

# A Critical Discourse Analysis of Ideology in *The New York Times* Discourse Through Van Dijk Model : A Critical Study

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## Abstract

The present study attempts to investigate the ideology in *the New York Times* discourse about immigration and immigrants through Van Dijk's model in 2004 . Ideology is one of the most important concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis. *The New York Times* discourse consists of different ideologies when it talks about immigrant. As there are no studies before that shed light on ideology in migration discourse in *the New York Times* newspaper, thus in order to fill this gap in Critical Discourse Analysis, this study investigates ideology of migration discourse in the *New York Times* articles . To sum up, from the analysis of ideology of the articles of *the New York Times* discourse, it proves that *the New York Times* discourse shows different ideologies to provide its viewpoint about immigrants. Finally, this study comes up with the result that ideology in *the New York Times* has been well displayed by the use of Van Dijk's model .

**Keywords :** Ideology, migration, immigrants, Van Dijk, The New York Times

تحليل الخطاب النقدي للأيديولوجية في خطاب نيويورك تايمز من خلال نموذج فان دايك :  
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## الخلاصة

تسعي الدراسة الحالية تقصي الأيديولوجيا في خطاب نيويورك تايمز حول الهجرة والمهاجرين من خلال نموذج فان دايك في ٢٠٠٤ . تعتبر الأيديولوجيا من أهم المفاهيم في التحليل النقدي للخطاب. حيث يتكون خطاب نيويورك تايمز من أيديولوجيات مختلفة عندما يتحدث عن المهاجرين. لأنه لا توجد دراسات من قبل تسلط الضوء على الأيديولوجية في خطاب الهجرة في صحيفة نيويورك تايمز. ومن ثم، ومن أجل سد هذه الفجوة في التحليل النقدي للخطاب، بحثت هذه الدراسة في أيديولوجية خطاب الهجرة في مقالات نيويورك تايمز. خلاصة القول، من تحليل الأيديولوجية لمقالات خطاب نيويورك تايمز، ثبت أن خطاب نيويورك تايمز يظهر أيديولوجيات مختلفة لتقديم وجهة نظرها حول المهاجرين. وأخيراً، توصلت هذه الدراسة إلى نتيجة مفادها أن الأيديولوجية في نيويورك تايمز قد تم عرضها بشكل جيد من خلال استخدام نموذج فان دايك.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأيديولوجية، الهجرة، المهاجرين، فان دايك، نيويورك تايمز.

## **1. Introduction**

Ideology and migration discourse are among the most important topics in recent years. They influence every aspect of our lives. Further, one of the most distinctive features of this century is migration discourse. Our world is strictly divided on ideological grounds. War, which is breaking out in every area of the world, is deeply dependent on ideological differences. The best gate that the ideology uses is through language; this means that studying linguistic choices is the best way to explore ideology that is found in migration discourse. This study aims to analyze ideology in *the New York Times* articles to discover the viewpoints of journalists about immigrants through following certain linguistic options that the adopted model has suggested.

## **2. Theoretical Background**

### **2.1 The Theory of Ideology**

Wodak (2007, p. 1) makes a distinction between two primary approaches to the study of ideology. The first approach is the Marxist approach. Marx proposes that ideologies depend on a 'false construction,' while the other group depends on dialectical perspective argues that ideologies cannot be completely diverged from thoughts and actions. When we look at it from a philosophical standpoint, the concept of ideology was initially introduced by the rationalist philosopher Antonie Destutt de Tracy in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, following the French Revolution, to mean the 'science of ideas'. An ideology is a new science of ideas which serves as the foundation for all other sciences (McLellan, 1986, p. 6). Kress (1985, p. 29) explains that the concept of ideology is ranging from a system of ideas and worldviews to produce the idea of 'false consciousness' and the ideas of dominant ruling class. Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, the concept of ideology was

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primarily developed by Karl Marx, a pioneer in ideology studies and Kress depends on Marx's ideas. Marx considers ideology as a form of 'false consciousness'. Adams (2001, p. 2) says that according to Marx, ideology deforms the reality of a specific social class, often the ruling class. Consequently, Marx regards his theories as scientific rather than ideological. As a result, in a classless society, there is no place for ideology. Following Marx's perspective on ideology, van Dijk (2006b, p. 728) highlights that ideology typically refers to the inflexible or misguided ideas held by others.

Strickland (2012, p. 48) argues that in relation to Marx's ideas about language and consciousness, Althusser introduces two significant ideas from the traditional understanding of ideology. Firstly, he rejects the notion that ideology as false consciousness. Althusser proposes that there is no direct or access to reality; all forms of consciousness are shaped by ideology. Secondly, Althusser challenges the Marxist distinction between the "base" (the economic conditions and production relationships that form the foundation of society) and the "superstructure" (cultural phenomena like ideology that are seen as a reflection of the base). Althusser believes that this role of reflection, as proposed by Marx, is inadequate. In Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), van Dijk (2000, p. 44) explains that ideologies influence all aspects of text structures, and they can appear either explicitly or implicitly within the discourse's framework. According to van Dijk, a comprehensive theory of ideology should take a multidisciplinary approach, positioning ideology within a 'conceptual triangle' that links cognition, society, and discourse. In this context, he (1995a, p. 18) describes ideologies as having both cognitive and social dimensions.

