

The Construction of Identity in War Discourse

Lect. Dr.Wafa' Mudhaffar Ali*

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1. Introduction:

The notion of identity has been of much importance in the recent decades to the linguistic studies due to the surprising link between language and identity. Researches in pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnomethodology and anthropology have considered identity the inherent property of human interaction.

Garland (2008: 254) argues that interaction among people is often shaped by people's perceptions of one another's identity. They use the language to reveal their nationality, race, class, and gender (see Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2002). They map their own cultural or ethnic belongingness (see Higgins, 2007 and Bucholtz, 2004). Garland (2008: 495) continues to discuss identity with the professional and institutional settings, i.e. speakers' identity is clearly related to that of their companies and hence the speaker will become typically the mouthpiece of their organization.

In the same vein, Georgakopoulou and Lytra (2009: 314) discuss that code-switching, style-shifting, distancing or the participants are strategies for drawing identities. The writers also show how the ethnic "we" sometimes is confronted with the national "we" for the sake of getting a hegemonic discourse coming from both the national centre and its agents and for the sake of shaping participant's subjectivities.

Identity has proved to be of much interest for the constructionist linguists who believe that identity is something constructed by people themselves depending upon the context and the social goal of the participants. Van de Mierop (2008: 491-2) discussed that issue in terms of 'the way speakers deliberately use the language to construct the self and the other. Identities are fragmented and constructed in different contexts and situations. Speakers of a language easily shift their positions in discourse and it is also through the way they position themselves others are positioned as well. De Fina (2006: 4) also adopts

*Dept. of English/ College of Arts / University of Mosul.

the same view and calls it positioning theory. He further discusses that identity is socially constructed through the relationship between speaker and what is being said; the relationship between the self and the other; through the relationships presented in the propositional content of talk; and through relationships to the dominant ideologies and underlying power structures drawn together as discourse.

The concept of identity is reinforced and studied in details within the domain of critical discourse analysis focusing on how transitivity, mood, modality, pronouns, presupposition, intertextuality, vocabulary and theme can reveal the identity of the text or discourse producer (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 108). Since the study of ideology is the core concept of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA), CDA argues that it is through discussing the ideologies of the individuals we can discuss the relationships between who we are and what our identity is and who the other's identity is. Oktar (2001: 314) states that:

Ideologies are representations of who we of who we are what we stand for, what our values are and what our relationships with others are. More accurately, an ideology is a self-serving schema for the representation of us and them as social groups, and reflects the fundamental social, economic, political or cultural interests of and conflicts between us and them.

Discourse conveys ideologies and identities of ingroup members defending them against or concealing them from outgroup members (van Dijk, 1995: 6). Since discourse is a social conduct, identity socially categorizes people and assigns positive or negative descriptions to them. In this way, they gain a sense of identity by differentiating themselves from others (Teo, 2000: 41).

Accordingly, ingroup members will favour their own group and of course will positively emphasize positive traits due to positive self-esteem and will assign negative stereotypical characteristics for the outgroup members whenever there is a problem or a social conflict (Oktar, 2001: 318). Thus, a polarization schema of Us and Them will result in suggesting different ideological images and representations and all of this will be done through the use of language.

Meaning will be constructed through different ways, one of them is the use of binary hierarchies or the meaning dichotomy:

good – evil, just – unjust, innocent – guilty, civilized – barbaric, human – animal, heroic – cowardly (see kakar, internet material: 5).

2. Identity in Language and Media:

Identity is basically conceptualized in relation to social actors' experience and also the representation of these experiences in narratives and discourses that are shared publically, for example, through mass media (Brubaker, 2004 cited in Shyholislami, 2011: 11). This definition is actually from a sociological perspective. Bucholtz (2004: 130) argues that individuals and groups claim their identity through the use of language. They can also assign identity to someone or some group and thus constructs the identity of self and others. Linguistic structures can make or unmake groups; can reproduce or destroy the image of one's self or other (Graham and Luke, 2003: 10).

Scholars of linguistics have emphasized the central role of, for example, names, pronouns, tense, metaphors, presuppositions, overlexicalizations (see Shyholislami, 2011) as well as the categories of inclusion and exclusion (see Graham and Luke, 2003) in the creation of the values assigned to Us and Them. Us is actually a social category referring to ingroup members, usually the west and in the present study it refers to the US forces whereas Them is also a social category referring to outgroup members who are the Iraqi's in our study. Other tendencies have highlighted the role of binary oppositions as a strategy of making self-serving facts or arguments whether explicitly or implicitly (see Izadi and Saghaye-Biria, 2004: 144; Oddo, 2011: 296).

Poststructuralists, viz. CDA scholars, view that the texts have a constructive function in forming up and shaping human identities and actions as well as the social power abuse, hegemony, dominance and inequality by text and talk (Chen, 2008: 143).

Of course, an excellent way is paved by mass media which provide tools and sites for the dissemination and articulation of national identity discourses (Anderson, 1991, Billig, 1995 cited in Shyholislami, 2011: 13). Media always favour news stories about a negative event because these stories attract the attention of the reader and usually recalled better specially in the case of outgroup members, i.e. telling things about the Other. Such a framework of Us versus Them encompassing perceptions, prejudices, legitimation, and other cognitive

strategies along with news values taking part in the representation of Us and Them in media discourse (Graham and Luke, 2003: 230).

3. War News:

In Spring 2003, the USA led war against Iraq under different allegations. The war was supported by the mainstream media which gave its voice to the government and to the congress. Any opposing voice or even critical had been effectively hushed down, ridiculed, or marginalized in the USA (see van Dijk, 2006: 371).

The war was covered thoroughly day by day, hour by hour by most of the news channels and newspapers. Ayeni (2004: 8) wrote that CNN, CBS, FOX, MSNBC were the most viewed cable news channels. CNN pioneered in the area of 24 hour news coverage. News coverages have been divided into three phases:

- Pre-war reports of the protests.
- News coverage of the war during hostilities,
- and the last phrase which covered events following G. Bush declaration of victory through his speech on the USS Abraham Lincoln (ibid.)

