
Ideologies in the Iraqi Legislative Discourse: A Critical Discourse Study ♦

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Abstract

Iraqi ideology has witnessed since 2003 many changes because this period of great sociopolitical confusion and transformation. The construction and reflection of Iraqi ideology is very turmoil because the continuing struggles. It is important to know to negotiate how Iraqi identity has been constructed over the last two decades. There are basic factors in these constructions, such as, sectarianism, nationalism and globalization. Based on a corpus of Iraqi constitution (2005), the study analyzes the Iraqi ideologies concerning the Iraqi legislative discourse. The main objectives of the study explain how legislative discourse continuously alternates between constructing Iraqi as recipients of some state laws and as active agents in others. The results highlight the great importance of discourse in outlining public ideologies and social identities. There are various questions raised in studying legislative discourse and Iraqi ideologies such as, how is Iraqi identities comprehended in constitutional or legislative discourses? What linguistic schemes are employed in legislations to reflect particular characteristics of Iraqi identity?

Keywords: Iraqi (2005) Constitution, van Dijk, ideology, discourse

الأيديولوجيات في التشريعات العراقية من منظور المنهج المعرفي الاجتماعي لفان دايك: دراسة خطابية نقدية ♦

الباحثة **خلود حسن صيوان دحام**
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المستخلص

شهدت الأيديولوجية العراقية، منذ العام ٢٠٠٣ الكثير من التغييرات خلال هذه الفترة نتيجة للاضطرابات والتحول الاجتماعي والسياسي الكبير. إن الأيديولوجية العراقية و انعكاسها يبدو مضطرباً بشكل واضح نتيجة الصراعات المستمرة. من الضرورة معرفة كيفية بناء الهوية العراقية على مدى العقدين الماضيين. هناك عوامل مؤثرة في هذه الموضوع مثل الطائفية والقومية والعولمة. بالاعتماد على النصوص من الدستور العراقي (٢٠٠٥) تُبين الدراسة الأيديولوجيات العراقية المتعلقة بالخطاب التشريعي العراقي كما توضح الأهداف الرئيسية للدراسة كيف يؤثر الخطاب التشريعي باستمرار في جعل العراقيين متلقين لقوانين الدولة وكفاعلين في قوانين أخرى. تُسلط النتائج الضوء على الأهمية الكبيرة للخطاب في تحديد الأيديولوجيات العامة والهويات الاجتماعية. هناك أسئلة مختلفة تُطرح عند دراسة الخطاب التشريعي والأيديولوجيات العراقية، مثل، كيف تُدرك الهويات العراقية في الخطابات الدستورية أو التشريعية؟ ما هي المخططات اللغوية المستخدمة في التشريعات لتعكس خصائص معينة للهوية العراقية؟

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدستور العراقي (٢٠٠٥)، فان دايك، الأيديولوجيا، الخطاب.

1.Introduction

The study mainly focuses on ideologies of people in general and the Iraqi's in particular. Ideologies have been introduced by linguists and specialists as a system that is manifested in diverse domains from different senses, as politically, socially and racial representations. Social ideology is mostly implicit in social groups' practices and attitudes, even their knowledge which diverge them from other social communities. Data collection involves gathering a corpus of constitutional-related legislative documents from Iraqi governmental sources, such as laws, policy papers, and parliamentary debates. Critical discourse analysis has three steps: description, interpretation, and explanation. Description is completed through intensive reading to discover *legislative discourses* which are afterwards examined and evaluated. However, CDA does not constantly appear in agreeable, neat correspondences that can be simply grasped out from some framework for analysis (Al-Mas'udi and Al-A'mery, 2021p. 478).

This study offers a practical account for the procedures employed in the research to analyze the discourse of Iraqi Constitution (2005). The current study is "mixed method research" in nature. It entails analyzing and explaining the ideologies in the Iraqi legislations. Mixed method research is "an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms" (Creswell, 2009, p.23). The approach of CDA is applied to the selected data is van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2000) to scrutinize the ideologies of legislation in the Iraqi (2005) constitution. This approach was advocated to explore the embedded ideologies in the legislative constitutional ideologies. The researcher realized that there is a kind of overlapping between the (144) constitutional articles, therefore, the study utilized some of these articles without redundancy. It could be noticed that these constitutional articles showed no intersecting with others. This study is qualitative as well as quantitative in its entire nature. However it is much more qualitative since qualitative study depends on a lot philosophical assumptions (Creswell, 2009, p.23).

Collecting the text samples required downloading the Iraqi (2005) Constitution (Arabic and English) the official copies as they are found in the United Nations. Iraqi (2005) Constitution was divided into six sections as (Fundamental Principles, Rights and Liberties, Federal Powers, Powers of the Federal Government, Power of the Regions, Final

and Transitional Provisions). These six sections have subdivided into various chapters that (144) articles.

2-Research Questions

The present study attempt to answer the following questions:-

- 1- How is language employed in the articulation of the Iraqi Constitution?
- 2- What is the significance of CDA (the social and socio-cognitive approach) in exploring the ideologies of Iraqi people regarding issues concerning their lives in the Iraqi legislative discourse?

3- Research Objectives

This study attempt to arrive at the following objectives:

1. To identify how language is employed in the articulation of the Iraqi constitution.
- 2.To shed light on the effectiveness of CDA approaches in uncovering the ideologies of Iraqis in regard to what concerns them in the Iraqi legislative discourse.

4-Statement of Problem

While critical discourse in political discourse has been widely studied, there is a lack of legislative analysis using a multi-modal approach in the context of the Constitutional-Related Legislation. This study aims to bridge this gap by exploring how these discourses function critically in legislative discourses by Iraqis. Discourse is probably the most powerful tool in any legislative operation; it is the useful approach of communication.

5-Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis is a linguistic field that involves various studies of CDA in particular and linguistic in more general. van Dijk's approach is most generally well-established and widely comprehensive. It is obvious that this models is successful to adopt in analyzing and exploring the hidden ideologies behind any discourse and examines relations between ideologies and "power, dominance and control of using language" (*Al-Mas'udi and Al-A'mery, 2021, p.489*).

This approach of analysis provides a suitable and logical answer to

different inquiries about powerful language practice by powerful social groups against powerless groups whenever there are communicative interactions concerning institutional issues or personal individual levels. The model offers new tools to achieve the main goals of critical discourse analysis field. It helps in raising powerless participants awareness concerning various powerful procedures and strategies practiced by elite groups and (re)producing powerful texts and discourses (*Al-Mas'udi and Al-A'mery, 2021, p.489*).

5.1 Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

The fundamental principal of ideological categories, according to van Dijk, is actor description, positive self-presentation, and negative other-presentation. All other categories revolve around these three primary categories. Due to their importance, the current study placed a great deal of emphasis on these three key ideological categories, which served as the foundation for the ideological analysis of the legislative discourses. The remaining ideological categories were incorporated into the actor description, positive self-presentation, and negative other-presentation ideological categories based on this classification. The ideological framework to the ideological categories was firm in terms of meaning (van Dijk, 2004, p. 64).

According to their meanings, the ideological frameworks of legislative discourse categories as (presupposition, authority, number game, polarization, vagueness, example, implication and consensus) were involved within ideological category of "actor description". Ideological categories of (comparison and national self-presentation) were fused with the ideological category of "positive self-presentation". Finally, ideological categories such as (victimization, irony, and lexicalization) were attached to the ideological category of "negative other-presentation".

Van Dijk (1995) aims to produce a cognitive approach to discuss power issues. He asserts that any tools or procedures that are used in practicing power basically tend to control, direct, and change the mind sets, beliefs, and opinions of others to the advantage of the dominant powerful groups. Van Dijk believes that discourse and social practice are shaping and (re)shaped by the social cognition interaction of various mental knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk, 2004, p.

64); however, critical discourse analysis is more integrated with social problems involving "power, domination, and social inequality" it is interested in various issues related to "individuals, groups, organizations as well as institutions". It is important to recognize that there are many ways of social cognition as various common forms practices by social groups (van Dijk, 2001, p. 113).

Van Dijk (1995) asserts that powerful people have the ability to control at other's minds and their interests. Powerful participants get their ability of controlling from some forms of mental frameworks of the recipients that "*embody social knowledge and attitudes*" and control the interactions of other participants directly or indirectly (van Dijk, 1995, p. 22). In other words, van Dijk (1995) presents binary-dimensional classification of critical discourse analysis, as;

First: "Micro-level" and "Macro-level" of analysis.

