

The Iraqis' Reaction to the UN's Role in October Revolution (2019-2021): A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

The Mid East witness many protests at the end of 2019 in Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Iran. The Iraqi Protests which is known by the month in which it started on as October Revolution or Tishreen Revolution takes great echo around the world because it continues for a long time in the most dreadful circumstances ever. The protest was in Baghdad, the capital, as well as all the southern and the mid provinces of Iraq. The protesters who are of different age, sex, religions and social class started their protest on 1 October 2019 calling for their rights and asking for a complete change in the governing system. They emphasize their peaceful protest regardless of all type of violence that they face, such as cutting off the internet, snipers, tear gas, hot water, hot pepper gas, kidnapping and live bullets, leading to massive deaths and injuries. This paper aims to highlight the most significant linguistic choices coupled with the ideological point of view of the participants. To achieve this, the researchers analyse the UN posts on Facebook and a couple of the Iraqis comments on each post using critical discourse analysis. Therefore, the researchers employ Wodak's (2001; 2009) discourse-historical approach and van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of actor representation approach. The findings of the analysis have revealed that the main topoi are topoi of death and disappointment in both the UN's posts and the Iraqis' comments. While the UN tends to use semi-formal nomination out of respect for the people they mention, the Iraqis mostly use informal nomination without any honorification to represent their anger from the current situation.

Key Words: Critical discourse analysis, Iraq, October revolution, Protesters, and The UN.

1. Introduction

Media supply people with news about what is going on in the world (Barker, 2012, p.3). The importance of media in the present world is undeniable. Malkawi (2012, p. 22) defines media as "a window through which we can view the world and live the events as real. It has the power to influence readers by all means since it is an effective mechanism for affecting individual perceptions of reality." Therefore, the majority of the world inhabitants are lately influenced by media discourse (Macdonald, 2003, p.1; Talbot, 2007, p.3). Additionally, media studies have a notable interest in psychology, linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, cultural studies, pragmatics, cultural geography, sociolinguistics, cognition, sociology, and tourism studies. Recently, social media plays a

great role in delivering news. In the USA Pew found out that 64% of the adult population using Facebook to read the news. Thus, about 75 million of the American population reading news on Facebook. With other millions doing the same in different countries around the world. Thus, the impact of news on Facebook is noteworthy (Tremayne, 2017, p.26). Few studies have been done so far by using media discourse and CDA theories for examining revolutions. In 2012, Gualda studies the representation of the Bolivarian Revolution in Television. Meanwhile, Mahfouz (2013), Hasaneen (2013), and Guzman (2015) have studied the Egyptian Revolution in 2011 which is also known as the 'January 25 Revolution'. Hamrita (2016) examines the post-revolution in Tunisia. Afshin and Gholamreza (2017) study the post-Islamic revolution in Iran and its effect on cinema production. Therefore, this paper can fill the hiatus in the literature, as the case of the October Revolution in Iraq is one of the most contemporary and controversial cases, it deserves a close investigation of the discourse topics, linguistic strategies, and ideology. Consequently, this paper aims at representing the October Revolution from both the UN and The Iraqis side on Facebook from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The researchers address the following objectives:

1. Investigating the topics that are associated with the representation of the October Revolution in the selected post and comments.
2. Examining the strategies and categories that are used to represent Iraqi protesters in the selected data?
3. Revealing the ideology of the participants.

1.1 Iraq

Iraq has held a unique and great role in the history of humans. In its fertile plains, known as Mesopotamia, the world witnessed the dawn of human civilization. It is where humans invented theoretical and applied science, writing, and the application of heat to metal and evolved irrigated agriculture. It is here where humans started keeping historical records, developed literature and music and established written laws (Ghareeb, 2004, p. xxxix). Because of its rich civilization, Iraq has a bright history "Its archaeological sites rank among the world's most important". Iraq also has major oil reserves and large areas of rich farmland that make Iraq richer with natural resources more than any of its neighbours. The largest Iraq's inhabitation is Arab, and since 1920 when Iraq became a modern nation, the country started to have a great political role in the Arab world (Mance, 2003, p.10-13).

Baghdad, the country's largest city and it is also Iraq's capital. In 1958, Iraq became a republic that ruled by the Ba'th Party only since 1968. Saddam Hussein is the last member of this party who led Iraq (ibid.). Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq from 1979 to 2003, which led Iraq to two Wars: the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988), and the Kuwait war (1990-1991), and a sanction that destroyed Iraq completely.