## **2.2 Types of Ideology**

Ideology takes various forms and is deeply rooted in different aspects of life. The most prominent domains where ideology is prevalent include social and political domains. Within these fields, ideology plays a significant role in categorizing various activities and associated with each community. Such classification is crucial for gaining a more accurate understanding of the objectives and intentions of social groups. There are two types of ideology, political ideology and social ideology. The significance of ideology in politics becomes evident when we consider its significant role in the specialized activities of political parties. These parties have unique ways of behaving, expressing themselves, and conducting their practices. For instance, Mullins (1972, p. 4-5) defines political ideology as "an ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or large group." Minar (1961, p. 5) further outlines that political ideology is primarily concerned with the use of power to achieve certain goals. Different cultural contexts reveal distinct ideological landscapes. Within every society, there are many ideological aspects that are reflected in social statuses, positions, and educational backgrounds. Van Dijk (2010, p. 12-15) says that ideology, to a significant extent, consists of shared social beliefs among groups with socio-cultural awareness, customs, and viewpoints. The fundamental development of belief systems or social expressions within specific groups is believed to be rooted in the concept of ideology. Van Dijk Van Dijk (2010, p. 12-15) also emphasizes that if ideologies guide the social expressions of groups, they also influence the knowledge acquired and shared by that group.

## **2.3 Discourse and Migration**

Van Dijk (2017, p. 4) argues that migration is a complex topic that has been extensively studied in various fields such as humanities and social sciences. One way to understand migration in a better way is by examining

the different types of texts or discussions related to migrants. Discourse Studies, a multidisciplinary field dating back to the 1960s and 1970s, provides comprehensive theoretical and methodological frameworks for systematically studying how people talk and write about migration. Unlike traditional Content Analysis or vague Frame Analysis, contemporary Discourse Studies employ quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the structure of migration discourse, in order to uncover the underlying mental models, attitudes, and ideologies it conveys, and explore its societal and political roles. Migration discourse, like discourse in general, is intricate, encompassing linguistic, social, political, and cultural dimensions, and it includes various discourse genres that focus on different aspects of migration as a social and political phenomenon. These genres are primarily categorized based on their subject matter, much like other types of discourse such as political, media, or educational discourse (Van Dijk, 2017, p. 5).

## **2.4 Van Dijk's Model**

According to Van Dijk (2017, p. 19) the critical study of migration discourse often involves an examination of how ideologies are conveyed. Ideologies are core, collectively mental representations of social groups, which can include categories like racists, anti-racists, pacifists, militarists, feminists, sexists, neoliberals, socialists,...etc. These ideologies typically revolve around the idea of polarization and distinguishing between (positive) in-groups and (negative) outgroups, a distinction that can also manifest in discourse—for instance, as a division between “Us” (the good) and “Them” (the bad). Ideologies consist of identity, actions, objectives, norms, and values of a particular group and can extend to shape specific attitudes, such as those related to immigration, integration, or the adaptation of migrants. These attitudes, in turn, can influence the individual mental models held by members of ideological groups, including how they perceive events such as migration.

By focusing on the context in which communication occurs, these ideologically rooted mental models can ultimately impact the way discourse about such events is articulated. There are various layers of sociocognitive analysis between fundamental ideologies (like racism) and the actual expression of biased or discriminatory language or conversation. Discursive devices are Actor Description (meaning), authority (argumentation),burden (topos),categorization (meaning),comparison (meaning, argumentation), consensus (political category), counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation), disclaimers (meaning),euphemism (rhetoric, meaning),example (argumentation), generalization (meaning, argumentation),hyperbole (rhetoric), irony (meaning),lexicalization (style), metaphor (meaning, rhetoric), National Self-Glorification (meaning), Norm Expression (normalization), Number Game (rhetoric, argumentation), polarization (meaning),vagueness (meaning), and victimization (meaning) (Van Dijk, 2005b , p. 735-736) .

### **3. Data Analysis**

Ideology is analyzed on two levels; micro and macro levels of analysis . Van Dijk's Ideological Discursive Devices (2004) at the micro and macro levels have been used. The Researcher chooses two articles from *the New York Times* newspaper. The first article is A Notion at War: Iraqi – Americans; Immigrants Questioned by F. B. I while the second one is Threats and Responses: New York City; for Immigrants, Mixed View of War and a World of Hate. These articles published in 2003 after the US invasion of Iraq. Table (1) shows that the discursive devices had been used 51 times in A Notion at War: Iraqi – Americans; Immigrants Questioned by F. B. I article. Among these devices, Actor description occurs 13 times (25.490 %) which is the most common one, followed by Polarization 11 times (21.568 %), Number game 6 times (11.764 %), Generalization 5 times (9.803 %), Hyperbole 3 times (5.882 %), Norm Expression 3 times (5.882 %), Authority 2 times (3.921 %), Disclaimers 2 times (3.921 %), Metaphor 2 times (3.921%), Counterfactuals 2 times (3.921 %), Consensus 1 time (1.960 %), and Vagueness 1 time (1.960 %) .These frequencies show the frequencies of discursive devices that use in the first article of *the New York Times* newspaper.