Second: Discourse, Cognition, as well as Society.

These two ways of analysis are closely related and collaborating each other. Micro- dimension of analysis involves discourse and main linguistic features, whereas Macro-dimension includes broader extent as dominance hierarchy, power manifestation, social order, and inequality among different people and groups and how it presents itself in their relationships. The main goal of critical discourse analysis approaches is to communicate these two dimensions and bridge the gap between the two "micro and macro" approaches of analysis since they both are sociological constructions (van Dijk, 2000, p. 354). He suggests that the presentation of relation between "*discourse and society*" exists among participants in society and how the society is constructed. In addition, relations are investigated by the social interaction according to particular situation, society and discourse. Van Dijk presents a triangle of (discourse, cognition, and society) (van Dijk, 2000, p. 354), as:

Discourse: van Dijk defines discourse as any interaction with communicative event that involves verbal and non-verbal interaction like, written texts, body gestures, pictures, signs, sounds, and a variety of semiotic indicators, etc. Discourse is an important part of the process of analyzing ideology. According to van Dijk, ideologies have generalized

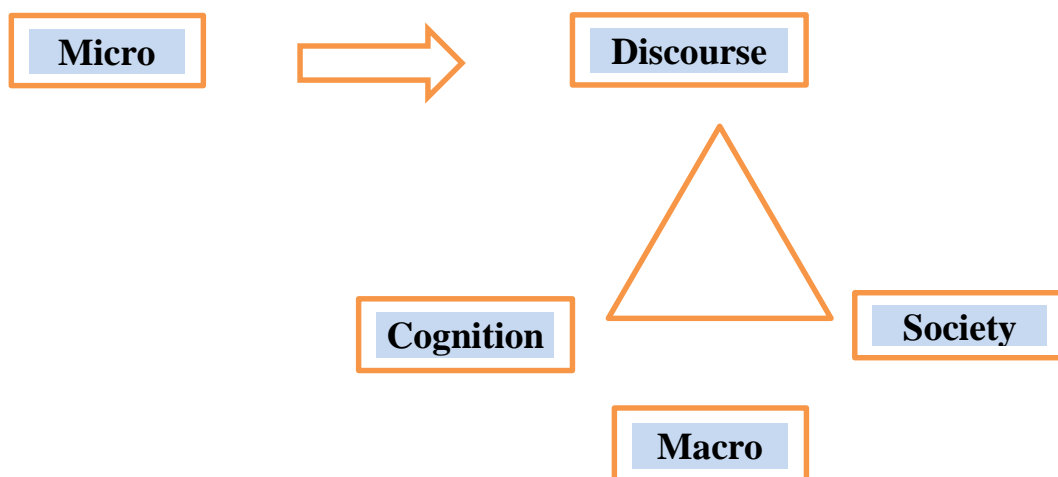
shapes and are not specific in that they are later articulated and re-expressed in other discourses within different communication frameworks. He adds that social cognition as one element of analysis factors mediates to bridge the gap between society and discourse (van Dijk: 1995).

Cognition: Cognition as concept represents the common beliefs, values, goals, emotions as well as mental structures whether individuals or group cognition. It represents a set of common social knowledge.

Society: entails part of analysis involving two structures; the first is micro-structures which is associated with "political social and universal". The second is macro-structures, which is reflected in controlling, dominance, and inequality. The following figure explains the relation between micro and macro representations and discourse.

This model mostly relies on multi-dimensions such as "text, context, and social structures".

This approach focuses on power relations exposed by language among different social groups. CDA according to van Dijk's model is concerned with context which is "pre-text", in other words it represents the contemporary conditions to the text-production. The linguistic structure and the social relationships connect the text with other influences.



In investigating the "*Context*" that is related to the process of discourse production and using in this model of analysis both supposed; macro and micro contexts. Macro context means the broader socio-cultural, historical and political structures. These macro context

structures represent the social background of communicative events and interactions where various structures are produced and used. On the other hand, Micro context refers to multiple features or properties of the instance interaction and event. Van Dijk believes that micro dimensional-context is a contextual model, he calls it "in terms of cognition and considers it as a form of mental model or representation of a communicative situation".

Van Dijk's model function is to integrate linguistic dimension with social-cognition. This model mainly is about power relations, domination, conflicts and manifestations. It aims to relate linguistic dimension (discourse level) with (social dimension) or cognitive structures. The aim of context model ultimately leads to exploring the discursive levels of power exploitation, inequality, authority, and dominance that are produced because of discourse construction and consumption (van Dijk: 2003). Van Dijk describes discourse as producing, processing and understanding according to "*cognition structure*" of that discourse. Context must be described according to the participants' mentality; it should be dealt with relation to their mental models in particular communicative event (van Dijk, 2002, p. 225).

Van Dijk's model involves several categories of critical discourse analysis such as; "Macrostructure" which depends on linguistic structure or discourse, the basic units that carry the general meanings. Van Dijk's model in one strategy with critical discourse analysis that focuses on various levels of linguistic structures mostly "macrostructure" and "microstructure" in addition to "mesostructured" levels. He is interested in the mental structure or what is called ideological perspectives including beliefs, schemas and social cognition, all of them influence discourse and linguistic structure, these structures enhance power relations (van Dijk, 2012, pp. 9-15).

Van Dijk (1988a) states that "exploring the hidden ideologies is the main task of critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis according to van Dijk's (2000) categories is dependent on ideological bases in order to explore the hidden political ideologies in the legislative discourse within the Iraqi (2005) constitution. It helps in discovering the hidden ideologies in legislative discourses that have great role on the social representation of Iraqi Constitution 2005. Discourse analysis also contributes to examining the ideological shift in legislative discourse across the various political stages.

Van Dijk explains various forms of ideological categories in ideological

analysis. Van Dijk's model also involves another classification that is ideological quarter. In (2006) he indicates that ideology depends on "discourse, cognition, and society". Discourse is a tool to carry messages throughout communication (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk has suggested the "ideological Square Model". It unveils the "self-other" representation in any discourse. The positive perspectives are more salient and concentrated concerning "self-representation". On the opposite, negative perspectives are claimed in representation of "others". Van Dijk states four principles: First: Emphasizing positive things of "Us". Second: Emphasizing negative things of "Them". Third: De-emphasizing negative things of "Us". Fourth: De-emphasizing positive things for "Them".

5.2 Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

Brown and Yule (1983:1) define discourse as (language in use) in one precise sentence as "The analysis of discourse is the analysis of language in use". Fairclough (1992:63) illustrates discourse in more comprehensive social practice definition as "Discourse is a form of social practice. This implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), and social structure(s)..." Another definition of discourse that is more societal structured communication produced by van Dijk who describes discourse as "discourse is communicative event which includes a sequence of sentences, propositions, or speech acts that are systematically structured" (van Dijk, 1997, p. 2). Discourse is related to the social action, social legitimacy, and communicative theory and explains how oriented communication has important position in dialogue (Horbenko: 2023, p. 166). Discourse is a related "complex communicative phenomenon", it is related to linguistic contribution, genre, context, ideology, culture, historical period and social community. Multidisciplinarity explains the broad approach of studying discourse in addition to cognitive approach as well as communicative approach. Studying discourse has no one approach and that indicates that discourse remains relevant. Early literature about discourse includes works of famous pioneers as (M. Foucault, E. Said, J. Derrida, A. Gramsci and others).

Fairclough (1995:132) has stated that "Critical discourse analysis is a

form of discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and text, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes." On the other hand van Dijk as one of the most interested figures in CDA defines CDA as "critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality and enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social political context." (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249).

Wodak and Meyer, on their part, have many contributions concerning CDA. They describe CDA as a form of social practice and takes reflection of the environment of language use to be fundamental. This implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), and social structure(s) which frame it (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p.3). Again, on another occasion, Fairclough and Wodak have considered CDA as "Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned" in this regard they suggest that CDA creates situations, substances of knowledge, and the social personalities and relationships between people (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Most of the former definitions describe CDA with association to social concept, however Fowler (1991: 67) tackles CDA with more linguistic attribution as "critical linguistics- and its more recent variant, CDA- emphasizes that language is not a neutral medium of communication, but a social practice that both reflects and construct ideology" (Fowler, 1991, p. 67).