In March 2003, the United States launched a war to invade Iraq, without the approval of the United Nations. After three years of invasion, thousands of American soldiers, as well as billions of dollars, were spent (Kashmeri, 2007, p.1). On the other hand, more than 5,500 Iraqi civilians were killed in the first 12 months of the occupation. Thus, many voices have called for an extended period, but this is going only to increase the costs of invasion in both lives and money (Preble, 2004, p.5).

On 22 February 2006, terrorists destroyed the golden dome of Ali Al-Hadi and Hassan al-Askari Mosque in Samara. This pushed Shi'ite Arab to attack several Sunni mosques in Baghdad and Basra. Thus, the sectarian violence started in areas where Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs were mixed, especially, in

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Baghdad. In several areas, Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs began to relocate, according to the sectarian's lines. The Iraqi Ministry of Health recorded over 3,000 violent civilian death per month between July and October 2006 and about 3,709 during October. The causes of these deaths were terrorist attacks, roadside bombs, kidnapping, police abuse, military operations, as well as crossfire. Moreover, attacks on pipelines, stations, as well as refineries cost Iraq about \$11 billion in the years 2004-2005. Additionally, looters broke pipelines to steal oil and sell it at a higher price in foreign countries. The power was also destroyed as a result of the attacks on high-voltage lines and generators in southern Iraq. Such political and economic life caused the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to state that about 1, 6 million Iraqis were refugees outside of Iraq and more than 400,000 became displaced within the country itself (Pirnie & Connell, 2008, pp.16, 53-57).

During spring 2006, Iraqis practised the election process for the first time in the history of Iraq. Thus, Iraqi former Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki first came to power in 2006 and continued till 2014, at a time when sectarian violence was threatening to tear the country apart. As the Shi'ite majority came to power, the sectarian war between Sunnis and Shiites was escalated. Therefore, Al-Maliki negatively reacted through the use of force to kill 56 people at a protest in the north of Hawija in April 2013. This pushed some Sunnis to military solution by joining a new group of terrorism as a sect of al-Qaeda which is of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Beauchamp, Fisher & Matthews, 2014). ISIS's aim is the establishment of a caliphate. They conquered one-third of Iraq's region, which result in the unexpected collapse of Iraq's state security powers. The UN Human Rights Council stated that between June 2014 and December 2017, in the areas that ISIS controlled, they used a policy of executing civilians as a method of establishing their control. ISIS performed mass killings, put a strict system of social behaviour, and targeted civilians, killing those who not agree with their Islamic ideological concepts. In their attack, they targeted Shi'ite, and other ethnic minorities such as Kurds, Yazidi, Christians, Shabaks, and Kaka'i. After three years of fighting against ISIL, the Iraqi security forces succeeded in controlling the areas that had been occupied by ISIS in 2014. In December 2017, Prime Minister Al-Abadi announced that ISIS was militarily defeated. Ever since the level of violence has declined greatly, and Iraq is rebuilding its organisations and all forms of civil life. Nevertheless, ISIS is still active in certain parts of the country (European Asylum Support Office, 2019, p.40, 45).

From 2003 to 2014, Iraq witness three parliamentary elections in which three individual have won but none of them hold the position of prime minister. In 2005, Ibrahim al-Jaafari won but he was replaced by Nouri al-Maliki, a compromise candidate. In 2010, Ayad Allawi nearly won by two seats however he could not form a government, consequently this lead to the re-election of Maliki. In 2014, Maliki won, yet he was pushed aside by other parties because of the rise of ISIS, and Haider Al-Abadi became the prime minister at this time (European Union, 2018, p.15).

Abadi tried to give economic reform a priority and has tried to bring private investors to repair the economy. Generally, Iraq's oil has drawn investors into the markets and economy. Abadi tried to fix the problem related to Iraq's electricity and banking sectors to make Iraq more competitive in the area. He also plans to support small- and medium-sized businesses in the fields of oil services, construction energy, manufacturing, and consumer goods. Yet, Abadi faces strong challenges from both informal and formal economies, which depend on the support of individuals who resist reform. Many of these people are either politicians or influence by politicians. As a result, the Shi'ite southern provinces in Basra, Dhi Qar and Maysan protest against the government targeting

corruption. These provinces especially Basra presides over most of Iraq's oil, however, they have suffered longly from corruption, drug epidemics, power blackouts, and the mismanagement of garbage. Basrawis believe that the same corrupt parties and their Iranian agents have not been able to help the oil-rich region (European Union, 2018, p.25-26). From the 2003 American invasion which aimed to bring a new democratic government till 2019, the Iraqis have passed through nothing except death, violence, and poverty. The health and the education system is the worst in the history of Iraq. Thousands and thousands of Iraqis lost their lives because of the lack of security. Thus, after over 16 years of patience, the Iraqis set 1 October 2019 as a date for anti-government peaceful protest, asking for their rights.