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Table (1): Frequency of Discursive Devices in A Notion at War: Iraqi – Americans; Immigrants Questioned by F. B. I Article (the Micro-level)

Discursive Devices	Frequency No.	%
Actor description	13	25.490 %
Authority	2	3.921 %
Consensus	1	1.960 %
Counterfactuals	2	3.921 %
Disclaimers	2	3.921 %
Generalization	5	9.803 %
Hyperbole	3	5.882 %
Metaphor	2	3.921 %
Norm expression	3	5.882 %
Number game	6	11.764 %
Polarization	11	21.568 %
Vagueness	1	1.960 %
Total No.	51	100%

Table (2) shows that discursive devices had been used 76 times in Threats and Responses: New York City; for Immigrants, Mixed View of War and a World of Hate article. Among these devices, Actor description occurs 10 times (13.157 %) which is most common one , followed by Authority 9 times (11.842 %),Disclaimers 7 times (9.210 %), Generalization 6 times (7.894%),Number Game 5 times (6.578%),Polarization 5 times (6.578 %), Comparison 5 times (6.578 %),Metaphor 4 times (5.263 %), Norm Expression 4 times (5.263 %), Categorization 4 times (5.263 %), Hyperbole 3 times (3.947 %), Vagueness 3 times (3.947 %), Counterfactuals 3 times (3.947 %), victimization 3 times (3.947 %), Irony 3 times(3.947 %) and Consensus 2 times (2.631 %). These frequencies show the frequencies of discursive devices that use in the second article of *the New York Times* newspaper .

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Table (2): Frequency of Discursive Devices in Threats and Responses: New York City; for Immigrants, Mixed View of War and a World of Hate Article (the Micro-level)

Discursive Devices	Frequency No.	%
Actor description	10	13.157%
Authority	9	11.842%
Categorization	4	5.263 %
Comparison	5	6.578%
Consensus	2	2.631%
Counterfactuals	3	3.947%
Disclaimers	7	9.210%
Generalization	6	7.894%
Hyperbole	3	3.947%
Irony	3	3.947%
Metaphor	4	5.263 %
Norm expression	4	5.263 %
Number game	5	6.578%
Polarization	5	6.578%
Vagueness	3	3.947%
Victimization	3	3.947%
Total No.	76	100%

### 3.1 The Analysis of Micro Level

The results of the analysis of the devices demonstrate that *the New York Times* newspaper makes use of a larger number of the discursive devices. Apparently, this might clarify that *the New York Times* discourse seems to be more formal and has a lot of ideological representations. It shows that *the New York Times* discourse utilizes texts including a wide number of



discursive and rhetoric devices . This represents that the *New York Times* viewpoint about immigrants has different ideologies . Negativity is considered as a part of its published articles about various events related to immigrants. It tries to present the issues of immigrants in a negative manner. In public, it seems that *the New York Times'* views are positive. The analysis shows that it has negative views ; the newspaper conceal its real ideology.

**Actor Description :** In order to introduce information about certain topics, *the New York Times* uses the category Actor Description. *The New York Times* uses texts including the category Actor description in the articles. Clearly, the newspaper utilizes texts including Actor Description to introduce and describe information of participants, things and places in order to show the meaning beyond these information and description such as:

1. F.B.I. agents fanned out today in cities across the country, seeking to interview thousands of Iraqi immigrants, particularly those with military or technical backgrounds (article 1, 2003).
2. That world, however, is vigorously present in polyglot New York City (article 2, 2003).

These examples from articles show '*New York Times*' ideology toward Iraqi immigrants. The newspaper always provides their names and describes what happens to them in Iraq. It wants to show that Iraq is not suitable for living. This implies that '*the New York Times*' ideology is negative. However, the newspaper shows America in a good way. It wants to persuade others that America provides a lot of things to Iraqis and it helps and protects Iraqis inside and outside Iraq. Additionally, it sometimes shows that the world is against Americans even though they help a lot of people . It does not provide any information about the American that it mentions in order to hide its ideology that it focuses only on Iraqis and their struggles inside Iraq and Americans' helps. This implies that it tries to hide its agendas and their good effects on immigrants.

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**Polarization** : ‘*the New York Times*’ uses texts including this device in order to focus on a specific things and it sheds light on the comparison between the positive characteristics of Americans (in-group) and the negative characteristics of Iraqis(out-group). It shows that America provides all the needs for the Iraqis and helps them, whereas Iraq faces murder and poverty and it is not a suitable place for living. It tries to present Iraqis in a positive way, but it fails because of the hidden agendas it possesses, which in turn affect the evidence the newspaper tries to present. It seems to be impersonal when the newspaper represents its viewpoint through using the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’ . ‘*The New York Times*’ uses texts including this device to persuade International community that they are good and do a lot of things for immigrants contrary to what they say about them. It shows that they open the doors for immigrants even though they are likely to be hostile towards them. Here their hidden ideology appears. They present immigrants as people who are destroying their society. Additionally , even the people who express their opinions in the newspaper are always against Iraq and describe it negatively. This shows their hidden ideology towards Iraq which is negative . Here are some examples from the articles in order to explain the usage of Polarization to represent ‘US’ positively and ‘Them’ negatively.