5.3 Ideology

The term (Ideology) was first used by the French philosopher-Antoine de Tracy. His interest is to found a new discipline of study that involves investigating ideas. The concept of (ideology) is not easy to explain, however, the most fundamental common definition of ideology was introduced by van Dijk, who defines it as "ideologies are basic systems of fundamental social cognition, shared by members of social groups, that organize their social representations, especially about identity, norms, values, and goals" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 8). Fairclough, on his part, defines ideology in his contribution (Critical Discourse Analysis: 1995) as "ideologies are significations or constructions of

reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices".

Ideology can be defined according to Freedon as "the organization of thought over which an exact meaning is deliberated according to every political perception in their realm". It is used widely by historians as equal with a scheme of ideas or shaping knowledge, but censoriously ideology indicates the dominance of systems around any idea (Freedon, 2003, p. 122). He states that ideology acts non- verbally and sometimes comprises metaphors and political language. In fact, ideology deals not the normal and the unmoral, the conscious and unconscious in other words the emotional also (Freedon, 2003, p. 114).

Catherine Belsely claims that according to Althusser, ideology could be real as well as imaginative concerning the world. Ideology acts as bridge between political performance and economic activities to create the social construction (Belsely, 2003, p. 4). Ideology is not continuously real information about political structures, but it might be occurred as moral principles. The inferences of ideological politics require to be assumed. It is likely that old ideologies, which are seen as familiar by both the left and the right, will change in response to the experiences of a fundamentally altered society. They have been substituted by the individual ideologies which emphasis more upon limited issues which have been unrestricted the main motivations of previous styles of ideological policy (Schwarzmantel, 2004, p. 17). Schwarzmantel demonstrates that people have to make a reconsideration of the ideological prospect and the necessity to hypothesize political standards in novel styles, without leaving the common classification of political ideology. In addition, the classical opposition between right and left was no longer proper to designate the ideological sight of current liberal and democratic societies (Schwarzmantel, 2004, p. 20).

Van Dijk affirms the correlation between ideology and sociology, he thinks that ideology offers people and in the setting and organization of objectives, social routine and their total social life. All these purposes are social, and the perceptions concerned their accounts are mainly sociological. Barr considers the association between ideology and

sociology, by pointing to ideology as a social feature, a group member that can have an idea or view, however, ideology is common and shared by the entire social community. Additionally, ideologies include the ideas, beliefs, and perspectives that have their roots in the interests, needs, and social necessities of the people who adhere to them (Barr, 2005. P. 105). Ideology represents a way to perceive the world, mainly how the world works and where there are changes. In other words, ideology is a process of conducting logic of our world, our values and our beliefs are ideological (Gard and Wright, 2005, p. 10).

Van Dijk believes that the concept of ideology is heavily associated with negative comprehension. He argues that people avoid, deceive and inspire others by utilizing ideological discourse. He states that the term ideology is deceptive and mislead or supporter ideas of others; we have the precise reality and the others have their thoughts (van Dijk, 2006, p. 728). He considers that a discourse producer is influenced by his/her social backgrounds and ideological beliefs. Language essentially is not innocent or neutral, it is always ideologically oriented. He argues that critical discourse analysis is concerned in revealing how power manipulates, and explains authority and inequality; these are reproduced constantly by ideologically-driven discourses (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 243). He adds that "different ideological groups are representing the (Self) and (Others), (Us) and (Them). They are contrasted in values and ideologies, what belongs to us is positive whereas what belongs to others is negative, that what van Dijk calls "the ideological square". Van Dijk considers ideologies as forms of beliefs and values of groups in society. He classifies ideologies into two phases: (positive and negative). Positive ideologies such as feminism, anti-racism, and equality, on the contrary, ideologies, such as dominance and abuse are negative ideologies. Ideologies expose ways to perceive the world and social practice.

Ideologies are figured out by van Dijk as socio-cognitive (van Dijk, 1995a, p. 11). He thinks that each societal group has definite culture in the wide communal cultural experience of social attitudes, morals and norms which are reflected as the ideal appropriate apprehension in group ideologies. Ideology identifies subjective representations, ideas, opinions and beliefs. They are shared between particular social groups with the greater extent (Woolard, 1998, p. 5). The relation between people's

ideologies and legislative discourse is not appeared in the constructing or exploring discourses, but the relations are notably figured out and processed through discourse itself, this means that discourse is a device or a vehicle for ideologies. Discourse can produce ideology (van Dijk, 1998b). Norman Fairclough, who is interested in investigating the close relations between discourse, politics and ideology, confirms that politics is ideological and through discourse ideologies are shaped and produced (Fairclough, 1995).

The close relationship between discourse and ideology, as well as the extent to which one can be used to communicate the other, are examined by Fairclough (1995). Because of how closely they relate to actions, his explanation of the relationship between ideologies and behaviours in "Critical Discourse Analysis" reinforces the notion that social forces affect ideologies. Fairclough in another book which is entitled "Language and Power" (1989) highlights that meanings are asserted through interpretations of discourse. In other words, ideologies are exposed to various interpretations. To sum up, ideology as stated by Fairclough and van Dijk (1998a) as "social property", this property is acquired and applied just via discourse which implies ideologies. Ideology is everywhere and used by diverse groups whether dominated groups or oppressed ones (Fairclough, 1989, p. 8).

Iraq has the oldest legal text in the history, the legal legacy of Ur Nammu and Ammmurabi in ancient Mesopotamia about 2100 B.C. (Al-Ali and Auf, 2020, p. 8). In any time, constitutional ideologies influence constitutional discourse. Ideologies are considered as principal force to construct constitutional texts with the common rule-based. These rules work to present a state of reality. This picture of reality represents worldview and signifies how the state's citizens view the outside world and, more importantly, how they view themselves. Constitutional ideology is essential not only because it provides a lens through which we can see how discourse and institutions operate, but also because it is a powerful analytical tool that facilitates dealing with issues of identity, citizenship, authority, and attachment (Barber: 2024). Constitutional ideologies are essential. They have important role in shaping and determining what can be tackled within constitutional institutions. Generally speaking, legislative ideologies are introduced as an

association of rules, norms and concepts rooted in the society. Ideologies are presented as political philosophy such as liberalism and conservatism. For socialists' ideologies are functional phenomena, they help to bridge the gap between individual identity and group behaviors (Barber: 2024).

The study looks into Iraqis' ideologies and how discourse influences them. In actuality, people, their life systems, and their ideological stances are often discussed in speech. Though not all linguistic levels guarantee an equal persuasive load, discourse uses language to manifest ideologies. Fowler and Childs (2006: 130) suggest that discourse is a procedure of persuasion to accept certain point of view. Discourse presents individuals, groups, and society's ideologies. It is an important tool for propagation of ideology. Ideological messages as attitudes reflect citizens' representation in the parliamentary discourse. Ideologies help society not to be affected by false information since discourse carries certain ideologies.

6. Methodology

This part of the thesis exposes a clear explanation of how the methodological effort is designed in the research. The thesis states a clear exposition of the strategies that are employed in the methodology to explain the Iraqi legislative discourse. It figured out the boarder outlines analysis of the selected legislative discourses. This part of study offers explanations why the legislative discourses (Iraqi 2005 Constitution) were selected. This chapter concerns the research and provides description of the procedures of analysis. According to the nature of the study, it adopts a mixed method. The analytical framework relies on critical discourse analysis to analyze the relationship between discourse/language and social power in broad sense and the representation of Iraqi ideologies in discourse. The mixed of this research provides a clear vision of legislative discourse within Iraqi constitution (2005) and exposes of identity constitution in Iraq. It examines the legislative discourse in addition; it explains how ideologies are represented in texts (Gee, 2014,p.9).

6.1Source of Data

Collecting the text samples required downloading the Iraqi Constitution (2005 – Arabic and English) official copies as there are found in United Nations. Iraqi Constitution (2005) was divided into six sections as

(Fundamental Principles, Rights and Liberties, Federal Powers, Powers of the Federal Government, Power of the Regions, Final and Transitional Provisions). These six sections have subdivided into various chapters that involving (144) articles.

6.2 Research Design

The current study is "mixed method research" in nature. It is entailing analyzing and explains the ideologies in the Iraqi legislations. Mixed method research is "an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms" (Creswell, 2009, p.23). Most significantly, mixed research: involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The study attempts to investigate the discourse of Iraqi legislations and highlights the main ideologies in Iraqi constitution (2005). The approaches of CDA were applied to the selected data, the van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2000).