1.2The United Nations

The United Nations is a unique institution for a group of independent nations which work together for social progress and world peace. The UN started on 24 October 1945 with 51 countries. In 2008, the organisation of the UN had grown to 192 countries (United Nations, 2008a, p.3). The UN does not represent a distinct government or nation. It represents all its Members and only does what the Members determine that it should do (United Nations, 2008a, p.3). The notion of the UN was started through World War II. World ruler who had co-operated to end the war suggested the need for a mechanism which would stop future wars and support bring peace to the world. They recognised that would only be achievable if all countries worked together within one global organization. Consequently, the United Nations was this Organization (United Nations, 2008a, p.3).

A similar institute named 'the League of Nations' was established before the UN, after World War I in 1919. Their core aim was to keep world peace. Nevertheless, many countries, the USA is one of them, did not join the League. Others that had joined later quit. The League failed to take action to prevent World War II. Despite this, the League did not succeed, but it lighted a dream for a global organization which was the United Nations (United Nations, 2008a, p.4). Equally, Nye and Welch (2013: 200), offer that, "if the League of Nations was designed to prevent another World War I, the United Nations was designed in 1943-1945 to prevent a repeat of World War II". The fear of wars was a huge aspect in the formation of the UN (Ariye, 2014, p.25). The Opening to the Charter expresses the main aims of all the peoples whose governments joined form the United Nations:

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom..." (United Nations, 2008b, p.4)

The UN also encourages "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". They also call for: (Ibid., p.240)

Freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment...The right to recognition as a person before the law; the right to judicial remedy;...freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; the right to a fair trial and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal; the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty... Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence; freedom from attacks upon honour and reputation; the right to protection of the law against such attacks. Freedom of movement; the right to seek asylum; the right to a nationality...Freedom of thought,

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conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression. The right to peaceful assembly and association. (Ibid., p.241)

Lastly, the UN is the only Association that has global membership. The UN allows political rulers to communicate in ways they may be unable or unwilling to otherwise. The UN's neutrality allows it to operate and negotiate in the hardest places in the world. Over 100,000 UN peacekeepers on four continents fulfil their tasks more effectively and with notably fewer funds than what any government can do on its own (Ibid., p. xvii).

2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis has its origins in 'critical linguistics', which appeared in the late 1970s in the work of Roger Fowler, Gunter Kress, Robert Hodge, and Tony Trew at the University of East Anglia in the UK. However, this can be found in the classic publication of *Language and Control* (1979). Critical Linguistics shows how language and grammar used as ideological instruments (Machin, & Mayr, 2012, p.2). CDA has influenced by Halliday's (1978, 1985) systemic functional linguistics (Jahedi, Abdullah, & Mukundan, 2014, p.28). The start of the CDA network is also marked by the launch through several books, such as Teun van Dijk's book on racism, *Prejudice in Discourse* (1984), *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough (1989) *Language, Power and Ideology* by Ruth Wodak (1989) (Wodak, & Meyer, 2001, p.4).

Kress (1990:94) states that CDA was "emerging as a distinct theory of language, a radically different kind of linguistics". However, Wodak (2001; 2004) argues that the term Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are frequently used interchangeably and that the term CDA is preferred to represent the theory previously recognized as CL (Wodak, & Busch, 2004, p.108; Wodak, & Meyer, 2001, P.2) Therefore, CL and CDA can be defined as essentially "concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, & Meyer, 2001, P.2). Fairclough (1995a) defines critical theory as "any theory concerned with critique of ideology and the effects of domination" (p20).

Scholars from different backgrounds such as formal linguistics, sociolinguistics, literature studies and social psychology have participated in the growth of CDA as well as have directed it into domains such as ethnicity, racism, political oratory, gender studies, etc. (Wodak, 2006, p.5). Thus, CDA is mainly multidisciplinary, and it focuses greatly on the relations between discourse and society, especially social cognitive, culture, and politics (van Dijk, 1995, p.17), as it studies cases of racism, injustice, prejudice, inequality, and danger (Rahimi, & Riasati, 2011, p.107). CDA studies do not limit themselves with the 'verbal' approaches of discourse, but also to other semiotic dimensions, such as film, pictures, music, sound, gestures, etc. (van Dijk, 1995, p.18).

