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Ideological Representations in Iraqi Political Speech: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This study aims to explore "positive-self representation" and "negative other- representation" of Teun van Dijk's ideological dimensions (2005) as way of manipulating and governing the spectator's mind. It also aims to display how the fundamental ideologies of political speech reveal concealed beliefs, perspective and power in political speeches. The study discusses ideology and political discourse with distinct mention to Iraqi political speeches. The data was taken from Ayad Allawi's speech entitled *"To U.S Congress"* and *"Iraq's future, concerning Iraqi policies"* which was viewed on available websites. The data were analyzed through textual analysis method, the analysis was carried out through stages by using MAXQDA programmer. The ideological dimensions analysis showed different perspectives and attitudes used by Iraqi politicians. It uncovered the positive and negative role or level in discussing the concerns of politics. The study also mirrored how Iraqi politician Allawi explains himself and persuades the audience and what political ideologies that are reflected in his speeches. The findings showed the positive explanation for eliminating others and their depraved systems from power. Allawi has the tendency to lesser negative representation of other to lessen and moderate the strain between Iraq and its community. The findings also demonstrated that the politician is able to provide his ideas positively and negatively via his discourse and gives the opportunity to reveal his power, dominance and public relations government.

INTRODUCTION

In the world of discourse, the chief focus is on the way and how people or interlocutors use language rather than on the forms or structures of it. Through the way interlocutors use language, the principle purpose beyond such a matter is to expose what interlocutors want to reveal and to unearth their social relations, identities, ideologies and attitudes. For van Leeuwen (2008), critical discourse analysis is a means of acting discourse analysis from a critical outlook that often puts emphasis on distinct concepts like power, ideology and domination and sees language as a form of social practice. It is possible to learn how political leaders reflect their ideologies and socially construct ideas by

analyzing the language used in their speeches. These ideologies may shape their attitudes and influence their actions (Balfour, 2020).

According to Halliday (1978), language is a common meaning that requires social interpretation within a context that has social value. Through everyday language, people, in different situations, create, adapt and change the way they speak in order to build their social identities, which stem from the awareness of their social status, age, gender and social relations among many other factors. In the same way, language proposes that through their daily social interactions with one another, people create their identities. This sheds light on how people develop meaning through social contact, modify it, and incorporate it into their behaviors (KhosraviNik, 2014). Thus, the way that language is employed reveals a lot about the development of ideas. Argument is presented and shaped by language, and political argument originates from a set of views (Adrian, 2000).

 In Fairclough's view, the way that political speeches are structured provides answers to legitimate political queries regarding the speech's goal, such as persuading listeners that a particular viewpoint is accurate or that a particular course of action is the best one (Fairclough, 2015). Political discourse is ideological, thus while analyzing any political document, it is critical to consider how politicians' ideological stances are reflected in their language (Al-Gamde & Tenbrink, 2020).

 Politicians make decisions at many discursive levels to influence events to suit their ideologies (Flaifel, 2014). Mainly, as stated by Fowler (1991, p. 53), "language is not a clear window, but a refracting, structuring medium". Everything we write or say is influenced by an ideology. According to Hodge and Kress (1993), ideology is "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view". Ideology refers to important systems and sets of beliefs that social groups have in common. It can be shown through certain language decisions made in texts. Language both constructs and reflects ideology (Samaie & Malmir, 2017).

Ideology was first intended to refer to the scientific study of ideas when it was first used in eighteenth-century France. But in the last 200 years, "ideology" has come to denote "a body of ideas that attempts to unite cognition and behavior." As a result, ideologies influence how individuals think and behave: "An ideology is a fairly coherent and comprehensive set of ideas that helps people understand their place in society, explains and evaluates social conditions, and provides a program for social and political action" (Van Dijk, 2005a).

 This study aims to answer the following questions:

1.How do the politicians attempt to explain themselves and persuade others, and which micro or macro level of analysis are predominant and reflected in the politician's speeches?

2.What are the positive and negative ideological strategies utilized in the politicians' speeches?

Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis

In essence, political discourse is a subfield of discourse analysis that focuses primarily on discourse mechanisms that emerge in certain political, cultural, and environmental contexts, such as "legislative processes, parliamentary debates, meetings, etc." (Johnson & Johnson, 2000). Political discourse is defined as the domain of democratic administration that guarantees political discourse in order to expose the hidden goals and ideologies of significant political actors. According to van Dijk (1995,2005&2006), the term political discourse encompasses not just the speech of politicians who succeed in specific political endeavors but also all relevant stakeholders who, by direct or indirect means, secure a prominent position in discursive political operations.

The framework Dijk offered for analysis is one of the analytical frameworks that may be applied in the field of critical discourse analysis. Explaining how power, dominance, and inequality are exercised, perpetuated, or resisted through written or spoken language in a sociopolitical setting is

the goal of critical discourse analysis (Trina et al.,2022; Van Dijk, 2011; Van Dijk, 2009a). Political discourse analysis can be the foundation of two criteria: thematic and functional. Political discourse is an outcome of politics which is determined culturally and historically different functions according to different political activities (Ellah, 2023). Because its different topics are mainly related to politics such as political ideas, political relations and political activities, it is a thematic criterion. The main idea of politics is essentially concerned with authority and power: how to make decisions, appropriate them, the way for controlling and manipulating the insights, conduct and standards of those who are ruled amongst other belongings. To do this and much more, politicians are in desperate need for a key or a tool which is language. Language is used to plan, coordinate, direct, and influence any political activity (Partington, 2003).

In his book *The Language of Politics*, Beard (2000) states that the hardest work a politician can achieve is political discourse because it comprises both the way of announcing a policy and the way of persuading people about the agreement on that policy. Hence, political discourse is stretching among these meanings: persuasion, rhetoric, power, ideology and manipulation. So, it rests on the politician himself. Politicians are utilising their language as a means to reason, argue and to maintain their ideas. In this sense, language is considered as a link for dominant people in which they can abuse others, defend people, set up ideas, or support civil rights, and peace (Mortins, 2007). At all times, politicians assure that the media express the reality in the way they need; on the other hand, people do not believe in or have confidence in politicians. They consider that politicians do not say the truth.

Political discourse requires to be rhetorical and intellectual; by rhetoric it means the power of the discourse, its capacity to persuade and enthuse people. On the other hand, intellectual means the value of that speech, the way it is expressed, and its impact on creating a political discourse. A good politician collects both of them; he or she places a comprehensible political idea in a fascinating way (Fairclough, 2006). Scholars have offered many clarifications and explanations that are related to the scope of critical discourse analysis and political discourse analysis.

 According to van Dijk (1998), political discourse analysis can relate to the study of political speech, which is defined as the statements and exchanges of politicians in overtly political contexts, or it can refer to a political, or critical approach to discourse analysis. The goal of political discourse analysis, then, is to comprehend political discourse's nature and function as well as to "critiquing the role discourse plays in producing, maintaining, abusing, and resisting power in contemporary society". Such work, he insists, "should be able to answer genuine and relevant political questions and deal with issues that are discussed in political science" (Agrawal, 2019).

Chilton (2004) grounds his approach in a fundamental question: "What does the use of language in contexts we call 'political' tell us about humans in general?". This question presupposes a relationship between language, politics, culture, and cognition. It also includes a linguistic framework that is socially conscious and may be used to examine the complexities of political action and thought. This type of work focuses on comprehending the linguistic conventions that political speakers gain legitimacy in certain political situations by endowing their statements with proof, credibility, and veracity (Pandian,2017) According to Chilton, the development of this linguistic method coincided with a group of linguists switching from Chomsky's generative framework to Halliday's (1978, 1994) systemic-linguistic and social semiotic framework.