6.3 Data Sampling

In the current study (27) questions are adopted for tackling questionnaire data about the participants attitudes towards the constitutional articles in these selected questions. The process of sampling selection is related to the articles which are directly reflected ideologies of Iraqi citizens towards Iraqi (2005) constitution.

7. Data Analysis and Discussions

This part of the study introduces an analytical framework of the main articles chosen from the Iraqi constitutional discourse in terms of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach.

Article 15: "Iraqis are equal before the law without discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, origin, color, religion, sect, belief or opinion, or economic or social status".

The general meaning topic or the Macro-level of CDA in this discourse is that ***"Equality is before law"***. All Iraqi citizens must be treated equally under the law, without discrimination based on gender, race, religion... etc. On the other side the deep Micro-structural level of analysis is represented by the lexical choices of words like, ***"equal"***, ***"without discrimination"*** and the enumeration of categories, e.g. gender, race, religion, emphasize "inclusivity" and "fair". The phrase

"all Iraqis are equal before the law" presents a universal claim.

The participants' responses to the question on Article Fifteen showed that (45.2) believe that Iraq's internal circumstances have affected the suspension of Article Fifteen of the Constitution, and (39.2%) believe that there is discrimination in the application of this legal article among individuals. While the lowest percentage of participants, (15.5%) believe that Article Fifteen is applied fairly among all citizens without any discrimination among individuals for any reason.

Article 16: "Every individual has the right to enjoy life, security and liberty. Deprivation or restriction of these rights is prohibited except in accordance with the law and based on a decision issued by a competent judicial authority".

The structure of discourse produces logical contrast between stated rights and following legal procedure. *"Except"* is a linguistic qualifier indicates judicial authority stresses legitimacy and formality. The Micro-level of CDA is about ideological analysis of this article is that *"the basic human rights assertion life, security and liberty"*. It refers to the legitimization of state depending on judicial laws. It suggest judicial framework, acknowledges the state's authority to limits rights in certain crucial circumstances. The article implies protected as well as restricted, they are not arbitrary, however they are regulated. In this article is clear balance between citizens' rights and state authority.

The largest percentage of participants' responses, which amounted to (58.3%), believed that the opportunities are unequal among individuals, while (34.5%) believed that legal legislation need some reforms to ensure equality. Finally, the smallest percentage of participants, which amounted to only (7%), believed that opportunities are equal among all Iraqis.

Article 17: "Every individual shall have the right to personal privacy so long as it does not contradict the rights of others and public morals.

The sanctity of the homes shall be protected. Homes may not be entered, searched, or violated, except by a judicial decision in accordance with the law". The Macrostructure Level of CDA exposes that, *"Every individual"* using such linguistic units indicates

emphasizing privacy, conditional restrictions. "*Homes shall be protected ...*" sanctity of homes is essential however; it could be mastered by legal authority. Words as "*protect*" and "*sanctity*" help in legitimating authority over individual privacy. On the other side the Micro-structure level of CDA presents when personal privacy contrasts with others' privacy or general public morals, privacy is not absolute, there are limits. Judiciary laws can balance individual privacy and public morals. Individuals have to follow restrictions and legal system. Discourse can suggest linguistic strategies to clarify or verify balanced power relations between individuals' rights and public norms.

(54.2%) of the participants' answers regarding Article 15 of the Constitution were that it is not sufficient to protect the correspondence and personal data of citizens, while the percentage (23.6%) of participants indicated that this legal article provides protection for correspondence and personal data, and the lowest percentage confirmed that (22.1%) of the participants believe that this legal article provides protection for correspondence, but within specific controls

Article 19: "*The judiciary is independent and no power is above the judiciary except the law*".

Declarative sentence asserts independence of "judiciary" as independent institution which follows law, has no influence by policy or government. The general or Macro-level of analysis explains that, it has cause and effect forms as "*no power above judiciary*" and "*law is the ultimate authority*". The negative form "*no power is above ...*" in addition to exceptional clause "*except the law*", these grammatical forms enhance limitations of judiciary. The main expressions are presented in the Micro-level of CDA as, "*independent judiciary*", "*no power above*" and "*except the law*". This part of article focuses on power relations particularly in association "*judiciary*" and "*law*" who represent balanced powerful legal framework, "except" introduces the boundaries of judiciary's power. This article shows the ideal connection between "*judiciary*", "*law*" and simple linguistic syntactic forms clarify the power and authorial judicial ideology in democratic societies.

(53.3%) percentage of participants thought that judicial independence as well as fair treatment both are discriminatory among

individuals. While (28.3%) of participants believed that judicial independence and fair treatment are not available at all, the lowest percentage (18.2%) represented the opinion of participants regarding judicial independence and fair treatment being available according to Article 19 of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution.

Article 20: *"Iraqi citizens, men and women, shall have the right to participate in public affairs and to enjoy political rights including the right to vote, elect, and run for office."*

Macro Structure Level of CDA in this article implies the rights as well as participation of Iraqi citizens. The phrase *"shall have the right"*, represents obligation because *"shall"* as a modal verb stands for assertion. *"Men and women"* indicate gender political involvement. Engaging both genders signifies promoting equality.

Micro Structure Level of CDA is represented by using vocabularies such as *"political rights and public affairs"* reflects democratic senses and emphasizes inclusion and democratic participation. Such expressions encourage citizens to engage and realize importance of their political roles. *"Political rights, public affairs and participation"* represent democratic ideologies; it implies the positive inclusion of citizens as contrasting with previous authority duration. Structures can expose power domination and social obstacles in addition to the socio-political ideologies. This article involves hopeful ideology that exposes strong public engagement to promote equitable society "social justice".

Article (20) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses the right of citizens, men and women, to participate in public affairs such as voting, elections, and candidacy. The result of the participants' opinion poll was that (56%) support the correct field application of this law, while (30.5%) of the participants believe that citizens' participation is unobtainable, while the lowest percentage of participants (13,3%) believed that citizens' participation is limited within societal controls.

Article (22/First): *"Work is a right for all Iraqis in a way that guarantees a dignified life for them."*

Macro Structure Level of CDA illustrates the general idea of this article is about Iraqi political context as well as economic issues. It exposes the unemployment situation in Iraq. Employment is stated human right in order to achieve social justice. Micro Structure Level of CDA in the article is stated in a declarative statement. The form "right" is used to indicate a sense of implied entitlement and social quality. Iraq faces a lot of challenges and difficulties that makes employment opportunities few. Work is a significant factor for achieving dignified

life and fundamental economic right for all citizens.

Article (22 First) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discussed economic, social, and cultural matters. The survey results showed that (71.5%) of respondents believe that there is no equal opportunity among citizens, while (19.4%) of participants believe that opportunities are relative and depend on academic qualifications and the necessary skills. The lowest percentage is (8.9%) of participants believe that there is no fair equal opportunity and rights among citizens.

Article (22/Third): ***"The State shall guarantee the right to form and join unions and professional associations, and this shall be regulated by law."***

General Macro-structure Level of CDA concerning the context of this article is associated with legislative framework, it exposes out-lines of write rights and duties between citizens and the state. Using the word "guarantee" indicates a clear commitment and obligation from the government and implies its responsible protective role. According to Micro-structure level of CDA, terms such as, "***unions***" and "***professional associations***" emphasize collective performance and labors' representation. Obligation is also reflected by using modal verb "***shall***" which implies certainty. There is regular relationship between guaranteed rights and legal duties framework as regulated activities. It expresses the social ideologies concerning collective works, unions and professional associations which empower labor solidarity, also it promotes the relationship between workers and authority.

Article (22 Third) of the Iraqi Constitution stipulates that the state guarantees the right to establish and join trade unions and professional federations. (58.5%) of participants believed that this legal article is merely an administrative structure that lacks the authority to implement decisions. (31.7%) believed that the work of unions depends on the activity of members, and this varies from one union or federation to another. The lowest percentage (9.6%) of participants believed that these unions and federations have an effective role in defending the rights of their members.

