The Representation of Popular Mobilisation Forces in Online British and Iranian News reports : A Critical Discourse Analysis

A Thesis Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Kerbala in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English language and Linguistics

By

Zaineb Ali Hussein Safi al-Yassiry

Supervised by

Asst. Prof. Ghanim Jwaid al-Sieedy (Ph. D.)

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

﴿وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَآنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَى أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا ۚ اعْدِلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ﴾

« المائدة: 8 »

In The Name of Allah, The Most Merciful, The Most Compassionate

"Let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety."
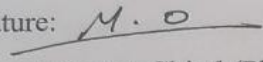
(Al-Maeda, 8)

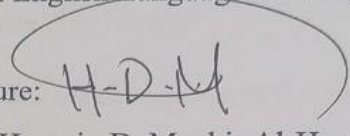(Al-Hilali and Khan, 1982, p. 144)

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Muayyad Omran Chiad (Ph. D.)

(Chairman)
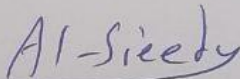
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Prof. Hussein D. Muzhir Al-Hassnawi (Ph. D.)

(Member)

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Signature:

Asst. Prof. Wasan Noori Fadhil

(Member)

Date 9/1/2023

Signature: Al-Sieedy

Asst. Prof. Ghanim Jwaid Al Sieedy (Ph. D.)

(Member and Supervisor)

Date 9/1/2023

Approved by the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences

Signature:

Prof. Hassan Habeeb Al-Graiti (Ph. D.)

Acting Dean of the College of Education for Human Sciences.

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iv

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I certify that this thesis, "**The Representation of Popular Mobilization Forces in Online British and Iranian News reports : A Critical Discourse Analysis**" by Zaineb Ali Hussein Safi al-Yassiry was prepared under my supervision at the College of Education, University of Kerbala, as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of education in English language and Linguistics.
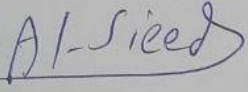
Signature: *Al-Sieed*

Supervisor:

Asst. Prof. Ghanim Jwaid Al Sieedy (Ph. D.)

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Signature:

Asst. Prof. Tawfeeq Majeed Ahmed (Ph. D.)

Head of the Department

Date: 17 /1/ 2022

To My Parents

My Deceased Father & My Great Mother

To My Supportive Husband

To My Dear Uncle Hassan Al- Yassiry

and to all who supported and stood beside me during my MA study.

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Abstract

The current study compares and contrasts the depiction of the Popular Mobilisation Forces (henceforth, PMF) in the selected 12 news reports of two opposing news agencies: British and Iranian, from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The British include BBC and Guardian while the Iranian include Tehran Times and Financial Tribune.

The study aims at (1) highlighting different strategies used by both samples to represent PMF, (2) identifying the most and the least employed strategies by both samples to depict PMF, and (3) demonstrating the way British and Iranian news reports encode ideologies in the context of PMF representation.

The collected data are analysed by using an eclectic model whose categories are incepted at two levels of analysis; micro and macro. It includes Reisigle and Wodak's discursive strategies (2001), van Leeuwen's sociological categories of actor representation (2008), Halliday's transitivity (2004) at the micro level, and van Dijk's approach of ideology and discursive strategies (2000) at the macro level.

After analysing the collected data qualitatively and quantitatively, the study demonstrates how all macro- and micro-strategies adopted in the eclectic model are used by both samples, but with different percentages and, consequently, different ideological impulses. Moreover, the outcomes of the micro level display that referential strategy is the most frequently used strategy, while argumentation strategy is the least frequently used one by the British sample. Conversely, the Iranian sample mostly employs predicational strategy and minimally uses argumentation one. At the macro level, on the other hand, the most prevalent macro strategy adopted by British news reports is the one of negative other-representation, while positive self-representation strategy is mostly employed by Iranian reports in representing PMF. Furthermore, the

selected news agencies employ different Islamic and political ideologies in order to represent PMF.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER THREE

DATA DESCRIPTION AND MODEL OF ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviated Form	Full Form
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
EU	European Union
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PM	Prime Minister
PMF	Popular Mobilisation Forces
PMU	Popular Mobilisation Units
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
TT	Tehran Times
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Statement of the Problem

As an umbrella organization of many paramilitary units, Iraq's Popular Mobilisation Forces group is controversial enough to attract public opinion, particularly the media outlets that belong to some opposing countries, such as Britain and Iran. Opinions regarding PMF are divided between supporters and opponents, as it serves certain countries' interests while threatening those of others. Upon that thing, media is used as a window through which readers view the world and perceive events as if they were real, because it has the power to change their perceptions of reality in any way (Malkawi, 2012, p. 22). Thus, it is undoubtedly feasible to have a biased media that manipulates the news and intentionally or accidentally misleads the audience (Fitzpatrick, 2018, p. 45). This manipulation may be realized via the use of various linguistic strategies that can build a positive or negative representation of certain social actors in readers' minds. Critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) typically examines news texts to demonstrate such strategies and the ideological implications that describe events and actors for certain purposes (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 5).

CDA is defined as the examination of "language use beyond the sentence level" (Wodak, 2015, p. 1). This definition indicates the somethind hidden behind the text which is ideology, which then play a crucial role in media discourse. Thus, "the relationship between ideology and media is deeply rooted" (Malkawi, 2012, p. 26). This relationship is also clarified in Fairclough's words when he (1995) defines media as having the power "to shape governments and parties... the power to influence knowledge, values, social relations, and social identities" (p. 2). To this end, the researcher has been inspired to critically analyse the

discourse of news reports on the PMF depicted by two opposing international news agencies: British and Iranian.

Typically, focusing on the discourse structures, the present study tends to refer to the problem of the ideologies in the representation of PMF in the selected news reports. Due to the rarity of investigational studies in this regard, it tries to answer the following questions:

1. What are the micro and macro strategies used by British and Iranian news reports to represent the Popular Mobilisation Forces?

2. What are the most and the least implemented strategies by British and Iranian news reports to depict the Popular Mobilisation Forces to their readers?

3. What are the ideologies conveyed by British and Iranian news agencies to represent the Popular Mobilisation Forces to their readers?

1.1 Aims of the Study

The study attempts to achieve the following aims:

1. To shed light on the micro and macro strategies and sub-strategies used by British and Iranian news reporters to represent the Popular Mobilisation Forces.

2. To find out the most and the least employed strategies by British and Iranian news reports to depict the Popular Mobilisation Forces to their readers.

3. To demonstrate the way British and Iranian news reports encode ideologies in the context of the Popular Mobilisation Forces.

1.2 Hypotheses of the Study

To arrive at the aims of the current study, it is hypothesized that:

1. Micro and macro strategies and sub-strategies included in the eclectic model are employed in both samples for different purposes. At micro level of analysis, Reisigl and Wodak's referential strategy, predicational strategy, argumentation strategy, and perspectivation strategy are employed in the investigation. Van Leeuwen's sociological categories, including genericization, specification, collectivisation, aggregation, identification, activation, and passivation, are all employed in the PMF's representation. Moreover, the process types of Halliday's transitivity (i.e., material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential) are also used in this representation. In addition, topoi have been employed within argumentation strategy. At macro-level of analysis, van Dijk's macro strategies of the negative and positive acts of out-group (THEM) and in-group (US) are (de)emphasized by the collected data based on the ideological stance.

2. At the micro level, activation, genericization, assimilation, and reported speech are the most frequently used strategies by both datasets; conversely, at the macro level, British news reports mostly use a negative other-representation strategy, alongside the theme of terrorism, while Iranian ones highly use a positive self-representation strategy, alongside the theme of authority. On the other hand, the least common micro strategies used by both samples are specification, identification, and passivation. Conversely, at the macro level, positive self-representation strategy, along with the theme of revenge, are minimally used by the British news reports, while negative other-representation strategy, along with the theme of terrorism, are minimally employed by the Iranian ones.

3. The ideologies manifested in British and Iranian news agencies to depict the Popular Mobilisation Forces are mainly related to religion and politics.

1.3 Procedures of the Study

To achieve the aims of the study and verify its hypotheses, the following procedures will be followed:

1. Presenting a theoretical background about CDA, its various theories and some related concepts as well as a brief account of the PMF.

2. Mapping the micro and macro strategies and sub-strategies by adopting Wodak's (2001) discursive strategies, van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of actor representation, and Halliday's (2004) transitivity on the micro level; and van Dijk's (2000) ideological square (in-group vs. out-group's ideology) alongside themes on the macro level.

3. Adopting the eclectic model, many extracts are qualitatively analyzed to be representative of the news reports under investigation.

4. Conducting a statistical analysis of the two collected samples to account for the frequencies and percentages of the used strategies in order to get certain results.

5. Conclusions are drawn to answer the present study's questions and to examine the validity of its hypotheses.

1.4 Limits of the Study

This study is limited to critically analyzing news discourse of the PMF's depiction by four opposing international news agencies: British, namely: *BBC* and *Guardian*; and Iranian, namely: *Tehran Times* and *Financial Tribune*. Three news reports are randomly selected from each site. Many extracts are taken as examples to be representative of the twelve selected news reports so as to show how the reporters' ideological impulses regarding PMF are manifested in their writings.

1.5 Value of the Study

The value of the current study is highlighted in the following:

1. Pedagogically, the present study is of importance to scholars of linguistics, particularly those who are interested in CDA for analyzing media discourse.
2. It is expected that the present work's analysis conveys a neutral image about PMF.
3. It is hoped that this investigation will motivate the media to take into account that news representations should be objective, neutral, and impartial, and that when reporting news about a controversial movement or any other topic, they should balance the views of all sides, using simple linguistic structures to eliminate confusion.
4. It is hoped that this investigation will help the audience and readers who are manipulated by media discourse to avoid being affected by such news and enhance their critical thinking about media and ideological impulses.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introductory Remarks

The current chapter reviews literature relevant to critical discourse analysis. It also highlights the three most important concepts linked to CDA, namely: discourse, power, and ideology. Then, political discourse and media discourse are tackled. Moreover, some prominent approaches to CDA are also addressed. In addition, the ways in which PMF has related to the various social and political predicaments Iraq has faced are also covered with reference to previous studies and the current study.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) is a multidisciplinary collection of theories that emerged as a network of scholars in the early nineties following a brief symposium held in Amsterdam in January 1991. With the support of Amsterdam University, Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak, among others, had the excellent opportunity to discuss methods and theories of discourse analysis, especially CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). Actually, CDA has been improved to be used as a unique theory of language; a completely different approach to linguistics (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 5).

Paltridge (2006, p. 179) states that "there is no single view of what critical discourse analysis actually is, so it is difficult to present a complete, unified view on this," but what is popular is that critical discourse analysis is the academic research paradigm that aims at investigating "the power relations, ideological manipulations, and hegemony" (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007, p. 1).Van Dijk (2001, p. 352) defines it as a type of discourse analysis research

that is primarily concerned with studying the way in which inequality, social power abuse, and dominance are resisted and reproduced through text and talk in political and social contexts.

Similarly, Fairclough (1992, p. 135) states that CDA is a discourse analysis that aims at systematically exploring often opaque relationships of determination and causality between (a) texts, events and discursive practices, and (b) wider cultural and social structures, processes and relations; to investigate how such texts, events and practices are ideologically shaped by power relations and power struggles; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

In a similar vein, Wodak (2001, p. 258) asserts that CDA mainly aims to uncover "the opacities in discourse which contribute to the exercise, maintenance, or reproduction of unequal relations of power." It implies that the vague utterances are clarified in order to reveal the structures of unequal power that control society.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280) summarize the universal CDA principles that are shared by the sociocognitive and sociocritical approaches as follows:

1. CDA adresses social problems.

2. Power relations are discursive.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.

4. Discourse does ideological work.

5. Discourse is historical.

6. The link between text and society is mediated.

7. Discourse analysis is both interpretative and explanatory.

8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Needless to say, the aforementioned principles reflect various roles played by discourse in society when it is used by the power-holders, particularly those in control of the media; it serves the continuation of unequal power relations as well as representations of social groups while appearing to be common sense, natural, and normal despite their inherent bias, injustice, and social inequity.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics

Critical Linguistics (CL) cannot be ignored when discussing the origins of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is argued that CL approach, which arose in the late seventies, played a significant role in the emergence of CDA approach (Bukhari & Xiaoyang, 2013, p. 9).

The term "critical" is the most obvious perspective that is shared by the two approaches, which in some critical linguists' works might be attributed to the Frankfurt School's impact. Critical discourse analysis and critical linguistics may best be defined as "a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic, or discourse analysis" (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 131). In conformity with Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 1), although the terms critical discourse analysis and critical linguistics are frequently interchangeably used, the term CDA appears to be preferred and, therefore, used to refer to the theory originally known as Critical Linguistics, since the latter is criticized for containing a number of drawbacks.

The CL approach is built on the principles of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar theory (SFG), which ties language to facets of social communication (Fairclough, 2003, p. 5). According to Fairclough (1992, pp. 26–29), "critical linguistics supports Halliday's view of the grammar of a language as a system of options amongst which speakers make selections according to social circumstances."

Its concentration on the vocabulary and grammar of texts makes it different from other approaches. To be specific, "it tends to be too much emphasis on the text as a product and too little emphasis on the processes of producing and interpreting texts." Moreover, the interface between language and ideology is too constrained in critical linguistics. Critical discourse analysts have worked to reduce such drawbacks by developing approaches and methods to describe the conventions and practices in texts that reveal ideological and political speculation (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 4). Among the most important contributions that critical discourse analysis offers are highlighting key social issues and adopting a problem-oriented research methodology (Nguyen, 2014).

Critical discourse analysis shares with critical linguistics the argument that the selections, in terms of grammar and vocabulary, that speakers make are systematic and principled and that they are ideologically driven. Fiske (1994: as cited in Filologia, 2006, p. 9) states that "our words are never neutral"; they reflect the individuals' self-perception, identity, beliefs, values, knowledge, and so on. Moreover, the concentration on the processes through which texts can be transformed into other texts over time is another point of shared interest. But CDA goes beyond and takes a clear socio-political stance: "CDA sees itself not as a dispassionate and objective social science, but as engaged and committed; it is a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: as cited in Filologia, 2006, p. 10). Additionally, Henry and Tator (2002, p. 72) define critical discourse analysis as "a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic, and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups." Thus, critical analysts are interested in exposing the ideological impulses hidden in linguistic structures in order to support individuals in resisting and overcoming various forms of power abuse (Filologia, 2006, p. 9).

2.3 Pillars of CDA

This section will single out the three related concepts to CDA.

2.3.1 Discourse

Discourse is considered a broad term that "integrates a whole palette of meanings" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 42). This notion is used in many domains, such as linguistics, philosophy, sociology, and so on. Brown and Yule (1983, p. 27) argue that discourse is sometimes just referred to as "language in use"; at other times, it is described as sequences of words, especially in spoken language, that lasts longer than a sentence (Crystal, 2012, p. 512). To complicate the matter, a large number of scholars clarify the notion of 'discourse' through various theoretical perspectives. To illustrate, discourse is deciphered by Potter (2004: as cited in Yang & Sun, 2010, p. 127) as speech and writing in social practices. In other words, the emphasis is not simply on language as an abstract entity that may be described via grammatical rules and lexicon, instead, it serves as a platform for communication; hence, studying discourse leads to analysing people's social actions.

This perspective is echoed by Titscher et al. (2000, p. 26), for whom discourse is considered a form of "social practice," implying a dialectical relationship between a specific discursive event and the situation(s), social structure(s), and institution(s) that frame it: they shape the discursive event, and it shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted and conditioned. Due to the terminological variations and different scholars, the term "discourse" has several diverse definitions (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 7). Fairclough (1989) states that the term "discourse" refers to "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part" (p. 24). Likewise, Leech (1983, p. 84) indicates that discourse is a type of language communication in which a speaker and listener exchange roles.

It might be beneficial to draw a distinction between text, discourse, and language, as they are often believed to diverge. According to Stubbs (1983, p. 10), discourse is to text is what utterance is to sentence. To Brown and Yule, too, a text is a "representation of discourse" (1983, p. 5). Similarly, discourse and language are terms for different things. The distinction between discourse and language becomes clear when one considers that discourse always involves more than simply language. Using a language involves something that goes beyond the acquisition of structures and the ability to make appropriate choices in the realization of the particular language functions (Yalden, 1987, p. 39). Fairclough and Wodak argue that discourse includes not only written and spoken language but also visual images (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: as cited in Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 61). In a like manner, Gee (1999, p. 25) argues that it always involves coordinating language with ways of interacting, acting, feeling, believing, and valuing, as well as with places, times, clothes, bodies, non-linguistic symbols, technologies, tools and objects. Brown and Yule (1983, p. 27) convey discourse as forms of "language in use." Stubbs (1983, p. 1) refers to discourse as language beyond the sentence or beyond the clause. Finch (2000) asserts that one of the most flexible notions that are studied and tackled in linguistics is discourse. Generally, the idea behind the word 'discourse' is: "…that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life…" (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002, p. 1).