The credibility and professionalism of the news sources were questioned severely by different researchers. Walton (2004: 12) argues that the product of journalistic who were sent to Iraq during Spring 2003 was not accurate, fair or balanced news reported; it was only partially educational and provided limited context. Graham and Luke (2003: 232) commented on the same issue saying that journalists created a hierarchy of evaluations that are tacitly based on what counts as death and what counts as war. Ayeni (2004: 7) went further than the above mentioned researchers claiming that all the journalistic norms were broken during the Iraqi-American war simply because it was too difficult to send a correspondent to bring real time actions and images from the battle front to our living rooms specially the frontlines. Since journalists could not constitute the whole image they began to frame their message in contexts that convey specific meanings. Hence, they started professional processes of selection, emphasis and omission, i.e. "biased news".

As a consequence, discourse of war inevitably depended on technical strategies of manipulation, legitimization and threatening. USA tried very hard to convince the public before entering the war that

their troops will liberate and win the hearts of people and get rid of the immediate threat and danger of terrorism. van Dijk (2006: 370) contends that manipulation and legitimization are given properties of war discourse:

The most striking recent example is the manipulation of US and the world opinion about terrorism after 9/11 in which very emotional and strongly opinionated mental models held by citizens about this event were generalized to more general, shared fears, attitudes and ideologies about terrorism and related issues. A well known example of the latter strategy was the claim with which US and its allies legitimated the attack on Iraq in 2003: ‘knowledge’ about weapons of mass destruction, knowledge that later turned to be false. Information that may lead to knowledge that may be used critically to resist manipulation for instance about the real costs of war, the number of deaths, the nature of the ‘collateral damage’ (e.g. civilians killed in massive bombing and other military action) and so on, will typically be hidden, limited or otherwise made less risky, and hence discursively de-emphasized for instance by euphemisms, vague expressions, implicitness, and so on.

Turning back to the main theme of our research, we believe that the logic of war suggests a dualistic relation between antagonist and protagonist, good and evil, friend and foe. The construction of those two sides is a way of legitimization and manipulation. For example, USA wants to legitimize violence against people during war; it should propagate previously that those people are the US enemies in the first place.

Our view goes in conformity with Oddo’s (2001: 289) who argues that the discursive construal of an Us/Them binary is the principal legitimation technique employed by Bush and his allies to justify war. This binary is further elaborated by van Dijk (1998) into semantic macro-strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

In the discourse of war, this binary of Us/Them mainly situate “Us” as an innocent protagonistic against “Them” the evil antagonistic aggressors. This view implies covertly that violence against the enemies is legitimate and necessary (Oddo, 2011: 289). The same strategy would

by all means draw the identity of both “Us” and “Them” and once identity is made, it remains fixed as MiraMadianou (2002) puts it.

Oddo (2011: 289) makes it clear that Us/Them polarization is a key strategy in studying identity. He adds that legitimation techniques are three by which media can draw identity. The first one is referring to Our actions and values vs. Theirs, the second is by referring to Our history and Theirs and the third is to refer to group membership demarcation, i.e. who is an ingroup and who is considered as an outgroup member.

4. Methodology, Analysis and Discussion:

With the help of CDA, we attend to demonstrate how news can draw implicitly or explicitly identity discursively in war discourse for which we selected specific news items (a shooting incident involving American troops in Mosul, Iraq) at a specific time (April 16, 2003) from two elite newspapers *The New York Times* and the *Time*.

Using notions presented by van Dijk (1998) advanced later in (2003) in his internet course “Ideology and Discourse” which provides an extensive argumentative analysis of the structures used to shape identity in a text. This study attempts to draw how the journalists view the Iraqis’ identity and how they try to present it. Strategies to be applied in this study are only those which have strong and highly recurrent examples in the text. Other strategies that have no manifestation in our texts would be neglected in the analysis.

4.1 The Problem :

The problem of this study one can claim is that the study of war news is nothing new , however recognizing and working on identity in hard news discourse (where a higher degree of objectivity is expected to

eliminate any We or I) is totally new .

4.2 The Hypothesis

The study hypothesizes that the ideological square is going to be workable in drawing identity as it has been workable in drawing ideology. It is a part of the whole ; we believe that the construction of identity will be overt in both newspapers because both are adopting a stance or an ideology .

4.3 Ideological Square:

The version of CDA that we have adopted in this study enables us to reformulate the whole range of strategies into a dichotomy of positive/negative – self/other representation. See the following diagram:

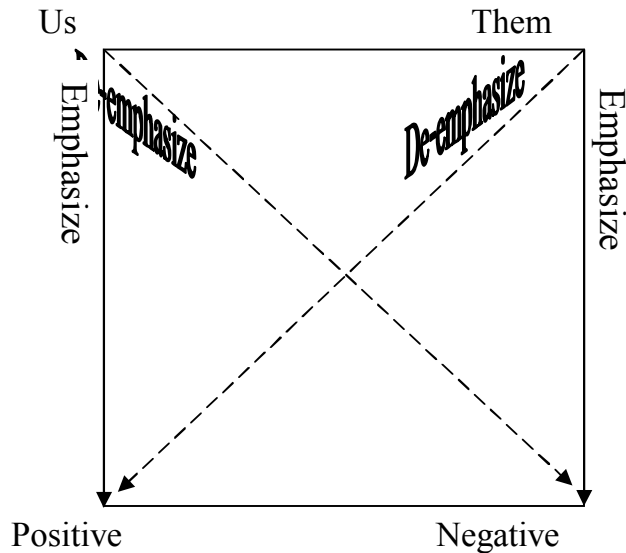


Fig. (1): The Ideological Square which is Based on Four Principles.

The polarization will make it easier to draw the ideology and hence the remarkable identity of the text. It will present the good actions and properties of Us (US troops) and the bad actions and properties of Them (Iraqi people). At the same time, it would mitigate and de-emphasize Our bad actions and properties and de-emphasize Their good properties and actions. This is what van Dijk calls the “Macro-strategies of presenting Us and Them” under which many other micro-strategies are listed. Our research question would not be answered without pinpointing clearly the units of analysis that would act as the mirco-, or sub-strategies followed by authors of the texts to draw positive images of US troops and negative image of Mosuli people.