3. We are not out arresting people. We have some intelligence information we want to obtain, and that’s why we are doing these. They can bring a friend, family member or a lawyer (article 1, 2003).
4. If they attempt to gain acceptance in the mainstream society, they risk in their own eyes being perceived as disloyal to their own group (article 2, 2003).

**Authority** : When *the New York Times* tries to provide evidence or information about someone or something, it uses the category Authority. This device is used to persuade listeners throughout provides information or evidence and it provides things positively or negatively. *The New York Times*

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uses texts including Authority to support and express the Americans' situation. Additionally, it provides positive ideology whereas it means negative one.

5. "We ran away from the Iraqi regime", he said, "because of the human rights violations there" (article 1, 2003).
6. One part of that lens sees the United States as the country that provided them with a haven from tyranny or bloodshed or poverty (article 2, 2003).

These examples show the ideology of the newspaper. The newspaper always tries to show that Iraq is an impossible country to live in and provides evidence that supports its double standards. It portrays that they help Iraqis to get rid of their suffering in Iraq, but the opposite is true. The newspaper does not show the real suffering of the Iraqis in America. The newspaper here is trying to support some political policy to achieve their goals. It also tries to show America as a hope for immigrants in order to live and get rid of murder, poverty, or tyranny; but this is not the case. However, if immigrants disagree with Americans or try to be against them, they will bear bad consequences for this decision and it is here where the sadistic ideology appears. This ideology says as long as they(Americans) save immigrants so, immigrants must stay under their control.

**Number Game :** The newspaper uses texts including statistical data or numbers in articles for some reasons. It tries to reinforce the beliefs of readers. It utilizes texts including Number Game to support its ideas. It mentions numbers to show its objectivity and to support its ideology . For example:

7. Officials said they had contacted nearly 3,000 Iraqi-born people in the United States (article 1, 2003).
8. We know he's started three wars in his neighborhood and a million people died (article 2, 2003).

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Most of the time, these numbers indicate the number of immigrants especially Iraqis or the number of visa and asylum programs. However, *the New York Times* tries to show the number of immigrants and the preparation of visas in order to indicate the helps provide by the American government in order to show the Americans in a positive way. This refers to the hidden ideology it follows because it sheds light on the good views of the Americans without mentioning the bad one. Additionally, if the newspaper wants to criticize Americans , then it mentions something positive about them . The articles use numbers in order to support the agenda of the newspaper . It uses numbers in order to gain the support of others. It notes through the analysis that it does not mention the numbers of Americans, but rather it uses the plural “s” without mentioning their numbers. This indicates its agenda, which focuses on the immigrants instead of the Americans who associate with or left an impact on the lives of the immigrants, such as the agents who were conducting interviews with immigrants.

**Disclaimer :** It utilizes in order to show the positive or negative things about somebody or something, followed by contradicting, negating, or introducing different ideas by using the coordinating conjunction “but” in the second statement. Apparently, disclaimers maintain a positive image by highlighting favorable things but subsequently shift attention to other unfavorable things to steer clear of accusations of racism. The analysis of data shows that *the New York Times* utilizes texts including Disclaimers in order to cover its ideology against immigrants in general and Iraqis or Iraq in particular as in:

9. Ms. Clenney said, “We had time to plan for that then”. This time, “we don’t have the luxury of time (article 1, 2003).
10. Most Greeks in Greece are against the war, but Greek-Americans “see the war through the American experience (article 2, 2003).

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This device uses a lot to show the newspaper's ideology. *The New York Times* tries to show Iraq in a negative way but it sometimes shows Iraq in a positive way. When the newspaper presents Iraq positively because it tries to prove to the world that this happens because of the presence of the American forces. It justifies the presence of the American forces in order to preserve the public security of Iraq and get rid of terrorism, but the withdrawal of forces will return everything to how it was before the American occupation. Even though the newspaper does not mention the word occupation, it refers to the occupation as a rescue operation. Here the ideology of the newspaper appears, which sought to provide evidence of the achievements of the American forces.

**Generalization :** The articles in *The New York Times* use a form of particularization where specific events generalize to make broader claims. These generalizations are representative or distinctive enough to generalize. The use of generalization allows the newspaper to present a wider and impersonal viewpoint. It utilizes texts including this device in order to show the actions of specific individuals generalize. This device involves the use of expressions such as quantifiers for nouns (“most”, “all”) and expressions of time, frequency (“constantly”), or place (“everywhere”). The newspaper often utilizes texts including this device to distance itself from negative directives. Therefore, it is important to understand what the newspaper does in order to cover topics effectively, to enhance its viewpoint and to provide information to the readers. These are some examples :

11. “Most of my friends are against Saddam Hussein” said Mr. Jawad
12. Many of the same people who are expressing such vitriol against the United States.

The newspaper uses texts including Generalization to hide its ideology. It uses texts including Generalization when it wants to show America’s positive image or mentions the Americans’ assistance to immigrants. It sometimes

mentions Iraqi immigrants and shows their opinions. The Iraqis who talk to 'the New York Times' try to show that they are against Saddam because America is against him, and this indicates that the Americans are trying to impose their ideology on the Iraqis who should accept this matter. The newspaper shows that many immigrants are against America, which helps them more than their countries, and this shows the hidden agenda towards immigrants because they (Americans) believe that immigrants came to destroy America.