In his chapter in *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2001), Van Dijk states:

It should be stressed that CDA, and discourse analysis in general, are not 'methods' that can be applied in the study of social problems. Discourse studies is a cross-discipline with many subdisciplines and areas, each with its theories, descriptive instruments or methods of inquiry. (P.98) Thus, CDA is not only a school, in fact, it includes a range of approaches. Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk consider the main scholar in the domain of CDA. Fairclough presents a systemic functional linguistic perspective, Van Dijk presents a text-linguistic and cognitive linguistics, and Wodak present interactional studies (Amerian, & Esmaili, 2015, p.1033)

3. Methodology and Data Analysis

The data selected has been taken from The 'United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq-UNAMI' formal page on Facebook that can be found in the following link: https://www.facebook.com/UnitedNationsIraq/?ref=br_rs. The page is only for the United Nation in Iraq, therefore, every post is published in three languages: Arabic, English, and Kurdish, as there is a large number of Kurd in the north of Iraq. The researcher only picks up English posts. The study concentrated on three main posts for three important events that happened during the peaceful revolution that started on 1 October 2019 and continue till 2021. The researcher also selected five random comments for each post to show both the UN reaction to the events and the Iraqis reaction to the UN responses.

First Post: October Revolution Bloodbath

Contextualised the text

October Revolution began on 1 October 2019, a date that was established by civil activists on social media. The protest was spreading over the southern and central cities of Iraq to protest 16 years of unemployment, inefficient public services, and corruption. Later on, they call to overthrow the governments with all its parties and to stop Iranian interference in Iraq. Despite the protests were peaceful people calling for their simplest rights but the Iraqi government and its parties have been using hot water, hot pepper gas, tear gas, snipers, live bullets and kidnapping against them, leading to immense deaths and injuries.

On 27 November, the protest in Najaf torched the Iranian consulate to express their anger from Iran interference in Iraq policy the situation became so violent. The Iraqi Militia killed eleven protesters in Najaf in live fire, meanwhile, Nasiriya city faced another bloodbath in the next following days by the security forces headed by Lieutenant General Jamil Al-Shammari. More than 33 protesters were killed and 233 were wounded by using tear gas canisters and live ammunition (Ibrahim, 2019).

Topics and Argumentation

The main topoi in this post and comments are *topoi of death*, *anger* and *accusation* as the protests massive death is the cause of publishing the post as well as the reason beyond Iraqis commenters' anger as shown in (1-5).

1. Special Representative of the United Nation Secretary-General, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert: "The increasing numbers of deaths and injuries are simply intolerable. Presence of spoilers, derailing peaceful protests places Iraq on a dangerous trajectory. I'll brief the UN Security Council in New York..."
2. After all it's 'IRAQI BLOOD' doesn't worth that much to you unlike the "IRAQI OIL"... Go celebrate thanksgiving and black Friday...
3. This shattered lady must be replaced, and the United Nations must assume its legal responsibility in accordance with the Charter of Human Rights.
4. The spoiler is the government men and you have reportes (*sic*) about it that make you part of this Crim (*sic*) because you know them and didn't make any things to save Iraqi people.
5. Is there a number of deaths that can be tolerated? It looks like 500 deaths and 15000 injuries can be tolerated by the UN.

Genericisation is seen in "the UN Security Council", " the United Nations", " the Charter of Human Rights", and "The spoiler", as all of them is singular with a definite article. Meanwhile, *assimilation* which is represented by plurality can be found in extract (1): "Presence of spoilers" and "peaceful

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protests". *Assimilation* can be represented via mass noun as in "Iraqi people" in extract (4) to generalize the threat that all the Iraqis face from their government. The social actor "Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert" is known as *individuality* as it stands for a single actor, however, "This shattered lady" in extract (3) is also *individuality* as it stands for the representative of the UN in Baghdad, the commenter here describes her in such term as he believes that she is unable to take action against the violence that the Iraqis face. According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 37) representing social actor in a statistical form is called *aggregation* as in "500 deaths" and "15000 injuries".

6. Special Representative of the United Nation Secretary-General, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert...

The type of *Nomination* in the above extract is *semi-formal nomination* as there is the given name and surname "Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert", the extract also continues *honorification* as the post publishers who is obviously a member in the UN tries to show his deepest respect for his/ her head as well as s/he tries to supplies people with the important role that Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert stands for.

Metaphor

7. Slower than a sloth...

One of the commenters shows her bothering from the UN inactive role in protecting the Iraqi protesters by comparing their slowness to the 'sloth' as already two months had passed on this act of violence and killing hundreds of young men and injuring more than a thousand without taking any action. Thus, this is a metaphor serving the role of UN slowness in protecting the protesters who peacefully call for their rights and the only response they find is death and violence.