The phrase political discourse analysis is used by Okulska and Cap (2010), who see it as a socially-oriented study of "society and/or politics, located at the intersection of political public discourse and political social institutions". Their endeavor is rooted in the diverse and dispersed field of political linguistics, which is commonly understood as the examination of language and language usage "primarily (though not solely) in political environments". Political linguistics was initially concerned with the interaction between language and politics. Jokowi, however, is worried about projecting an image of a hardworking leader in his political speeches. He spoke extensively on the steps and

processes he implemented to demonstrate that, as president, he is committed to advancing the country (Trina et al.,2022; Guswita & Suhardi, 2020; Harwiyati & Siagianto, 2016; Noermanzah et al., 2018; Rosyidi et al., 2019). It was situated within a critical consciousness that had been revived, bringing to light the reciprocal, constitutive, and dynamic relationships between language and politics that had permeated many fields of linguistic study. This small paradigm shift in linguistics gave rise to: (1) critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis; (2) linguistic anthropology's focus on language ideologies and language-related ideologies; and (3) macro-societal studies of language and nationalism, language policy and language planning. Ellah (2022, p.9) define political discourse as "any discourse that deals with political engagements and enterprises". This suggests that political discourse centers on political actions and politics.

Representation of Ideology

The modern cognitive and social sciences contain ideologies in their representations. van Dijk goes into great depth on these depictions to demonstrate how social group belief systems are applied in everyday life. van Dijk (2004), for example, notes that beliefs can be categorised as "fleeting vs. more permanent, personal vs. societal, specific vs. broad, concrete vs. abstract, and simple vs. complicated. These kinds of questions centre on concepts such as the physical or social world, the self and the other, etc.". Similarly, in addition to this categorisation, information and opinions, as well as knowledge and attitudes, should be thoroughly and unambiguously separated in terms of ideology, particularly with regard to whether or not the assessment component is centred around these belief systems.

Moreover, norms and values influence how beliefs are assessed. Undoubtedly, every social group possesses information that is accepted as true by its members based on their common belief system. This knowledge is assessed in order to meet "its own verification (truth) criteria" standards for validity (Ellah, 2023). As an example, scientists have some ideas about which they are certain that they are true and constitute a part of their knowledge. Members of a social movement and members of a religion also hold similar beliefs about how they should behave in society. However, these beliefs are group unique; they are viewed as opinions, even false beliefs, by other communities. The other groups will not regard those ideas as knowledge in this situation (Wang, 2010).

Indeed, since members of a social group accept and take knowledge for granted, ideologies influence the knowledge that each member of the group practices. van Dijk (2004) notes, facts, opinions, views, and knowledge are clearly distinguished by different social groupings. Nonetheless, there is what is known as "socio-cultural common ground," which suggests that despite having disparate knowledge bases, viewpoints, and belief systems, all social groupings have an enormous body of knowledge that they acknowledge and affirm in their day-to-day interactions. However, groups from different cultures might not be familiar with the shared beliefs, thus they must be introduced to this information. One of the clearest examples of these cultural disparities is immigrants. Other ideological representations deal with our subjective, ambiguous viewpoints (Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

Theoretical Framework of Ideological Square (2005)

In the middle of critical discourse analysis general practitioners, van Dijk is one of the most frequently quoted/ cited in critical studies of critical discourse. In the 1980s, he began to apply his DA theory to texts essentially concentrating on the representation of cultural groups and interest group in Europe. In his news Broadcast Analysis (1988), he integrates his broad theory of discourse to the discourse of news in the press and applies his theory at both the national and international level to authentic cases of news reports. What makes van Dijk's framework 2005 be distinguished for the analyses of news discourse is not only his demand for a methodical analysis of the structural and the textual level of discourse but also for explanations and analysis at the production and comprehension level as well (Van Dijk ,2005b & Boyd-Barrett,1994)

Essentially, van Dijk perceives discourse analysis as ideological analysis, since "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies". Consequently, van Dijk's approach for investigating ideologies has three parts: discourse analysis, social analysis and cognitive analysis. The discourse analysis is mainly text based (lexicon, syntax, topics, local semantics, schematic structures, etc.). While the social analysis applies to examining the overall societal structures (the context), his approach combines the two traditional approaches: social tradition approach (context based) and interpretive one (text based) into one analytical framework for analysing discourse. Nevertheless, what remarkably distinguishes van Dijk's approach from other approaches in discourse analysis is additional feature of his approach: cognitive analysis.

van Dijk presents the general schemes of the "ideological square" (2005) to study an ideological discourse centered on four principles: Self and Others Representation. van Dijk summarizes them as follows:

1- "Emphasize "Our" good things. *(Exaggerate in self's positive features/actions)*
2- Emphasize "Their" bad things. *(Exaggerate in other's negative features/actions)*
3- De-emphasize "Our" bad things. *(Extenuate self's bad features/actions)*
4- De-emphasize "Their" good things. (*Extenuate other's positive features/actions)*".