Article (23/Second): ***"First: Private property is protected. The owner shall have the right to benefit, exploit and dispose of private property within the limits of the law. Second: Expropriation is not permissible except for the purposes of public benefit in return for just compensation, and this shall be regulated by law."***

In macrostructure analysis of this article there is salient focus on

legislative discourse that indicates exposing ownership rights in a legislative framework. The capital ideology is exposed in presenting individual rights simultaneously with the acknowledgement of state authority to mediate between public prosperity power-relationships are illustrated on both sides *"individual property rights"* and *"state authority"*. The government can oppose in justified legislative issues by public necessity fair reward. The deep meaning is discovered by Micro-structure level of CDA by using vocabularies such as *"protected, benefit, exploit, dispose, expropriation, public benefit and just compensation"* denote concepts of ownership, legal constraints and individuals' rights. Using grammatical form as *"shall have the right"* implies requirement and prerogative referring the significant role of ownership and possessiveness in legislative discourse. Vocabulary in this article expose serious obligation to the inviolability of private ownership. Vocabulary like *"protect"* expresses the state authority in guaranteeing of private property rights, individual prerogative in a legislative discourse. Property can be exploited just for public advantage case within legal framework operation as *"within the limits of the law"*.

Article (23 Second) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution referred to the preservation of private property and its non- expropriation except for the purposes of public benefit in exchange for fair compensation. The percentage of (50.1%) of the participants' responses confirmed that private property is sometimes expropriated under the pretext of public benefit, and the percentage of (7.9%) of the participants believed that private property is actually preserved, while some participants believed in the opinion that (21.9%) there is no protection of private property.

Article (29/First-b): *"The State shall guarantee the protection of motherhood, childhood and old age, shall care for children and youth, and shall provide them with the appropriate conditions to develop their talents and abilities."*

This article examines in the Macro-level of analysis the human rights in socio-political framework. It illustrates legislation context that empowers state responsibilities. The dynamic role of the state enhances the social well-being and justice. This central authorial role is expressed in protection and reinforcing position of the state. Interesting in *"motherhood, childhood and ideologies"* reflects socio-cultural values, identities and ideologies. This article exposes the social vision concerning these identifies social groups. The legislative framework reflects the state attitudes to improve social justice. It illustrates the responsible role of state regarding particular social groups.

Micro-structure level of CDA makes use of vocabularies as "*guarantee, protection, and care*" imply a sense of responsibility and certainty because they evoke a caregiving role of the state. The grammatical forms like "*the protection of motherhood, childhood and old ages*" explain the susceptible social groups, focusing on their social roles. Using of modal verb "*shall*" emphasizes the central role of the state and its responsibility in adopting social welfare. This obligation is reflected in selecting definite terms in simple and clear syntactic structure in order to promote state authority in this context. Cultural values can be derived obviously because they are reflected with great interest in "*motherhood, childhood and old ages*". These contributions are important if state considers these social groups as priorities.

Article (29 First - b) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses matters related to motherhood, childhood, old age, youth care and providing appropriate conditions for developing their capabilities. The largest percentage of participants' responses (45.8%) believed that state care varies from one group to another and according to the circumstances. While (44.3%) of participants believed that there is no support from the state for these groups in society. While the less percentage for the aforementioned groups was participants' responses (9.8%) confirm the availability of support

Article (29/Second): "*Children have rights over their parents for upbringing, care, and education, and parents have rights over their children, including respect and care, especially in cases of need and old age.*"

Macro level of analysis in this article explains the entire family relationships. It shows that paternal responsibilities are important as well as children's rights. The general context of this discourse can be classified as social and legal or cultural certification which discusses the family recommendations and responsibilities. Micro-level of analysis, the lexical choices such as "*rights*", on one hand can imply a common sense of privilege, opportunity and legal requirements, words like "*upbringing, care, and education*" focus on responsibilities concerning children. The syntactical analysis of this legislative structure presents the balance between children on one side and parents on the other, both of them have rights, producing a sense of reciprocal responsibilities. The power relations in this article explain the mutual relations between

family members "*parents and children*" and regulate their rights and responsibilities towards each other. These relations involve societal norms (*in family*) and reflect the cultural values. The ideology in this article adopts a shared consideration of family values and duties, this understanding have to be embedded in cultural and social cognitive standards. This article deals with balanced situation of family relationships, but what about the imbalanced relations within families? This point of view does not illustrated clearly in this article, still it needs answer.

Article 29 second, referred to the right of children over their parents in terms of upbringing and education, and also referred to the right of parents over their children in terms of respect and care, especially in cases of illness, disability and old age. The participants' responses varied in responding to the questionnaire, as a percentage of (42.1) of the participants believed that there was a need to legislate laws that pertain more to social care, and (35.8%) of the participants believed that there were social cases that did not apply the principle of mutual care between parents and children. While the lowest percentage of participants who are believed that care between parents and children was rooted in Iraqi society.

Article (29/Fourth): "*All forms of violence in the family, school, and society are prohibited.*"

The main topic in this article tackles the prohibition or prevention of violence in different situations (*family, school or society*. Micro-level of analysis of this article explains a wide and inclusive meaning; it highlights the comprehensive environment of the prohibition. "*Prohibited*" refers to a solid position against violence, this attitude involves prospective or social penalties and consequences. Power relation in this article indicates the outstanding points and reflects the perspective of legislators. It implies the ideology of unaccepted violence and it must be prevented, this reinforcement of offensive violence represents societal values and cultural norms. Legislative discourse in this article promotes social values such as non-violence, protection, care and security. The dominant ideologies are reflected in the attention to

importance of refusing all violence in various ways, it might embed potential certain alternative perspectives which could excuse or justify specific practices of violence.

Article (29 Fourth) rejects all forms of violence in the family, school, and society. The opinions of the participants indicated that a percentage of (48.1%) believe that it is necessary to prevent violence in all its forms, whether physical or verbal in the family, school, and society, as it has negative effects on the individual and society. (28.5%) of the participants believe that resorting to violence is very rare and within specific controls and advice. (23.3%) of the total participants believe that the practice of this type is widespread in the family, school, and society.

Article (30): ***The state guarantees social and health security for Iraqis in cases of old age, illness, disability, homelessness, orphanhood, or unemployment, and aims to protect them from ignorance and provide housing***

Examining the discourse in this article illustrates the following, from the Macro-level of discourse analysis. It exposes the state responsibilities. The state has responsibilities and duties towards citizens, mainly susceptible and vulnerable groups, such as (*children, women, elderly people, disabled people and unemployed*).

On the other hand, the Micro-level or the linguistic analysis explains the lexical choices for instance "***guarantee***" a heavy-duty commitment from the higher authority "state" to confirm citizens' well-being. "***Free and decent life***" implies a high level of living, existing, respect and dignity. "***Basic requirements***" and "***suitable income***", those expressions stress the state's responsibility in providing important essential needs. The state reinforces citizens according to the principal paternalistic relationships. The implied ideologies of social prosperity are explained clearly since the state ensures people's primary needs. However, the extract reveals the cultural values and social norms concerning family, social well-being and state responsibilities.

Article 30 of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses the state's commitment to social and health security for Iraqis in the event of old

age, illness, disability, homelessness, and orphanhood, as well as providing them with education and housing. The largest percentage of participants (45.6%) believed that the guarantees provided do not fully address reality as desired. (42.9%) of participants believed that these guarantees do not actually exist, and the lowest percentage (11.3%) of participants supported and affirmed the existence of social and health guarantees for citizen

Article (33): *"Every individual has the right to live in a healthy environment."*

This article discusses the human rights. The Macro-level of analysis covers the environmental rights as well as the citizens' well-being. The deep investigation of Macro-level of analysis concerning linguistic lexical collection like, *"Right"* refers to moral obligation in addition to legal entitlement. *"Healthy environment"* proposes certain form of living and particular quality of being. The syntactic structure of the text reflects structure of the text reflects heavy emphasizing and direct recommendation of individual's entitlement. However, dominated ideologies in this article try to nominate individual human rights, health and environmental protection. The general ideological aim is to highlight the social justice.

Article 33 of the Iraqi Constitution discusses the right of the Iraqi individual to live in sound environmental conditions. The opinions of the survey participants (47.9%) believed that the soundness of environmental conditions in Iraq differed from one region to another, and a percentage of (45.2%) confirmed the absence of good environmental conditions in Iraq. The lowest percentage of participants (6.7%) supported that the Iraqi individual lives in sound environmental conditions.

