dulami, Independent politician and the second one was Dr. Ahmed Al-Kenani former parliament member. On Al-Rabia channel on 18 Jemadi Al-Ylaa 1444, 12 December 2022. The interviewer was, Muna Sami, the topic is: " Iraq.....a hidden conflict between political leaders". Programme's name "Min Jeha Rabia", " From the fourth Side". Number of views:12,000 thousand views.

Sample number thirteen:

Section 1:

"تقارن بين وضع المرأة في الوقت الحالي مع " وضع المرأة في عصر الجاهلية عندما يبشر "الرجل بولادة بنت."

"She compares the situation of women at the present time with the situation of women in the pre-Islamic era when a man was told that he had given a girl."

Negative comparison: to emphasize the bad qualities of the Other by comparing the target person or group with a generally recognized Bad person or group. Our interviewee Hanan Al-Fetlawi compared the bad conditions that woman lived pre-Islamic lived and women live at the present time. The image of persecution which was endured by women in pre-Islamic era might be enhanced rhetorically

by comparing to the conditions at the present time.

Section 2:

الفساد بدا طفل صغير منذ ايام الملكية لكن كبير " غوله في ايام البعث الثانية واصبح غولا سيطر على حياة الناس في ايام الحصار الاقتصادي.

"Corruption seemed a young child since the days of the monarchy, but Gaulle of corruption grew up in the days of the second Baath, and Gaulle of corruption took control of people's lives in the days of sanctions."

Hyperbole: The interviewer, Ahmed Mula Talal described the issue of corruption in strongly exaggerated terms. He compared the growth of corruption in Iraqi establishments with the growth of Gaulle from childhood to puberty. Rhetorically speech, he intended to support his idea by using such exaggerated terms.

These sayings were said by the interviewee, was Dr. Hanan Al-Fetlawi, Head of the Erada Movement and member of the House of Representatives and the interviewer of the channel UTV Mr. Ahmed Mula Talal. On UTV channel on 6 Ramadan 1444, 27 Mars 2023. The interviewer was, Ahmed Mula Talal, the topic is: " Two decades of complexity". Programme's name "Ma Mula Talal", " With Mula Talal". Number of views:72,5 00 thousand views.

Sample number fourteen:

Section 1:

افتعال الازمات، التسقيط السياسي، لقد ثارت ثائرة الشيعة بعد إعلان الصدر عزمه اخذ رئاسة الوزراء.

" Creating crisis, political discord, Shiite who revolted to extremely range after Al-Sadr announced his intention to take the prime minister ship."

Negative lexicalization: Mr. Issam selected strongly negative words to describe the actions of Others: crisis, revolted, extremely...etc. The rhetorical aim for his move was to scandalize the cruelty of others.

Section 2:

طلقة الرحمة جاءت بخطاب مقتدى " للانتخابات ومقاطعته لها تحت ظغوطات محلية واقليمية ودولية لتاجيلها. تمديد عمل حكومة الكاظمي او تشكيل حكومة طوارئ.

" Coup de grâce came with Muqtada rhetoric of the elections and his boycott under local, regional and international pressures to postpone it. Extending the work of the Kadhmi government or the formation of the emergency government "

Concretization: Al-Hasnawi tried to emphasize their negative acts, another well-known move is to describe the acts in detail, and in concrete, visualizable terms. Thus, when Muqtada's rhetoric is portrayed as 'Coup de grâce ' he was actually ended the election and another decision would be taken.

These sayings were said by the interviewees, first Issam Hussein, member of the Sairoon coalition the second one was Naji Al-Ghazi is an independent writer and politician, the third one was Dr. Jamil Al-Hasnawi is a researcher in political and academic affairs. On Fallujah channel on 15 July 2021. The interviewer was, Dr. Zaid Abdul Wahab, the topic is: " Al-Sadr boycotts the elections and changes calculations " Hewar Al-Tasea ", " Dialogue of Nine o'clock". Number of views: ,7000, 200 thousand views.

Sample number fifteen:

Section 1:

" يفترض بالشعب ان يفرز الصالح من الطالح " ولا يعيد انتخاب الفاسدين ويعاقب الفاسدين.

"The people are supposed to separate the good from the evil, not re-elect the corrupted ones, and punish them."

Presupposition: A well-known semantic device to indirectly emphasize his good properties and

their bad ones is presupposition. That is, these properties are simply assumed to be known, as if they were common sense, and hence need not be specifically asserted. So, the Iraqi people are supposed to be aware to differentiate between good ones and bad (evil) ones and don't repeat electing the bad politicians.