**Hyperbole :** In the articles under analysis, *the New York Times* uses texts including the discursive device Hyperbole to emphasize on something or someone purposely and rhetorically. These some examples from articles:

13. He told the four agents who interviewed him. "I told them I support the war as long as we get rid of Saddam Hussein" (article 1, 2003).
14. Americans are perplexed by a world that seems to have turned against them (article 2, 2003).

Most of the time the Americans link everything with Saddam; they do for Iraq because of Saddam. The newspaper uses the Iraqis who were living in America to declare that Iraqi immigrants were against Saddam. This issue raises by the newspaper most of the time, as it indicates that the reason for the occupation of Iraq is to help the Iraqis get rid of the tyrant, and this is an implied ideology. The newspaper uses texts including this device to fabricate the truth and give good reasons, in their belief, for the occupation of Iraq. Sometimes, the newspaper resorts to giving a different view of America, as the newspaper portrays America as being persecuted and the world was against it. This is contrary to the current reality, and through this fabricated truth we realize the newspaper's ideology by providing evidence, even if it fabricates, to support its agenda.



**Norm Expression :** In the articles under analysis, the New York Times uses texts including the discursive device Norm expression to show Americans or immigrants should do or should not do things and what they must or must not do. The newspaper uses this Norm Expression . The examples for this device are:

15. In Detroit, community leaders reacted with apprehension and support (article 1, 2003).
16. He thought the United States should go to war because its immersion in the Middle East would teach it (article 2, 2003).

These examples of articles show several facts about America and Americans in general and *the New York Times* in particular. The newspaper has chosen people who support its ideology towards immigrants and Iraqis who describe negatively and focus on the unfortunate events that they (Iraqis) face and their losses, whereas it ignores the positive characteristics of Iraq. In the second article which it is about the war against Iraq, the newspaper has intentionally chosen various immigrants from different countries to support America. *The New York Times* uses them (Iraqis) to give an excuses for the Americans in order to attack Iraq and to show the world they have good reasons to do this. Once again, the newspaper mentions that Americans are with immigrants and they want them to live a good life but this is not their real ideology. In most time, the newspaper shows Iraqi immigrants as a problem and mentions their large number in order to show that Iraq is dangerous.

**Victimization :** Consequently, *the New York Times* uses texts including Victimization device . It uses this device to represent “out-group” members negatively and represent “in-group” members as victims and vice versa. The newspaper utilizes texts including Victimization device to evoke empathy from the audience and soften public opinions. This is particularly evident in topics like terrorism and victims. It sheds light on the negative consequences.

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The use of victimization reflects how ideology influences public perspectives on corruption, violence, justice, and policy support.

17.They said they suffered under Saddam Hussein (article 2, 2003).

18.She often calls her neighbors to ask if they have heard something, she said (article 2, 2003).

The texts of the newspaper consists of many devices to reveal its ideology, and one of these devices was to mention the suffering of immigrants and the injustice that happens to them in their countries. *The New York Times* mostly shows Iraq in a negative way . It mentions the suffering of immigrants not because it cares about them, but it wants to show Americans in a positive way. This is its ideology that it wants to hide, but its actions reveals it. The newspaper shows that the Iraqi immigrants face injustice under the rule of Saddam Hussein. It also mentions the sacrifices and the losses of Iraqis in terms of lives and money. Additionally, the newspaper mentions the sufferings of Iraqis when they fly from Iraq.

**Comparison :** *the New York Times* tend to compare between people or things in its articles. The purpose for using this device is to show the similarities and differences between two entities and Comparison uses to compare between two situations or to compare between people's viewpoints.

19.“ This war is like trying to kill the weed by destroying the whole farm” (article 2, 2003).

The analysis shows that the newspaper uses texts containing comparisons in order to clarify a certain idea by comparing it with another one. This device uses to reveal the newspaper's hidden ideology. Through comparisons, the reader will realize the truth. For example, one of the Iraqi immigrants liken America's war against Iraq to eliminate Saddam to a farm containing harmful weeds and by killing these weeds, the farm would be destroyed . This indicates the fact that America destroyed Iraq and used Saddam as an excuse

for the war. Clearly, this is their ideology because they use weak excuses to achieve their personal interests.

**Consensus :** This device is political-ideological and one of the devices that use in *the New York Times*. The newspaper uses this device to show its position and to put itself in the front. It commonly employs to demonstrate a desire for consensus and the approval of the international community. Its usage reflects a sense of reconciliation, solidarity, and mutual agreement.

20. “We hope to have it wrapped up in a few days”, Ms. Clenney said (article 1, 2003).
21. He departs from his onetime compatriots on their refusal to support the United States (article 2, 2003).

This device uses to show intimacy towards someone or something, and it is one of the tools that can use to reveal the ideology of the newspaper. The newspaper, on more than one occasion, shows its support for immigrants, especially Iraqis, but this is the opposite of its ideology, because it carries negative thoughts towards them (Iraqis) , and this has been shown by analyzing the previous devices . Text number 20 above refers to the agents who conduct interviews with Iraqi immigrants to collect information about sleeper cells because they believe that the Iraqis support terrorism. The agent here hope to finish the interviews in order to show the truth of those immigrants . The ideology that emerges was referring to the agents’ expectations regarding the interviews as they interrogate immigrants, whether they like it or not.