 Fairclough (1989, p. 22) points out that discourse is considered by CDA as a form of "social practice" that has three implications. First and foremost, discourse is a component of society. It cannot stand alone, independently of the community. Secondly, understanding discourse as social practice means that it is a social process. Discourse (language) develops and progresses alongside

human progress and growth. Thirdly, discourse moves forward in conformity with social conditioning.

Wodak (2001, p. 66) defines discourse "as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts'." Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 89) consider discourse to be:

- a collection of semiotic practices that are context-dependent and located in certain fields of social action;
- socially constitutive and socially constituted;
- related to a macro-topic;
- connected to the argumentation about validity claims like truth and normative validity that involves several social actors with different viewpoints.

Various definitions invariably concentrate on the relevant study area. However, it is worth noting that while doing critical discourse analysis, linguists universally place emphasis on language and its usage. Hence, when defining the term "discourse," they frequently incorporate into their analyses pertinent factors like context and participants, which not only serve as important theoretical pillars of the research but also have an effect on the practical application of critical discourse analysis.

2.3.2 Power

The approach of CDA covers examining language that has associations like control, dominance, and power beyond it (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). Van Dijk (2005, p. 87) confirms that the study of forms of social inequality and dominance, along with the discursive devices of power misuse, are the main focus of CDA. In terms of CDA, power is an interactional characteristic that is distinctive,

systemic, non-static and transformative, and that is both implicated in and legitimized by every interaction (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 13). Van Dijk (1997, p. 24) expounds the unethical use of power, often known as "power abuse" or "dominance," as the underlying ethical issue that critical discourse research has to concentrate on. In conformity with these points of view, Fairclough (2001) states that the "critical analysis of discourse is nothing if it is not a resource for struggle against domination" (p. 216). Hence, the concept of power has served as a central signifier in CDA. Moreover, CDA aims at finding a connection between discourse and power, as van Dijk (1996) argues: "one of the central tasks of CDA is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power" (p. 84).

Power, as an abstract and complex notion, is considered a pillar of CDA and has a significant impact on people's lives. It is the ability of its holders to exploit individuals by controlling their minds (Bullock & Trombley, 1999, p. 678). A power holder is a person who has genuine authority to exercise control outside of formal proceedings (Edelman, 1977, p. 123). Van Dijk (2013, p. 36) maintains that whoever controls the public discourse indirectly influences people's minds (especially their ideologies) and, consequently, their behavioral traits.

Power is divided into two types: social power and power abuse. On the one hand, the former may be summarily described as a social connection between institutions or groups, indicating the control of a more powerful institution or group and its members over the minds and actions of the members of a less powerful group. Such power typically implies exceptional access to resources that are valued by society, such as wealth, force, knowledge, status, or income (van Dijk, 1992, p. 10). Thus, this power can be defined in the light of action control. As discourse is also considered a form of action, such control can also be employed to influence discourse and its characteristics, its context, its style,

or its topic. Accordingly, discourse can also affect the recipients' minds since powerful groups can dominate the minds of other people indirectly via the mass media, which uses different ways of manipulation or persuasion. In conformity with the cognitive theory, this means that powerful discourse may have an impact on how individuals conceptualize an event or situation or how they represent society in their knowledge, ideologies, and attitudes (van Dijk, 2013, p. 36).

Power abuse, on the other hand, implies that the control is being used for the benefit of the dominant group, this means that members of the dominant social group may use their limited social resources, such as force, money, real estate, knowledge, information, or status, to exercise control over talk and text. In addition, access to public discourse is one of the crucial social resources of much contemporary power (ibid., p. 36).

If there is one concept that is frequently associated with power, it is that of ideology. Ideologies are the starting and the end, the source and the target, of group practices, and consequently focused on the reproduction of the group's power (or geared towards the other groups' power). The term 'dominant ideologies' is traditionally used when indicating ideologies that are employed by dominant groups in the legitimization or reproduction of their dominance (ibid., p. 36).

2.3.3 Ideology

The notion of ideology is considered one of the most perplexing and ambiguous concepts used in media discourse and political discourse (ibid., pp. 5-6). Destutt de Tracy, a French philosopher, developed the concept at the end of the 18th century. Ideology was for Destutt de Tracy nothing less than a general "sciences of ideas," which is today called cognitive science or psychology. In addition, van Dijk (2006, p. 728) states that the term "ideology" is typically used

negatively in daily communication, and generally refers to the misguided, rigid, or partisan ideas of others. The reason behind this negativity may be traced back to Marx and Engels, who considered ideologies as a manifestation of the "false consciousness" of the working class, which might have had inaccurate perceptions of their existence conditions as a result of its indoctrination by the ruling class. Ideology continues to be one of the vaguest and most "contested" terms in the social sciences, despite the enormous amount of scholarly attention given to the notion since Destutt de Tracy's work. Thus, it would be impossible to summarize the extensive theoretical debate regarding this concept in this thesis. However, some vital points will be referred to in this section.

The core beliefs and values of a group and its members are known as their ideologies (van Dijk, 2013, p. 7). In this regard, Hodge and Kress (1993, p. 6) state that ideology is "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view." In a like manner, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 275) expound that ideologies are "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, domination, and exploitation." Likewise, van Dijk (2006, pp. 116–117) points out that ideologies are the fundamental beliefs that support the widespread social representations of particular social groups. The foundation for discourse and other social processes is provided by these representations. According to van Dijk (1995, p. 17), ideologies are typically expressed, reproduced, and acquired through discourse. That is why much of the discourse, especially the speeches of group members, reflects ideologically motivated views. Most of the ideological ideas are acquired through listening to and reading what the group members have said or written (van Dijk, 2013, p. 9). The distinction between power and ideology becomes clear when one considers that "power is defined in terms of the control one group has over another group," while ideology serves as the mental component of this kind of control. That is, ideologies provide the guidelines that

can be used to justify, legalize, tolerate, or accept certain types of power abuse (van Dijk, 2013, p. 35). To express power, ideology is used. Many of the common social practices are infused with ideologies, i.e., as soon as people join social groups, their ideas may come into play in their interactions and behaviors. Whites may discriminate against black people, men may discriminate against women in the same way as the rich versus the poor and the young versus the aged. Text and talk may be used for this (ibid., p. 31).

One of the distinctive purposes of CDA is to reveal underlying ideologies that are recognized and developed in the language used and then the views delivered to the listener or reader. Ideologies in texts are examined as a means of altering these linguistic practices as a manifestation of the beliefs of dominant social groups because "ideologies are often false or ungrounded construction of society" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 275).

2.4 Political Discourse

Politics is a power struggle for the sake of putting specific political, social, and economic ideas into effect (de Landtsheer, 1998, p. 1). Language is essential to this process as it prepares, accompanies, influences, and plays a part in every political action (Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014, p. 1180). Politics, as is widely known, is about power: the power that politicians use to control resources, make decisions, influence the behavior of other people, and usually influence their ideals. Van Dijk (1995, p. 12) considers politicians as the main actors who are chosen to play a key role in political activities. Their primary goal is to convince their audience that their political assertions are true (Bayram, 2010, p. 29). Politics, which is connected to people and their lives as members of social groups, is tied to political discourse (Johnson & Johnson, 2000, p. 291).

As a subcategory of discourse in general, political discourse primarily concentrates on the discourse practices developed in specific political domains,

such as parliamentary debates, legislative processes, hearings, etc. (Johnson & Johnson, 2000, p. 291). In fact, the vast majority of political discourse studies focuses on the writings and speeches of political institutions or professional politicians, such as presidents and prime ministers, as well as other members of the executive branch, the legislature, or political parties, at all levels of government, including local, national, and international ones. Politicians' use of resources to influence people's opinions and behaviors results in political discourse. The ability to withhold information, the ability to get favors from others or harm them without using physical force, and subtle or overt bribery are examples of common resources (Bayram, 2010, p. 29).

If a discourse satisfies two requirements, it is regarded political. It must, first and foremost, be functional. This implies that it is a product of politics and that it is determined by history and culture. Due to various political actions, it serves a variety of purposes. Second, it must be thematic, meaning that its primary subjects are those that have to do with politics, such as political relations, political concepts, and political activities (Schaffner, 1996, p. 27).

Obviously, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is a critical enterprise that is, by its very definition, about political discourse. This would imply, in line with contemporary CDA approaches, that critical-political discourse analysis focuses on the reproduction of political power, its abuse, and its domination through political discourse, as well as the various forms of counter-power or resistance to such forms of discursive dominance. It hardly needs more argument that political discourse analysis is pertinent to the emerging interdisciplinary field of discourse studies. In fact, linguists and discourse analysts make up the majority of political discourse analysts (van Dijk, 1995, p. 12).

It is concluded that political discourses usually convey a variety of messages to the general audience. The public can be manipulated or persuaded in many

ways using the various instruments available to decision-makers. To be specific, it combines discourse, power, and ideology—the three CDA pillars—because it is the kind of discourse that politicians employ to manipulate the public by enlisting particular ideas. As a result, PDA, as van Dijk (1995, p. 12) indicates, is concerned with comprehending the nature and purpose of political discourse as well as critiquing the part discourse plays in creating, sustaining, abusing, and resisting power in modern society.

2.5 Media Discourse

Media is the communications medium that unites the entire world. The term "media," which is derived from the Latin medium, refers to both conventional mass communication systems and content producers as well as other technologies for mediating human speech (Paul & Rai, 2021, p. 1).

A wide variety of informal, public, and institutional forms of text and talk are under the control of media as a means of information transmission (van Dijk, 1995, p. 20). It reflects society and depicts what and how society works. The sole way that aids in keeping people informed is media, whether it is printed, electronic, or online (Paul & Rai, 2021, p. 7). It has the ability to choose the topics and events that people learn about in the world; it determines what news is; it filters and frames issues; it contextualizes the issue; it establishes the political agenda; and it shapes public opinion on subjects like human rights (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2002, as cited in Paul & Rai, 2021, p. 3).

Media is socially, politically, and economically driven. It is tied to the developments of technology and science, and just like most human life domains, its existence is intricately linked to the use of language (Spitulnik, 1993, p. 293). Language used in media discourse is a reflection of culture and society in general. Social beliefs are presented through the linguistic forms used

in speech and writing, and the analysis of linguistic patterns throughout the media makes it simple to understand the social structure and ideology embedded in the use of language (Bell, 1991, pp. 38-39).

It is crucial to emphasize that media presents its own viewpoint based on ideological motivations. In fact, media seeks to convey information in a subjective rather than an objective manner. The words media speaks or writes appear to be objective, yet they are actually subjective and indirectly loaded with the media's hidden ideologies. "The world of the press is not the real world rather a partial one which is skewed and judged" (Fowler, 1991, p. 11). Actually, discourse and media share something in common which is representation. Due to the fact that all institutions of representation and news reporting are politically, socially and economically situated, all news are always reported from some specific angle (Fowler, 1998, p. 10). That is why there is no such thing as impartial writing, and media discourse is an interpretation of reality instead of a mere representation of it (Macdonald, 2003). Fowler's (1998, p. 27) view is that ideas and events cannot be expressed neutrally "because they have to be transmitted through some medium with its own structural features, and these structural features are already impregnated with social values that make up a potential perspective on events."

Media discourse as a multidisciplinary field is concerned not only with cultural and media studies, but also with linguistics, especially critical discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, pragmatics, and sociolinguistic studies (Talbot, 2007, p. 3). According to O'Keeffe (2011, p. 31), media discourse is defined as interactions that occur through a broadcast platform, whether written or spoken, and are oriented toward the readership or viewing/listening audience. That is, media discourse as a form of interaction is manufactured, public, and on-record. Discourse in the media can be easily ideologically fabricated. One significant area of media

discourse research, known as critical discourse analysis, is concerned with adopting a critical position toward media discourse.

2.6 Approaches to CDA

According to Waugh et al. (2016), different scholars have various approaches to CDA. In the current chapter, four widely used approaches of CDA will be reviewed, including the three-dimensional approach introduced by Fairclough (1992), the discourse-historical approach proposed by Wodak (2001), socio-cognitive approach established by van Dijk (2000), and van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of social actors. Systemic functional grammar developed by M.A.K. Halliday will also be highlighted as a tool used by CDA studies. In this respect, the term "critical discourse analysis" will be used to refer to all of these theories. Even though the underlying basic foundations and analytical techniques of these approaches differ, their goal is to "uncover how discourse and ideology are intertwined, how social structures and power relations are represented, enacted, constituted, maintained, or challenged through language" (Barletta Manjarres, 2007: as cited in Nguyen, 2014, para. 1).

The following section gives a summary of these approaches:

2.6.1 Fairclough's (1992) Approach

Fairclough outlines a three-dimensional model for CDA that is influenced by Halliday's systemic functional grammar theory (Meyer, 2001, p. 28), aiming to make "a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4). For CDA analysts, Fairclough's model has served as a basic theoretical framework. Due to its interdisciplinarity, CDA emphasizes that it is impossible to separate the text analysis from the social context and the discursive practice in which it is generated. In conformity with this model, analysis proceeds from the textual level to the discursive practice level before reaching the sociocultural practice

level. These three dimensions of discourse are connected to three distinct processes: description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 1989, p. 98).

Fairclough's (1992) model incorporates three interconnected analytical dimensions:

1. The micro-level of analysis (Text analysis) is the first dimension of Fairclough's framework, which treats discourse as a text and, thus, examines the linguistic elements of a text (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72). Based on this framework (ibid., p. 75), there are four primary categories that are used to analyze texts linguistically: grammar (words joined into clauses and sentences), vocabulary (individual words), cohesion (how clauses and sentences are connected), and lastly text structure (organization of text) (ibid., p. 75).

2. The meso-level of analysis (Discursive practice) is the second dimension of Fairclough's framework that discusses "text production, distribution, and consumption" and how these matters might vary depending on social conditions (ibid., p. 78). Accordingly, "speech acts, coherence and intertextuality" are given focus (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 448). At the meso level, the relationship between a text and its context, or intertextuality, is investigated in terms of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis are complimentary disciplines. In his three-dimensional analytical framework, intertextual analysis serves as a link between texts and discourse contexts or between language and social contexts or by "focusing on the boundary between text and discourse practice" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 61). Consideration should be given to the writer's intertextual decision to choose genres and discourses that are influenced by the social context. Thus, the discourse and the kind of the text employed are influenced by the social context.

3. The macro level of analysis (Social practice) is the third dimension of Fairclough's framework that considers discourse a sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1998, p. 311). This level of analysis refers to three facets of the sociocultural context of a communicative event: political (i.e., power and ideology of the media), economic (i.e., economy of the media), and cultural (i.e., issues of values). It concerns the relationship between discourse practice and social context, namely how social factors shape the production and interpretation processes and have an impact on society (Fairclough, 2001, p. 22).

In his book, which was published in 1992, the three dimensions and the notion of CDA are explained. In Xin Bin's (2005) opinion, that is "to describe the formal properties of text, to interpret the relationship between text and interaction, and to explain the relationship between interaction and social context" (p. 55).

Fairclough (1993) argues that "each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written language text, it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of social practice" (p. 133).

To sum up, since one of the basic tenets of CDA is that discourse is a social practice, all the analysis of linguistic features of text, along with its production and interpretation, should be placed in the context that is most relevant for them.

2.6.2 Van Dijk's (1998a) Approach

Van Dijk, as one of the most often cited and mentioned scholars in critical studies of media discourse (Sheyholislami, 2001, p. 1), displayed "a critical analysis of media text" in the 1980s, wherein his theoretical framework started to take shape. Applying the analytical framework to go beyond textual and

structural analysis and test the discourse at production, perception, and reception levels requires the characteristics of van Dijk's media discourse framework (1988) (Sajjad, 2015, p. 43). According to this comprehensive analytical perspective, discourse is defined as "a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 2).

Van Dijk (1995, p. 21) suggests a socio-cognitive model of CDA. In this model, "discourse, social, and cognitive assessments" are combined. The essential distinction between van Dijk's framework, Wodak's DHA (2001) and Fairclough's socio-cultural concepts of CDA (2001) is the mediating layer of cognition (ideology) that sits between society and discourse.

In his approach, van Dijk differentiated between two analytical levels of news discourse as follows:

1) Microstructure (local structure)

Van Dijk (1991, p. 176) denotes that the microstructure level is concerned with the syntax, lexical items, stylistics, and discursive devices that are actually utilized to cover news reports. Consequently, van Dijk highlights specific instances of ideology in discourse by suggesting various levels of analysis (syntax, semantics, lexicon, context, etc.). For this level of analysis, van Dijk (2005, p. 735) lists 27 discursive devices, including lexicalization, categorization, metaphor, euphemism, implication, authority, etc. (van Dijk 2000a, p. 44). Van Dijk (2005, p. 735) describes them as "general strategies of ideological discourse production and also a handy discovery or recognition procedure for ideological analysis of political discourse". These strategies are specifically examined in news reports because they are ideologically powerful and represent the author's views on the pertinent topic.