These sayings were said by the interviewee, Mouhammad Shi'a Al-Sudani, Member in the Iraqi parliament, the leader in Al-Itar Al-Tensiqi and the general secretary for Al-Furatain movement. On Al-Taghier channel on 15 June 2022, The 16 Dhul Qi'dah 1443. The interviewer was, Nejm Al-Rubai, the topic is: " Mouhamed Shi'a Al-Sudani at in hospitality of Nejm Al-Rubai" the name of the programme is "Min Baghdad", " From Baghdad". Number of views: ,505, 4000 thousand views.

5.1. Statistical analysis and discussion:

| Type of move | Frequency | Total percent |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Negative lexicalization | 7 | 60% |
| Hyperbole | 3 | 30% |
| Compassion move | 2 | 20% |
| Apparent altruism | 2 | 20% |
| Apparent honesty move | 2 | 20% |
| Negative comparison | 4 | 35% |
| Generalization | 2 | 20% |
| Concretization | 5 | 42% |
| Alliteration | 1 | 10% |
| Warning | 4 | 35% |
| Norm and value violation | 2 | 20% |
| Presupposition | 1 | 10% |

As we analysed different discursive structures and strategies which were used in this research expressed ideological beliefs and the social and personal views derived from the participants in above interviews. The comprehensive strategy of all ideology, as defined here, showed the interviewee (speaker) in a positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The participants (interviewees) used several moves to reduce or hide or deny his (our) negative acts or properties, and their good ones. So,

he is (we) are associated with positive principles and values, whereas they break such basic principle of cultured social life. The negative acts of others can be supported by such moves like: negative lexicalization, hyperbole, concrete detailed descriptions, fear from probable terror or unknown future. The much use of negative lexicalization move reflects the pessimistic view point on Iraqi conditions and lessen the hope to reform our circumstances after twenty years of changing the regime. And also, the use of

negative comparison shows the desire of speakers to compare things with negative models and no reference to positive models. Politically speaking, the Iraqi political life has been transferred from dictatorship to democracy life and the political life has difficult labour to keep up this new political life. So, every party stands in front of the other to show his flaws and forgets his own. We wish the political parties to be neutral in their opinion on others and think about the country's interests.

6.1. Discussion of results:

As the results shows that the Iraqi politicians tried to show themselves in front of their audience in a self-positive presentation to be treated as heroes in front of people. The Iraqi interviewee resorts to use strong negative words to attract the audience and get his approval even though if he destroys the reputation of other. Everyone wants to say that I am right and the other side is wrong and you should avoid him. They (politicians) support their ideas by describing their opponents with negative words and they represent the goodness in life. The interviewees claim that they keen to the interests of Iraqi citizens and do their best to serve him but they

serve their owns. They use different moves to support their opinions such as negative lexicalization, compassion move, and apparent altruism. To emphasize the bad qualities of others by comparing the target person or outgroup with a generally recognized Bad person or outgroup. Sometimes the politicians compared the circumstances before 2003 and after this year where many changes have been changed. in these interviews, you can observe two parties the first party still considers the period before 2003 was better than from the period after 2003. The second part considers the circumstances before 2003 the worst period they have ever seen in their life. The polarization has been increased because of these interviews, no one can convince the other about his argument. The polarization condition reaches to our life and people have been affected by this polarization. To emphasize Their negative acts (politicians), take in consideration another well-known move is to describe the acts in detail, and in concrete, visualizable terms when one of the interviewees described an event of boycott of election as 'Coup de grâce. For alliteration move, the speakers were very rarely in using it because it is

suitable for journalism and not for TV interviews because in press it is a written language and writer can play with words not like speaker in TV. The interviewees attention divided between warning, hyperbole and violation of norm and values which reflect the attitudes of the guests of political programmes. The trend of most politicians focus on (we) are the best and (they) are the worst, we will make you live in paradise if we control authority and no other alternative can substitute ours. We are the white page of political life and the other represent the black page and people should choose us.

7.1. Conclusion:

There is no doubt that the Iraqi life has been changed radically after 9th April 2003 and we can't make a right comparison between these two periods. Before 2003 the political life was only the single party and you couldn't hear any opposite opinion and we had only the ideology of Al-Baath which didn't let to anyone to express ideas or ideologies opposite to the party (Socialist Arab Al-Baath Party). After thirty-five years of oppression, confiscating, and suppression of other opinions, the dawn of freedom was risen and Iraqi people could speak and express what they want to say. Satellite channels have

spread in large numbers with different political ideologies aiming to get the approval of audience. The different ideologies come from being many political movement, parties and masses on the yard. The Iraqi experience in politics is new and didn't have experience before that. With many political channels the listener misleads the way to understand what the speaker (interviewee) wants a message to delivery to him. As we see our political leaders or active people in politics used different discursive structures and strategies may be used to express ideological beliefs and the social and personal opinions derived from them. The complete strategy of all ideology, as defined here, seems to be positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This also means that the politicians tried to use several moves to lessen, cover or deny their negative acts or properties, and only show their good ones. The interviewees (politicians) are associated with positive norms and values whereas in reality they violate the positive values and norms. When they were interviewed, they used several moves to emphasize their ideology on others like: negative lexicalization, negative comparison,