Basically, they are naming and lexical choices and some argumentative strategies used in the texts. Argumentative structures, as van Dijk (2003) puts it, will signal the underlying structure of attitudes

and ideologies. The leading argumentative strategies that we found hidden in the texts are: Explanation, Fallacies, Generalization, Implication, Comparison, Counterfactuals, Distancing, Dramatization, Victimization, Evidentiality, Number game, Openness and Honesty, Presupposition, Repetition, Situation, Description and Illegality.

Due to the length of the selected texts we would not attempt a word-by-word analysis or paragraph by paragraph; we will try to fix out the strategy to be clarified then to provide examples from the selected texts for discussion. Numbers have been given to the lines of each text to make it easier for the reader to find the sentence being analyzed.

4.4 Naming and Lexical Choices:

The first thing to be looked at in analyzing a newspaper text are the words used to create the whole mesh and communicate a certain idea. These words will, of course, carry different connotations, sometimes negative and sometime positive about a certain group or action. For example: the word “protesters” differs from the word “demonstrators” as the former carries negative connotations while the latter carries positive ones.

Van Dijk (2003: 69) also gives the same significance for naming choices. Naming will simultaneously give identity to persons or groups. Each of these strategies will be looked at as follows: first we need to know how both strategies are depicted in the headlines of the selected texts.

1. An Uneasy Peace in Mosul (*Time*, 16 April 2003)

A short pre- and post-modified punchy noun phrase which suggests the following:

- The words are not informative of the event mentioned in the text which is killing Iraqi people by US forces. Nothing has been mentioned about the real incident.
- It provides a notion of depicting Iraqis as the instigators of the subsequent shooting.
- The noun phrase “uneasy peace” also prompts a negative impression about “Mosuli” people as being unable to accept it and how deadly peacekeeping operations in Mosul can be. Readers would conclude that the US forces in Mosul are to bring peace to the city; yet they are being a little bit aggressive when necessary and their actions are justified

because they actually liberated the city and now they are bringing peace to it.

- Providing a noun phrase for an action will obscure the real event.

2. A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL; At Least 10 Iraqis Are Dead In Clashes in Northern Iraq (*The New York Times*, 16 April 2003).

A rather long headline which is hiding the whole event and not much informative suggests:

- First, it is not explicitly saying who is responsible for killing; it is a kind of reporting an event suggesting that it might be unknown gunmen who did the action.
- To hide the agency, the writer used the verb 'die' instead of the verb 'kill'. Rather than referring explicitly to US troops who killed the Iraqis the writer misrepresented the action of killing to obscure responsibility.
- The writer is emphasizing the theme of identity when he calls the US forces as "Nation"; he also tries to give it a collective colour rather than an individual unsupported action to establish a consensus point of view.
- When he used "A NATION AT WAR" it is a kind of dramatizing the war hinting to a view which says that in war everything is possible.
- Naming demonstrators as "Iraqis" highlightens only their nationality only without referring to them as being civilians merely.

Going further in the body of the news texts under analysis, we have noticed that both newspapers are defining Iraqi people in terms of being a threat to US forces, chaotic, driven by hate to USA, and not grateful.

New York Times emphasizes thee notions through the use of such terminology as "chaotic clash" 1.2, "protestors" 1.2, "gunmen" 1.12, "large crowd" 1.16, "hostile" 1.19 and "unknown gunmen" 1.43. The same also applies to verbs used to describe actions done by Iraqi people such as: "pushing and shoving" 1.20, "spit" 1.20, "dispersed" 1.24, "scattered" 1.26 and "lurking" 1.32. The use of these lexical items will further suggests the Iraqi savagery, coward behaviour and irrationality.

The portrayal Iraqis' irrationality and untrustworthiness is most apparent in the *Time* text. Iraqis are often referred to as eyewitnesses and passerbys whose words are never neutral or objective. For example: "One man entered limping" 1.7, "one man in the crowd" 1.8, "hard to separate fact from fiction" 1.12, "some of their claims were outlandish" 1.13, "They're not grateful" 1.42 and "a deep hatred for America" 1.42.

As Gerbner (1992: 3 cited in Richardson, 2007: 197) puts it:
Calling some people barbarians makes it easier to act barbarian to them, labelling a large group “terrorists” seems to justify terrorising them. Calling someone crazy or insane makes it possible to suspend rules of rationality and decency.

To make it clear, these negative themes that are highlighted through the lexical selection would make it easier to construct Iraqis in a negative way and it would become possible to treat them negatively. At the same time they would reflect and point to US forces as being the contrary to the first group. When it comes to representing US forces and their actions, both texts have selected a set of positive or neutral lexical items. In the discourse of both *The New York Times* and the *Time*, the values of being good, civilized, calm, professional, heroic, organized, etc. are emphasized. The *Time* describes the US forces as being victims of fire “Marine have come under fire twice” l.4. The word “come under” means they first received fire from Iraqi gunmen and that is why they had to use fire and what emphasizes the necessity of violence in this situation is the word “twice”, which means they were very patient and calm. The idea becomes clearer in the line 16 with the use of the word “defensive”. “.... what is clear is that two shooting incidents have put American on the defensive in its campaign....”. Another example in l.31 “coalition forces are well in control of the city”. An examination of the previous examples shows that the soldiers are represented heroes, they master the situation and they are rationale in executing demonstrators with minimum loss.

The New York Times argues for the same values. “No Americans were hurt” l.3 emphasis is given to professionalism of US forces by using the word “No” to begin a second paragraph. The verb “secure” in l.10 is used to show the American bravery and goodness in l.10 “marines returned to secure the building”. The same theme is highlighted even more with the use of the verb “rescue” in l.14 “Paul Watson was rescued by the marines”.

What is embedded in all the above mentioned examples is the notion of necessity, i.e. marines who are professional only kill when it is absolutely necessary.