Quotation Patterns

1. Special Representative of the United Nation Secretary-General, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert: "The increasing numbers of deaths and injuries are simply intolerable. Presence of spoilers, derailing peaceful protests places Iraq on a dangerous trajectory..."
2. After all it's "IRAQI BLOOD" doesn't worth that much to you unlike the "IRAQI OIL"...

The post publisher uses a *direct quotation* to quote the exact words that Jeanine Plasschaert used in her tweets to repost them on the UN page on Facebook. The post publisher tries to be authentic and accurate in his news that why s/he delivers Mrs Plasschaert's words directly via using the quote. Mrs Plasschaert's words express her deepest anger by the increase of numbers of dead and wounded between the peaceful protesters. One of the commenters uses two short quotations in one sentence as she highlights two completely different ideas. One is the "IRAQI BLOOD" which stands for over 500 protestors who have been killed during the first two months of the revolution without any serious action from the UN to protect them. While the second quote is "IRAQI OIL" which according to her is the only thing that the UN cares about.

Second Post: The Selection of the New PM Contextualised the text

The anti-government protesters succeed in forcing Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mahdi to resign after a month from starting the protest. Thus, Iraq President Barham Salih has to select a new Prime Minister that matches the protesters' demands. On 1 February 2020, Barham Salih declared Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi as the new Prime Minister. Tawfiq Allawi studied civil engineering in

Lebanon then shifted to live in the UK and get British citizenship before entering Iraqi politics after the 2003 invasion. The protesters refuse him because he was part of the corrupt government that they protest to remove. As Allawi was Minister of Communications twice in Al Maliki government.

Topics and Argumentation

UN post contains *topoi of welcoming* for the Prime Minister Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi as in (1-5). The SRS G Plasschaert expresses her high hopes for Allawi to take Iraq out from the current crises in a short time. While the comments (6-9) contains *topoi of disappointment* as the new PM does not match the protesters' demands. Consequently, the commenters express their disappointment, not only because Mr Allawi does not match their demands but also because the UN welcome him.

1. 1 February 2020 – The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, welcomes the designation of a prime minister, Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi.
2. Progress will require that all actors support the work of the prime minister-designate in the service of the people of Iraq.
3. The commitments expressed in the statement of the prime minister-designate address many demands of the peaceful protesters.
4. the Iraqi people will ultimately judge their leadership on results and accomplishments. The United Nations has called time and again on all stakeholders to rise above partisanship and place the national interest first.
5. Ms. Hennis-Plasschaert urges to spare no effort in drawing Iraq out of its crisis. The United Nations will continue to support the Iraqi people and their government...
6. He already refused by the people! Stop making fun of us.
7. Actually, you didn't have any idea about the Iraqi protesters and what they want, the new PM have been chosen by the corrupt parties... he is refused by the Iraqi people.
8. Muhammed Taqfiq Allawi is not welcomed by the people
9. Why welcome he is one of the personalities rejected by the demonstrators who presented many martyrs, and there are also many handicapped and wounded...

According to van Leeuwen (2008: 36), *genericisation* can be realised by singular with definite or indefinite articles. Thus, "the prime minister-designate", "The United Nations", "the national interest", and "the new PM" are all genericisation as there is a definite article with a single social actor. *Assimilation* can be found greatly in the above extract via using the massive noun 'people' to generalize the idea of rejecting Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi by all the people of Iraq as in (6,7,8). *Aggregation* appears in various forms, such as "1 February 2020" which is the date of declaring Tawfiq Allawi as a Prime Minister as well as the date of publishing the UN welcoming post for him. *Aggregation* can also be found by using the quantifier 'many' as in "many demands", here Plasschaert referring to the protestors demand that Mr Allawi is going to fulfil. One of the commenters expressing his disappointment for selecting Mr Allawi as he is already been rejected by the protesters, who have offered "*many* martyrs...*many* handicapped and wounded", here it is also *nominated* by using the quantifier 'many'.

Individuality is obvious in (1, 5, 8) by mentioning only two main social actors; Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi and Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaer. The former is the new Prime minister for Iraq after four months from the anti-government protest. While the latter is the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq who welcomes Mr Allawi for his new role. In the UN post, the individual has been stated in *semi-formal nomination* strategy by mentioning their full names with *honorification* to show great respect for them according to their important role and position. However, the commenter tends to mention "Muhammed Taqfiq Allawi" in (8) without

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any *honorification* as the commenter is not convinced that Mr Allawi is going to be Prime Minister as the protester fight for months for a good leader. Moreover, "Muhammed Taqfiq Allawi" here is a *semi-formal nomination* since there are the given name and the surname.