**Counterfactuals :** In the data analysis, *the New York Times* discourse is persuasive by using a persuasive argumentative category that is Counterfactuals. Counterfactuals have crucial role in the language of the newspaper in order to provide illogical outcomes about someone or something as well as they show what would happen to immigrants if the American government would not have given any help.

22. He said the agents also asked: “If you were in the military, what did you do? What areas of the country were you familiar with? What areas of the country were you familiar with here? What were the names of your family members? What are their occupations? (article 1, 2003).

23. Today Arab-Americans face rejection by their own community if they support the United States (article 2, 2003).

Counterfactuals use to talk about future expectations in order to provide future ideology . This is one of Van Dijk's device that demonstrates his extraordinary genius, as by using it he does not refer to the current ideology, but even to the future ideology. Text number 22 explains the agent's questions for an Iraqi immigrant, who was a lawyer, and he asks about his clients. The agent here asks these questions and expects to find answers commensurate with his ideology , as he focuses on the Iraqis who were working in the army or biological weapons, as other texts explain . This is because they (Iraqis) hate America, as the agent thought. The Arabs who support America would face rejection from their society, as shown in text 23.

**Metaphor :** *the New York Times* uses texts including Metaphor in order to show unintentional contrast between what is said and what is implied through the use of language. The usage of these Metaphors show that *the New York Times* has negative language and double standards .

24. “We are going out with hat in hand” (article 1, 2003).

25. America’s heart is in the right place (article 2, 2003).

The use of Metaphor does not only add beauty to the text, but rather it reveals the ideology behind its use. The newspaper uses texts containing these metaphors for a specific reason. A hat in the hand indicates that everything is under control. This phrase uses to describe the interviews that conduct with the immigrants. The agent here refers to their real ideology. The agents do not only control the interviews but also immigrants' lives . The newspaper has given the reason for these interviews in order to eliminate terrorism, but this

metaphor reveals the truth behind these interviews . The agents want to show that Iraqis are against Americans and they work with terrorists to destroy America. American's heart means that America is right in its war against Iraq. This French immigrant, as he previously points out, supports America, not because it is right, but he does not want to be against it, so his business would not affect.

**Categorization :** Categorization category employs the classification of people in terms of their performances and points of view like religion .

26. Most of them are Shiite Muslims (article 2, 2003).

People differ at different levels. This device is important because it classifies people according to religion or politics, as they (religions/politics) are among the important things that affect people's lives. The article mentions Muslims, but it focuses entirely on the Shiites and what Saddam does to them. The newspaper does not neglect mentioning one of the sects of Iraq and mentions it for a specific reason because it knew that Iraq is divided into several sects and the Shiite is the major sect. The newspaper tries to raise a sensitive point by mentioning this sect in order to obtain the Shiites supported for the elimination of Saddam, as the newspaper shows, but the Americans' goal was mainly to occupy Iraq. The Iraqis mention repeatedly in these articles. They sometimes mention in a positive way to show that the newspaper supports these immigrants and sometimes in a negative way, and this is its real ideology towards them because it is against them. But they mostly describe in negative way . The newspaper mentions that there is a law that helps the Iraqis to obtain asylum, and this indicates its ideology. The newspaper wants to show its support for the Iraqi immigrants and how it is not against them, but the analysis proves that it is against the Iraqi immigrants.

**National Self-Glorification :** On the micro-level analysis, the data analysis of the discursive device National self-glorification shows that *the New York Times* uses texts including this device. National self-glorification uses in order to mention America or Iraq positively or negatively but it uses texts in order to describe Iraq negatively. The following examples are from the articles:

27. We give Iraqis residence permits to an extent that done in the rest of Europe (article 1, 2003).

The analysis reveals the presence of this tool in many texts, but there was a basic idea, which was to present America and the Americans in a positive way. The newspaper wants to mention America's good characteristics, and this reveals its ideology because it uses its power to fabricate the truth and shows the positive side of America while it ignores the negative side. The newspaper shows Iraq negatively and describes it as a place which people cannot be lived in. Article one presents a description of Sweden and mentions only the positive characteristics, and this is as it appears in the analysis.

**Vagueness :** On the micro-level analysis, the data analysis of the discursive device Vagueness show that the New York Times uses texts including this device. Vagueness uses in order to provide more information about someone or something as well as it uses in order not to mention entities directly by using certain quantifiers such as "few", "a lot" and "some", and adverbs such as "certain". For example:

28. Where seemingly simple solutions turned out to have ambiguous outcomes (article 2, 2003).

Vagueness is one of the devices use when the speaker wants to appear neutral or to show his lack of knowledge about a topic. The analysis finds that there are some texts that contain this device . The article describes the immigrants' opinions about the war between America and Iraq. The newspaper accuses them (immigrants) of being loyal to their countries and



because of their loyalty they reject the war. Therefore, the newspaper describes the war as a simple solution because the war would reveal to the Americans the truth about immigrants who ignore it. This newspaper's ideology, which appears repeatedly, is against people who are against America, and this indicates the newspaper's racism towards them (immigrants) .