What is left unsaid is that US forces are clearly named and given an official affiliation in both texts actually. For example, *The New York Times* refers to US forces almost always collectively by saying “American marines” 1.1, “a dozen of American Special Forces” 1.8. When US forces are individualized, a detailed affiliation which gives them authority and power is usually given, e.g. “Col. Andre P. Frick, a commandor of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit” 1.13 or “Col Robert Waltemeyer, the commandor of American Special Operations” 1.30. In the same vein, the *Time* presents clear nomination to US forces and gives it a collective colour to support any action done by US forces and when it individualizes any of them, it gives it an official reference. For example, “A U.S. spokesman” 1.3, “Capt. James Jarvis of the 16th Marine Expeditionary Unit” 1.29.

On the other side, Iraqi people who were on the scene and received shots from the American forces are usually individualized, given no name or given names without any affiliation with one or two exceptions: *The New York Times* nominated only “Dr. Ayad Ramadhani” 1.5 and gave him an official character “a doctor at the general hospital” 1.5 as an indication of individual talent. ‘Mishaan al-Jabouri” 1.29, “Sadullah Ghanal... who was also shot” 1.37, “unknown gunmen” 1.43, etc. Similarly, the *Time* did not give a clear identity to people delivered quotations about the event: “one man entered” 1.7, “Yunis Yaseen Suleyman” 1.9, “Omed Mohamed” 1.32, etc. all are names without titles. Iraqis are collectivized and given team spirit with negative actions. For example “People in Mosul were the most pro-Saddam in Iraq” (1.8).

With all these lexical items, a clear construction of Our identity (US forces) and Their (Iraqis) identity is built. Clearly the strategy of naming and lexical selection is very effective in drawing the macro-strategy of positive self-presentation and the negative other-presentation. All good traits and namings are assigned to Americans and all the negative characteristics are used to shape the image of Iraqi people and hence give them a certain identity.

4.5 Argumentative Features:

In any discourse, participants usually have different opinions or points of view. So participants will try to use argumentative structures supporting their standpoints or to make their standpoints more

acceptable, credible and truthful. Thus, argumentation is very useful in determining ideologies (van Dijk, 2003: 62). Arguments are not easy to detect since they are always hidden and would be much more difficult with news discourse as much as journalists try to assert the claim of objectivity, professional detachment and neutrality. Yet they still, as Henry and Tator (2002: 7) put it, cannot be objective or detached. They are highly selective in terms of their lexicon of categories and concepts, in style, and in their forms of argumentation. Journalists personality, values, and interests will all act as an invisible filter screening out their points of view and perspectives.

Studying the argumentative structure will be very helpful in determining what is being emphasized and what is being de-emphasized providing an understanding of the ideology of a group member and hence a description of identity.

Our focus will be on the argumentative strategies that basically revolved around US forces identity and Iraqi people identity. Thus, we will attempt to discuss the following strategies (strategies are alphabetically arranged as van Dijk 2003 provides them):

4.5.1 Comparison:

Forms of meaning, stories and comparisons are employed to compare Us to Them. For example, in our data one can notice that stories told by Iraqi eyewitnesses are severely compared by stories told by American officials in both texts. This was very blatant in *The New York Times* text (1.12):

“American and Iraqi officials agree that tension quickly rose, but their versions of what happened next diverge”.

“..... American planes arrived and gunmen scattered. Colonel Frick said he did not know how many Iraqis had been killed” 1.16.

(1.1) – “American marines killed at least 10 Iraqi men today and wounded up to 16 others in a chaotic clash with thousands of protestors in northern Iraq, Iraqi officials said”.

Now whose version to believe? the US forces version or the Iraqi? specially when the US version is denying killing anybody claiming that they shoot to scatter gunmen mainly. When both stories are juxtaposed a sense of unreliability will arouse.

Sever comparisons are also to be found in the *Time* text. Let us select one of them as an example:

(1.10) “An old man was brought in a wheel chair ‘He was on a bus, a civilian bus and the Americans shot him’ said Younis Yasin Suleyman”.

(1.15) “But what is clear is that the two shooting incidents have put American on the defensive in its campaign to convince the people of Mosul that the Americans are on their side”.

Comparing the two items will raise a question of how can a defensive act kill? or wound a civilian on a bus? which seems ridiculous! Besides how can a force which come to save, protect and trying to convince people of Mosul of peace kill any civilian?! Again a question of reliability will arise.

4.5.2 Counterfactuals:

In convincing others, it is very common to use “What would happen, if?”. Counterfactuals are very important in argumentation because they allow audience to guess absurd consequences if the opposite of these events or facts had happened. Now the reader might ask the following questions after reading (1.4) “.... U.S. spokesman calls the building a “sanctuary” where different groups can come and plan Iraq’s future government” from the *Time* or (1.7 and 8) “The shooting began after a group of marines took control of the governor’s office in downtown Mosul A first attempt to secure the building by a dozen American Special Forces” from *The New York Times*:

“What will happen to the governor’s building without the protection of US forces? Of course gunmen will take control of it and spread killing and terrorism”.

4.5.3 Distancing:

Ingroup members when talking about outgroup members, tend to distance themselves through the use of demonstrative pronouns instead of harming the Other. For example, the writer of the *Time* text used the pronoun “those” in (1.16) “..... family members of those killed and injured in Wednesday’s fight”.

4.5.4 Dramatization:

The term mainly refers to exaggeration which is a familiar way when one wants to exaggerate facts in his/her favor. In the same way the writers exaggerate actions of Iraqis or actions done by Iraqi people to US forces. An example of this is found in *The New York Times* (1.17): “But when the shots continued to hit the building, Colonel Frick said, “the marines said, ‘O.K., the fight is on’” and they returned fire”. Here, the action is dramatized using the quotation within the quotation which entails the bravery of US forces and rationality of their reaction and on the other hand entails the possibility of previous aggression and violence and hence emergency case in which US forces were put in.

4.5.5 Evidentiality:

Supporting arguments by evidences or proofs makes them more plausible whether about Us or Them. This can be achieved by giving numbers or statistics or by reference to authority spokespersons to convey objectivity. A close examination was helpful to detect examples here and there in both texts.