warning and concretization. Some politicians resort to generalization to go from concrete events and persons to more embracing and hence more persuasive statements about whole other groups and categories of people. With negative lexicalization and negative comparison, the interviewees describe the negative aspects or negative actions of their opponents and they compare their opponents with negative groups or negative

people. The politicians also showed their national altruism on people and the country's interests as if they appeared as Patriots for their audience and portrayed a negative image for their opponents in a black image. All levels and dimensions of the discursive structures of the opinion expression, with some variations, tend to support their ideology in political life

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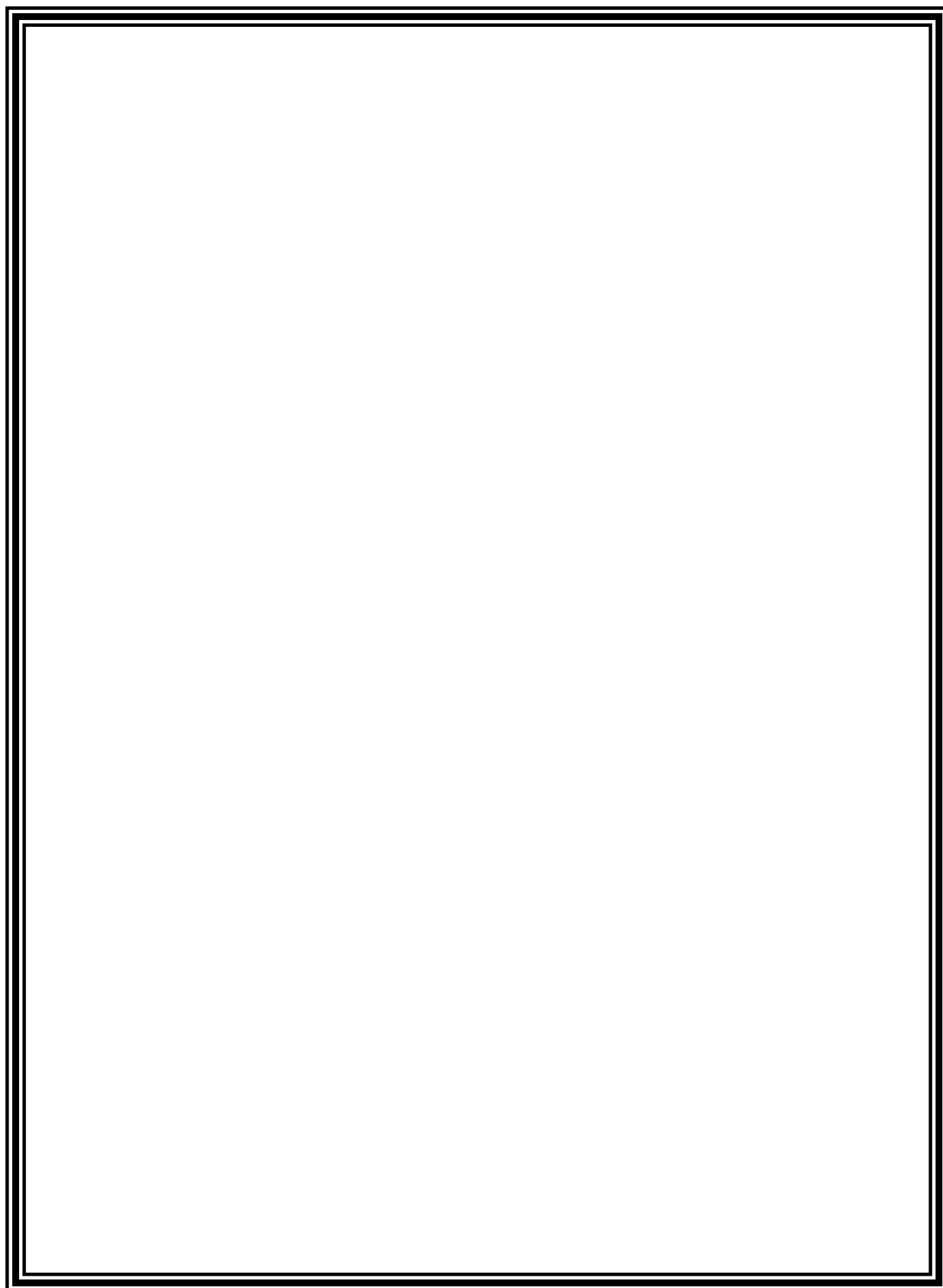
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