العنف الأسري في العراق: تحليل خطاب نقدي لعدم المساواة بين الجنسين باستعمال صيغة المبني للمجهول

الباحثة: وملكة دخيل حسن
د. فرح عبد الجبار المناصير

ملخص البحث:
عادة ما تتعرض النساء لحوادث عنف أكثر من الرجال وخاصة العنف المنزلي. يشمل العنف المنزلي أشكالًا مختلفة من العنف الأسري مثل الزواج القسري وجرائم الشرف التي يرتكبها بعض أفراد الأسرة. وفي هذا الصدد، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في تقارير المنظمات غير الحكومية حول العنف الإسري في العراق من خلال نهج تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA). و أيضا تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف الأوصاف الوظيفية للغة التقارير حول العنف المنزلي والكشف عن أسباب أليوبولوجية لعدم المساواة بين الجنسين. ولتحقيق هذه الأهداف ، تم اعتماد نموذج انتقائي يتضمن اللسانيات الوظيفية النظامية (SFL) (Halliday, 1985، 1994، 2004) ، جنبًا إلى جنب مع إطار الأبعاد لتحليل الأدوات اللغوية وذلك لتبيان عدم المساواة بين الجنسين (من الناحية اللغوية) في تقارير المنظمات غير الحكومية عن العنف المنزلي. وفي هذا الصدد تناولت الدراسة تقريرين يمثلان العنف المنزلي في العراق والمقدمهما منظمة حرية المرأة في العراق (OWFI).
أخيرا تشير الاستنتاجات إلى زيادة استخدام صيغة المبني للمجهول للحديث عن العنف الذي يسببه الجناة الذكور. علاوة على ذلك، أن التحليل النقدي لادوات اللغة يمكن أن يستكشف العلاقة بين اللغة وأيديولوجية عدم المساواة بين الجنسين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، العنف الأسري، عدم المساواة بين الجنسين، أيديولوجيا.
Domestic Violence in Iraq: A Critical discourse analysis of passivization and gender inequality

*M.A: Maleka D. Hasan    Asst.Prof. Dr. Farah Abdul-Jabbar Al-Manaseer

Department of English Language and Literature, College of Arts, Al-Mustansiriyah University

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1. Abstract

Women usually experience more incidents of violence than men particularly domestic violence (DV). DV includes different forms of family violence such as forced marriage and honor crimes that are perpetrated by family members. In this regard, this study intends to investigate Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) reports on DV in Iraq through the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach. This study aims to explore the functional descriptions of the reports' language on DV and to uncover the ideology of gender inequality causes. To achieve the aims, an eclectic modal is adopted including Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) systemic functional linguistics (SFL) along with Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) three-dimensional framework for the analysis of the linguistic devices to examine gender inequality in NGOs reports on DV. The study is conducted through the qualitative method approach. Moreover, the data tackled two reports representing DV in Iraq and presented by the Organization of Women’s Freedom in Iraq (OWFI). The conclusions indicate that there is an increased use of passive voice to talk about violence caused by male perpetrators. Further, presuppositions and references reveal that CDA can explore the relationships among language, and the ideology of gender inequality.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, domestic violence, gender inequality. Ideology.
2. Introduction

Violence against women is a violation of human rights, notably DV, which has been prevalent in Iraq. It is “directed against a woman because she is a women” (Vilardo & Bittar, 2018). In Iraq one in five women and girls aged 15–49 were subject to physical domestic violence in 2008 (UNFPA, 2009). The unequal power relations increase women’s risks and vulnerability to exploitation. According to UN reports, women and gender inequality negatively affects women’s general well-being isolate them from the society. (UNFPA, 2009). Kress and Hodges (1979) draw attention to the role of language in the presentation the different ideological perspectives intended. (p.34). CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that studies the way social power, dominance, and gender inequality work (Van Dijk, 2009: 85). This study is intended to answer the following questions:

1) What are the linguistic devices that represent gender inequality in NGOs' reports?

2) How the functional descriptions manifest the gender inequality in the Middle East through NGOs reports?