2) Macrostructure or global structure

The study of global meaning that conveys power, dominance, and inequality among social groups is the main emphasis of macro-level analysis. According to van Dijk (1988a, p. 13), macrostructures are "the general issues or themes of a text." Van Dijk (2006b) asserts that a variety of ideologies are relevant under circumstances of rivalry, conflict, dominance, and resistance amongst groups and are thus components of a social struggle. This truth explains why many ideological mental models and behaviors are divided along the lines of "in-group/out-group distinction," often between US and THEM (van Dijk, 2006a, p. 730).

2.6.3 Wodak's (2001) Approach

The "most linguistically-oriented" model in CDA have been introduced by Ruth Wodak (Meyer, 2001, p. 21). In 2001, a specific approach related to CDA was presented by Reisigl and Wodak. In their approach, discourse is seen as "a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts," that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres" (Wodak, 2001, p. 66).

Wodak has effectively presented the Discourse-Historical Approach (henceforth, DHA), in which "the connections between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts are described and modeled" (Meyer, 2001, p. 22). That is, this approach is presented in three dimensions: text, context, and discourse. This triangulation suggests that it is important to emphasize both text analysis and the "goal of the text creator in a particular genre."

This approach is viewed as crucial to the widely defined discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Datonji & Amousou, 2019, p. 71). The study by Wodak et al. (2009) relies on the assumption that discourse is the primary means through which national identities are produced and reproduced. For

Wodak, nothing is new, i.e., everything is reproduced. Todolí, et. al. (2006) claim that "discourse (…) is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before" (p. 21). Based on this, Wodak (2001, p. 65) claims that the discourse-historical approach makes an effort to include the vast amount of information that is currently known about historical sources and the context of "the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded." Wodak concentrates on the importance of change across time in the critical study of various discourse genres. Meyer (2001, p. 15) argues that "all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context," which is a fundamental viewpoint of CDA. To put it another way, all discourses are synchronically or diachronically linked to one another. The difference between Wodak's approach and others' approaches lies in the word "historical."

When evaluating a particular discourse and relevant texts, there are a number of strategies that need special attention. When analyzing texts on racial, ethnic, national, or national identity, the presentation of discursive strategies is oriented towards five questions:

1. "How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?" (referential strategies).

2. "What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?" (predicational strategies).

3." What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?" (argumentation strategies, including fallacies).

4. "From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?" (perspectivation, and framing strategies).

5. "Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?" (mitigation and intensification strategies)

2.6.4 Van Leeuwen's (2008) Approach

In his approach to critical discourse analysis, van Leeuwen views the depiction of social actors in discourses, whether texts or images, as a crucial notion. For him, power relations between the participants are realized through images and texts (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 136). He identifies a number of categories employed in the discourse to represent social actors. He builds the sociological and critical relevance of these categories in the linguistic realization by starting his question for studying social actor in the discourse from socio-semantic in which social actor can be represented, rather than from linguistic operation such as nominalization or passive agent deletion. He offers two reasons for this. First, "lack of bi-uniqueness of language" (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 23-24). The second reason is quite different and stems from the idea that meanings are not bound to any one semiotic but rather are a product of culture rather than language. However, van Leeuwen (2008) expands on Halliday's transitivity, and he also illustrates how the participants are reframed in the representation of a particular social activity.

Depending on the writer's ideology, van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 32-46) depicts the inclusion and exclusion of social actors in discourse. He (2008) contends that "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (p. 28). The inclusion of social actors in discourse is achieved through; generalization/specification, activation/passivation, association/dissociation, personalization/impersonalization, functionalization/identification, and other sub-categories.

2.6.5 Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar

The most frequent response to the question of why people acquire language is probably "to communicate with it." That is, the ultimate aim of acquiring a language is to communicate effectively and achieve certain social goals, not just to generate or know the correct linguistic structures and patterns (Endarto, 2017, Why Systemic Functional Linguistics, para. 1).

Folwer (1991, p. 481) considers CDA as "instrumental linguistics." According to Xin Bin (2005, p. 55), "CDA takes language as a multi-functional system," which shares the same area as Halliday's SFG (1985), and considers language as a manifestation of its purpose. The structure or form of the language is only significant in SFG when it serves its function. Structure would be absolutely useless without function. SFG is therefore CDA's primary methodological resource (Halliday 1978, p. 114).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) underline a dimension inside language termed "metafunctions," which consists of the following functions:

1) Ideational function

The relationship between the outside world and the speaker's mental perception of the world is the focus of this function. Language encodes both the individual's experience and the cultural experience through its content function (Halliday, 1978, p. 112). Hence, the ideational function has two subfunctions: the logical function and the experiential function. Additionally, Halliday (1994) states that "transitivity translates the world of experience into a manageable set of process types" (p. 107). According to Richardson (2007), "the essence of representation is in the relationship of 'who is doing what to whom" (p. 54).

2) Interpersonal function

The communicative function of language plays a significant role in establishing, maintaining, and reflecting the speaker's or writer's social interactions with

others. It stands for the element that the speaker uses to impose himself on the context of the situation, "both expressing his own attitudes and judgments and looking for ways to influence the attitudes and behavior of others" (Halliday, 1978, p. 112).

3) Textual function

This function is concerned with how a text is formed, how information flows within it, and how language interacts with both the verbal world and the situational context. In Halliday's words, "the speaker's text-forming potential; it is that which makes language relevant" (ibid.).

Researchers investigating media texts, political commentary, etc., could use SFG to develop their critical linguistic analysis abilities. Since SFG has offered a perceptive foundation for critical language studies like the so-called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Endarto, 2017, Systemic Functional Linguistics for Critical Perspectives, para. 1).

In conformity with SFG, language is considered a system of systems with the capacity to express meaning by allowing users to select from a variety of options. Here, the idea of choice is crucial, particularly from a critical standpoint. CDA can examine a text within this framework via displaying "the functional organization of its structure…and…what meaningful choices have been made, each one seen in the context of what might have been meant but was not" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Consequently, individuals may further connect these choices to the power and ideology that are now practiced in the society where the discourse has been (re)produced (ibid.).

2.7 Popular Mobilisation Forces

Before discussing the representation of the popular mobilisation forces in certain news discourses, understanding the political context in Iraq from which they originated is crucial, especially in light of the events of 2014 that contributed to the foundation of the PMF.

According to Rosiny (2014, pp. 4-5), on June 9, 2014, ISIS began an invasion against Iraq through which it quickly gained control of a number of cities, including Mosul, as well as areas of the cities of Diyala, Anbar, Salahuddin, and Kirkuk. The Iraqi army and security forces were not ready to confront them. Consequently, ISIS perpetrated several atrocities, leading to the killing of thousands of citizens. Under the direction of Abu Baker al-Baghdadi, who was declared as the new caliph on June 29, 2014, all of these crimes were committed (ibid.). ISIS had spread rapidly in Iraq that it was threatening to advance into cities like Baghdad, Karbala, and Najaf (Khalil, 2017, p. 15). Actually, both the Iraqi government and Shia Muslims across the world place importance on these cities, especially Karbala (the holy city of the Shia Muslims). As Alaca (2021, p. 1) points out, Grand Ayatollah Ali Al Sistani, the most influential Shia cleric in Iraq, issued a fatwa on June 13, 2014, a religious edict of the highest rank, declaring the following in response to this danger, as Alaca (2021, p. 1) notes: "Citizens who are able to bear arms and fight terrorists, defending their country and their people and their holy places, should volunteer and join the security forces to achieve this holy purpose" (Morris, 2014). According to Khalil (2017), "[the] response to the fatwa was both immediate and enormous; hundreds of thousands of volunteers rushed to sign up," irrespective of whether or not they have any military training (p. 2). The first results of ISIS' presence in Iraq were the fatwa and the volunteers' quick response to it; the establishment of the PMF followed. Iraqis of different faiths, including Muslims, Christians, and Yezidis offered to serve in the army in response to the fatwa (Khalil, 2017). Al Jbour

(2021) points out that "until 2018, "the PMF contained 67 Shi'ite factions, 43 Sunni factions, and 9 factions representing minorities in southern Iraq and the Kurdistan region." (p. 20).

Most of Iraqi Shia organizations which were linked to Iran and Hezbollah, joined these untrained forces and offered to fight against ISIS (Khalil, 2017). Together, these volunteers created the PMF, an umbrella organization in Iraq that combines around many armed groups with varying ethnic, religious, and tribal origins for the aim of battling ISIS. (US Department of State, 2017). On the basis that the PMF is no longer necessary in light of the victory over IS, some voices have also urged for its total dissolution. In fact, these voices have urged Ayatollah Al-Sistani, to declare the PMF's mission complete. Al-Sistani replied to these appeals and emphasized the necessity of integrating the popular mobilization forces into the Iraqi military and security institutions in one of the Friday sermons in mid-December 2017.

The 67 Shi'ite factions can be broken down into the following groups based on their jurisprudential and doctrinal orientation: "44 factions following Ali Khamenei, 17 factions following Ali al-Sistani, and six factions following another Shi'ite marja' either in Iraq or elsewhere, which are covered by the Law number 40 of 2016." Their administrative framework is based on the Diwani directives that were issued in Iraq 28 in 2019 (Al Jbour, 2021, p. 19).

2.8 Previous Studies

This section provides an overview of the previous studies on media discourse. Media discourse has been studied and discussed in the field of CDA in general, but to the best of the researcher's knowledge, "the representation of popular mobilisation forces" has never been undertaken and addressed as a master thesis or a doctorate dissertation in the domain of CDA. So, the current work attempts to bridge the gap in this area.

Study 1

Title: South Korean Media Representation of Yemeni Refugees

By: Raith Zeher Abid   **Date**: 2020

This study looks at how a few Yemeni refugees who arrived to South Korea are portrayed in the online news reports of the country. Seventy three articles are selected from five Korean English news outlets. The data analysis includes both the conceptual metaphor theory and the representation of social actor theory. The analysis's findings show that the South Korean media unfairly portrays these Yemeni refugees. Their survival is threatened by the media's continued coverage of these organizations in such a negative light; the media is widely renowned for its ability to shape public opinion.

Study 2

Title: *The Representation of ISIS in The American Newspapers in terms of Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Approach: A Critical Discourse Analysis*

By: Mustafa Abdulsahib Abdulkareem   **Date:** 2017

This study has been concerned with "the image of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the New York Times (NYT)" to investigate how it linguistically reflects this movement by revealing relevant underlying ideologies.

It has contained more than one objective that contributed to the overall purpose: (1) revealing the NYT's depiction of ISIS, (2) highlighting the specific ways in which ISIS manifests itself in the selected data, (3) exposing the NYT's ideological stance toward ISIS, and (4) answering the question, "Is ISIS represented in the NYT in a special way?" "If so, does this style of representation show ISIS in a negative way or not?"

This study has analyzed the selected dataset qualitatively adopting van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Approach. The analysis has displayed that the NYT represented ISIS as an active, dynamic social actor. Additionally, ISIS is portrayed as a powerful social actor, and therefore, by the negative-other representation strategy.

Study 3

Title: *The Representation of American and Iranian Minority Groups in Iranian and American Online Media News Reports Respectively: A Critical Discourse Analysis*

By: Hawraa Farhan Mohammed Jawad   **Date**: 2020

This study has examined a minority's depiction in media news like online news and daily newspapers. It has been concerned with "Iranian minority representation by American online media news and American minority representation by Iranian media news" via the lens of critical discourse analysis. For American samples, the study critically examines news reports from three newspapers (the New York Times, USA Today, and the Washington Post) and one satellite channel (Fox News). Conversely, the analysis is based on three Iranian newspapers (Tehran Times, Financial Tribune and Kayhan) and a satellite channel (Press TV).

Its primary aims are as follows: (1) examining the macro-strategies connected with minorities' representation in the selected data; (2) investigating the micro-strategies employed in the minorities' depiction in the selected news reports; (3) revealing the ideologies underlying the relevant data using the dichotomy of in-group and out-group; (4) identifying the most frequently used strategy in the minorities' depiction in each dataset; and (5) distinguishing the similarities and differences in minorities' representation in the two selected datasets.

This data is analysed using an eclectic model that incorporates three theories: Wodak and Reisigle's discursive strategies (2001), van Leeuwen's representation of social actor (2008), and Halliday's transitivity (1985).

After the analysis of the selected data, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the study demonstrated how both selected samples are very interested in condemning the OTHER whilst legitimating SELF. This study evidenced how minorities were portrayed as frustrated groups of people without addressing their basic life challenges. Both authorities are considered to be two poles of a magnet, separating SELF from OTHER. Despite their claims to be protectors of minority rights, the study revealed discriminatory and racist ideologies shared by the two media agencies.

Study 4

Title: *The Representation of Qassem Suleimani and Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis' Murder in American and Iranian News Reports: A Critical Discourse Analysis*

By: Manar Amir Salih Mahdi Al-Musawi   **Date**: 2021

From a critical discourse analysis perspective, this study has investigated the depiction of the event of murdering Qassem Suleimani; Iran's military mastermind, and Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis; the second-in command leader of the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) in Iraq in American and Iranian news reports.

The American and Iranian newspapers have different political ideological motivations in representing this event. The study aims at scrutinizing macro and micro strategies used in representing the event, unraveling hidden ideologies, explaining the role of quoting in the representation of the event. The study also examines how the main social actors, Suleimani and Al-Muhandis, are represented, basing on in-out group dichotomy. The last aim is to compare the

representation of the event between the two selected media agencies in light of the micro and macro categories.

The study aims to examine macro and micro strategies used in representing the event, reveal hidden ideologies, and explain the role of quoting in the depiction of the event. The research also aims at examining how the main social actors, Suleimani and Al-Muhandis, are portrayed using an in-out group dichotomy. The last goal is to compare the depiction of the event by the two selected datasets.

This data is analysed by using an eclectic model that includes Fariclough's lexicalization (1989), integrating with Fowler (1991), Fariclough's intertextuality (1992), van Leeuwen's social categories (2008), Halliday's transitivity (2004), and van Dijk's ideological square and discursive strategies (2000). The categories of these approaches are analysed based on three levels of analysis: micro, macro, and meso.

 After analysing the selected datasets qualitatively and quantitatively, this study concludes that: (1) similarities and differences concerning the representation of the event of killing Suleimani and Al-Muhandis have been existed in American and Iranian reports, (2) At the micro-level, overwording, activation, and material process outnumber the other categories, (3) underlying ideologies influence news reports and differently formulate topics and themes of the news reports, (4) The role of interrelated text in revealing underlying ideologies, representing the event, and enforcing objectivity is significant, and (5) Suleimani and Al-Muhandis are depicted as an application of the ideological square in response to various political ideological stances.

2.9 The Current Study

Title: *The Representation of Popular Mobilization Forces in British and Iranian News Reports: A Critical Discourse Analysis*

By: Zainab Ali Hussein Safi al-Yassiry   **Date**: 2022

The current study compares and contrasts the depiction of the Popular Mobilization Forces in the selected news reports of two opposing news agencies: British and Iranian, from a critical discourse analysis perspective.

The study aims at (1) highlighting different strategies used by both samples to represent PMF, (2) identifying the most and the least employed strategies by both samples to depict PMF, and (3) demonstrating the way BBC and Iranian News reports encode power and ideology in the context of PMF.

The collected data is analysed using an eclectic model whose categories are incepted at two levels of analysis; micro and macro. It includes Wodak and Reisigle's discursive strategies (2001), van Leeuwen's sociological categories of actor representation(2008), Halliday's transitivity (1985) at the micro level, and van Dijk's model of ideology and discursive strategies (2000) at the macro level.

After analysing the collected data qualitatively and quantitatively, the study has demonstrated how all macro and micro strategies adopted in the eclectic model are used by both samples, but with different percentages and, consequently, different ideological impulses. Moreover, the most and the least implemented strategies employed by both samples to depict the PMF are displayed. In addition, the ideological meanings conveyed by the selected news agencies to communicate PMF to the readers are identified. The analysis shows that the selected news agencies use similar categories in the depiction of Popular Mobilization Forces but with different ideological impulses.

It can be noticed that that the first two studies dealt with minority groups, those researchers are endeavour to investigate how the discourse of the majority group portrays these groups. The third deals with two famous people. The last one is close to the current study, but it is still different because it presents a study of the ISIS group on which there is an agreement that it is a terrorist group while concerning PMF, there is no agreement as it is a controversial group, some consider it a terrorist group others consider it a jihadist group.

2.10 Summary

This chapter provided a review of literature relevant to critical discourse analysis. Various concepts and theories linked to the scope of this research are discussed in detail. An overview of popular mobilisation forces was also accounted for. Finally, it reviewed previous studies related to the current study's area of investigation.

Chapter Three

Data Description and Model of Analysis

3.0 Introductory Remarks

An in-depth discussion of the research methodology used in this study is provided in this chapter. It discusses the major points linked to the research design of the present study, data collection and selection, and data selection criteria. In addition, an explanation of the analytical framework adopted for the selected samples' analysis is provided.

3.1 Research Design

Making a plan is essential for conducting research, which is defined by Mackey and Gass (2005, p. 1) as a "scholarly or scientific investigation or inquiry," in order to answer certain questions relevant to this study. This type of plan that covers anything from broad hypotheses to specific methods of data collection and analysis is called research design (Creswell, 2009, p. 3).