In the *Time* text an example is found in (1.9) “Ziad Mohammed said his brother had been shot from 1000 yards away while he was tending his shoe shop”. Studying this, the example reveals an evidence of untrustworthiness of Iraqi witness implied by the text because US forces cannot shoot a civilian and the distance was too long. An evidence of the peaceful treatment of Iraqi people by US forces was given by the writer in (1.32) “One commander of the Kurdish Peshmerga forces said The American and Kurds entered the city without a fight last Friday, but now are finding that their victory was hollow”. It makes it obvious that the US forces are the good guys who are forced to fight.

4.5.6 Explanation:

In any argument, negative acts of Them tend to be explained in terms of inherent properties of such actors. Both texts are admitting the killing and injuring of a number of people. But both texts are giving a clear explanation about those actions trying to justify the US forces behaviour. US soldiers are described as the best of best, whereas Iraqi

people are getting shot because of their sense of irresponsibility and of carelessness. Let us re-read the following examples:

- *The New York Times* (1.27): “Doctors said 15 men and 11-year-old girl had been wounded, and they displayed an X-ray showing a chunk of shrapnel embedded in the girl’s lung. Relatives said she had been on the roof of a nearby building when she was hit”.
- *The Time* (1.20): ““.... a body was lifted”. He was 70 years old, said one of the crowd “A martyr””.
- *The Time* (1.26): “We just want the Americans to leave”, Mohammed said “We will sacrifice our blood and be martyrs. If they don’t leave, everyone will be a bomb in the face of the Americans”.

4.5.7 Fallacies:

Fallacies means claiming the support for one’s standpoint by referring to an authority which implies that one’s point is true because someone else says so. The writers have claimed and assigned the property of professionalism to US soldiers in different places in both texts. It would be very wise to support such a claim by the words of a man who has authority in this war. This is clearly shown in:

- *The Time* (1.28): At the Mosul Airport, where the Americans are based, a spokesman denied that the Americans had fired indiscriminately. “When we receive well fire, we returned well aimed fire”, said Capt. James Jarvis of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit.

4.5.8 Generalization:

Concrete examples are usually generalized and possibly abstracted from, thus making any claim broader. It is usually a way of making examples not exceptional but representative so that they can be generalized specially with expressions like: (most, all, always, constantly, everywhere). The formula would be as follows:

Negative examples and experiences about Them will be generalized to support arguments for empathy. Positive acts of Us will be generalized to look as something we always do.

Both texts tried to generalize Iraqi people in Mosul as being very furious with US forces because of their loyalty to the previous regime and their deep hatred for America is because of their deep affection for

the previous regime not because American soldiers are killing civilians and putting the city in danger. Ideologically speaking, when the enemy is linked to already constructed enemy this will make it pose more threat to the public. Let us have a look at the following:

- The *Time* (1.38): “People in Mosul were the most pro-Saddam in Iraq”.
- *The New York Times* (1.8): “The identity of the gunmen is not known, but Mosul has long been a stronghold of President Saddam Hussein’s....”.

4.5.9 Illegality:

It means breaking a law or following no procedure which makes it a part of negative Other-presentation. Reference to people as being illegal would imply that they are criminals. Such reference has been made in *The New York Times* (1.21):

“It was unclear how Mr. Jabouri, who has been in exile in Syria and whose record includes charges of corruption and theft, got in Mosul”.

Here, the writer chooses a person and identifies him by his surname adding a postmodifying phrases which is overloaded with explicit negative expressions of illegality. Also, previously in (1.14):

“The crowd started beating Paul Watson, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, who was rescued by the marines”.

In a sense, the writer suggests that those people, who are Them (Mosuli people) are somewhat criminals and ready to do anything illegal.

4.5.10 Number Game:

Numbers and statistics are persuasive strategies used to convey objectivity because they represent facts. Both texts manifest numbers and statistics to serve their arguments. For example:

- *The New York Times* (1.1): “American marines killed 10 Iraqi men and wounded 16, Iraqi officials said”.
- The action of killing is assigned to Iraqi claims which is either true or not.
- *The New York Times* (1.10): “This morning, roughly 130 marines returned to secure the building for a civil affairs team that planned to reopen it as a sign of restored normalcy But a large crowd 3000 by marines estimates quickly formed around the building.

The example is totally clear, numbers of US soldiers are combined with positive, civilized and very peaceful act while the number of Iraqis is combined with violence, hatred, ungratefulness actions. Besides when the enemy is constructed as large or even greater in number than Us, it will be immediately considered as a vast threat.

The *Time* version has similar examples:

“But the 250 Marines barricaded there have come under fire twice in the last two days, and in both cases returned deadly fire”.

Much like the above examples, the number of marines was there for defense, they had not attacked anybody till they were subjected to deadly fire by Iraqis.

4.5.11 Openness and Honesty:

Speakers claim that their arguments satisfies the positive values of openness and honesty while at the same time indulging in negative other-presentation or even indulging in blatant derogation. Let us examine the following examples:

- *The New York Times* (1.38): Outside the hospital, as an American jet roared few hundred feet overhead and hospital workers glanced up fearfully, Dr. Ramadhani criticized the American tactics. “This is terrorism!” he shouted, as the windows of the hospital rattled. “We are scared. What about the children? What about the sick people?”.

A very amazing description of the fear inside Iraqi people represented by a doctor at the general hospital which seems very open and honest in understanding Iraqis fears and instability of their circumstances. Yet, Our violent action was merely an American tactic which is natural to recall peace and order in the city. What proves our explanation is the paragraph which immediately follows this short paragraph:

(1.41): A few feet away, American Special Forces soldiers guarding the hospital said Iraqis misunderstood American actions here. “The marines took fire and had to return it”, he said. The low flying planes, he said, were to deter attacks. “It is a show of force, but people don’t understand it”, said the soldier, who didn’t want to be identified. “They’re not grateful”.

Iraqi's violent actions are highlighted and openly given a negative description. Similarly, Iraqi's fears are moralized so that they appear inexcusable, unprovoked and totally irrelevant.