**Burden :***The New York Times* employs texts including Burden in order to show losses and sufferings of people. The newspaper utilizes texts including Burden to focus on someone or something. The use of the category of Burden in media discourse, especially in *the New York Times* discourse in order to show that it does not reject some countries or people. It doesn't essentially mean that it rejects certain ideas or individuals, rather, it suggests that ideologies can convey by emphasizing that certain groups or notions are burdensome for society. For example:

29. For Iraqi, there is no hope (article 2, 2003) .

When it wants to mention the losses of someone or something, it uses this device . The loss mentions to achieve certain goals . The newspaper presents an Iraqi woman who focuses on the fact that the Iraqis lose hope for Iraq to become a better country. This is the ideology of the newspaper that tries to show Iraq negatively by choosing Iraqis who achieve the newspaper's goal.

**Lexicalization :** The discursive device Lexicalization is used in the articles of '*the New York Times*' newspaper under study . The newspaper utilizes texts including this device in order to express certain ideas that affect readers' mind. However, the newspaper mentions immigrants in order to present Americans positively and to present immigrants negatively throughout Lexicalization category. Lexicalization is an ideological device for positive self-representation and negative other-representation throughout using positive and negative words to describe different things . The newspaper uses certain words for immigrants but most of the time it calls

them most of time immigrants especially Iraqi immigrants. It sometimes refers to immigrants as refugees and asylum seekers. In some cases , the newspaper called them undocumented migrants instead of illegal immigrants. In the articles under investigation, ‘*the New York Times*’ uses negative words with immigrants such as “hesitation”, “threats”, “ terrorism”, “terrorists”, “violence”, “fear”, and “finished”. These words are mostly associated with Iraqi immigrants. This shows that ‘*the New York Times*’ discourse uses negative words because the newspaper has power to show its ideology. Furthermore, *the New York Times* often utilizes some positive words about Iraq and Iraqi immigrants such as “well educated”, “have skills “, and “stable”. So, it mostly sheds light on the negative side of Iraq and Iraqi immigrants. This indicates that the lexical items can affect the ideological description of the newspaper. The use of words such as “war, terror, killing, violence, shooting” and so forth, presents negative view about Iraq and immigrants throughout the use of these words. So, it shows that “*the New York Times*” ideology is negative toward Iraq and immigrants and it tries to present fabricated views about Iraq and Immigrants and to present positive views about America and Americans in order to show what America and Americans do for immigrants.

**Euphemism** : *the New York Times* uses texts including Euphemism to minimize the negative attitude toward someone or something as in:

30. We are feeling the strain (article 1, 2003).

31. This doesn’t happen without pain (article 2, 2003).

The newspaper uses the word "strain" instead of "exertion" in order to show that they tire from immigrants because they come in large number as well as they need a lot of care. Here, its ideology toward immigrants is negative and it tries to show that immigrants are millstone America . Finally, *the New York Times* chooses the word "pain" instead of the word "problem" in order to show that immigrants affect America as well as Americans because

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they cost the state many things, whether materialistic things or emotional , and they negatively affect their society because they came in large numbers.

**Example :** this device employs in *New York Times* articles in order to provide supports to their opinions. The newspaper uses texts including **Example** to persuade readers in order to show that they objectively provide information. The ideology behind using **Example** is to show the world that they are neutral and mention things without bias. For example:

32. This is essentially a translation project, explaining in American terms what an immigrant's foreign experience is and how it can benefit domestic companies .
33. Advocates say that the administration is ignoring a directive from Congress to draft a contingency plan to expedite visas should those Iraqis who worked for the United States government, especially interpreters for the military, come under increased threat after American forces are drawn down at the end of the year.

The texts of the newspaper included examples that used to prove its ideology or to provide evidence of something. Examples 32 and 33 mention the job of workers for the American government, where they work as translators for the army. The newspaper mentions this job because this is the job (interpreters) that is suitable .

**Irony :** this device utilizes in *the New York Times* articles in order to provide hidden meaning that is different from the literal meaning of text. The newspaper uses texts including this category to hide its real ideology or it employs texts including it to gain public support as in:

34. "Stalin might as well have been his father".
35. Mr. Gratch, embodying the old joke that when you have two Israelis you get three opinions, said that it must grapple with why Arabs and other Muslims "hate us so much".

Example 34 mentions that Stalin was Saddam's father, in order to indicate that they had the same actions towards their people. Likewise, Saddam learns these methods from Stalin. The newspaper's ideology shows that it was

against both of them because they are two sides of the same coin. As for example 35, it refers to a joke that the Israelis used to mean that America agreed with Israelis' views because the Israelis supported the war against Iraq and they had ideologies towards Arabs, especially Muslims, as they considered this war a source of their hatred.

### **3.2 The Analysis of Macro Level**

In the macro-level, the comparison between the ideological dichotomy “the positive self-representation and negative other-representation” shows that there are considerable differences between the usage of “positive self-representation and negative other-representation” in the articles of the newspaper under study. Positive self-representation is fundamentally ideological, revolving around the promotion, admiration, and advocacy of the in-group. This device can manifest individually, with the speaker highlighting personal positive traits, or collectively, as the focus shifts to the positive attributes of the group. In essence, it involves praising and favoring the in-group, emphasizing either personal or collective positive characteristics while negative other -presentation is a strategic approach in ideology, where individuals group into in-groups and out-groups base on shared social beliefs.