First of all, it is worth determining whether the data will be analyzed using a quantitative, qualitative, or mixed method. Fairclough (1992) states that qualitative research methods, along with mixed ones, are typically adopted in CDA. In addition, a small sample of texts is used in CDA to examine the discourse within the social, political, and historical contexts (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). This is because qualitative research only deals with a small amount of data while the range of investigation is significantly greater, and in mixed research, "quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, methods, approaches, or concepts are blended or combined into a single study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). Thus, in order to thoroughly examine both quantitative and qualitative research methods in a research study, the researcher employs mixed methods research to answer the research questions. As a result,

the quantitative design of the current study supports the qualitative analysis of the chosen sample.

3.2 Data Collection and Selection

Dealing with this topic of analysis, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences taken from the selected news reports will serve as the study's dataset. In this regard, the data under study is randomly elicited from four news agencies, two of which are British, namely: *BBC* and *Guardian*, and the other two ones are Iranian called *Tehran Times* and *Financial Tribune*. Samples of three news reports about Popular Mobilization Forces are selected from each one of the selected news agencies. Report numbers and titles of British and Iranian news reports are obtained in tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: British News Reports

Report No	Title of News Reports	Source	Date of Issue
1	"US embassy attack: Trump threatens Iran over violent protest in Iraq"	BBC	1 Jan. 2020
2	"Trump threatens Iran will pay 'a very big price' over US embassy protests in Baghdad"	Guardian	31 Dec. 2019
3	"Iraq paramilitary force blames US and Israel for mystery blasts"	BBC	21 Aug. 2019
4	"Iraqi militias grow in power as Iran's military strongman proves too weak"	Guardian	26 Jul. 2021
5	"At Iraq's election protest camp, militia supporters dig in"	BBC	12 Nov. 2021
6	"'A threat from within': Iraq and the rise of its militias"	Guardian	8 Oct. 2020

Table 2: Iranian News Reports

Report No	Title of News Reports	Source	Date of Issue
1	"Leader: U.S. taking revenge on Hashd al-Shaabi for Daesh"	Tehran Times	1 Jan. 2020
2	"Dozens Reported Killed in US Airstrike on Iraqi PMU"	Financial Tribune	8 Aug. 2017
3	"Iraqi parties, politicians condemn US airstrikes against multiple PMU positions"	Tehran Times	21 Aug. 2019
4	"Baghdad Protesters Storm US Embassy"	Financial Tribune	31 Dec. 2019
5	"The making of Iraq's Hashd"	Tehran Times	24 July 2022
6	"Abadi Defends Role of Iran-Backed Militias"	Financial Tribune	24 Oct. 2017

Some important information about the selected news agencies will be mentioned below:

1. BBC

The BBC is chosen as a communication medium that is particularly pertinent to the current study because of socio-cultural factors. It is the biggest mass media outlet in the UK, funded by the government but free from interference from the government. However, it must be acknowledged that, in accordance with the infamous words of Lord Reith, an outspoken supporter of public broadcasting who served as the BBC's first director and the founder of the conservative Reithian school of journalism, "if the BBC is for the people and the government is for the people, it follows that the BBC must be for the government" (Reith, 1952: as cited in Pascual, 2008, p. 73).

With roots dating back to the 1920s, the British Broadcasting Corporation, as the BBC was formerly known, stands as the voice institution of the United Kingdom's contemporary history.

The BBC has had a significant impact on the evolution of news on the Web since it can provide freely associated information about the network in the form of written text, still and moving photographs, audio, and video clips (Tai, 1999: as cited in Pascual, 2008, p. 75).

2. Guardian

The Guardian is a British daily newspaper that was created in 1821. It is a central part of the Guardian Media Group, which is possessed by the Scott Trust. The trust was established in 1936 in order to safeguard *The Guardian*'s financial and editorial independence for ever, as well as to protect *The Guardian*'s journalistic freedom and liberal values from commercial or political interference ("The Guardian," 2015). This newspaper has an online edition, which is The Guardian.com, and, therefore, two international sites, namely Guardian US and Guardian Australia. As of November 2014, it was the second most popular online newspaper in Britain, with over 17 million monthly readers; it now has over 21 million readers per month ("The Guardian," 2021).

3. Tehran Times

The Tehran Times (TT) is the first English-language daily newspaper published in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It was founded in 1979 to serve as the voice of the Islamic Revolution ("About Us" n.d. : para. 1). The state controls this daily newspaper ("BBC," June 2021).

After 41 years, the Tehran Times has now established itself as a significant outlet for Iranian news, drawing readers from over 80 different nations. The newspaper's workforce assembles from various sections of the Tehran metropolitan each day to showcase their work in 16 pages for sale the next day.

TT provides comments along with local, national, international, social, and sports news ("About Us," n.d. : para. 2).

The Tehran Times, according to Ayatollah Beheshti, "must be a loud voice of the Islamic Revolution and the loudspeaker of the downtrodden people of the world. "It is not the newspaper of the government" (ibid., p. 1). In the words of Iranian-American Middle East expert Ray Takeyh, "TT has tight relations with the [Iranian] Foreign Ministry" (Wikipedia).

4) Financial Tribune

The Financial Tribune is an Iranian non-governmental newspaper that was founded in 2014. Its aim is to cover a wide range of political, economic, technological, and social stories in English language. Though it covers a wide range of issues, the newspaper's primary focus is on commerce, specifically news and views related to promoting private enterprise in the economy ("Al Monitor," 2014).

3.3 Selection Criteria

The criteria for selecting the news outlets of Britain and the Islamic Republic of Iran are demonstrated in the following:

1. It is known that there is a historical conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and EU countries. Britain is one of those countries that are considered opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The latter considers PMF as one of its main strengths in the region, while the European Union considers them a weak point that hinders its goals in the region. From this competition between them, it is expected that the comparative study will be useful to prove their orientations through a scientific analysis.
2. There are political, religious, and cultural differences between both countries, which enhance the comparative study between them.

3. Since they are two countries that have wide influence on the whole world, it is useful to discuss and compare their political and ideological orientations regarding the Popular Mobilization Forces.

4. Different strategies are used by British and Iranian news agencies to represent PMF. It is intended that the comparative study will cover such strategies alongside the ideologies conveyed to depict PMF to their readers.

3.4 The Eclectic Model of Analysis

CDA is typically seen as a loose amalgamation of very unique and varied approaches. In addition, it can be argued that critical discourse analysis does involve an interdisciplinary study (van Dijk, 2006, p. 252). Wodak and Mayer (2009, p. 7) confirm Dijk's observation, saying that CDA emphasizes the need for multidisciplinary research in order to properly comprehend how language acts in constituting and disseminating knowledge in organizing social organizations.

Accordingly, to analyse the news discourse in questions, the researcher utilises van Dijk's (2000) ideological square (in-group vs. out-group's ideology), and his theory of themes. Reisigle and Wodak's discursive strategy (2001), van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of the social actor and Halliday's transitivity (1985).

Linguistic analysis consists of micro- and macro-levels of analysis. Micro-level analysis includes Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) referential strategy, predicational strategy, argumentation strategy, and perspectivation strategy. Van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of discourse are integrated with Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) referential and predicational strategies as both represent social actors. Halliday's process types (1985) are integrated into van Leeuwen's activation and passivation category (2008). Moreover, free direct speech and

reported speech are embedded in perspectivation strategies. Conversely, at the macro-level analysis, van Dijk's strategy of self-positive representation (Us) or in-group preference and the negative other representation (Them) strategy are identified and analysed, and thematic analysis is provided as well.

3.4.1 Reisigle and Wodak's (2001) Discursive Strategies

In Wodak's (2001) DHA, the three steps that operationalize discourse analysis are: identifying the general topics of discourse; examining the discursive strategies employed to legitimize the discourse under study; and assessing the pertinent context in which discourses are embedded (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 33). The data analysis for this study is based on the discursive strategies proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). Wodak (2009, pp. 40–42) argues that these strategies demonstrate the classification of in-groups and out-groups as well as the process of the discursive formation of social identities by attaching positive or negative labels to certain actors. Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 44) view a strategy as a plan of practices, including discursive practices, established to attain a specific social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal. The discursive constructions of "us" and "them" are the fundamental tenets of discourses of identity and difference (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 73). Reisigl and Wodak (2001, pp. 44-46) differentiate five distinct strategies. Referential strategy (nomination strategy), predicational strategy, argumentation strategy, and perspectivation strategy are used for the analysis in the present study, as explained below.

1. *Referential Strategy (Nomination Strategy)*

There are numerous words that can be used to accurately describe an event or a person, but they do not all have the same meaning (connoted or denoted; also, referential meaning and indexical or social meaning). That is, identifying words or nouns are frequently employed to create an "us vs. them" construction. These

naming options are referred to as text's "referential strategies" by Reisgel and Wodak (2001, cited in Richardson 2007, p. 49), who also note that choosing to describe or categorize an individual or group in a particular way "can serve many different psychological, social, or political purposes."

In the current study, van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of genericisation, specification, assimilation, and identification are integrated with referential strategy, which one uses to construct and represent social actors positively or negatively. As with:

E.G: *"The Fatah alliance representing Iran-backed Shia Muslim militias, say they do not trust the results. Perhaps Fatah's loss of two-thirds of its seats this time round is motivating that view.*" (BBC)

E.G: *"Fatah Alliance, a political coalition in Iraq also reacted to the US aggression, stressing that there is no solution except the withdrawal of foreign forces from Iraq."* (Tehran Times)

2. *Predicational Strategy*

Assigning characteristics to a word or noun phrase with the intention of influencing the value judgments made about that social actor or event is known as "prediction." A predictional strategy can be used to impart desirable or undesirable attributes, as well as to criticize or undermine, just as it can be used to support or complement. This strategy tries to describe social actors more or less negatively or positively. It incorporates the categories of activation and passivation proposed by van Leeuwen, from which Halliday's process types are branched (Reisigl & Wodak , 2001, p. 54). As with:

E.G: *"The US defence department said the militia had a "strong linkage" with Iran's Quds Force, the overseas operations arm of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC), and had "repeatedly received lethal aid and other support from Iran."* (BBC)

E.G: *"the PMU is widely remembered for coming to Iraq's rescue during its dark hour and with the blood of many martyrs helped save the country, region, and world from Daesh terrorism."* (Tehran Times)

3. *Perspectivation Strategy*

This strategy, according to Wodak (2003, p. 140), is the means by which discourse producers express their involvement and detachment from the discourse through a range of techniques, including reporting, describing, narrating, and quoting sentences. In the present study, this can be accomplished through free direct speech and reported speech with direct and indirect quotations (Reisigle & Wodak, 2009, p. 104), as with:

E.G: *"Since his death, the pro-Sistani factions have detached themselves from the Hashed leadership, which they now perceive as unacceptably aligned with Iranian interests rather than their own."* (Guardian)

E.G: *"Abadi said PMF "is part of the Iraqi institutions," rejecting accusations that it is acting as an Iranian proxy, Reuters reported."* (Financial Tribune)

4. *Argumentation Strategy*

Some structures are used to unravel the legitimation or justification of discursive events, such as topos. Topoi, as parts of argumentation strategy, deals with pretexts that are either explicitly or implicitly alleged to justify the misdeeds in terms of obligation. In other words, they are the 'conclusion rules' that link the argument to the conclusion, the claim. As such, justification of such transition from the argument to the conclusion is given (Kienpointner 1992, p. 194). In the selected data, topos of challenge, topos of constructing a hero, and that of threat will be investigated.

3.4.2 Van Leeuwen's (2008) Sociological Categories

By using socio-semantic categories rather than grammatical categories, van Leeuwen's (2008) principle allows researchers to articulate the function of social actors in the text. For him, social actors are people who are portrayed as participants and can either be subjects (agents) or objects (goals) in the clause (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 133). Hence, an actor is depicted as a specific person or as a particular type of person that is present in a dialogue (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6). In this framework, social actors might be ideologically excluded or included. The following categories can be used to realize them: genericization, specification, assimilation, association, dissociation, intertermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, functionalization, identification, and overdetermination. The corpora make use of the following categories:

1. *Genericization*

In the depiction of social actors, it is a significant category. When social actors are portrayed as a group of individuals (generalized), this category is achieved (ibid., p. 22). It is possible to achieve this by using the plural without an article, as in "militiamen," in the sentence "*The murder of scholar and government adviser Hisham al-Hashimi by militiamen in July 2020 shocked the country*," and the singular with a definite or indefinite article, as in "*the connection between the IRGC and the PMF is rooted in the sacred religion of Islam, regardless of geographical boundaries.*" (ibid., p. 36).

2. *Specification*

Specification, as opposed to genericization, is concerned with social actors who are shown as distinct individuals (specified). In this study, specification will be signified via proper nouns, as with the sentence "*Ayatollah Ali Khamenei strongly condemned the US attack on Kataib Hezbollah.*" in which "*Ali Khamenei*" and "*Kataib Hezbollah*" are specifically signified (ibid., p. 36).

3. *Assimilation*

This category concerns the examination of whether social actors are represented as individuals or groups. Overall, assimilation is realized through plurality (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37). Aggregation and collectivisation are two types of assimilation adopted in this study. The former quantifies groups of people by using statistics, such as "*few*" as an indefinite quantifier and *"three million"* as a definite quantifier in the sentence "*Over the next few days and weeks, an estimated three million people registered to volunteer,*" while the latter collectivises social actors by collective nouns, such as " *militia* " in the sentence "Qais al-Khazali, the leader of the Iranian-backed Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq *militia*, and many other senior *militia* leaders were among the demonstrators" (ibid.).

4. *Identification*

Identification takes place when a social actor is defined in terms of what it is rather than what it does. It comes in three types: (1) classification in which social actors are indicated in terms of ethnicity, race, religion, class, age, and so forth; (2) relational identification, which occurs when social actors are identified in terms of their kinship, work relations, and so forth; and (3) physical identification, in which social actors are identified in terms of their bodily characteristics such as eye colour, hair colour, height, etc. (Abid, 2020, p. 93). As with "*the young recruits were joined by veteran Shia fighters such as Abu Hashem, who fought against Saddam Hussein in the 1980s and 1990s under the command of Muhandis,*" in which PMFs are classified by their age and religion.

5. *Activation/Passivation:*

The active and passive tenses, as well as transitivity structures, are significant in the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 32).

Qanitat (2015) maintains that social actors who are characterized as the dynamic, active factors in an activity are said to be activated. According to van

Leeuwen (2008, p. 31), an activation strategy takes place when social actors are positioned as the dynamic, active factors in an activity. The activation approach used in the sentence was intended to highlight and clearly demonstrate the social actor to the readers. For instance, *"US forces"* in the sentence: *"US forces had brought four Israeli drones into the country to target its positions."*

Passivation, on the other hand, is used when the social actors are depicted as "undergoing" the action or as "at the receiving end of it," as in the sentence, "*the Fatwa for Jihad in Islam can only be used when a nation and its people are under attack*" (Qanitat, 2015, p. 19). Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 33-4) points out that Passivation can be divided into two types: subjection and beneficialisation. The former treats a passive social actor as a representational objective, whereas the latter benefits either favorably or unfavorably from an activity.

According to van Lueeuwen (2008), transitivity structures can be used to represent social actors in active and passive positions.

3.4.3 Halliday's (2004) Transitivity

Halliday (1985, p. 101) defines transitivity in his book *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* as follows: "A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them. …Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of "goings-on": of doing, happening, feeling, being. These goings-on are sorted out in the semantic system of language, and expressed through the grammar of the clause… This… is the system of transitivity." Transitivity describes certain process types recognized in the language and the expression structures for them.

In a like manner, transitivity is described by Simpson (1993, p. 88) as a broad term for the way a clause's meaning is expressed. Kress (1976, p. 169) certifies Simpson's description, indicating that transitivity is a representation in language

processing. Hasan (1988, p. 63) also supports Simpson's and Kress's as he shows that transitivity is concerned with the coding of events, including who does what in connection to whom, what, where, when, how, and why; this is also at the heart of transitivity. Hence, the analysis is framed in terms of a particular process, its participants, and the relevant context—participant configuration.

The idea that reality is composed of processes is a key component of transitivity. According to Halliday (1994, p. 101), transitivity describes six different process types that are understood to be language-based and expressed by grammatical forms. The three primary processes in the English transitivity system that Halliday initially categorizes are material, mental, and relational. The grammatical categories of mental and material processes correspond to inner and outward experience. In order to "relate one fragment of experience to another; here the language recognizes processes of a third sort, those of classifying and identifying," Halliday introduced the relational process as the third component (ibid., p. 107). Additionally, existential, verbal, and behavioral processes are described by him (Halliday, 2004). These processes will be illustrated and exemplified below.

1. *Material Processes: Processes of Doing*

Halliday (2004, p. 179) points out that "a material clause interprets a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy." He adds that "material clauses frame figures of 'doing and happening,'" (ibid.). Halliday (1985, p. 103) explains that they convey "the sense that some entity "does" something that may be "to" some other entity." According to him (1994, p. 110), the participants in material processes are the actor and the goal. The goal is the "affected participant," whereas an actor is the person who performs an action. In terms of semantics, "material processes" refer to actions, occurrences, or experiences that take place in the physical realm of humans

(Saragih, 2010, p. 7). As with the actor "Fred," the material "cut" and the goal "the lawn" are in the sentence "Fred cut the lawn."