Article (34): *Free education is a right for all Iraqis at different levels and it is mandatory at the primary level, with the state supporting excellence and creativity. Private and non-governmental education is guaranteed and regulated by law.*

The topic of this article is very important because it discusses

education. The Macro- level of analysis exposes education as fundamental general stated right for every citizen. Education is an indication of societal progress. The Micro-level or linguistic analysis of this article refers to some significant lexical choices such as "**Fundamental Factor**" which reinforces the role of education in promoting social progress and development. "**Right guaranteed by the state**" indicates a clear commitment to confirming admission to education. The power relations refer to the state primary role, it is in the top position to provide and guarantee education, and in addition state is reinforcing an authoritarian relationship. The main topic of this article revolves around promoting important good essential values for instance, education, knowledge, awareness as well as intellectual development. It calls for highlighting on education as fundament human right.

The right of Iraqis to free education at all levels, education is compulsory, the primary stage, and that the state sponsors knowledge and excellence. The percentage of participants (79.9%) believed that some educational institutions lack the minimum levels of education, whether governmental (free or private). While (11.2%) of participants believed that the free education system in Iraq is at a high level. The lowest percentage of participants (8.7) confirmed that education provides a higher level of excellence and creativity than other sectors.

Article (37/First): ***Human freedom and dignity are protected, and no one may be detained or investigated except by judicial decision.***

The general broad understanding or the Macro-level of analysis explains the topic of this article is very important because it is related to human liberty and human dignity. It assumes that state must provide protection for human rights. On the other hand, the deep or Micro-level of discourse analysis illustrates that the lexical or linguistic choices like; "**liberty**" and "**dignity**", those terms are abstract notions carry positive connotations. The concepts of "**liberty and dignity**" reinforce human rights existence and well-being. The implied ideology of authority and higher position are represented by the state or "**governmental responsibilities**" to provide protection and guarding human liberty and dignity. This comprehension is promoting values such as human rights,

liberty, freedom and dignity.

Chapter Two of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses freedoms in Article (37 First) and confirms that human freedom and dignity are protected and that citizens may not be arrested or investigated except by virtue of a judicial decision. The results of the questionnaire indicated that (45.5%) of the participants confirmed that the Iraqi individual enjoys organized freedom (within controls), while (39.4%) of the participants believed that citizens do not enjoy freedom and suffer from persecution. (15%) believed that the Iraqi individual gets absolute freedom.

Article (37/Second): *"The state guarantees the protection of individuals from intellectual, political, and religious coercion."*

This article tackles a very critical theme which is *"protection of individuals from coercion"*. The general meaning or Macro-level of analysis assumes that choosing lexical items like *"Guarantees"* indicates a concise commitment or legislative confirming from the state towards citizens. *"Protection"*, using such concept implies the great role of the government to safeguard individuals. The implied responsibility of the government prevents coercion. Cultural values and social norms such as *"freedom of thought, religion and conscience"* are promoted and reinforced throughout the discourse and essentially individual's protection from coercion. The article sheds light on the important of protecting people from coercion and emphasizes the probable implications of human independence and autonomy.

Article (37 Second) of the Iraqi Constitution, the state guarantees the protection of the individual from intellectual, political, and religious coercion. The results of the participants indicated that (51%) percent believed that there were some intellectual, political, human, and social restrictions on expression. While (24.7%) percent of the participants indicated that freedom of expression was not available due to political and religious affiliations. The percentage of participants who believed that the Iraqi individual had complete freedom to express his intellectual, political, and religious opinions was (24.2%).

Article (38): *The state guarantees freedom of expression, press, media,*

and peaceful demonstration.

This article is discussing individuals' freedom, attitudes, thoughts and ideologies. In general meaning or Macro-level of analysis, it expresses the legislative state guarantee of liberty of expression and press. The deep investigation or Micro-level of analysis exposes the linguistic lexical like "**Guarantee**" indicate clear confirm from the state. That organization creates clarity and transparency to understand the aim of the article. The power relations explain that the state and authority of government are positioned as the safe-guarantor or the protector of individuals' freedoms. The social cognition assumes that there is a shared understanding or common attitudes towards the importance of knowing individual's freedom. There is some criticism against this article as "**tension between freedoms and limitation**", hence, the discourse depends on balance *between "individual freedoms and public order or morality"* such limitation could create sort of tension.

Article 38 of the Constitution discusses freedom of opinion, expression, the press, the media, and peaceful demonstration. The results of the questionnaire indicated that (39.8%) percent of the participants supported that freedoms were relative and organized in a way that did not violate public order, morals, and behavior. A percentage of (38.7%) percent indicated that there was no freedom of expression in the media or demonstrations. The percentage of participants who confirmed that freedom of opinion was guaranteed in the Iraqi Constitution was (20.4%).

Article (41): *Iraqis are free to manage their personal affairs according to their religion, sect, or belief.*

This article tackles a very sensitive issue which is essentially related with "**religions, sects and beliefs**". The general broad or Macro-level of analysis refers to the personal or individual status concerning religious freedom. It is organized according to constitutional or legislative document. The deep investigation or Micro-level exposes that using lexical choices like "**Free**" reinforces individual autonomy. Also, "**personal status**" explores social as "**marriage, divorce and inheritance**". Linguistic choices like "**Religious, sects, beliefs or**

choices" refer to diversity of communities. The social cognition also proposes the existence of shared understanding or common principles of the consequence of personal freedom and individual religious diversity. The cultural values and social norms in this text assume that values as *"religious tolerance"* and *"individual autonomy"* are highly promoted.

Article 41 of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses the freedom of Iraqis to adhere to their personal affairs according to their faith, sect, beliefs, or choices, as well as freedom of thought, conscience, and belief. The largest percentage of participants (38.4%) affirmed that Iraqi citizens have the freedom to choose their sect and belief. A percentage (31.7%) wanted the personal affairs law to be the same for all citizens in order to prevent differences. The smallest percentage, (29.7), of participants affirmed that it is better for the personal affairs law to be according to the sect or belief of citizens.

Article (43): *Followers of every religion or sect are free to practice their religious rituals under the management of religious endowments*

The article of this question is related to the previous one with further details. Still it focuses on the topic *"Adopted all religious and sects are free"*. There are two main points in the broad meaning; the first includes *"Husseini ritual"*, the second is *"Management of (waqf) affairs"*. The Micro-level of analysis explores the religions freedom and independent autonomy. Whereas the deeper or Micro-level and linguistic illustration exposes that lexical choices like, *"Free"* concentrates on the individual and communal shared religious freedom. Discussing *"Religious rites"* and *"Husseini rituals"* stipulate specific practices. The phrase *"Management of religious endowments"* admits institutional autonomy. The article assumes that social cognition as shared understanding due to realizing the great significance of religious freedom in society. The state ensures balance between freedoms of religious practices and regulates them in order to prevent creating tension or further issues.

Practicing religious rituals according to religious issues deliberated in this article. This topic was discussed in Article 43 of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution, where (50.7%) participants affirmed the availability of complete freedom for Iraqi citizens to practice religious rituals. (39.8%)

of participants believed that some religious rituals must be regulated and controlled. The lowest percentage of participants' answers (9.3%) believed that there is no complete freedom in practicing religious rituals.

Article (44/First): ***"Iraqis have the freedom to travel, reside, and move within and outside Iraq."***

Again this article is tackling the topic of freedom, but the subject is about freedom of ***"movement, travelling and residence"***. Although the general interpretation or Macro-level of analysis is about freedom of individuals and organized it in a constitutional document, hence the Micro-level of analysis explains that using of lexical choices like ***"Freedom"*** reinforces individuals' independency and autonomy. ***"Movement, travel and residence"*** emphasize certain aspects of freedom. ***"Inside and outside Iraq"*** admit both domestic and universal movement. The ideology is social cognition assumes there is a shared understanding and common background concerning the significance of individual freedom of movement and residence.