Metaphor

1. The road ahead remains fraught with difficulties.
2. Trade in peoples' issues is your dirty game.

Jeanine Plasschaer uses *metaphor* in describing the difficult decisions and days that the new PM should go through as if they are a "road" that is "fraught with difficulties". Mr Allawi is required to satisfy the protesters who are angry with the same corrupted government and parties that govern Iraq for over 16 years. He also promises to sentence all those who participated in killing the protesters. One of the commenters uses metaphor to describe the UN welcoming for Mr Allawi as a "trade" and "game" since the UN as a humanitarian organization should be on the side of the demonstrators. Thus, they should reject him as he doesn't meet the protester's demands.

Quotation Patterns

1. "Iraq urgently needs to move forward. The prime minister-designate faces a monumental task: rapid Cabinet formation and parliamentary confirmation to press ahead with meaningful reforms addressing popular demands, delivering justice and accountability."

In the mid of her statement, Jeanine Plasschaer uses quotation marks to highlight the most important points that Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi should do in his time as prime minister. He should form his new government in a short time. He also has to take the Iraqi protesters' demands into consideration and bring to justice those who killed the protesters as he promises.

Third Post: Najaf Massacre Contextualised the text

On the evening of 5 February 2020, the Shi'ite cleric and politician Muqtada Al-Sadr have been accused of carrying out "massacres" against the peaceful protestors in Najaf. As his supporters who are called the "blue Caps" had already torched the protest camps in Basra, Nasiriya and Baghdad. But in Najaf, they also opened fire on the protestors after torching their camps to end the peaceful protest that has least for more than four months. According to REUTERS this massacre results in the death of more than seven people and 25 were wounded. That night, the blue Caps' vehicles continued chasing the demonstrators in the city's streets to arrest them, additionally, they also tried to arrest wounded protesters in Najaf's hospitals. That dreadful night is unforgettable in the mind of the Najafian citizens.

Topics and Argumentation

Topoi of death, anger, and disappointment are the main *topoi* in the extracts below, as the Iraqis feel deeply sad for the massacre that takes place in one of the holiest cities in the world. In front of the world, the Blue Caps continued doing their awful deeds against harmless protesters in great worldly silence even though the dreadful things that happened that night was posted on Social Media by the protesters themselves.

1. Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert ...SRSG Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert strongly condemns the violence and high number of casualties in #Najaf last night. Protection peaceful protesters should be guaranteed at all times, not when it is late.
2. The United Nations did not intervene to stop the brutal attacks against the peaceful demonstrators by the escaped militias inside Iraq...the blood of the people of the homeland is still flowing on its land
3. up to 700 martyrs and we spent 5 months in the streets...
4. Jeanine cares for her makeup more than cares for innocents Iraqis. Her approval of the new pm ignite the Iraqis protests as saw no hope of the international organisations...all bribes and looting she already accomplished.
5. You give a lot of promises to iraqi (sic) people to charge the murder and the killer which you know evry (sic) well and I do believe you have evidence against them
6. Najaf massacre... You know who caused it and attacked the protesters...He is Muqtada Al-Sadr, and his supporters are proud and proud (sic) of the massacre.

Jeanine Plasschaert describes the protesters as "peaceful protesters" which is *genericisation* as she tries to generalize the fact that all the anti-government protestors who protest for over four months are harmless and peaceful as they face a lot of violence and continue their peaceful manner of protesting. "The United Nations" in (2) is also *genericisation* but this time by using singular with a definite article. *Assimilation* is obvious in "the peaceful demonstrators" and "the Iraqis protests" that emphasizes their nationality as well as their peaceful protest. *Assimilation* is also found via using a mass noun as in "iraqi (sic) people" and "evidence". However, *individuality* is represented through using single nouns as in "Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert", "Jeanine", and "Muqtada Al-Sadr". A commenter tries to show the reason beyond his anger via mentioning the number of protestors who died for this cause which "700 martyrs" as well as the period of their protest "5 months" in cold, rainy, and unsafe circumstances without the protection of the UN or any other human organization.

Nomination is another important strategy that can be found in (1), (4), and (6). In (1) the post publisher gives the UN representative full name which is a *semi-formal nomination* with *honorification* as s/he introduces her to the people in an appropriate manner. However, one of the commenters addresses the representative of the UN in Baghdad by her first name "Jeanine" which is an *informal nomination*. Here, the commenter shows her carelessness of Jeanine's title, for her, Jeanine does not do anything positive by the position she holds as the UN representative to save the Iraqi protestors. Lastly, "Muqtada Al-Sadr" is a *semi-formal nomination* by mentioning the given name and the surname. The commenter here did not mention any of Al-Sadr's religious or political titles as he did not consider him as a true leader.