According to van Dijk (1995), the thing that mediates between society and discourse is "the socio cognition-social cognition and personal cognition" (van Dijk, 2001a). He expresses social cognition by means of "the system of mental representations and processes of group members". In this respect, for van Dijk, "ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize ... socially shared attitudes" (van Dijk, 2005b). Ideologies, therefore, indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their performance of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions.

van Dijk (1995) calls the mental representations of persons throughout such social actions and interactions "frameworks". According to him, "frameworks control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others". The very theoretical and nature stance of van Dijk's framework offered firm foundation in which the framework primarily emphases ideological square to comprehend the notion of political identity (re)construction and (re)presentation. He (1998b) believes that an individual who needs to make transparent such "an ideological contradiction in discourse needs to examine discourse as a way of investigating the context of the discourse: political, historical or social background and as a way of examining power, groups relations and struggles involved".

METHODOLOGY

The current study uses qualitative research design in which textual analysis is employed. This study is a qualitative in nature that deals with discourses to be analyzed. The focus of data investigations on the ideological characteristics of discourse producers is where the critical category of research is found (Fairclough, 2013 & Sawirman, 2016). The information that is gathered via spoken texts and interviews in the qualitative method to investigates political discourses of Ayad Allawi namely: (To U.S Congress, 2004. Sep. 23) and (Iraq's future, 2008. Jul.25) concerning Iraqi policies to find out ideologies by applying van Dijk's model.

This study investigates language ideologies of former Iraqi politician by using ideological dichotomy. Furthermore, this study aimed to reveal the hidden ideologies. The current study uses qualitative research design in which instruments Textual analysis is employed. This study deals with discourses to be analysed. Information is mostly gathered via spoken texts and interviews in the qualitative method. It considers both what and why individuals think what they do. Michael Quinn Patton (2002) suggests that "Qualitative analysis converts data into results. No formulation exists for that

transformation. Guidance, yes. But no recipe. Direction can and will be offered, but the final destination remains unique for each inquirer, known only when—and if—arrived at".

The present study is a case study research that investigates political leaders' discourses on social media coverage concerning Iraqi policies to find out ideologies by applying van Dijk's model. Using the qualitative method is fruitful because it dives deeply into the data collection, understands its methods, and then draws specific conclusions related to such constructions. Textual analysis is used to probe the participants in providing details of their interpretations. The approaches offer in-depth understanding of the language ideologies. By taking on a critical perspective and qualitative methods, the researcher explores how the politicians use ideologies to exert their influence and their standpoints as well as convince the audience with such standpoints. The researcher clarified the objective of the study and recognised a good understanding with them, certifying them of confidentiality and that the collected data would only be used for research determinations.

For the aim of gathering qualitative data and textual analysis is be conducted. The current proposed study is qualitative in nature; through textual analysis that focuses on its content with an emphasis on the language used. The term "text" has historically been used to refer to a piece of written language, whether it be a whole "work" like a poem or a novel, or a relatively distinct section like a chapter. A text may be either written or spoken discourse, according to a more general definition that has been popular in discourse analysis. For instance, the words spoken in a discussion (or their written transcription) comprise a text (Fairclough, 1995). The texts, in this study, are chosen from social news media coverage of Iraq, including scripts that are available on the websites. The way speeches are semantically constructed depending on the realization of linguistic strategies and the identification of utterances, phrases or words that fall within one of the specific linguistic devices of van Dijk's framework (2005).

Firstly, the textual analysis of certain Iraqi political leaders conducts two spoken texts (speeches) which focuses on Iraqi issues. Secondly, this study will involve Iraqi leader in the study. Hence, the criteria for the selection of the political speeches and leaders is employed: first, the Iraqi political leader who is selected is considered one of significant and well-known figures in Iraq and in Time magazine's 100 Most Influential People of 2018. Second, as leader, he represents people's internal voices in the Iraqi society. Third, the speeches are based on their experienced and rather sophisticated personality and their insistence in promoting /upholding dialogue, in particular, their insistence in promoting /upholding dialogues as seen by Iraqis. He tends to recognize the shortcomings and the complexities of the country, know how to address the global community to maintain/ uphold the support to Iraq and the compound interests of its neighbors. Fourth, besides, it is obvious that apart from their native language, they are considered fluent in English unlike other Iraq politicians.