Article 44, first, of the Iraqi Constitution studies the freedom of movement, travel, and residence inside and outside Iraq. (42.1%) of participants supported the idea that the existence of some administrative, social, political, and cultural restrictions and obstacles prevents freedom of movement and travel between Iraqi governorates. (35.2%) of participants believed that the Iraqi citizen has sufficient freedom to reside in any Iraqi governorate. The lowest percentage (22.5%) believed that no Iraqi individual can reside or move freely to any Iraqi governorate due to sectarian and ethnic differences

Article (45/First): ***The state promotes and ensures the independence of civil society institutions.***

The topic of ***"civil society institutions"*** is very important because it is associated highly with human daily life practice. The article tackles how to regulate, develop and support social institutions under legislative authority. The general Macro-level of analysis introduces the peaceful approaches to achieve legal goals. On the other side, the deep Micro-level of linguistic analysis exposes that some lexical choices like

"Strengthen" and *"Support"* stress the state's supportive positive role towards social institutions. The article acknowledges the importance of cooperated relationship between legal state and civil social society. The social cognition promotes some values and social norms discussed in the concerning *"civic engagement, autonomy, and peaceful activism"*. The effectiveness of the role of state in supporting civil institutions may depend on certain laws and to what extent may the state regulate the civil social institutions.

Strengthening the role and independence of civil society institutions was referred to in Article (45 First) where (55.7%) of participants' opinions confirmed that some institutions are effective and have a permanent and independent role, while others are not independent and seek to achieve specific goals. Meanwhile, (30.3%) of participants believe that such institutions do not have any significant role to play. A significant percentage of participants only (13.8%) believe that civil society institutions have an effective and significant role in society

Article (45/Second): *The state seeks to support tribes and clans in a way that aligns with religion, law, and noble human values.*

This article is very close to the Iraqi social texture since it deals with *"Iraqi clans and tribes' issues "*. The general topic or Macro-level of analysis is the role of start in organizing tribal affairs. The article regulates the tribal affairs through constitutional document. The Micro-level or deep linguistic investigation explores the use of lexical items like *"Advancement"* and *"Uphold"* exposes the state's positive part. *"Noble human values"* assumes a relation between moral principles and ethical background. *"Prohibit"* indicates a salient attitudes against certain unacceptable tribal traditions in particular. These norms and values are highly promoted since they are associated with human rights, individual dignity and social development.

The state's keenness to promote tribes and clans helps in a way consistent with religious, law, and noble human values. (45.9%) of participants' responses affirmed that the state must care for and promote human values consistent with religion and law and correct everything that conflicts with human rights. (39.1%) of participants believed that

tribal customs often conflict with human rights. The lowest percentage was for participants who believed that clans play a major role in the development of society and achieving stability.

Article (49/First): *The Council of Representatives consists of a number of members at a rate of one seat per 100,000 people, representing the Iraqi people.*

This article tackles a political matter that is the parliamentary representation. In general meaning it discusses the composition of this political institution and the process of election and voting for council of Representation or Parliament. Lexical choices in this article involve some set of words like "**Representing the entire Iraqi people**"; this phrase introduces the general broad nature of Iraqi council. The phrase "**Direct secret general ballot**" specifies the voting process. The power relations in this article are stated in a way that exposes the structures of the parliament and the processes of this council. These relations refer to the implied democratic technique to distribute power. There are some potential challenges associated with application of this article because representation of various components may be challenging especially if some groups are disregarded, marginalized, diminished or underrepresented.

In the Third Part the Iraqi (2005) Constitution, Article 49 discusses the Federal Authorities Law, the composition of the Representatives, the number of members in Parliament, and their representation relative to the total Iraqi population. (68.1%) of participants are wanted to reduce the percentage to less than one parliamentarian per 100,000 citizens. (19.8%) supported maintaining this percentage of parliamentary representation in Parliament. The lowest percentage (11.9%) of participants believed that the number of parliamentarians needed to be increased.

Article (49/Fourth): *Women's representation in the Council of Representatives must not be less than one-quarter of the total seats.*

This article is a constitution to the previous one since it discusses the parliamentary issues. Its topic is about representation of Iraqi women in

the parliamentary council. The general analysis or the Macro-level of analysis presents lexical choices like *"Not less than one-quarter"* requires a least quota for women's shared representation. *"Aim to achieve"* reflects an obligation to promote women's representation. The social cognition reflects assumed comprehending of common sense concerning the significance of women's representation. The text refers to some values like gender equality, justice, fairness and objectivity of representation.

Article (49\ fourth) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses women's representation in the Iraqi Parliament according to the quota system, provided that the number of women is not less than a quarter of the parliament's members. (57.4%) of participants in the questionnaire believed that it was best not to specify the percentage of women in the representatives and to leave the matter to elections. (30.2%) participants preferred that this percentage remains constant in Parliament. The lowest percentage (12.3%) supported abolishing this percentage of women's representation in Parliament.

Article (68): *A candidate for the presidency must be Iraqi by birth, have Iraqi parents, be fully competent, and be at least 40 years old.*

This article wrestles the topic of voting process with much more details concerning the *"Nominee to the presidency of the Republic"*. The general outlines (Macro-level) of analysis in selecting the presidency is the eligibility criteria, in other words, there are specific features have to be in this character in order to be qualified to this position. The Micro-level of analysis to this article illustrates the lexical choices like, *"Iraqi by birth"* in addition to *"Iraqi parents"* to stress nationality and inheritance or legacy. The words "Good reputation", *"integrity"* and *"uprightness"* emphasize moral, cultural and ethical standards. *"Political experience"*, this phrase reflects the obligatory requirement for the person who becomes a president and manages the leadership, they imply the governance skills The power relations expose particular necessities for holding in the leadership, requires a specific and certain exclusive process. The implied ideologies in this article emphasize a national ideology, highlighting Iraqi inheritance legacy and

citizenship.

Article 68 of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution stipulates that a candidate for the presidency must be Iraqi by birth, of legally eligible parents, at least forty years of age. Participants' opinions differed regarding this legal article, as (38.4%) preferred that candidates be fifty years old, while (31.5%) of the total participants believed that the presidential candidate should be over fifty years old. However, (29.9%) of the participants believed that the president should be less than forty years old.

Article (77/Second): ***A minister must have a university degree or an equivalent qualification***

The main topic in this article is talking about "*The post of Minister*" and eligible criteria for selecting the appropriate and suitable qualified character in this position according to constitutional legal document. The Macro-level of analysis illustrates that the lexical choices like "*Same conditions*" refers to consistency with the previous stated criteria for other participants. The power relations are stated clearly to explanation specific requirements and outlines necessities for holding a high-positing government position, reflecting a selective political process. The social cognition assumes a common public comprehension to the significance of education and importance of qualification for governance or leadership positional roles.

Article (77\ Second) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution stipulates that a minister must have a university degree or its equivalent. (70.3%) of the total participants believe that a minister must have a postgraduate degree (Master's or PhD). (24.7%) believe that a bachelor's degree is sufficient for the position of minister. The lowest percentage, only (5%) believed that a preparatory certificate could be used as a minimum qualification

Article (132\First): ***The state guarantees care for the families of martyrs, prisoners, and victims of the former dictatorial regime.***

This article discusses a very sensitive, essential and important topic. The state has to care for relatives, families and individuals who are

affected by bad conditions of the previous political Iraqi regime. The Macro-level of analysis includes the lexical choices like, "*Guarantee*" to emphasize the government commitment to care. "*Martyrs, political prisons victims*" suggest a sense of martyr, suffering and sacrifice. Phrases like "*Oppressive practices*" and "*defunct dictatorial regime*" carry a negative or bad evaluation of the foregoing political Iraqi regime. Power relations are stated to reflect that state is in a position of caregiving and protecting of susceptible, exposed and groups. The article encourages particular cultural values and social norms as "*justice, compassion and responsibility*". However, there are some points of view concerning this topic for instance the potential implications about the government guarantee of care may reflect significant economic or financial matters and social inferences or sequences.

Article (132\ First) of the Iraqi (2005) Constitution discusses the state's duty to provide care for the families of martyrs, prisoners, and politicians harmed by the arbitrary practices of the former dictatorial regime. The survey results were similar, with (34.9%) of participants believing that the state's care for these categories of citizens is exaggerated and should be reduced. Conversely, (34.5%) of participants believe that state care is insufficient and does not match the magnitude of their sacrifices, and should be further strengthened. Meanwhile, (30.5%) believe that state care for these groups of citizens is somewhat adequate.