2. *Mental Processes: Processes of Sensing*

Mental clauses, in the words of Halliday (2004), "are concerned with our perception of the world within our own consciousness" (p. 197). According to him (ibid.), these procedures could be used to depict intangible acts and occurrences. This type denotes the processes of "affection," "perception," and "cognition," which are what Halliday refers to as "feeling," "thinking," and "seeing," respectively (Saragih, 2010, p. 7). These processes are recognized by verbs such as "feel," "want," "like," "hate," "know," "believe," "fear," "see," etc. Mental processes are connected to psychological issues that are internal to people or aware beings, in contrast to physical processes. In these processes, there are two participants: the senser and the phenomenon, as with the senser "David," the mental "saw," and the phenomenon "Rosemary" in the sentence "David Saw Rosemary."

3. *Relational processes: Processes of Being*

The third type of process that interprets the relationships of "being" and "having" between two entities is the relational clause. Relational clauses "help to characterize and to identify," (Halliday, 2004, p. 210). They do not imply that one player has any influence over the other, but rather that there is a relationship between the carrier or identifier and the attribute or identified (Simpson, 1993, p.91). The verb "be," whether in the simple present or past, realizes the relational clause. So, rather than being a process of doing or sensing, it is a process of being. As with the carrier "this view," the relational "is" and the attribute "magnificent" in the sentence "This view is magnificent."

4. *Verbal processes: Processes of Saying*

According to Saragih (2010, p. 8), verbal processes display information-related actions. These processes specifically entail saying, commanding, asking for, and providing. Their clauses are a valuable tool in many different types of conversations. Halliday (2004, p. 252) states that "verbal clauses in news reporting allow reporters to impute or assign information to sources, including officials, experts, and eye witnesses." The speaker, the verbal, and the receiver are all involved in these processes as with the sayer "Jane," the verbal "asked" and the receiver "her sister" in the sentence "Jane asked her sister to clean the rug."

5. *Behavioural processes: Processes of Behaviour*

These processes are concerned with human psychological and physiological behavior, such as breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming, and looking, and are described by Halliday (1994, p. 139) as "behavioral clauses." Such behaviors as breathing, dreaming, snoring, grinning, hiccupping, staring, observing, listening, and reflecting are examples of behavioral processes (Gerot & Wignel, 1994, p. 60). Since these activities resemble both material and mental processes in different ways, they are regarded as being in a gray area between the two. They normally have one participant, known as the "behaver," who is usually a conscious one, similar to how "The King" operates and how "frowns" acts in the sentence "The King frowns."

6. *Existential processes: Processes of Existence*

Hancock (2005, p. 240) defines an existential process as a sentence that asserts an entity's existence without putting any extra conditions on it. Existence is the only participant used in this process, which uses the *there is/are* sequences. An existent may be realized by an event, an entity, or an action. Similar to how "there is" is the existential and "a shooting star phenomenon" is the existing in the sentence "there is a shooting star phenomenon tonight."

3.4.4 Van Dijk's (2000) Socio-Cognitive Model

1. Ideological Analysis

The eclectic model adopted in the current study is also based on van Dijk's (1998) ideological square (cognition), which is employed as a main analytical framework. He describes it as "a polarization of US and THEM through which the positive and negative features of in-group (US) and out-group (THEM) are (de)emphasized." That is, all aspects of a text's linguistic structure reflect the polarization between US and THEM, which can be seen as one of the following overarching strategies:

- Emphasize "Our" good things. (Exaggerate in self's positive features/actions)
- Emphasize "Their" bad things. (Exaggerate in other's negative features/actions)
- De-emphasize "Our" bad things. (Extenuate self's bad features/actions)
- De-emphasize "Their" good things. (Extenuate other's positive features/actions) (van Dijk, 2005, p.734).

These four principles are adopted in the current study to analyse the selected data macro-linguistically.

2. Thematic Analysis

Macrostructures are "the general issues or themes of a text" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 13). Thematic analysis is concerned with identifying themes as meaningful categories provided in a sample of data (Fulcher, 2010, p. 5). In a like manner, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) describe it as a technique for finding, analyzing, and reporting patterns of themes within data. According to van Dijk (1991, pp. 71–72), it's crucial to consider the major issue or theme while analyzing a news discourse. A theme is a collection of related categories with a common meaning

that typically appears during the inductive analytical process that is the hallmark of the qualitative paradigm.

3.4.5 Theoretical Framework

It is required to map the schema onto which these models can be combined, presenting them as one eclectic model after illuminating each model independently. Thus, the model of analysis can be sketched in figure (1) below.

Figure 1: The Theoretical Framework of the Study

Theoretical Framework

Micro analysis

Macro analysis

Referential Strategy

- Genericisation
- Specification
- Assimilation
  - Collectivization
  - Aggregation
- Identification

Theme

Predication Strategy — Activation/Passivation

- Material processes
- Mental processes
- Relational processes
- Verbal processes
- Behavioural processes
- Existential processes

Ideological Square

in-group vs. out-group's ideology

Argumentation Strategy — Topoi

Perspectivation Strategy — Direct/Indirect Speech

The figure above illustrates the two forms of analysis that are used in this study. First, the micro-analysis encompasses both an analysis of the microstructures and the formulation of the semantic macrostructure of the entire news items (syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical). Second, a macro-level ideological analysis is conducted to uncover the ideology of the news participants, including the British and Iranian news agencies, as well as the actors, patients, and people they consulted. The analysis procedure provides an additional explanation for this theoretical framework. The above framework's concepts will be examined, reported on, and given recommendations.

3.5 Summary

The chapter discussed the methodology of this research. This included the main points related to the research design, data collection and selection, and data selection criteria. It also presented theories pertinent to the study's area of investigation, opening the door to developing the study's theoretical framework. The chapter clarified that Wodak and Reisigle's discursive strategies (2001), van Leeuwen's sociological categories of actor representation (2008), and Halliday's transitivity (2004), on the one hand, are the primary analytical approaches that the researcher will employ at the micro level to analyse the manner popular mobilisation forces are depicted in the online news reports of the two selected opposing news agencies. On the other hand, van Dijk's (1998) ideological square theory will be adopted at the macro level to bring to light the discursive strategies that the selected news agencies use to accentuate the construction of "self" and "other." Similarly, his theory of theme will also be adopted at the same level. At the end of this chapter, the study's applied figure was provided.

Chapter Four
Data Analysis and Discussion

4.0 Introductory Remarks

In this chapter, the researcher introduces the analysis of the data of 12 selected news reports at the macro and micro levels, adopting Reisigle and Wodak's discursive strategies (2001), van Leeuwen's sociological categories of actor representation (2008), Halliday's transitivity (2004), and van Dijk's ideological square and themes (2000). The first six news reports are selected from British media outlets called "BBC" and "Guardian"; the other six are from Iranian media outlets, namely: "Tehran Times" and "Financial Tribune." Ideological analysis is used at both levels of analysis, while thematic analysis is limited to the macro level. The results of the analysis of these news reports will be presented.

4.1 Micro-Level Analysis

The selected news reports will be micro-linguistically analysed in the following sections.

4.1.1 Referential Strategy

The speaker's attempt to divide social actors into in-group and out-group is the main focus of this strategy. Representing social actors in these news reports is done by employing a variety of categories and linguistic choices as part of the referential strategy, which are genericisation, specification, assimilation, and identification, as shown in the following sub-sections.

1. Genericization

Genericization as a crucial category used by both samples in depicting PMF is qualitatively analysed in the following:

- **Genericization in British news reports**

Extract (1): *"They are members of the paramilitary Popular Mobilisation Forces, an umbrella group of mainly Shia militias that set up the Fatah alliance."* (BBC)

Extract (2): *"Muhandis would go on to become the key leader of the Shia militia umbrella organization, the Popular Mobilisation Forces, known as the Hashed al-Shaabi, or the Hashed."* (Guardian)

In genericisation, social actors are generally mentioned, as shown in the aforementioned extracts. This category is employed by nouns with definite and indefinite articles. In the first instance, generic reference is used to refer to the PMF-affiliated "he Fatah alliance" (singular with definite article). In terms of ideology, BBC in (1) represents PMF with only two labels: "Popular Mobilisation Forces" and "Shia militias." The former is the official label, whereas the latter, which is extensively used by BBC, portrays PMF negatively as a collection of militias operating within a single ideological framework. Guardian, on the other hand, employs a variety of generic references to refer to various social actors, as evidenced by (2), where the proper nouns "the Shia militia umbrella organization," "the Hashed al-Shaabi," and "the Hashed" are represented by the singular with definite article. All the PMF's labels are given in this instance, but the Guardian's ideological stance may be manifested in its starting with the label of *Shia militia*.

- **Genericization in Iranian news reports**

Extract (3): *"The PMU is widely remembered for coming to Iraq's rescue during its dark hour and with the blood of many martyrs helped save the country, region, and world from Daesh terrorism.*" (Tehran Times)

Extract (4): *"Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi defended the role of Iran-backed militias at a meeting with US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson in Baghdad on Monday."* (Financial Tribune)

This category is symbolized in (3) via the generic reference "the PMU" as a singular entity with an article. In terms of ideology, the reporter compares the period of time in which the evilness and the carnage that ISIS's recruiters have brought to Iraq to a metaphor of "dark hour." In this extract, the reporter also uses the word "*blood"* metaphorically to emphasize the efforts and sacrifices made by the PMF in order to stop ISIS invasion of Iraq. Thus, this instance emphasizes the positive in-group actions as well as the negative out-group ones. While in (4), it is realized through the phrase *"Iran-backed militias*" as a plural without an article. The use of this label by an Iranian news agency helps avoid bias in reporting news, but its ideological impulses can be manifested in this extract as it is a positive representation of PMF.

2. Specification

In this study, specification is indicated by proper nouns used by both samples, as illustrated and analyzed below:

- **Specification in British news reports**

Extract (5): *"It has also listed Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis as a "specially designated global terrorist".* (BBC)

Extract (6): *"Muhandis would go on to become the key leader of the Shia militia umbrella organisation the Popular Mobilisation Forces, known as the Hashed al-Shaabi, or the Hashed.*" (Guardian)

In extract (5), the use of the proper name "Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis," a PMF deputy leader, signifies specification. Being referred to as "Abu," meaning "father" in Arabic, and using it as a colloquial term are seen as being a part of Iraqi culture. "Al-Muhandis" is respectfully added *by which formal nomination* is realized. As the PMF's leader, "Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis" is portrayed negatively by BBC as a global terrorist. Muhandis, in extract (6), is respectfully specified by formal nomination via mentioning his last name. Guardian also portrays him negatively as the leader of a militia group.

- **Specification in Iranian news reports**

Extract (7): *"The brave efforts of commanders like Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis and Qassem Soleimani helped end Daesh's rule which brought an end to further terror attacks in the West*." (Tehran Times)

Extract (8): *"Tillerson visited Iraq a day after a rare joint meeting with Abadi and Saudi King Salman in Riyadh*." (Financial Tribune)

Specific reference represents the proper nouns of certain social actors in the extracts mentioned above. Many individuals from different ranks and backgrounds have been nominated in Tehran Times reports such as "Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis" and "Qassem Soleimani" who are specified by their names in extract (7). The ideological stance will be enhanced by a deeper investigation of those actors. Their names are formally recognized for the sake of showing their respect for them throughout the texts. *Daesh* is the most frequently used proper noun by Iranian news reports to signify ISIS as out group. For these reasons, a clear positive depiction of the two PMF's leaders as in group and a negative depiction of ISIS as out group can be noticed in this instance based on ideological stance. In (8), Tillerson, Abadi, and Salman, as proper nouns, are specified by Financial Tribune; they are impartially represented.

3. Collectivization

As a type of assimilation, collectivization will be exemplified and analysed below:

- **Collectivization in British news reports**

Extract (9): *"The US has designated one of the militias in the Popular Mobilisation, Kataiib Hezbollah (Hezbollah Brigades), as a terrorist organisation."* (BBC)

Extract (10): *"This group of loyalist factions (Kata'ib Hezbollah and Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq) sent aligned MPs to Iraq's parliament, and they have become in effect a militia with their own political wing."* (Guardian)

PMF is collectivised by employing nominals such as "Hezbollah Brigades" in (9). A clear PMF's negative representation can be seen in this extract by describing Kataiib Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. The same group is also collectivized by Guardian, utilizing nominals such as loyalist factions. Ideologically, the noun "militias" is utilized to portray certain groups (PMFs) as "groups of mercenaries" who work as illegal agents controlled by another country (the Islamic Republic of Iran).

- **Collectivization in Iranian news reports**

Extract (11): *"The spokesman of Kata'ib Hezbollah called the US attack on the headquarters of Hashd al-Sha'abi in line with its efforts to undermine the legitimate resistance of the Iraqi people to the American occupiers, stressing that the United States is seeking to bolster its presence in Iraq by all means."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (12): *"US planes bombed fighters of the Sayyed al-Shuhada unit. The wounded have been taken to hospitals in Iraq for treatment."* (Financial Tribune)

Because they share the same ideology and close issues, the aforementioned labels of some groups belong to PMF. Tehran Times collectivises PMF via the use of nominals like *Kata'ib Hezbollah* in (11). In a like manner, Financial Tribune collectivises PMF by using nominals such as *Sayyed al-Shuhada unit* in (12). Thus, they are collectivized as groups in specific references; collectivization category is implicated. In the light of ideology group, this instance also highlights the differences between the in-group member (PMF) and the out-group one (U.S.).

4. Aggregation

This category will be qualitatively investigated below. The investigation is elaborated by examples.

- **Aggregation in British news reports**

Extract (13): *"Perhaps Fatah's loss of two-thirds of its seats this time round is motivating that view. When I mention the fact that hundreds of international observers from the UN and EU were sent to Iraq to try to ensure the integrity of the poll, they still insist it was not fair."* (BBC)

Extract (14): *"Tens of thousands of mostly young men from the poor Shia south and Baghdad suburbs flocked to recruiting centres, military camps and militia headquarters."* (Guardian)

Typically, reporters tend to use this category repeatedly in order to build credibility with readers. Whether the data is accurate or not, readers view news as more credible if it contains more statistics, which are commonly used by all the selected news agencies. In (13), BBC aggregates Fatah's seats that are lost via the use of the quantifier "two-thirds." In the light of ideology, PMF is negatively represented in this extract as they questioned the integrity of the Iraqi parliamentary election without providing any supporting evidence. Consequently, the reporter suggests that their loss in this election is the reason

behind their behaviour. The indefinite quantifier "hundreds" is also used in the same extract to aggregate the international observers of the election's integrity. PMF is also statistically represented by Guardian in extract (14) via the use of the quantifier "Tens of thousands." This extract can be ideologically compared with (15) in order for the manifested ideologies to be clearer.

- **Aggregation in Iranian news reports**

Extract (15): *"Over the next few days and weeks, an estimated three million people registered to volunteer. Another important man came onto the scene went by the name of Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (16): *" According to reports, 35 fighters were killed and 25 were injured in the airstrike on Monday night. PMU commanders are reportedly among the dead, Sputnik reported."* (Financial Tribune)

As a subcategory of assimilation, the aggregation category, which is found only in the form of statistics, is involved in the above references. In extract (15), the quantifiers "few" (indefinite) and "three million" (definite) are ideologically used to indicate how briefly a huge group of people gathered, who later established what is known as PMF. The cardinal number "three million" in this extract can be compared with the number "tens of thousands" used by Guardian in extract (14) to aggregate the number of PMF members who volunteer to stop the ISIS invasion of Iraq. As can be observed from (14) and (15), Guardian represents those people with an indefinite quantifier, which indicates their distance from PMF and their lack of information regarding such details, while Tehran Times uses a definite quantifier, which indicates their closeness to the group. Furthermore, based on their ideological stances, the number used by Tehran Times is higher than that used by Guardian. Similarly, in Financial Tribune, the definite quantifiers are used via cardinal numbers to signify PMF positively as victims.

5. Identification

Below are the selected extracts relevant to identification to be analysed in both samples.

- **Identification in British news reports**

Extract (17): *"They (PMF's tents) are filled with people laid out on blankets and grubby mattresses. Some sleep, some smoke shishas. All of them are waiting."* (BBC)

Extract (18): "*Excited to volunteer for the fight against Isis, they came with plastic shopping bags stuffed with clothes and little else. Many of the prospective fighters wore brightly coloured bermuda shorts, their mood as carefree and as boisterous as if they were going on a picnic.*" (Guardian)

In (17), PMF members are physically identified by describing their characteristics and the place in which they sit. In terms of ideology, this identification portrays PMF in a negative image. Guardian in (18) also identifies PMF but in a different way and in a different situation. It can be seen that, in this instance, PMF members are represented in a neutral way, which is why their ideological impulses cannot be identified.