Thus, it is more appropriate and relevant to examine and study the speeches in the English language when he delivers the speeches. Therefore, the choice of the speeches is taken with selection and motivation; the researcher has found the present speeches are very significant and salient corpus to investigate from critical perspectives since it adheres to /obeys the ideologies of discourse and these ideologies can appropriately be recognized where there is expression of ideas approaching certain social or political rank.

This type of data collecting is preferred by many researchers since it is often utilized to supplement the researcher's observations, which allows the researcher to get profound understanding of the research issue (Harris &Brown, 2010).

Data Analysis Procedures

To examine the speeches of the politicians, the following procedures are adopted: first, the necessary data for the analysis of discursive choices under investigation have been chosen from the media sources. Such necessary data (the speeches) are direct written transcripts in the English language which the researcher relied on in the analysis of the study. Second, the speeches are critically analyzed according to the framework by explaining its discursive devices through defining each of them and showing their significance. Third, the instances of each speech are represented in detailed tables and figures to demonstrate the occurrences of the discursive devices. Fourth, the analysis of the speeches and the comparison of the utilization of the positive self- representation and negative other-representation of the politicians in their speeches are presented and the results are deduced from critical perspectives.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This part of analysis provides the analysis of former Iraqi politician's speeches: Ayad Allawi at macro level of analysis by using the information that are presented in the model and some of the exemplars of the speeches in order to discuss and explain the use of ideological discursive devices at the macro-level.

It also includes the frequencies of the politician's employment of the ideological opposition: "the positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation" by exploring different utterances from the speeches as presented in (Table 1).

Table 1: *Frequency of "the fundamental dichotomy of ideology" in Allawi's speeches*

Politician	Year	*Positive self-representation Frequency No.*	*%*	*Negative other-representation Frequency No.*	*%*
Ayad Allawi	2004	32	34.408%	19	30.645%
	2008	61	65.591%	43	69.354%
	Total	93		62	155

The Macro Analysis Level

The macro analysis- level conveys power, dominance, and inequality among social groups. Cognitive analysis, which is an obvious distinction of van Dijk's CDA framework, works as a mediatory function between discourse and society. According to van Dijk, this level of analysis comprises social cognition and personal cognition analyses, in other words macro level has to do with power relation, such as inequality and dominance (Mustafaa & Pilus, 2020).

As presented in (Table1), Allawi's total utilization of "positive self-representation and negative other-representation" in his speeches (2004-2008) is 155 times, Allawi's employment of "positive self-representation" is 93 times. Allawi's usage of the negative other-representation is 62 times.

Essentially, it is clear that the dissimilarity is not as great as it is in the usage of "the positive self – representation". The major utilization of "positive self-representation and negative other-representation" in macro-structures is to justify the politician's ideological opinions and political stances that shape the unity of his speeches. From the higher usage of the dichotomy of ideology, it can be seen that Allawi's tendency is reasonable and moderate in conveying his positive political points of view. Ideologies in his speech are appropriate with the socio-political context of Iraq and

its issues. For this purpose, some utterances of politician's speech are illustrated here to expose the ideological stances at the macro-level of analysis.

Positive Self -Representations in the Speeches

Throughout examining Allawi's speeches (2004-2008), it is illustrious that he utilizes "the positive self- representation category" a lot in his speeches. Besides, the representation has been used not only to claim and assert validity for the arrangements of power but also as a more radical, critical concept to challenge the voices of enemies. However, making use of the positive lexical components is to describe their control in order to defeat the terrorism as in the utterance:

(1)   "Working together, we will defeat the killers, and we will do this by refusing to bargain about our most fundamental principles".