Question Number	Article Number	Sentence Number	Highest percentage	Middle percentage	Lowest percentage	Agree	Neutral	not agree
1	15	1,2	45.2%	39.2%	15.5%	*		
2	16	1	58.3%	34.5%	7%			*
3	17	1	54.2%	23.6%	22.1%			*
4	19	1,2	53.3%	28.3%	18.2%		*	
5	20	1	56%	30.5%	13.3%	*		
6	22 first	1	71.5%	19.4%	8.9%			*
7	22 third	1	58.5%	31.7%	9.6%			*
8	23 second	1	50.1%	27.9%	21.9%		*	

9	29 First-b	1	45.8%	44.3%	9.8%		*	
10	29 second	1	42.1%	35.8%	21.9%		*	
11	29 fourth	1	48.1%	28.5%	23.3%	*		
12	30	1,2	45.6%	42.9%	11.3%		*	
13	33	1	47.9%	45.2%	6.7%		*	
14	34	1,2	79.9	11.2%	8.7%		*	
15	37 first	1	45.5%	39.4%	15.1%	*		
16	37 second	1	51%	24.7%	24.2%		*	
17	38	1	39.8%	39.7%	20.4%		*	
18	41	1	38.4%	31.7%	29.7%	*		
19	43	1,2,3	50.7%	39.8%	9.3%	*		
20	44 first	1	42.1%	35.2%	22.5%		*	
21	45 first	1	55.7%	30.3%	13.8%		*	
22	45 second	1,2	45.9%	39.1%	14.9%	*		
23	49 first	1,2,3	68.1%	19.8%	11.9%			*
24	49 fourth	1	57.4%	30.2%	12.3%			*
25	68	1,2,3	38.4%	31.5%	29.9%	*		
26	77 second	1	70.3%	24.7%	5%	*		
27	132 first	1	34.9%	34.5%	30.5%		*	
Total						9%	12%	6%

Table of percentages

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

The conclusion or discussion of these results can be formulated as follows:

The survey results indicate that a low percentage of participants agree with the Iraqi (2005) Constitution, with only 9% agreeing. 12% were neutral, and 6% disagreeing. These results may

indicate widespread dissatisfaction with the current constitution or insufficient knowledge of it. There is a need for further discussion and communication with citizens to enhance their understanding of constitutional issues and improve their level of satisfaction with the constitution. This raises the question of the extent to which the constitution represents the interests of the Iraqi people and how effective it is in achieving stability and development in the country. Constitutional review or constitutional reform may be needed to enhance trust and satisfaction among citizens. These formulations reflect the findings and provide context for discussion about the potential implications of these result. It is clear from the results of the questionnaire that the percentage of participants who are neutral to the constitutional articles in the Iraqi (2005) constitution exceeds the percentage of participants who agree with its provisions. Accordingly, the researcher recommends making some amendments and clarifying some of the constitutional articles and decisions that were not agreed upon in the Iraqi constitution, in order to achieve satisfaction and conviction with the constitution and legal texts in a better way than it is now with this form.

Iraqi legislative discourse consistently manipulated a variety of ideological strategies and for providing Iraqis not only with information on different socio-cognitive issues, as most legislators and politicians do, but also for motivating them to sustain various implied ideological issues as education, culture, freedom and social inequality. The constitutional discourse showed critical discourse analysis as a global discipline more than as merely an Iraqi in terms of human freedom, human justice and human equality which are global concerns.

The integration of the ideological categories to the main two branches "macro-level" and "micro-level" of analysis is obvious in the (27) selected constitutional article. The dominant manipulation of "micro-level" resulted in dynamic and energetic interaction between discourse and its implied ideologies. Through well-structured discourse which was skillfully merged with Iraqi ideologies and public attitudes. It is important to realize that constitutional legislative discourses cannot be realized without the ideological dimension. The magnitude of discourse is associated with underlying ideologies in any discourse. In this study

the (27) selected constitutional article did not crop up in vacuum; they were a socio-political product of the ideological Iraqi attitudes after (2003). Iraqi's Constitution (2005) net of ideologies, which shaped its discourse and reshaped by it, showed constitution as an ideal fighter for human rights and social justice.

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Appendix (1) Iraqi (2005) Constitution

(1) Article (15) of the Constitution states:

1. Every individual has the right to life, security, and liberty.
2. These rights may not be deprived or restricted except in accordance with the law and based on a decision issued by a judicial authority.

(2) Article (16) of the Constitution states:

1. "Equal opportunities are a guaranteed right for all Iraqis, and the state shall ensure the necessary measures to achieve this.

(3) Article (17) of the Constitution states:

1. Every individual has the right to personal privacy, provided it does not contradict the rights of others and public morality.

(4) Article (19) of the Constitution emphasizes

1. The judiciary is independent and no power is above the judiciary except the law.

2. Every person shall have the right to be treated with justice in judicial and administrative proceedings.

(5) Article (20) of the constitution guarantees citizens

1. Iraqi citizens, men and women, shall have the right to participate in public affairs and to enjoy political rights including the right to vote, elect, and run for office.

(6) Article (22/First) of the constitution states that

1. Work is a right for all Iraqis in a way that ensures them a decent life.

(7) Article (22/Third) states that

1. The state guarantees the right to establish professional unions and associations or to join them, and this is regulated by law.

(8) Article (22/Third) states that

1. The state guarantees the right to establish professional unions and associations or to join them, and this is regulated by law.

(9) Article (29/First-b) states that

1. The state guarantees the protection of motherhood, childhood, old age, and cares for youth and ensures suitable conditions for developing their talents and abilities.

(10) Article (29/Second) states that

1. Children have rights over their parents for upbringing, care, and education, and parents have rights over their children, including respect and care, especially in cases of need and old age.

(11) Article (29/Fourth) states that

1. All forms of violence in the family, school, and society are prohibited.

(12) Article (30) states that

1. The state guarantees social and health security for Iraqis

2. In cases of old age, illness, disability, homelessness, orphanhood, or unemployment, and aims to protect them from ignorance and provide housing.

(13) Article (33) states that

1. Every individual has the right to live in a healthy environment.

(14) Article (34) states that

1. Free education is a right for all Iraqis at different levels and is mandatory at the primary level, with the state supporting excellence and creativity.

2. Private and non-governmental education is guaranteed and regulated by law.

(15) Article (37/First) states that

1. Human freedom and dignity are protected, and no one may be detained or investigated except by judicial decision.

(16) Article (37/Second) states that

1. The state guarantees the protection of individuals from intellectual, political, and religious coercion.

(17) Article (38) states that

1. The state guarantees freedom of expression, press, media, and peaceful demonstration.

(18) Article (41) states that

1. Iraqis are free to manage their personal affairs according to their religion, sect, or belief.

(19) Article (43) The followers of all religions and sects are free in the:

1. Practice of religious rites, including the Husseini rituals.

2. Management of religious endowments (waqf), their affairs, and their religious institutions, and this shall be regulated by law.

3. The State shall guarantee freedom of worship and the protection of places of worship.

(20) Article (44/First) states that

1. Iraqis have the freedom to travel, reside, and move within and outside Iraq.

(21) Article (45/First) states that

1. The State shall seek to strengthen the role of civil society institutions, and to support, develop and preserve their independence in a way that is consistent with peaceful means to achieve their legitimate goals, and this shall be regulated by law.

(22) Article (45/Second) states that

1. The State shall seek the advancement of the Iraqi clans and tribes, shall attend to their affairs in a manner that is consistent with religion and the law, and shall uphold their noble human values in a way that contributes to the development of society.

2. The State shall prohibit the tribal traditions that are in contradiction with human rights.

(23) Article (49/First) states that

1. The Council of Representatives shall consist of a number of members, at a ratio of one seat per 100,000 Iraqi persons representing the entire Iraqi people.

2. They shall be elected through a direct secret general ballot.

3. The representation of all components of the people shall be upheld in it.

(24) Article (49/Fourth) states that

1. The elections law shall aim to achieve a percentage of representation for women of not less than one-quarter of the members of the Council of Representatives.

(25) Article (68) states that

A nominee to the Presidency of the Republic must be:

1. An Iraqi by birth, born to Iraqi parents.

2. Fully qualified and must be over forty years of age.

3. Of good reputation and political experience, known for his integrity, uprightness, fairness, and loyalty to the homeland.

4. Free of any conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude.

(26) Article (77/Second) states that

1. The conditions for assuming the post of Minister shall be the same as those for members of the Council of Representatives, provided that he holds a college degree or its equivalent.

(27) Article (132/First) states that

1. The State shall guarantee care for the families of the martyrs, political prisoners, and

victims of the oppressive practices of the defunct dictatorial regime.