**Positive Self-Representations in the Articles :** The analysis of data shows that *the New York Times* uses texts including the Positive self-representation category less than Negative other-representation in the article. The newspaper shows the positive things about America, immigrants in general and Iraqi immigrants in particular. It also shows the negative things about Iraq. It sometimes associates Iraq and Iraqi immigrants with terrorism. It uses texts including most of discursive devices to provide its ideology toward different issues that are related to immigrants as in these texts:

36. “They do not have to talk to us”, Ms. Clenney said. “We are not out arresting people. We have some intelligence information we want to obtain, and that’s why we are doing these. They can bring a friend, family member or a lawyer. We are going out with hat in hand” (article 1, 2003).

37. Harilaos Daskalothanassis, the managing editor of The National Herald, a Greek newspaper based in Astoria, Queens, pointed out that most Greeks in Greece are against the war, but Greek-Americans “see the war through the American experience” (article 2, 2003).

Positive self-representation is used to present the positive characteristics of someone or something. The newspaper texts contain many of these representations, but most of them focused on America and Americans in general and mentioned the characteristics of Iraqis or other countries as well as immigrants in a limited way. As it can see in Text 36 (article 1), where the agent mentions that they do not force the Iraqi immigrants to conduct interviews with them (Americans) . Agents do these interviews because they want some information about the terrorists. Here, the real ideology of the Americans appear because they believe that the Iraqis have a connection with sleeper cells and those sleeper cell worked against America. Additionally , the Iraqis force to conduct these interviews because they want to show to agents that they (Iraqis immigrants) are innocent. The agents relies on terrorism as a valid reason so, immigrants must conduct these interviews . The words seem to be positive, but they are misleading. These words have hidden ideology which is the opposite of what appeared because agents said that they wanted to gather information about sleeper cells . In fact, they doubt Iraqi immigrants and they treat them as terrorists. Text 37 explains the truth of text 36, as the Greek immigrant shows that many Greeks were against America’s war on Iraq, except for the Greek Americans. They adopt America’s ideology, as they believe that this war was necessary to achieve America’s goals. This indicates the Americans’ ideology towards Iraq, as well as the ideology of the newspaper that sought to show that America was right to start this war.

**Negative Other-Representations in the Articles :** Throughout the investigation of the articles, '*the New York Times*' neglects the issues of out-group. It shows these issues negatively to pay attention of readers to show the negative characteristics of out-group and to prove the validity of its words . It uses texts including different ways to cover its ideology by showing fabricated view about them in order to prove that they are good and the other (immigrants) are bad. Negative other-of-representation shows the immigrants negatively. It focuses on negative actions and ignores positive ones.

38.F.B.I. agents fanned out today in cities across the country, seeking to interview thousands of Iraqi immigrants, particularly those with military or technical backgrounds. Officials said they had contacted nearly 3,000 Iraqi-born people in the United States since the start of the war to track down any leads they may have about possible sleeper-cell plots connected to the war (article 1, 2003).

39.On the brink of war, Americans are perplexed by a world that seems to have turned against them. That world, however, is vigorously present in polyglot New York City, in the children, siblings and cousins of many of the same people who are expressing such vitriol against the United States (article 2, 2003)

Since the positive self-representation uses to show the positive characteristics, the negative other-representation uses to mention the negative characteristics of people and things. The newspaper mostly focuses on Iraq in order to show it in a negative way , and this is what the analysis reveals . The agents conduct interviews with the Iraqis because they (agents) suspect that they (Iraqi immigrants) had a relationship with terrorism. The agents use the excuse that they want to gather information and nothing else. The ideology of the newspaper supports this idea because it does not mention the numbers of Iraqi immigrants explicitly as it focuses on creating a link between immigrants and terrorism. It also provides justification for these interviews.



Its ideology (the newspaper) was negative towards immigrants in general and Iraqis in particular. The newspaper shows the suffering of the Americans because the world stood against them (Americans) especially the immigrants in New York City. In fact, this is the Americans' excuse for starting the war against Iraq. The newspaper's ideology wants to justify this war by showing the Americans as saviors of the Iraqis from Saddam.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The investigation of ideology in 'the New York Times' discourse reveals that the newspaper uses several texts, which includes the use of twenty-one discursive devices in varying proportions. The analysis reveals the newspaper's ideology by using these devices . Most of the time, the newspaper has a dual ideology toward immigrants. It refers to them in a positive way. It also mentions their suffering. The newspaper mostly refers to them in a negative way in order to indicate either their influence on American society or to mention their countries in a negative way, especially Iraq. *The New York Times* uses people who support the validity of its negative ideology or mentions numbers to confirm the truth. In contrast, the newspaper shows a consistent ideology towards the Americans. It always mentions them in a positive way but it sometimes criticizes Americans . Then, it mentions Americans positively and how they help immigrants . It provides evidence of this assistance by mentioning Americans' helps for some people. Additionally, the newspaper reminds people how America help them and it has chosen some people to mention how America help them more than their countries or they compare between the positive life in America and the negative life in their countries. Here, it realizes that the newspaper is able to change the ideology of the international community in a way that suites it and convinces them throughout the evidence it provides.

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