- **Identification in Iranian news reports**

Extract (19): *"Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis had the charisma, and leadership skills and has been credited with making the PMU a reflection of Iraqi society."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (20): *"Iraq's Popular Mobilization Units, or Hashd al Sha'abi, comprise of some 100,000 fighters who are mostly Shia. They have played a vital role in anti-terrorist operations in Mosul and elsewhere."* (Financial Tribune)

Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis is identified by certain characteristics about him that include *charisma* and *leadership skills*. Based on political ideology, this leader of PMF is positively represented by Tehran Times.

In Financial Tribune, this category is concerned with religion, as it states that PMF is mostly formed by *Shia* who have stopped the ISIS invasion. Thus, it represents PMF positively, particularly Shia members, as heroes.

4.1.2 Predicational strategy

1. Activation

▪ **Activation in British news reports**

Extract (21): *"There were no plans to evacuate the embassy, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told Fox News. Ambassador Matthew Tueller was outside Iraq for a previously scheduled holiday and was reportedly returning to the embassy.*" (BBC)

Extract (22): *"They (PMFs) lit fires, battered down doors and threw bricks at bulletproof glass."* (Guardian)

Among Halliday's six processes, the above employed verbal, relational, and material processes respectively activate different actors who are "Secretary of State Mike Pompeo," "Ambassador Matthew Tueller," and "PMFs." In terms of ideology, the BBC's extract (21) ideologically contradicts what Financial Tribune says in (28). Moreover, PMF's bad acts are negatively accentuated in (22).

▪ **Activation in Iranian news reports**

Extract (23): *"Ayatollah al-Sistani's representative read out the Fatwa from the holy city of Karbala, which called on Iraqi men - capable of carrying arms - to volunteer in the fight against Daesh.*" (Tehran Times)

Extract (24): "*Earlier, hundreds of protesters gathered outside the embassy to protest US air attacks that killed 25 fighters from an Shia group in Iraq this week.*" (Financial Tribune)

Due to the dynamic forces of action, the sentences described above are active sentences. Various actors are mentioned by Iranian news reports, such as "Ayatollah al-Sistani's representative," "hundreds of protesters," and "the US air attacks" that are aforementioned. Their dynamic actions that indicate various processes can also be seen in (23) and (24). The verbal process is realized by the verbs "read out" (23). A material process, in which the actor is subtly referred to as an official, is also used in (24) realized by the material verbs gathering and killing. By looking more closely at those actors and their functions, the ideological standpoint will be reinforced. PMFs are portrayed in a positive image in (23) as they play a significant role in anti-terrorist operations in Iraq. Extract (24), on the other hand, portrays the United States negatively as criminal.

2. Passivation

■ **Passivation in British news reports**

Extract (25): "*The incident (US attacks on PMF bases), which was blamed by some on hot weather and poor storage, prompted the Iraqi government to order all such facilities to be moved outside cities and to ban unauthorised military flights over Iraq - including by the US-led coalition.*" (BBC)

Extract (26): "*Donald Trump has directly threatened Iran, saying it will pay a "very big price" for any US lives lost or facilities damaged in the wake of a mob attack on the American embassy in Baghdad.*" (Guardian)

In extract (25), a passive sentence is used through the dynamic force of passivity in which "the incident," as an object, is put in the subject form while the real subject, "some," which is accompanied by prepositional circumstantials

with "by," is mentioned later. In (26), the social actor "PMF," at the receiving end of the action, is passivized by using the material verbs "lost" and "damaged." As goals, "US lives" or "facilities" are foregrounded while the actor is hidden.

- **Passivation in Iranian news reports**

Extract (27): *"The Leader explained that Hashd al-Shaabi had crushed Daesh, which was created and backed by the Americans, in different areas."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (28): *"The US ambassador to Iraq and other staff were evacuated from the embassy."* (Financial Tribune)

Both types of passivation, "beneficialisation" and "subjection," are adopted in these news reports through different processes. Extract (27) is subjective, as it is impacted by the action rather than benefiting from it. Thus, the concentration is not on the doer of that action but rather on "Daesh" as an object and on the actions of creation and backing, which indicate a material process. "The Americans" are passivized as accompanied by the prepositional circumstantial "by." In terms of ideology, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's perspective on ISIS and America is discussed in this extract as he describes America negatively as a supporter and creature of terrorists. Likewise, in (28), "The US ambassador to Iraq and other staff" are subjected social actors who are represented as undergoing the action and, therefore, placed in the subject form, whereas the true subject (PMF) is hidden. It is ideologically worth comparing this example with the extract (21) in which BBC states that "ambassador Matthew Tueller was outside Iraq for a previously scheduled holiday and was reportedly returning to the embassy." Group ideology of both news agencies can be noticed from this comparison.

4.1.3 Argumentation Strategy

1. Topoi

This section will single out some extracts about topoi from both samples.

- **Topoi in British news reports**

Extract (29): " *The struggle against the Islamic State (IS) group obscured the basic geometry of the Iraqi government's position. It needed the US military presence to train and assist its forces. But its Shia government was closely allied with Tehran.*" (BBC)

Extract (30): *"Iran killed an American contractor, wounding many. We strongly responded, and always will,"* Trump tweeted. *"Now Iran is orchestrating an attack on the US embassy in Iraq. They will be held fully responsible."* (Guardian)

Through the topos of "constructing a hero," the ideological impulses can be inferred in (29), especially when it is compared with (31). In the first instance above, BBC reporter justifies American failure to provide Iraqi forces with assistance and training. Topoi of challenge is inferred in extract (29) wherein US attacks on PMF are justified by Iranian bad act as "it killed an American contractor and wounding many." Additionally, topoi of threat can be shown in Trump's tweet in which he says that Iran is planning to bomb the US embassy in Iraq so he frankly threatens it.

- **Topoi in Iranian news reports**

Extract (31): " *...Washington was refusing to deliver weapons in particular missiles that Baghdad had paid for and desperately needed to take out the terrorists before they advanced... Abu Mehdi al-Muhandis adds that they* (Iranian) *observed the front lines and "opened their weapons depots and provided us [military assistance] immediately, the military aid came in cars and then in planes. This generosity and courage was just in time."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (32): *"Earlier, hundreds of protesters gathered outside the embassy to protest US air attacks that killed 25 fighters from an Shia group in Iraq this week."* (Financial Tribune)

Topoi of "constructing a hero" and "challenge" are also inferred in the selected Iranian news reports. The former is shown in (31) as justifying the Iraqi forces' act of receiving military assistance from Iran not Washington. Topos of challenge can be inferred in (32) wherein PMF protests at the U.S. embassy are justified as a reaction to the U.S. attacks on PMF.

4.1.4 Perspectivation strategy

1. Reported Speech

This sub-section will single out the qualitative analysis of the reported speech used in both British and Iranian news reports.

- **Reported speech in British news reports**

Extract (33): *"In response, it (US) added, US forces conducted "precision defensive strikes" on Sunday against five facilities, including weapon stores and command and control locations, that would degrade its ability to conduct future attacks."* (BBC)

Extract (34): *"Iran killed an American contractor, wounding many. We strongly responded, and always will," Trump tweeted.* (Guardian)

The idea of various voices is directly evoked by the reporter, who builds the representation of social actors via a combination of different voices. The relative weight, frequency, and value of a verity of voices are useful in emphasizing certain ideas and supplying reference points for the interpretation of the facts. As is obvious above, extracts (33) and (34) display others' speeches, via which BBC deemphasizes the in-group bad act by justifying it as a reaction to what the out-group has done before, and, thus, the out-group bad act is emphasized. Those two groups are represented in a similar way by Guardian.

- **Reported speech in Iranian news reports**

Extract (35):" *"That guy has tweeted that we see Iran responsible for the events in Baghdad & we will respond to Iran. 1st: You can't do anything. 2nd: If you were logical —which you're not— you'd see that your crimes in Iraq, Afghanistan… have made nations hate you," @khamenei_ir tweeted.*" (Tehran Times)

Extract (36): *"The militias could not go home because "they are at home" already, he* (Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif) *said.*" (Financial Tribune)

Reported speech strategy also plays a vital role in delivering information in Iranian media discourse as the reporters incorporate reported speech from various sources into media discourse. This strategy is obvious from extracts (35) and (36) in which Ayatollah Khamenei's and Zarif's views are displayed. In Tehran Times, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei clarifies that Mr. Trump accuses and threatens Iran but can do nothing and describes him as a criminal and hated by several nations. In (36), Financial Tribune have explained Zarif 's view, which confirms that PMFs' home is Iraq and they are already at home, i.e., they are Iraqi, not Iranian, members, as others claim. Thus, de (emphasizing) the in-group and out-group actions principles are implicated.

2. Direct speech

This sub-section concerns the qualitative analysis of the free direct speech used in both samples.

- **Direct speech in British news reports**

Extract (37): *"Those who do speak say the election was rigged. My persistent questions about a lack of real evidence of fraud go largely unanswered."* (BBC)

Extract (38): "*In recent months, security guards have shot dead more than 450 people protesting against rampant government corruption and the growing influence of Iranian-backed groups, including Kata'ib Hezbollah.*" (Guardian)

Free direct speech is realized when the reporter tries to use his own utterances directly in the report without presenting another view point, as seen in the extracts above. In these news reports, direct speech has been used scantly in which the reporter attempts to convey an image of PMF. By reporting a straight statement from an eyewitness on their bad acts, the reporter is able to employ free direct speech to leave the reader with the option of accepting or rejecting the PMF representation with or without providing a convincing argument. Thus, the abovementioned extracts are considered to be free direct speech since they deliver the BBC reporters' speech directly without utilizing quotation marks or verbs of speech that indicate reported speech. In (37), BBC reporter has negatively portrayed Al- Fateh Allince. Similarly, in (38), *Iranian-backed groups (PMF)* have been negatively represented as murderers and corrupt. In the selected two extracts, reporters ideologically highlight the bads of out-group members' (the Iraqi Shia government (PMF) and ISIS).

- **Direct speech in Iranian news reports**

Extract (39): *"The embassy was evacuated as many angry Iraqi demonstrators gathered outside the gates of the compound to condemn Washington's attack."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (40): *"The recent airstrike is not the first time that US forces have bombed pro-government fighters in Iraq."* (Financial Tribune)

Free direct speech is also minimally employed by Iranian news agencies, as shown in the extracts above. BBC positively describes PMF members as Iraqi demonstrators that evacuated the American embassy, condemning their attacks on the PMF headquarters. Using the same strategy, extract (40) portrays the in-group positively via labeling PMF by pro-government fighters and emphasizing their persecution by Americans.

4.2 Macro-level Analysis

In this analytical level, the researcher adopts van Dijk's ideological square and themes that are discussed as displayed below. The discussion is elaborated by examples.

1. Ideological Square Analysis

Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square indicates a comparison between the employment of the ideological dichotomy of "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation" by the two selected samples, which reveals that there is a significant difference between the employment of the two.

- **Ideological Square analysis of British news reports**

Extract (41): *"The US said the militia had carried out repeated attacks on Iraqi bases that host US-led coalition forces fighting the Islamic State (IS) group."* (BBC)

Extract (42): *"Many of the protesters had come from funerals held in Baghdad for some of the dead militia fighters. They were carrying flags belonging to*

Kata'ib Hezbollah and to Hashd al-Shaabi (Popular Mobilization Forces), a powerful paramilitary group of which Kata'ib Hezbollah is a part." (Guardian)

In terms of van Dijk's ideological square, "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation" are highly employed in British news reports. As an in-group, the U.S. is presented positively as victims by emphasizing the persecution that they endure at the hands of PMF, which is negatively emphasized. Emphasizing the bad actions of the out- group strategy is adopted. Moreover, positive–self representation strategy is involved in emphasizing the good actions of the U.S. troops in Iraq as contributors to the fight against ISIS. De-emphasizing our bad actions strategy is manifested in the next extract in which the PMF's fighters who are killed by the U.S. are unfocused by Guardian.

- **Ideological Square analysis of Iranian news reports**

Extract (43): *"On Sunday, U.S. forces conducted drone strikes on a number of Kata'ib Hezbollah bases in Iraq's western Anbar province, killing at least 25 individuals and leaving another 51 injured, according to PMU."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (44): "*The PMU is a group of fighters that emerged after the birth of the self-styled Islamic State terror group in Iraq in 2014. In the early days of the IS terror campaign, the then-volunteer force played a major role in reinforcing the Iraqi army, which had suffered heavy setbacks in the face of lightning advances by the terrorists.*" (Financial Tribune)

As van Dijk put it, ideology permeates in these extracts in terms of US vs. THEM. Negative-other representation strategy is adopted via emphasizing the U.S. bads in carrying out a series of airstrikes against PMF, as in (43). Positive–self representation strategy is also involved in emphasizing our good actions in fighting ISIS in Iraq (44). Conversely, there is no mention of any good action

concerning the out-group. Thus, deemphasizing their good actions strategy is implicated.

2. Thematic Analysis

Dealing with the content or meaning of a text, themes as a macro discursive strategies are analysed based on the thematic level of analysis. Themes are discussed as displayed below:

▪ **Thematic Analysis of British news reports**

Extract (45): *"Trump threatens Iran will pay 'a very big price' over US embassy protests in Baghdad."* (BBC)

Extract (46): *"At least 25 fighters died in the US bombing of their bases on Sunday, which Washington said was a retaliation for the death of an American civilian worker killed during a rocket attack on an Iraqi military base."* (Guardian)

As is obvious in the above extracts that authority is the controlling theme in the British news reports. This theme is manifested by many actors represented in this sample, as "Trump," "Iran," and "the US" in the above two examples. Moreover, the theme of threat and danger is also employed here via Trump's threat to Iran for what the latter did before. Themes of revenge and killing are ideologically manifested and justified in (46). Authority, threat and danger, revenge, and killing are all themes that differentiate "us" from "them."

▪ **Thematic Analysis of Iranian news reports**

Extract (47): *"That guy has tweeted that we see Iran responsible for the events in Baghdad & we will respond to Iran. 1st: You can't do anything. 2nd: If you were logical —which you're not— you'd see that your crimes in Iraq, Afghanistan… have made nations hate you."* (Tehran Times)

Extract (48): *"The recent airstrike is not the first time that US forces have bombed pro-government fighters in Iraq. In October, an airstrike conducted by*

the US-led coalition in Iraq "most likely" killed around 20 pro-government Sunni tribal fighters south of Mosul, a defense official told AFP." (Financial Tribune)

In Iranian news reports, reporters employ several themes about various social actors. The theme of authority is one of control in the abovementioned extracts, as represented by the "pro-government fighters (PMF)," "Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Ali Khamenei," "US forces," and "U.S. President Trump." In Tehran Times, the theme of threat and danger is clearly shown in (47) via Trump's speech, highlighted by Khamenei, in which he threatens Iran; the same theme is also depicted in Khamenei's response. Further, the theme of revenge becomes clear throughout the speeches of U.S. President Trump and Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in this instance. In the second extract, Financial Tribune thematically uses that of killing, through which it confirms that American attacks on the PMF fighters in Iraq are repeated several times.

By employing themes, the selected Iranian news reports portray the Iraqi PMFs in a positive image as victims of American persecution that carried out multiple attacks against them. Thus, the U.S. is negatively represented as an out-group.

4.3 Discussion of Results

This section will single out the results of the quantitative analysis.

4.3.1 Micro-Level Analysis

Table 3: Frequencies and Percentages of Social Actors in Referential Strategy of British & Iranian data

Data		Genericization	Specification	Assimilation		Identification	Total
				Aggregation	Collectivization		
British	Fr.	41.069%	12.936%	15.195%	11.704%	19.096%	100%
	Pr.	200	63	74	57	93	487
Iranian	Fr.	52.050%	22.083%	13.250%	5.362%	7.255%	100%
	Pr.	165	70	42	17	23	317

The following Figure displays the Ratios of social actor occurrence in British and Iranian datasets.