(2)   "We strengthen the institutions that will protect our new democracy and every day, we grow in strength and determination to defeat the terrorists and their barbarism"

Though, semantic macro- structure in the above utterance (2) shows that "we" and "us" represent the courageous and brave Iraqi people who have   strength; whereas "their" represents the evil side and the aggression of the terrorists. Accordingly, in the following Allawi's 2008 utterances:

(3)   "We Iraqis together with the Americans, with the international community, to find solutions and tackle the problems and make the environment safer to everyone"

(4)   "We need much more work and we need the encouragement of the international community to the government of Iraq and also the region and to work collectively"

(5)   "We are interested really in having the commitment, the continued commitment of the international community directed through the United Nations, directed through the Arab League, through the Gulf Corporation Council, through the Islamic Conference Organization to create such an environment in the region, and to help and assist the process of reconciliation".

(6)   "what we need to achieve inside Iraq is real political reconciliation and institution building, building of the institutions of Iraq, especially the security institutions"

(7)   "The Iraqi people have the strength and the stamina to continue fighting for freedom, not only for Iraq but also Iraq is a key country in the region and the greater Middle East"

(8)   "As we were sitting outside Iraq, when Saddam was in Iraq, we never stayed put. We had to work against tyranny"

When reading these utterances, it is noticed that Allawi's utterances (3), (4) and (5) strongly assert the positive representation for helping Iraq country to be free and democratic with the help of America, other nations and allies to defeat the enemies of the country. They also emphasis the importance of commitment and reconciliation in Iraq to become more secure refusing the terrorist support and preventing them from taking control the Iraqi nation. In addition, Allawi utilizes the adverbial 'together' in the utterance (3) to refer to the togetherness and unity with other nations like America to join them and assist people. These utterances are positive points to promote Iraqi rights and to show respect for Iraqi forces will as well.

Moreover, Allawi's utterances (6) and (7) are full of positive moods; particularly when he uses the words 'encouragement', 'strength', 'our' and 'help'. The politician positively presents his thoughts for supporting the publics of his country and finding solution. Clearly, the speeches express the positive requirements of populism and their wishes to have a feeling of victory and control over others' bad attempts that are trying to overthrow Iraqi people, his country and the economy of his cities. Thus, these utterances are most influenced, comprehensive and forceful enough to overthrow and defeat the greedy nations. Also, these utterances of positive representation are regarded as 'emphasizing 'our' good things' and employing the democratic task positively.

However, the utterances that are regarded as 'de- emphasizing 'our' bad things' in the employment of the disclaimer category can be realized. Here are some utterances form the speeches of Allawi:

(9)   "There were pockets and governments in Iraq that used to practice sectarianism, pockets, but that wasn't as widespread as it now"

(10)   "There are a host of issues and a host of problems, but we – some of them are the nature of the relationship that has been evolving between Iraq and some Arab countries"

Precisely, it can be understood from the utterances that Allawi uses such strategies to reject the bad things of their country and different matters concerning Iraq country fate. In utterance (8), Allawi truly wants to deny the existence of the pockets and government who practice sectarianism and de-emphases his speech about them. In utterance (9), he mentions that there is group of problems facing Iraq country, but at the same time, he is trying to alleviate and reduce the stress of those problems by stating that not all those issues and problems are some sort of obstacles there, instead they are from natural relationships. He manages to reduce the idea of the existence of these obstacles and the challenges that exist by mentioning that the appearance of those things is possible in Iraq and its regions.

Therefore, the appearance of certain positive ideologies, social aspects and domination relations makes the essential aspects of life display the power in a community. Moreover, the implicit meaning behind ideology and power has been explored to uncover the characters from many social issues. Hence, we notice that Allawi's speeches 2004 and 2008 contain different syntactic and semantic structures that highlight and describe their positive power of themselves, Iraqi people and the country e.g.:

(11)   "We were successful. The shrine was preserved. Order was restored. And Najaf and Kufa were returned to their citizens".

(12)   "We have many geopolitical and economic and cultural and religious considerations in this field Iraq is the cradle of our Prophet Abraham Iraq has Muslim neighbors and an Arab depth it is a meeting point of great nations in the region".

(13)   "Iraq is still a nation with an inspiring culture and the tradition and an educated and civilized people".