Metaphor

7. the blood of the people of the homeland is still flowing on its land
8. Jeanine cares for her makeup more than cares for innocents Iraqis. Her approval of the new pm ignite the Iraqis protests as saw no hope of the international organisations

The commenter in (7) describes the blood in the Najaf massacre as a "flowing" to emphasize the huge tragedy that the young protestors face on that Wednesday evening from burning their camp, opening live fire on them, to chasing them in the streets and hospitals to arrest them. The second commenter uses two metaphors. First, describing Mrs Plasschaert as a woman who cares about her make up more than she cares about the Iraqi protestors' live who have been killed for over four

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months without taking any serious action to stop that massacre. Secondly, the commenter describes Mrs Plasschaert approval of Tuqic as the new PM as an "ignite" that will inflame the protesters from believing in any international or humanitarian organization to protect them.

Quotation Marks cannot be found in this post and comments.

Conclusion

Social Media plays a great role in modern life, as it makes the world a smaller place. It becomes the place that people not only use to enjoy or communicate but also to know the latest news. Social Media plays a great role in modern revolutions, especially in the Arab Spring and the aftermath. Thus, the researcher selected the United Nation Facebook page to examine both the UN role in the October Revolution in Iraq and the Iraqi people's reaction to this role. To achieve this aim, the researcher selected three different posts on the UN page that are related to three different events that happened in the first four months from the Revolution, in addition, to five English comments for each post. To examine the data, the researcher selects Wodak's (2001; 2009) *discourse-historical approach* and van Leeuwen's (2008) *sociological categories of actor representation approach*. The selected theoretical framework helps the researcher to examine both, the UN role, and the Iraqis' reaction and discuss the differences between them. Therefore, the UN tries to welcome the new prime minister, but the Iraqi people reject him with great anger as he does not match their demands.

Topoi of death are the dominants topoi in this paper as it appears in the first and the last case study, the UN mourning the death of the young protesters whether by their governments or by "the Blue Caps". While the Iraqi commenters express great anger as they want the UN to take serious action; not only mourn the 700 protesters and the thousands wounded. This lead to *topoi of disappointment* and *anger* as the Iraqi people feel that the UN let them down especially after Mrs Plasschaert welcomes the new PM Mr Allawi who does not match the demonstrators' demands.

Association strategy is used a lot with the mass noun 'people' to generalize that stands for all the Iraqi people not only the protesters. Another common strategy is using semi-formal nomination with honorification whenever the post publisher mentions the name of the representative of the UN in Baghdad "Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert as s/he introduces her to the people out of respect to her position. While, the commenters referring to Mrs Plasschaert, they tend to use her first name only (informal nomination) without any honorification to express their dissatisfaction by her role and reaction toward the death of the protesters or forcing Mr Allawi as a Prime Minister. The study also notices the use of other strategies such as *genericisation*, *Individualization*, *Metaphor*, and *Quotations Marks*. Lastly, this paper opens the gates for further study in the field of media discourse in general, and revolution in particular from a CDA perspective.

Appendixes

First Post

 **United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq-UNAMI** بعثة الأمم المتحدة العراق
29 Nov 2019 at 3:02 pm

Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert: "The increasing numbers of deaths and injuries are simply intolerable. Presence of spoilers, derailing peaceful protests places Iraq on a dangerous trajectory. I'll brief the UN Security Council in New York on Tuesday (3 December)".

Baghdad, 29 November 2019

 Jeanine Hennis @JeanineHennis


The increasing numbers of deaths and injuries cannot be tolerated. Presence of spoilers, derailing peaceful protests, places Iraq on a dangerous trajectory. I'll brief the Security Council in New York on Tuesday (3

 Jeanine Hennis @JeanineHennis

The increasing numbers of deaths and injuries cannot be tolerated. Presence of spoilers, derailing peaceful protests, places Iraq on a dangerous trajectory. I'll brief the Security Council in New York on Tuesday (3 December).




2:57 PM · Nov 29, 2019 · Echofan

 Lydia H. Jazrawi

Yea take your time!
No rush!
After all it's "IRAQI BLOOD" it doesn't worth that much to you unlike the "IRAQI OIL"...
Go celebrate thanksgiving and Black Friday and may God forgive you for what you have done to this country....


United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq-UNAMI بعثة الأمم المتحدة العراق
oh yea I forgot SHAME ON YOU

13w Like Reply

 Ahmed Witwit


The spoiler is the government men and you have reportes about it that make you a part of this Crim because you know them and didn't make any things to save Iraqi people

13w Like Reply

 Samir Abdulahad


This shattered lady must be replaced, and the United Nations must assume its legal responsibility in accordance with the Charter of Human Rights

13w Like Reply

 Siba Petros

Slower than a sloth...