Figure 2: The Ratios of Social Actors in Referential Strategy of British & Iranian reports
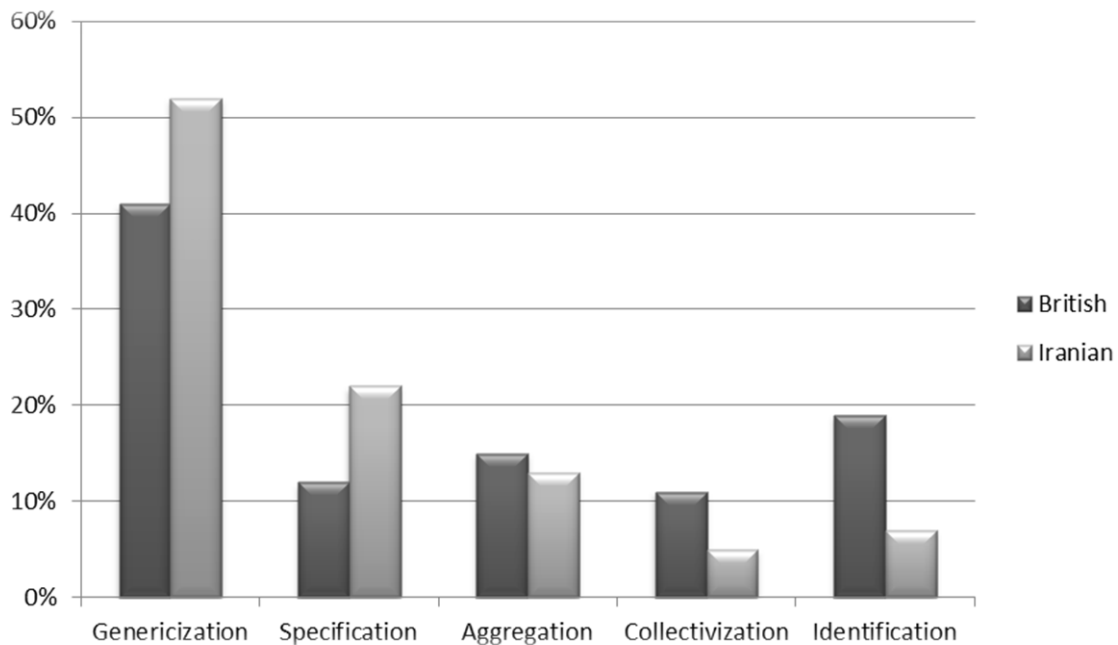
The above table and diagram exhibit the statistical analysis of van Leeuwen's sociological categories in terms of frequencies and percentages. Genericization, as a social category, has the highest frequencies and percentages in both collected samples, as it scores 41.069% and 52.050% in both British and Iranian news reports, respectively. The majority of these references deal with PMF negatively as a terrorist group in the British sample and positively as a jihadist group in the Iranian one, while others highlight other social actors related to PMF like the U.S. The next analysed category is specification as used in British news reports with the ratio of 12.936%, while in Iranian ones, it scores 22.083%. It can be noticed that specification is employed in Iranian news reports more than British ones, as the former ones mainly focus on many Iraqi and Iranian government figures and different individuals from various ranks. Most of them belong to the PMF, while others belong to the IRGC. Conversely, British news reports use this category sparingly as it deals with PMF as a whole, unlike the Iranian ones, which deal with them in greater depth. This signifies the Iranian closeness to PMF because it delves into details and the British distance from them since it deals with them superficially. Additionally, aggregation as a sub-category is used in the British sample with a ratio of 15.195%, while in the Iranian one, it records a ratio of 22.083%. Typically, reporters tend to use this category repeatedly in order to build credibility with readers. Whether the data is accurate or not, readers view news as more credible if it contains more statistics, which are more common in the British news reports. Thus, these news agencies, specifically British ones, also display that it takes a lot of time and effort to collect all these statistics from various sources, so the process of doing so is complicated. Collectivization, on the other hand, is employed with a percentage of 11.704% in the British sample, while in the Iranian one, it records a ratio of 5.362%. Noticeably, unlike the selected Iranian news agencies, British ones mostly employ collectivization since PMFs are collectivized by using nominals such as "militia," which is most frequently used by them as a label to

indicate PMF. Similarly, identification as the last examined category is used in British news reports with the percentage of 19.096%, while in Iranian ones, it scores 7.255%. It has been employed by British news reports more than it is in Iranian ones as it is in the former supremely associated with religion. Throughout the collected data, the PMF's sect, Shia; alongside ISIS's religion, Islam, are mainly related to negative depiction that create fear and danger. Conversely, PMF is called by Iranian news reports "Al Hashd al Shaabi" or "popular mobilization forces," while ISIS is mainly labeled as "Daesh."

Table 4: Frequencies and Percentages of Social Actors in Predicational Strategy of British and Iranian Data

Data		Activation/ In group	Activation/ Out group	Passivation/ In group	Passivation/ out group	Total
British	Fr.	223	170	12	70	475
	Pr.	46.947%	35.790%	2.527%	14.736%	100%
Iranian	Fr.	200	135	5	27	367
	Pr.	54.495%	36.784%	1.361%	7.360%	100%

The following Figure displays the Ratios of social actor occurrence in British and Iranian datasets.

Figure 3: The Ratios of Social Actors in Predicational Strategy of British and Iranian reports
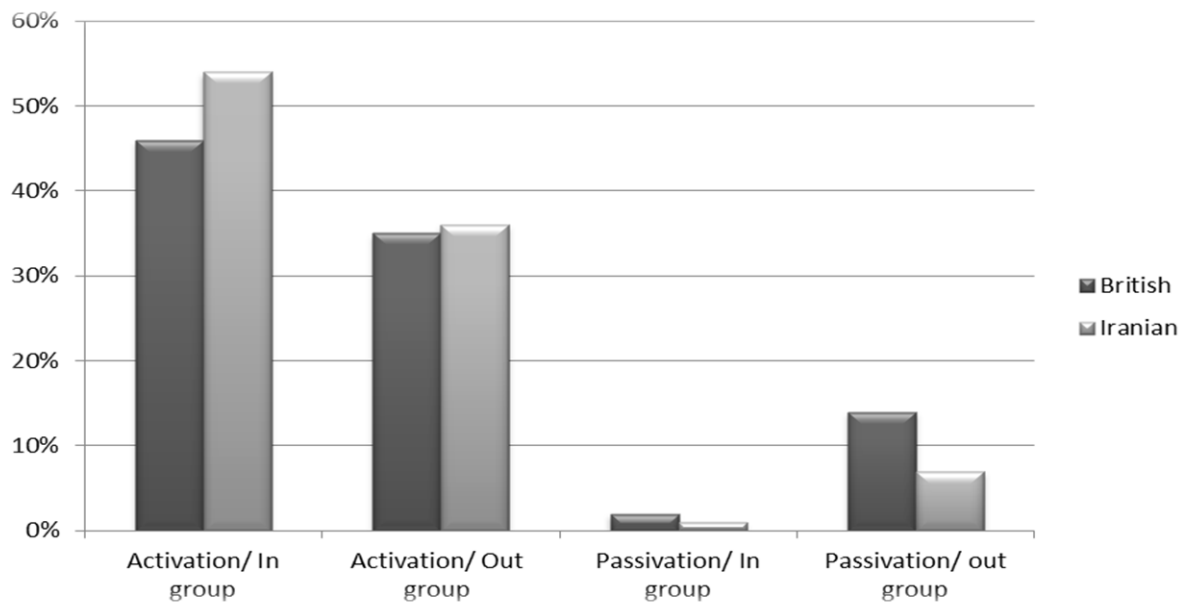
The categories of activation and passivation are examined in this strategy that is used in these news reports. In relation to these categories, Halliday's transitivity processes are also employed. As the above table shows, activation is more commonly utilized than passivation. Furthermore, subjection is more commonly used in passivation than beneficialisation.

The two groups that are mainly represented in the selected British sample are: the Iraqi Sunni people and the United States as in-group, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, PMF and ISIS as out-group. In contrast, The Islamic Republic of Iran, PMF, and the Iraqi government are represented as in-groups in the selected Iranian sample, while the United States and its troops in Iraq, as well as ISIS, are represented as out-groups.

In British news reports, activation of out-group is used at a ratio of 35.790% to focus on the perpetrator, PMF, of bad actions. Conversely, their activation of in-group is used in the Iranian ones to record a ratio of 54.495% portraying PMF as a positive agent. In contrast, the activation of America and its troops in Iraq as in-group scores 46.947% in the British collected sample to assert their good role in this respect. Conversely, in the Iranian collected sample, the activation of out-group is recorded at a ratio of 36.784% to portray America and its troops in Iraq and ISIS in a negative image.

Passivation, on the other hand, is less frequently utilized than activation. In British news reports, passivation of in-group recorded at a ratio of 2.527%, while in Iranian news reports, it is recorded at a ratio of 1.361%. This is not to say that passivation plays no significance in depicting social actors, but rather that its participating in both reflects ideological attitudes in the derogation of certain social actors. Similarly, in Iranian news reports, passivation of Iran's enemies as out-group scores a percentage of 36.784%. Conversely, passivation of the out-group in British news reports records 14.736% since reporters have tried many times to foreground objects and hide the doer of the bad actions, which is the PMF, so that readers will inevitably infer it. Its enhanced function is expressed by stressing the actions rather than the agents, giving the actions more emphasis.

Table 6: Frequencies and Percentages of Transitivity Processes in British and Iranian Data

Data		Material	Mental	Verbal	Relational	Existential	Behavioral	Total
British	Fr.	173	31	90	60	20	35	409
	Pr.	42.298%	7.579%	22.004 %	14.669 %	4.890%	8.560%	100%
Iranian	Fr.	140	28	58	50	17	26	319
	Pr.	43.890%	8.777%	18.180 %	15.673 %	5.330%	8.150%	100%

The following Figure displays the Ratios of Transitivity Processes occurrence in British and Iranian datasets.

Figure (4): The Ratios of Transitivity Processes in British and Iranian reports
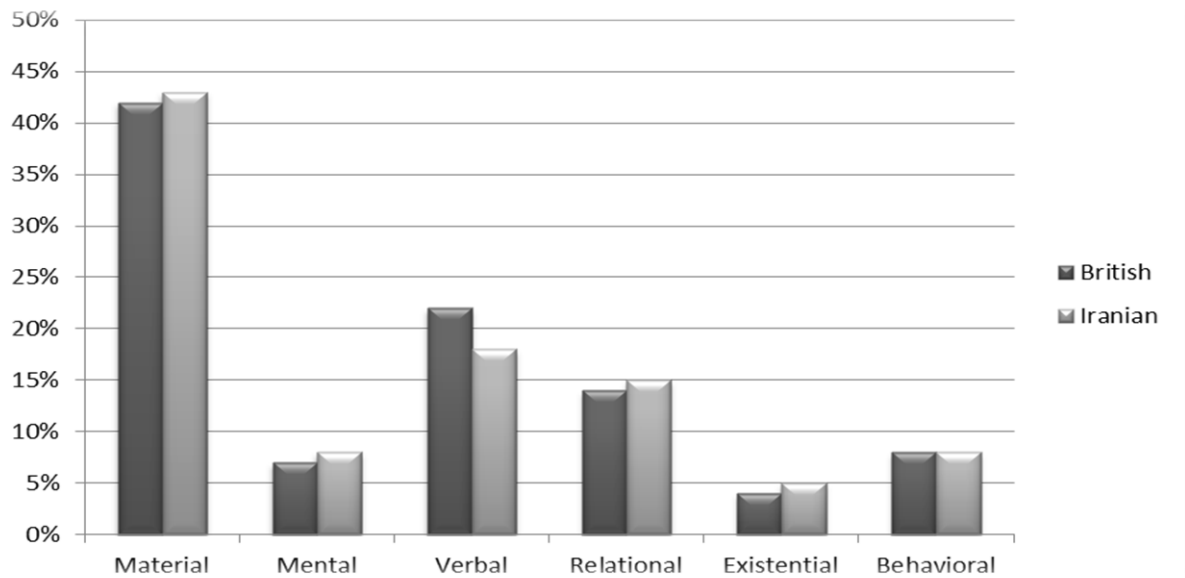
Material process occupies the highest rank on the scale as indicated by its ratios of 42.298% and 43.890% in the British and Iranian datasets, respectively, since the PMF's physical actions are intended to be accentuated more than other details. This process is employed by using verbs like "achieved," "carried out," "burned, "evacuated," "attacked," "decapitated," "bombed," "controlled," "killed," "done," "crushed," "damaged," "formed," etc.

Verbal process occupies the second-highest rank on the scale with ratios of 22.004% and 18.180% in the British and Iranian samples, respectively. It is used

through verbs like "showed," "said," "appeared," "revealed," "reported," "emphasized," "tweeted," etc. Its use signifies the acts of saying that occur in relation to the PMF. In terms of similarities, the viewpoints of PMF members are given much emphasis in both samples. The difference lies in the way this process is employed in each sample.

Relational process is ranked third on the scale by both datasets, as it scores 14.669% and 15.673% in the British and Iranian reports, respectively. This type of process is demonstrated via the connecting verbs such as "has," "have," "is," "are," "were," "be," "consisted," "comprise," "include," etc. Adopting this process illustrates that reporters make attempts to attribute something to a certain entity (PMF).

Mental process is rated fourth on the scale as it records 7.579% and 8.777% in British and Iranian datasets, respectively. Adopting this process in the relevant data reveals how the participant thinks, senses, feels, desires, or perceives something, such as "remembered."

Behavioral process is ranked fifth on the scale of both samples, scoring 8.560% in British news reports and 8.560% in Iranian ones. Meanings realized by this type are "midway between materials on the one hand and mentals on the other." Several verbs are employed for this process in these reports, such as "stare," "worry," "watch," etc.

Existential process occupies the lowest rank on the scale, as it records 4.890% and 5.330% in British and Iranian news reports, respectively. This type indicates an entity's mere existence without implying anything further about it. It is stated with verbs that signify "exist" or "happen."

Table (6) reveals the similarity between the selected news agencies as both use these processes with, for the most part, similar percentages, but the difference lies in the ideological employment of these processes, as in the above table and

diagram. In other words, British reporters use these processes to portray PMF in a negative image, whereas Iranians use them to depict PMF positively.

Table 6: Frequencies and Percentages of Social Actors in Perspectivation strategy of British & Iranian Data

Data		Direct Speech	Reported Speech	Total
British	Fr.	42.135%	57.865%	100%
	Pr.	75	103	178
Iranian	Fr.	41.130%	58.870%	100%
	Pr.	51	73	124

The following Figure displays the ratios of social actors in Perspectivation strategy of British and Iranian reports.

Figure 5: The Ratios of Social Actors in Perspectivation Strategy of British and Iranian reports.
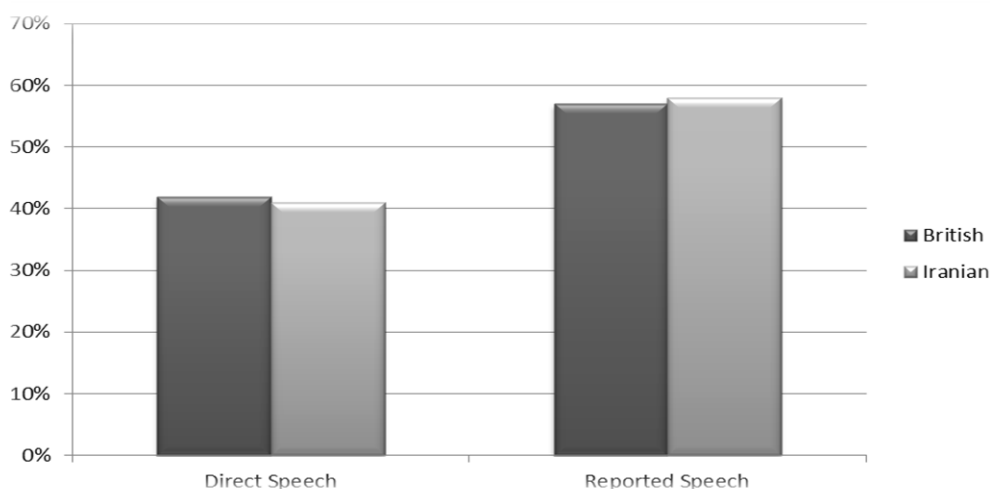
As can be noted from the above table, reported speech is the most frequent category used in the collected data. It is used in the collected British sample with a ratio of 57.865%, while in the Iranian one, it scores 58.870%. The other use of the perspectivation strategy is realized by adopting free direct speech, as evidenced by the ratios of 42.135% and 41.130% in the selected British and Iranian news reports, respectively.

The table above also demonstrates that the percentages of employing direct speech and reported speech in the British and Iranian reports are somewhat similar, but the difference lies in the ideological motivations of this employment. Additionally, the researcher has noticed throughout the data analysis that BBC uses reported speech more than other news agencies. Typically, reporters employ reported speech by quoting various perspectives and experiences through the use of direct and indirect quotations in order to convey the credibility of the news to the readers.

Table 7: Strategy Frequencies and Percentages in British and Iranian Data

Data		Referential	Predicational	Perspectivation	Total
British	Fr.	42.720%	41.666%	15.614%	100%
	Pr.	487	475	178	1140
Iranian	Fr.	39.230 %	45.420%	15.350%	100%
	Pr.	317	367	124	808

The following Figuredisplays the strategy ratios in British and Iranian reports.