4.5.12 Presupposition:

Although it is a meaning strategy, it is strategically used to convey controversial beliefs about Them. We need to refer to it because it is most notably pervasive in both texts euphemizing the killing and dying caused by American forces.

When it comes to US forces, the writer tends to deploy meanings that realize the American actions as positive. Let us examine the following:

- The *Time* (1.40): Other cities in Iraq have graffiti like "Thank you Mr. Bouch and Mr. Blear". Here, instead, there are Iraqi flags flying defiantly at mosques and vigilante checkpoints.

These few lines presuppose what ought to happen and highlighted what other cities of Iraqi thought of the American invasion of Iraq. Mosul is still ungrateful and misunderstands the real causes of Our existence here. A tendency to derogate Iraqi people's activities and exaggerate the American heroism.

Needless to say, the representation of Iraqi people's actions and way of thinking urge the reader to support any violent action against Them. For example, *The new York Times* (1.33) states the following:

- The day's event punctured a short-lived mood of relative normalcy in Mosul. After at least 18 deaths, rampant looting and persistent snipping at American soldiers who entered the city on Friday, some shops opened on Monday and some streets even hummed with traffic.

The first sentence of these lines carries an irony that presupposes the existence of normal life as a result of US forces' great achievements in the past few days. The next line completely blames the brutal and lawless behaviour of Mosuli people which results in death, looting and snipping at American soldiers. Specifically, the paragraph presupposes that violence is a natural result of Iraqis' behaviour and this gives violence a kind of legitimization. Second, Iraqi people should learn the lesson and stop any negative action towards US forces so that they would get back to normal life and safe situation.

- The *Time* (1.43): When a small convoy of American Humvees rolls by the residents silently watch. But when the convoy is out of sight the hate is palpable.

A couple of sentences that presuppose negative image of Iraqi people. They are represented as always remaining distant, hiding, silent and having no courage to face the American soldiers. Thus it presupposes the weakness of the Iraqi society and the courage and strength of US forces who are there only to protect them.

A lengthy story is given in the *Time* text (1.48-66) about an authoritative person who is the chief of a clan of the Jubur. For the sake of economy of place and time we will not write it down. This person is helping the American soldiers obviously because he believes in them. The man has been represented as the best of best. This would presuppose the idea that US forces have won the minds and hearts of local clan chiefs. An implicit self-definition of Our good characteristics whereas negative information about Them is emphasized.

4.5.13 Repetition:

The global macro-strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is dominating both texts. Realizations of this global strategy have been repeated and emphasized all over the texts emphasizing, in turn, Our good things and Their bad ones.

The writers have repeated and emphasized that US soldiers did not initiate the shooting incident before the Iraqi crowd started shooting them. Notice the following:

- The *Time* (1.4): “..... Marines have come under fire twice”.
- (1.16): “..... the two shooting incidents have put American on the defensive in its campaign”.
- (1.29): “When we received well aimed fire, we returned will aimed fire”.
- *The New York Times* (1.6): The shooting began after a group of marines took control over the governor’s office in downtown Mosul”.
- (1.15): “the marines withdrew into the building but continued to receive fire”.
- (1.16): “When the shots continued” the marines said, ‘O.K.’, “the fight is on”, and they returned fire.

Negative information about Them is emphasized whereas information unfavourable to Us is made less prominent. This ideological control is done through repetition.

4.5.14 Situation Description:

Although it is a meaning construction strategy, it contributes to the overall strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation. The writers describe the situation in a way that may suggest implications about causes, reasons, consequences and evaluations. For example, the writer could give short narrative vignettes to elaborate an implicit image of self and other.

The whole event is described in terms of story telling. There was a shooting incident because unknown gunmen started shooting Us. Civilian got shot or even died because of Their own carelessness, hostile behaviour, illogical way of thinking. We are in Iraq for the sake of Iraqi people, for the sake of improving civil life and for the sake of protection. Iraqi people could not understand Us or moreover are ungrateful to Us.

Examples are already examined and discussed fully in the above mentioned strategies. No place is left to repeat them here.

4.5.15 Victimization:

Both sides, Iraqis and American forces, are victimized, yet in completely different ways. When Iraqi people tend to be represented in negative terms and specially when they are associated with threats, then the American soldiers need to be represented as victims of such threat. Examine the following:

- *The New York Times* (1.13): the crowd was hostile towards the Americans “There was a lot of pushing and shoving” “A couple of drivers were spit on”.
- (1.14): “The crowd started beating Paul Watson”.
- (1.15): “Later, men in the crowd started shooting”.
- (1.41): “The marines took fire”.
- (1.38): “Dr. Ramadhani criticized the American tactics he shouted”.

On the other hand, Iraqi people have been victimized and received emotional images that could either serve the victorious claims of US

forces over them or serve the results of their own actions, i.e. Their innocent victims fall as a result of their own affection to past regime, gunmen aggression, unexcused hatred to America. For example, the *Time* text mentions the following:

- (1.10): An old man was brought in a wheelchair, “He was on a bus.....”.

- (1.20): “He was 70 years old” A martyr”
How could a 70 years old man fight!?”.

- *The New York Times* (1.27): “..... and an 11-year-old girl had been wounded Relatives said she had been on the roof of a nearby building.....”.

How could her family be careless and irresponsible like that?!

To sum up, themes highlighted to construe the Iraqi (Them) identity; we tried to arrange them on the following table:

Iraqi (Them) Identity	US Army (Us) Identity
dangerous & threatening	bringing peace & safety
cruel, mad, driven by hate to U.S.A.	good, civilized, clam, rendering human suffering
cowardly behave	heroic liberator
chaotic and irrational	highly organised and professional
untrustworthy and ungrateful	bringing normalcy to Iraqis life
dehumanized by political ideas	victims of Iraqi savagery

5. Conclusions:

The CDA version that we have depicted and applied to the selected texts reveals the following conclusions:

- Both writers, though they belong to different newspapers with different affiliation, i.e. representing different political sides viz. the Republicans and the Democrats, tried hard to convince the public with the legitimacy of any violent action against people demonstrating (Them) and did their best to justify violence against Them. Killing civilians or innocent people was self-evidently justified as doing the right thing. Besides they tried hard to decontextualize the event emptying it from any political content and relating it to past experiences and impressions as well as negative traits of Them.