13w Like Reply

 Fadi Khalid

Is there a number of deaths that can tolerated?
It looks like 500 deaths and 15000 injuries can be tolerated by the UN

13w Like Reply

 **United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI)** بعثة الأمم المتحدة لمساعدة العراق (بوسنامي)

UN Representative welcomes designation of new Iraqi prime minister, urges swift action to deliver on reforms, accountability


Baghdad, 1 February 2020 – The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, welcomes the designation of a prime minister, Mohammed Tawfiq Allawi. She urges swift action to deliver, first and foremost, on substantial reforms and fulfil the rightful demands of the people for justice and accountability.

"Iraq urgently needs to move forward. The prime minister-designate faces a monumental task: rapid Cabinet formation and parliamentary confirmation to press ahead with meaningful reforms addressing popular demands, delivering justice and accountability."

The road ahead remains fraught with difficulties. Progress will require that all actors support the work of the prime minister-designate in the service of the people of Iraq. The commitments expressed in the statement of the prime minister-designate address many demands of the peaceful protesters. While this is surely a welcome and encouraging sign, the Iraqi people will ultimately judge their leadership on results and accomplishments.


The United Nations has called time and again on all stakeholders to rise above partisanship and place the national interest first. Now is the time to act. Ms. Hennis-Plasschaert urges to spare no effort in drawing Iraq out of its crisis. The United Nations will continue to support the Iraqi people and their government to build a more peaceful, just and prosperous Iraq.

For more information, please contact: Mr. Samir Ghazwan, Director of Public Information/Spokesperson
United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, Phone: +964 790 293 3283, Email: unaminfo@un.org
or the UNAMI Public Information Office: unaminfo@un.org

 Ali Ibrahim

He already refused by the people!
Stop making fun of us.

4w Like Reply


 قحطان الساهر


Trade in peoples' issues is your dirty game. You never know, to achieve the aspirations of the oppressed peoples, money and sharing interests only.

4w Like Reply

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Second Post

 **Samir Al-Ghanmi**
Unfortunately, you do not have any humanity, all of which is a lie. Rather, Muhammad Tawfiq Allawi is not welcomed by the people. Rather, it was nominated by corrupt parties.

 ضياء بونصر
Actually, you didn't have any idea about the Iraqi protesters and what they want, the new PM have been chosen by corrupt parties, and for your information he is refused by the Iraqi people.

4w Like Reply 4

 **United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq-UNAMI** بعثة الأمم المتحدة العراق
6 Feb at 1:26 pm

Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert

 UNAMI @UNIraq

SRSJ Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert strongly condemns the violence and high number of casualties in #Najaf last night. Protection of peaceful protesters should be guaranteed at all times, not when it is too late.


1:24 PM · Feb 6, 2020 · Twitter Web App

202 163 comments · 5 shares

Like Comment Share


 رنا البرزنجي
Why welcome he is one of the personalities rejected by the demonstrators who presented many martyrs, and there are also many handicapped and wounded, incomprehensible positions

4w Like Reply 15


 **Hassan Dikhl**
The United Nations did not intervene to stop the brutal attacks against the peaceful demonstrators by the escaped militias inside Iraq, where we see only every condemnation of aggression and the blood of the people of the homeland is still flowing on its land and we did not find anyone moving to stand with them to meet their legitimate demands or stop killing or intimidating them from time to time. Direct intervention and taking a firm stance towards the deteriorating conditions

3w Like Reply


Third Post

 **Maream Al Hussieny**
What is next, up to 700 martyrs, and you are between the second and the last of his tweets, and the words of his benefits are just words and no more, and we spent 5 months in the streets cold in the rain with hunger vinegar. May God take revenge on you and forgive you, because your presence is useless and there is no role for you. Only media, we are currently dying.


3w Like Reply

 **Faaz Al Shammari**
Najaf massacre
You know who caused it and attacked the protesters
What are you doing?
He is Muqtada Al-Sadr, and his supporters are proud and proud of the massacre

3w Like Reply 2

 **Sanaa Al-Azawi**
Jeanine cares for her makeup more than cares for innocents Iraqis. Her approval of the new pm ignite the Iraqis protests as saw no hope of the international organisations. If she has a bit of sense, resign and leave Iraq with all bribes and looting she already accomplished.

3w Like Reply

 **Ameer Hakim Al-khkane**
Seriously, you are talking too much and do nothing. You give a lot of promises to Iraqi people to charge the murder and the killer which you know very well and I do believe you have evidence against them as well

3w Like Reply 3

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