Figure 6: The Strategy Ratios of Social Actors in British and Iranian reports.
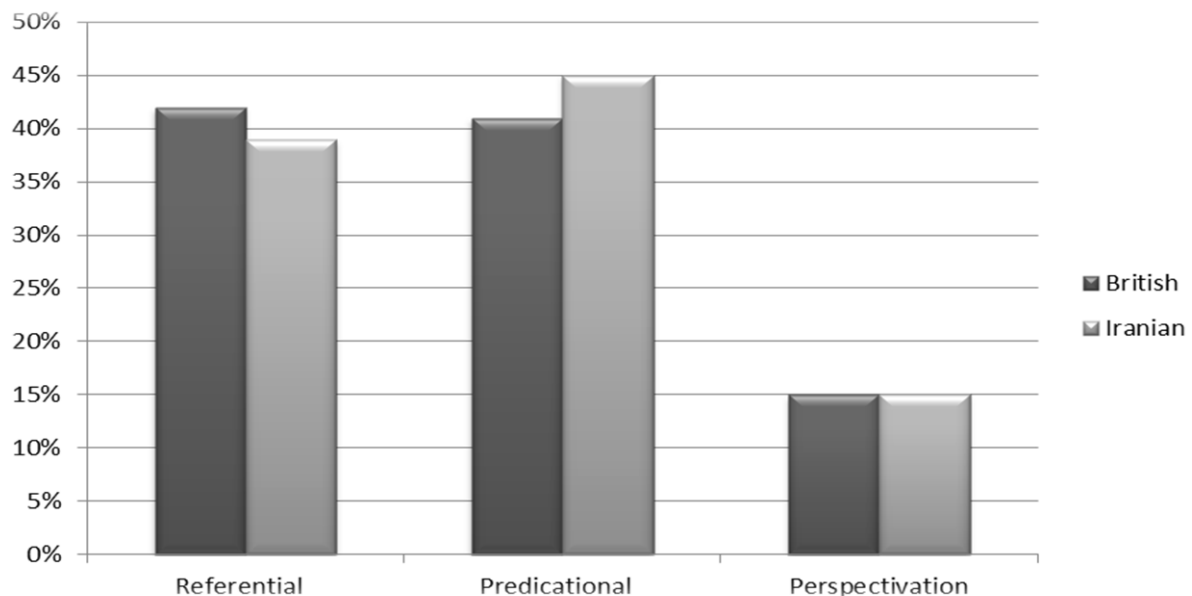
Referential strategy tops the list in the British news reports. It achieves the highest rank by its percentage, 42.720%. This is due to the merging of van Leeuwen's certain social actor categories (2008) with Wodak and Reisigle's referential strategy (2001), which helps to uncover the underlying ideologies in the selected data. Conversely, in the Iranian sample, predicational strategy occupies the highest rank on the scale. Since argumentation strategy is used with only one sub-strategy, topoi, it can be assumed that it is sparingly used by both samples

.

4.3.2 Macro-Level Analysis

Table 8: Frequencies and Percentages of Major Themes in British and Iranian News Reports

Data		Authority	Killing	Threat & danger	Revenge	Terrorism	Total
British	Fr.	80	59	46	38	44	267
	Pr.	29.962%	22.097%	17.230%	14.232%	16.479%	100%
Iranian	Fr.	88	40	31	27	24	210
	Pr.	41.904%	19.047%	14.761%	12.860%	11.428%	100%

The following Figure displays the ratios of major themes in British and Iranian reports.

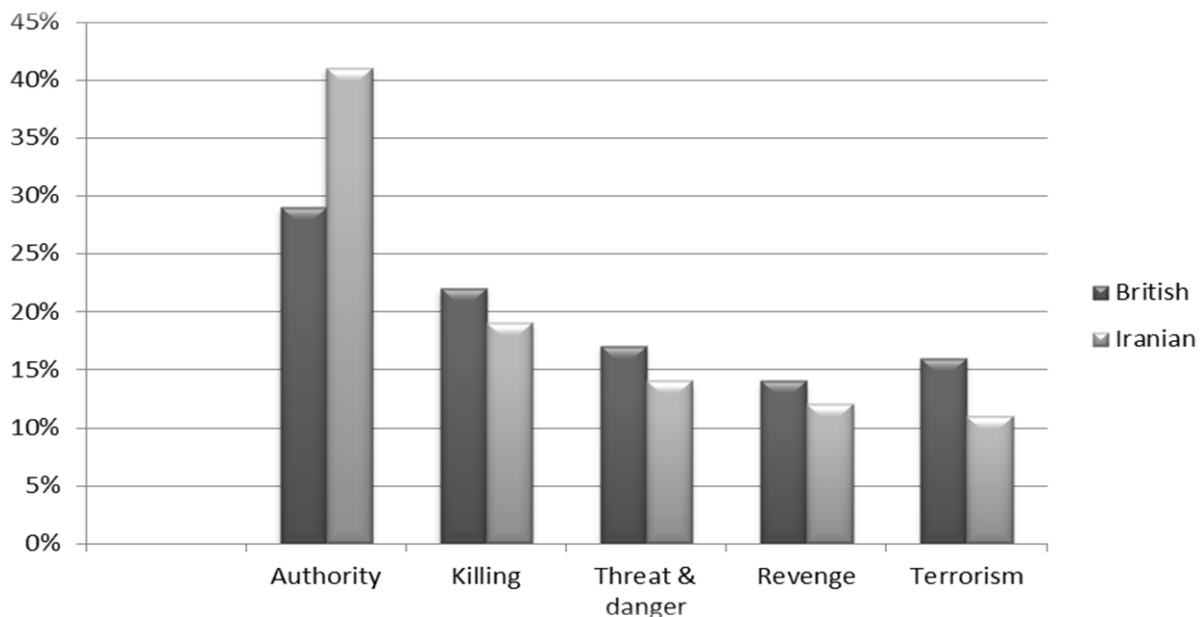Figure 7: The Ratios of Major Themes in British and Iranian News Reports

Table 8 displays the statistical analysis of the main themes used in both British and Iranian news agencies in terms of frequencies and percentages. The authority theme occupies the highest rank on the scale due to different authorities being depicted either positively or negatively throughout this data. It is employed with the ratios of 29.962% and 41.904% in British and Iranian news reports, respectively.

In terms of differences, Iranian reports have a higher percentage than British ones, although both of them share the same theme as of control due to the fact that the PMF is overemphasized as an authority by Iranian reporters, whereas in the British sample, this group is mostly dealt with as a terrorist group. In the light of group ideology, there are two domain groups of authorities in British reports: in-group authorities like the U.S. and out-group authorities like PMF. Conversely, in Iranian ones, there are two different dominant groups of authorities: in-group authorities like PMF and out-group authorities like the U.S.

Thematically, killing occupies the second-highest rank on the scale of both samples, as it records the percentages of 22.097% and 19.047% in the British and Iranian samples. British news reports describe PMFs negatively as militias that have carried out series attacks on Americans in Iraq and uses this theme in this context. Conversely, Iranian ones use the killing theme to emphasize the attacks launched by U.S. forces against the PMF.

Similarly, the theme of threat and danger is ranked third on the scale in both datasets, as it scores 17.230% and 14.761% in British and Iranian news reports, respectively. This is due to the threats and dangerous acts employed throughout the collected data. Further, it can be noticed that British reporters use this theme more than Iranians, so it is concluded that PMF poses a danger to their in-group.

Differently, other themes used by British news reports are respectively displayed in the table above, from the most common, *terrorism,* to the least common, revenge, as the former records 16.479%, while the latter is used with a ratio of 14.232%. Conversely, in Iranian ones, the respectively used themes are: revenge as it records 12.860% and *terrorism* as it scores 11.428%.

Concerning the theme of revenge, British news reports represent the U.S. positively taking revenge on the Iran-backed Shia militias in Iraq because of

what they did to the American troops in Iraq, while the Iranian ones represent PMF's attacks on American troops in Iraq as retaliation for their bads with PMF.

4.4 Summary

The ideologically charged notion that discourse centers on the US vs. THEM bifurcation was highlighted in the analysis of the two selected samples that was based on two linguistic levels, micro and macro, in the chapter. The whole samples—six British and six Iranian news reports—were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively, and the analysis was elaborated by examples. The researcher evaluated the ideological stance, which was taken by British and Iranian news reports toward Popular Mobilization Forces.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendations and Suggestions for Future Studies

5.0 Introductory Remarks

The current chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides conclusions and answers to research questions. The second section presents recommendations. The third section offers suggestions for further research.

5.1.1 Conclusions

This study arrives at the following conclusions:

1. The outcomes display that all strategies and sub-strategies included in the eclectic model are used in both samples but for different purposes. At micro level of analysis, Reisigl and Wodak's referential strategy, predicational strategy, argumentation strategy, and perspectivation strategy are employed in the investigation. Van Leeuwen's sociological categories, including genericization, specification, collectivisation, aggregation, identification, activation, and passivation, are all employed in the PMF's representation. Moreover, the process types of Halliday's transitivity (i.e., material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential) are also used in this representation. In addition, topoi have been employed within argumentation strategy. At macro-level of analysis, van Dijk's macro strategies of the negative and positive acts of out-group (THEM) and in-group (US) are (de)emphasized by the collected data based on the ideological stance.

   The first research hypothesis has been validated in displaying strategies and sub-strategies used by both British and Iranian news reports in representing PMF differently.

2. The outcomes of the micro-level of analysis display that *referential strategy* is the most frequently used strategy by the British sample. In addition, *Leween's activation, genericization, and assimilation categories, reported speech* as well *as Halliday's material, relational, and verbal processes,* are found to be the most prevalent *sub-strategies* employed by the British sample. Conversely, the Iranian sample has mostly employed *predicational strategy*. Additionally, *Leuween's activation, genericization, and specification categories and reported speech* as well as *Halliday's material, relational, and verbal processes as sub-strategies,* are the most frequent ones used by this sample. On the other hand, in the light of Dijk's ideological square, the macro-level analysis shows that the most prevalent macro strategy adopted by British news reports is the one of negative other-representation to portray PMF in a negative image. Conversely, positive self-representation strategy is mostly employed by Iranian reports in representing PMF positively. Concerning themes, authority and killing occupy the highest ranks on the scale of both samples.

Turning to the answer of the second part of this question wherein micro-level analysis exhibits that *argumentation strategy is* the least frequently one used by British sample. In addition*, Leuween's passivation, specification, and identification categories,* and *direct speech* as well as *Halliday's mental, behavioural and existential processes* are found as the less prevalent *sub-strategies* employed by the British sample. Conversely, *Leuween's passivation, assimilation and identification categories,* and *direct speech,* as well as *Halliday's mental, behavioural, and existential processes,* are shown as the least prevalent *sub-strategies* employed by the Iranian sample. On the other hand, in the light of Dijk's ideological square, the macro-level analysis shows that the least prevalent macro strategy adopted by British news reports is the one of positive self-representation strategy to represent PMF in a

negative image. Conversely, negative other-representation strategy is minimally employed by Iranian news reports in representing PMF positively. Concerning themes, threat and danger, terrorism, and revenge occupy the lowest ranks on the scale of both samples.

The second hypothesis has been rejected in identifying the most and the least employed strategies in British and Iranian news reports to depict PMF.

3. This conclusion is concerned with the results of the ideological analysis that investigates the explicit and implicit ideologies employed at both micro and macro levels simultaneously. The investigation demonstrates that positive-self representation and negative-other representation strategies are the fundamental dichotomy adopted to represent PMF. This dichotomy divides actors in the selected news agencies into in-group and out-group and shows how they project the in-group's positive side while downplaying their negative side, and how they project the out-group's negative side while downplaying their positive side.

In the selected Iranian news reports, two groups have been mainly represented: the Islamic Republic of Iran and PMF as in-group, while the United States and its troops in Iraq, and ISIS as out-group. Thus, Islamic and political ideologies are clearly manifested through this classification. Conversely, the two groups that are mainly represented in British news reports are: the United States as in-group, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, PMF, and ISIS as out-group. Thus, Islamic and political ideologies are also clearly employed in these representations.

The last hypothesis of the study has been verified in analysing the explicit and implicit ideologies in terms of van Dijk's dichotomy of in-group and out-group.

5.2 Recommendations of the Study

1. It is believed and hoped that the outcomes of the present study will enhance the media and increase the quality of their news reporting strategies, such as the careful selection of style, words, and sentences to pique readers' interest and encourage and motivate them to continue reading their publications.

2. As media plays a significant role in the depiction of social actors, especially those which are controversial. People should be careful about judging social actors, whether positively or negatively.

3. Reporters are recommended to avoid being influenced by their ideologies while selecting their expressions or styles to communicate news.

5.3 Suggestions for Future studies

It is suggested the following points for further studies:

1. Conducting a comparative study in the depiction of Houthis movement in two opposing news agencies like Arab news and Tehran Times from critical discourse analysis perspective.

2. The theoretical framework which amalgamates Dijk's ideological square, Reisigl and Wodak's discursive strategies, and Leuween's sociological categories can also be used for the analyses of other media discourse genres including the analysis of certain satirical political programs.

3. A large corpus can be used involving various media discourses from different media news agencies to accomplish more comprehensive generalisations.

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Appendix A: British Sample Titles and Websites

- BBC:

1. US embassy attack: Trump threatens Iran over violent protest in Iraq.
   https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50966208

2. Iraq paramilitary force blames US and Israel for mystery blasts.
   https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-49428621

3. At Iraq's election protest camp, militia supporters dig in.
   https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-59246033

- Guardian:

1. Trump threatens Iran will pay 'a very big price' over US embassy protests in Baghdad.
   https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/31/embassy-protesters-in-iraq-deal-symbolic-blow-to-us-prestige

2. 'A threat from within': Iraq and the rise of its militias.
   https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/08/a-threat-from-within-iraq-and-the-rise-of-its-militias

3. Leader: U.S. taking revenge on Hashd al-Shaabi for Daesh.
   https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/443639/Leader-U-S-taking-revenge-on-Hashd-al-Shaabi-for-Daesh

Appendix B: Iranian Sample Titles and Websites

- Tehran Times:
1. Leader: U.S. taking revenge on Hashd al-Shaabi for Daesh.
   https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/443639/Leader-U-S-taking-revenge-on-Hashd-al-Shaabi-for-Daesh
2. The making of Iraq's Hashd.
   https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/474990/The-making-of-Iraq-s-Hashd
3. Iraqi parties, politicians condemn US airstrikes against multiple PMU positions.
   https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/446080/Iraqi-parties-politicians-condemn-US-airstrikes-against-multiple

- Financial Tribune:
1. Baghdad Protesters Storm US Embassy.
   https://financialtribune.com/articles/international/101491/baghdad-protesters-storm-us-embassy
2. Dozens Reported Killed in US Airstrike on Iraqi PMU.
   https://financialtribune.com/articles/international/69963/dozens-reported-killed-in-us-airstrike-on-iraqi-pmu
3. Abadi Defends Role of Iran-Backed Militias.
   https://financialtribune.com/articles/national/74874/abadi-defends-role-of-iran-backed-militias

المستخلص

تقارن الدراسة الحالية تمثيل قوات الحشد الشعبي في التقارير الإخبارية المختارة عبر الإنترنت من وكالتين إخباريتين معارضتين: البريطانية والإيرانية، من منظور التحليل النقدي للخطاب. تضم البريطانية BBC و Guardian بينما تضم الإيرانية Tehran Times وFinancial Tribune. تهدف الدراسة إلى (١) تسليط الضوء على الاستراتيجيات المختلفة التي تستخدمها كلتا العينتين لتمثيل قوى الحشد الشعبي ، (٢) تحديد الاستراتيجيات الأكثر والأقل استخداما من قبل كلتا العينتين لتمثيل قوى الحشد الشعبي، و(٣) توضيح الطريقة التي يتم فيها تجلي القوة والأيديولوجية من قبل التقارير الإيرانية والبريطانية في سياق تناول قوى الحشد الشعبي.

يتضمن التحليل مصادر مثل الاستراتيجيات الخطابية لفوداك وريسيجل (٢٠٠١) والفئات الاجتماعية لتمثيل القوى لفان لوين (٢٠٠٨) والعبورية لهاليدي (١٩٨٥) على المستوى الجزئي اما على المستوى الكلي فيتضمن منهج فان دايك للأيديولوجيا والاستراتيجيات الخطابية (٢٠٠٠). بعد تحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها من الناحية النوعية والكمية، أظهرت الدراسة كيف تم إستخدام جميع الإستراتيجيات الجزئية والكلية المُعتَمدة في النموذج أﻹنتقائي من قبل كلتا العينتين ولكن بنسب مأوية مختلفة وبالتالي نبضات أيديولوجية مختلفه. علاوة على ذلك، فإن نتائج المستوى الجزئي اظهرت بأن الاستراتيجية المرجعية هي الاستراتيجية الأكثر استخداماً ، في حين إن الاستراتيجية الجدلية هي الأقل استخداماً من قبل العينة البريطانية. اما العينة الإيرانية فتستخدم في الغالب الاستراتيجية التنبؤية ونادراً ما تستخدم الاستراتيجية الجدلية. إن الاستراتيجية الكلية التي تتبناها التقارير الإخبارية البريطانية هي الأكثر انتشاراً وهي استراتيجية تمثيل الآخر بشكل سلبي، في حين أن استراتيجية تمثيل الآخر بشكل ايجابي تستخدم في الغالب من خلال التقارير الإيرانية في تمثيل قوات الحشد الشعبي. بالإضافة الى ان وكالات الأخبار المختارة تنقل أيديولوجيات إسلامية وسياسية مختلفة لتوصيل قوى الحشد الشعبي الى القراء.

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

جامعة كربلاء

كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية

قسم اللغة الانكليزية

تمثيل قوات الحشد الشعبي في تقارير اخبار البريطانية و الإيرانية عبر الإنترنت: تحليل نقدي للخطاب

رسالة تقدمت بها الطالبة

زينب علي حسين صافي الياسري

إلى مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية / جامعة كربلاء ـ جزءا من متطلبات نيل درجة الماجستير في اللغة الانجليزية / علم اللغة

بأشراف

الاستاذ المساعد الدكتور غانم جويد السعيدي