(14)   "And Iraq is still a land made strong by a faith which teaches us tolerance, love, respect and duty"

These sentences demonstrate the good action of Iraqi people by reminding them about their tolerance and the sacrifices they made to help their people. Those highlight the traditional ideologies by stating the importance of Iraqi economic, geopolitical, religious and cultural considerations. Employing such utterances shows how Iraq values and existence are strong and effective. Further, Allawi expresses how Iraq land and nation are solid and strong because of the existence of faith, culture, traditions and educated people.

This level of analysis is best understood as an illustrative study that identifies how politicians' positive representations can be democratically evaluated within their speech. It also reflects how politicians' positive representations can be considered democratic even without mentioning democratic words and viewed democracy very positively.

Negative Other- Representations in the Speeches

Through exploring politician's speeches, it is obvious when the topics of others come out. Politician tends to change and ignore these topics to be more negative to alter the attention of the audience. Then, these are the ways of politicians to manipulate the speech and cover their hidden ideologies. Mainly, the negative other –representation category is offered through others' rejections and negatives. It is essentially engaged to highlight the bad/ negative activities and de- emphases worthy

activities. This category is used in most of the utterances of Allawi's speech throughout engaging discursive strategies that convey the negative presentation. Here are some exemplars of Allawi's speeches that illustrate the bad side of:

(15)   "Among them are those who nurse fantasies of the former regime returning to power. There are fanatics who seek to impose a perverted vision of Islam in which the face of Allah cannot be seen. And there are terrorists, including many from outside Iraq, who seek to make our country the main battleground against freedom, democracy and civilization".

(16)   "Well over a million Iraqis were murdered or are missing. We estimate at least 300,000 in mass graves, which stands as monuments to the inhumanity of Saddam's regime".

Precisely, in utterance (14) Allawi gives a clear vision about the intention of the fanatics and terrorists who seek to accomplish their radical images, to distort the image of Islam and to make our country a battleground. Another clear image about the bad action and brutality of Saddam's regime illustrated in utterance (15) by mentioning the result of the bad regime murdering Iraq. The result show that other management have a negative ideology as Sadam who was signed as an enemy that is recognised as negative ideology and that the image of those negative representations displays various variations of ideologies.

Hence, exploiting such negative representation utterances and words in the speeches made by the politician is to appeal the addressees' attention and to make them think intensely about the enemies' bad actions and images. These macro-level characteristics impact not only their organization of government but also form the context in which audiences develop and sustain opinions about various forms of government.

CONCLUSION

On the macro-level analysis, having investigated the speeches (2004, 2008) of the politician to detect the predominant ideology, it is recognized that Allawi adopts dissimilar ideological attitudes on maximum of the matters enclosed in the speeches. Allawi ideologically appears more positive Additionally, Allawi aims to institute a peace-seeking exchange with the world through positivism and prevention. Thus, he focuses on the positive explanation for eliminating others and their bad systems from power. Allawi has the tendency to lesser negative representation of other to lessen/ moderate the strain between Iraq and its community: In the use of positive presentation, as Iraqi politician, Allawi indirectly denotes the role as a supporter of human rights that is to express from a moral viewpoint. Thus, He plays the role of morally upright politician and that the experiences in distributing domestic strength give the power to express to the audiences. Conversely, in the use of negative presentation, Iraqi politician tacitly distance the political and personal identity from radicals by referring to those terrorist and radicals as "they" and the negative "other". Political discourse analysis is realized as multidisciplinary issues that normally accomplish social group minds focusing on the politician's norms, identities, and goals. Thus, representation is a framework of investigation reviewing cognitive ideology and beliefs. This investigation has exposed that discourse shows a decisive role in producing beliefs/ claims as it inclines to ignore the others or their actions since political discourse analysis has become accepted to be applied in investigating social context, interaction, and the relationship between language and ideology. Nevertheless, political discourse analysis is precisely the powerful instrument in the construction of discourse to identify ideologies used in the political, social context itself.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

RK conceived the idea, gathered the data, wrote the manuscript, and analyzed the data and contribute in analyzing the data critically.

MHH also conceived the idea and participated in the design of the study, he also helped in writing the manuscript with its correction.

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