- Both writers deployed naming and lexical choices as well as argumentative strategies that will deepen the demarcation between US forces (Us) and Iraqi people (Them). The writers have intelligently fabricated implicit or even sometimes explicit themes that will depict Them as the source of every negative action of belief. One of them is the contrast of aims. Our aim is to bring a future of peace, prosperity and security while Their actions entails violence, aggression and death. And the more the writers construct images of Us they involve the construction of Them images.
- Finally our analysis has served the notion of following the dichotomized approach of constructing identity discursively. It helped very much in showing the polarization schema of Us and Them in relation to van Dijk's (1998) ideological square.

Appendix

A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL; At Least 10 Iraqis Are Dead In Clashes ... <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/world/a-nation-at-war-mosul-at-le>

The New York Times

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April 16, 2003

A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL

A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL; At Least 10 Iraqis Are Dead In Clashes in Northern Iraq

By DAVID ROHDE

MOSUL, Iraq, April 15— American marines killed at least 10 Iraqi men today and wounded up to 16 others in a chaotic clash with thousands of protesters in northern Iraq, Iraqi officials said.

No Americans were hurt, and American military officials said they could give no precise estimate of the number dead. But Dr. Ayad Ramadhani, a doctor at the general hospital, said 10 Iraqis had been killed.

The deaths are likely to worsen tensions in Mosul, a stronghold of Arab nationalism already chafing under the American occupation, which is barely five days old.

The shooting began after a group of marines took control of the governor's office in downtown Mosul this morning. A first attempt to secure the building by a dozen American Special Forces soldiers on Friday ended with the Americans coming under fire and retreating. The identity of the gunmen is not known, but Mosul has long been a stronghold of President Saddam Hussein's Baath Party.

This morning, roughly 130 marines returned to secure the building for a civil affairs team that planned to reopen it as a sign of restored normalcy in a city racked by looting and gunfire. But a large crowd -- 3,000 by Marine estimates -- quickly formed around the building.

American and Iraqi officials agree that tensions quickly rose, but their versions of what happened next diverge. Col. Andrew P. Frick, commander of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, which began arriving here only two days ago, said the crowd was hostile toward the Americans. "There was a lot of pushing and shoving," he said. "A couple of drivers were spit on."

The crowd started beating Paul Watson, a reporter for The Los Angeles Times, who was rescued by the marines. Later, men in the crowd started shooting, and the marines withdrew into the building but continued to receive fire, Colonel Frick said. After the marines fired warning shots, most of the people dispersed, the colonel said. But when shots continued to hit the building, Colonel Frick said, "the marines said, 'O.K., the fight is on,'" and they returned fire.

An Uneasy Peace in Mosul -- Printout -- TIME

<http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,444197,00.ht>

was no war so the fedayeen [Saddam, Uday's paramilitary fighting force] and other members of the security are still here. They just don't go to their offices, but hide in their homes." The famously brave peshmerga won't go to many Arab neighborhoods. "We're afraid," Mohammed said.

People in Mosul were the most pro-Saddam in Iraq — some say even more so than in Tikrit, his famously loyal hometown. Iraq's third-largest city, Mosul is also known as the biggest source of Iraqi army officers. Other cities in Iraq have graffiti like "Thank you Mr. Boush and Mr. Blear." Here, instead, there are Iraqi flags flying defiantly at mosques and vigilante checkpoints.

Dropping into Arab neighborhoods in the center reveals a deep hatred for America and affection for Saddam Hussein. There is also bitterness at the role of the Kurdish peshmerga in securing this majority Arab city. When a small convoy of American Humvees rolls by the residents silently watch. But when the convoy is out of sight the hate is palpable. "America and Britain promised to give us democracy and stability but they haven't done it," said one resident. "The Kurds came and destroyed our city," shouted another. Before long they are chanting "Down Down Bush! Long Live Saddam!"

Jarvis, the Marine spokesman, said residents of Mosul are coming to the airport to give tips on locations of fedayeen forces or other bad guys, and that Special Forces troops are conducting raids. He declined to say if those raids are bearing fruit. In the meantime, the Americans are trying to woo local leaders into working with them to form a provisional authority. One is Sheik Ibrahim Ata Allah al-Juburi, chief of the Juburi tribe which claims 10 million Iraqis "from Zakho to Basra," al-Juburi said. He receives visitors in a tent erected in front of his house; the tent has ceiling fans, a telephone, a television with satellite receiver and a rectangular sectional couch measuring 100 feet. He kills three sheep a day to serve his many guests; tonight it was steaming platters of mutton, potatoes and rice.

He said he was the one to thank for the Americans entering Mosul without a fight. He, as a tribal chief, was one of the few Iraqis privileged enough to have a satellite dish. Watching al-Jazeera, he realized the war was not going as his government was saying. When he saw that U.S. forces were getting closer to Mosul, he started calling on government officials urging them to see the writing on the wall and agree to let the Americans in. Then he made contact with the Americans, traveling to meet one group just inside the border of the Kurdish-controlled areas between Duhok and Mosul. "We saved Mosul," he said.

Al-Juburi said the shooting incidents would not have long-term effects on the authority of American troops, as long as they kept their promises. "They are our friends and we expect them to give us democracy and security, to rebuild us and not destroy us." He said the Americans have come twice to his tent and he likes what he hears. "I have the idea that they have pure intentions, they just want to get rid of Saddam Hussein and establish security here."

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A white pickup rolled up, and the crowd got silent. A body wrapped in a yellow-and-orange blanket was lifted out of the bed. A nurse tried to dump out the puddles that had collected on the plastic mattress of a gurney and the body was lifted onto it. "He was 70 years old," said one of the crowd. "A martyr."

In all, according to doctors at the hospital, three were killed and ten wounded. The day before eight were killed and ten wounded in another clash at the square.

Dr. Ayad Jamin, an anesthesiologist, said medical supplies were so low only the worst cases got anesthesia when they were operated on. Less serious cases, like Ziad Mohammed's brother, were simply sent home.

"We just want the Americans to leave," Mohammed said. "We will sacrifice our blood and be martyrs. If they don't leave, everyone will be a bomb in the face of the Americans."

At the Mosul Airport, where the Americans are based, a spokesman denied that the Americans had fired indiscriminately. "When we received well aimed fire, we returned well aimed fire," said Capt. James Jarvis of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, which came yesterday to back up the Special Forces already here. "As of right now, coalition forces are well in control of the city," he said, allowing that "we're in a period of instability."

One commander of the Kurdish peshmerga forces, was more frank. "In other cities there was fighting and Saddam's men were either killed or ran away," said Omed Mohammed. The Americans and Kurds entered the city without a fight last Friday, but now are finding that their victory was hollow. "Here there

An Uneasy Peace in Mosul -- Printout -- TIME

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TIME

Wednesday, Apr. 16, 2003

An Uneasy Peace in Mosul

By Joshua Kucera/Mosul

At the Jumhuriya Hospital in Mosul, the victims trickled in in taxis, in private cars, in pickups, sometimes in ambulances. The story at the hospital was that American forces had fired into a crowd near the government building in the center of town. A U.S. spokesman calls the building a "sanctuary" where different groups can come and plan Iraq's future government. But the 250 Marines barricaded there have come under fire twice in the last two days, and in both cases returned deadly fire. The victims, Iraqis say, were civilians.

In the pouring rain outside the emergency room at the hospital, family members of those killed and injured in Wednesday's fight, as well as witnesses, stood watching the victims come in. One man entered limping, a friend holding him up. "The Americans were shooting recklessly, without any reason," said one man in the crowd. Ziad Mohammed said his brother had been hit from 1000 yards away while he was tending his shoe shop.

An old man was brought in in a wheelchair, blood caked on his face and a keffiyeh wrapped around his head. "He was on a bus, a civilian bus and the Americans shot him," said Yunis Yasin Suleyman.

It was hard to separate fact from fiction with these men, and some of their claims were outlandish — that Saddam Hussein had been in Mosul on April 9 and U.S. troops had knowingly let the dictator slip into Syria, that Americans were stealing historical artifacts, that the Americans were shooting at ambulances. But what is clear is that the two shooting incidents have put America on the defensive in its campaign to convince the people of Mosul that the Americans are on their side.

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A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL, At Least 10 Iraqis Are Dead In Clashes ... <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/world/a-nation-at-war-mosul-at-le>

The shooting went on for 10 to 15 minutes, until American planes arrived and the gunmen scattered. Colonel Frick said he did not know how many Iraqis had been killed.

Wounded Iraqis in the city's general hospital today gave a different version of events. They said an Iraqi opposition leader, Mishaan al-Jabouri, started speaking to the crowd and hailing the arrival of American forces in Mosul.

It was unclear how Mr. Jabouri, who has been in exile in Syria and whose record includes charges of corruption and theft, got into Mosul. On Monday, he told French journalists that he had been appointed the new governor of Mosul, a claim denied by American officials. But his message angered the crowd, Iraqis said. "They began throwing stones," said Fateh Tata Abed, a 32-year-old man shot in the chest and upper arm. "And the American forces started shooting at us."

Sadullah Ghanal, 39, who was also shot, gave roughly the same version of events. "After we threw stones at Mishaan Jabouri," he said, "the Americans started to fire on us."

Doctors said 15 men and an 11-year-old girl had been wounded, and they displayed an X-ray showing a chunk of shrapnel embedded in the girl's lung. Relatives said she had been on the roof of a nearby building when she was hit.

The governor's building, a four-story, blocklong monolith, appears to have become the focus of a test of wills between American forces pouring into the area and unknown gunmen lurking in the center of the city. Col. Robert Waltemeyer, the commander of American Special Operations forces here, remained in the building all day today with a large force of marines and seemed determined to stay, while American fighter jets flew low passes over the center of town, rattling and sometimes shattering windows.

The day's events punctured a short-lived mood of relative normalcy in Mosul. After at least 18 deaths, rampant looting and persistent sniping at American soldiers who entered the city on Friday, some shops opened on Monday and some streets even hummed with traffic.

But the increasingly polarized atmosphere in Mosul was evident in the growing number of Iraqi flags that appeared on the streets, while American forces patrolled the city in cars flying large American flags. The United States Army has forbidden its troops to display the American flag in Iraq.

Outside the hospital, as an American jet roared a few hundred feet overhead and hospital workers glanced up fearfully, Dr. Ramadhani criticized American tactics. "This is terrorism!" he shouted, as the windows of the hospital rattled. "We are scared. What about the children? What about the sick people?"

A few feet away, an American Special Forces soldier guarding the hospital said Iraqis misunderstood American actions here. "The marines took fire and had to return it," he said. The low-flying planes, he said, were to deter attacks.

A NATION AT WAR: MOSUL; At Least 10 Iraqis Are Dead In Clashes ... <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/world/a-nation-at-war-mosul-at-le>

"It's a show of force, but people don't understand it," said the soldier, who did not want to be identified. "They're not grateful."

Photo: An F-14 fighter yesterday over Mosul, Iraq, where at least 10 Iraqis died in clashes with marines. (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)

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تشكيل الهوية في خطاب الحرب م.د. وفاء وظفر علي المستخلص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في مفهوم الهوية من صحيفتين أمريكيتين هما التايم وذا نيويورك تايمز. وتحاول الدراسة تسليط الضوء على الاستراتيجيات المستعملة في بناء وتشكيل الأنا والآخر في النص، من تحليل خطاب الحرب على العراق. وقد وظفت لهذا الغرض أنموذج فان دايك لعام ٢٠٠٣ والمستنبط من كتابه "الإيديولوجية" لعام ١٩٩٨. واستنتجت هذه الدراسة إن الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة في التحليل كانت هادفة في استنباط عدد من المفاهيم التي صورها الكاتب عن الشعب العراقي وهويته السلبية بعكس تصويره للجيش الأمريكي بهوية إيجابية.