3. Types of Domestic Violence

DV can take the form of physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence and it includes forced, temporary and early marriages and honor killing (UNFPA, 2009).

3.1 Child, Forced And Temporary Marriages

Child marriage is children (under 18 years of age) lack the legal capacity to consent to marriage. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) reported that one of five young women (21 percent) aged 15–19 were married in 2017 (UNICEF, 2017). One of reasons of child marriage is related to the role of tribal traditions since33 % of fathers believe that they have the right to force their daughters to marry before the age of 18 and it is preferable that women get married earlier (UNICEF, 2017). Child marriage has proved that young girls who are forced to marry get divorced earlier and enter a deeper cycle of social vulnerability where
they are either married again, or must live with the social burdens imposed on divorced women by the society (UNICEF, 2017).

Forced marriage is a marriage in which one or both parties have not expressed their free consent to the union which is called "fasliya" in Iraq. It refers to the marriage which takes place due to tribal problems when two clans fight; they set the marriage of women as a solution. Women are forced to marry men from the enemy clan to rectify a harm inflicted (crime) by their own clan. Fasliya marriages are concealed, and are part of community denial mechanisms in which various forms of violence against women are documented (Zeidan, 2015). Finally, temporary marriage is a marriage agreement with a limited time span, often conducted, outside the courts, in a way that does not guarantee any civil rights and protection for women and girls. Family members sometimes force women and girls into such marriage to pay off a debt or for financial gain (OWFI, 2015).

3.2 Honor crimes

Honor crime refers to a gender violence (against women) committed by family or tribal members, for perceived transgressions of societal norms, including patriarchal gender norms, which are said to bring shame to their families (Vilardo & Bittar, 2018). Women and girls may be killed for adultery, for having been raped or refusing forced marriage (OWFI, 2015). The Minority Rights Group International and Ceasefire Centre for Civilian Rights 2015 report highlighted that, in Iraq, the number of cases was 49,169 of honor crimes often take the form of murder, although they can encompass other forms of violence, such as physical abuse, confinement, control of movement, forced marriage and forced suicide (OWFI, 2015).

4. Gender Inequality and Domestic Violence

Gender inequality maintains the power and privilege held by men, and reinforces negative messages about the value and status of women, increasing the likelihood of experiencing violence. Violence against women is caused by gender inequality – including unequal power relations between women and men (UNIFEM, 2010:3). Thus, inequalities in gender increase the risk violence against women. Some men think that they have the right to control women and make them vulnerable to physical, emotional and sexual violence and this is related to the ideas,
values or gender beliefs controlling the certain communities and specifically the urban ones (Vilardo & Bittar, 2018: 2-3).

5. Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA can be interpreted as an attempt to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the function and the form of language (Rogers, 2004: 4). It is a tool that influences change on the macro structure of the society, so it gives rise to important issues such as power, gender and racism (Reisigl & Wodak, 2000). Fairclough (1989) links ideology to the relations of power and inequalities, which leads to maintaining domination. He, further, argues that ideology invests language “in producing or interpreting a text” (p. 74). Gender ideologies in texts are conveyed through various linguistic tools such as the use of syntactic elements (e.g., voice, references and connectives) to determine the characterizations of female violence survivors and male perpetrators (Rogers, 2004: 4). On the other hand, there are prominent approaches to CDA such as Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach, Teun van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach, and Ruth Wodak’s discourse-historical approach. The focus of the current study is to investigate gender inequality through linguistic devices and therefore Fairclough’s three-dimensional model in correlation with Haliday’s systematic functional linguistics are adopted to analyze the data selected.

Fairclough’s three-dimensional model

Fairclough (1989) believed that critical analysts should not only focus on the texts, the process of the text production and the interpretation of the texts, but also look into the interrelationship among texts, production processes, and their social context (p. 9). From this point of view, Fairclough (1989: 97) argues that “the exercise of power, in society, is increasingly achieved through ideology.” He combines the micro-level (on the level of text analysis), meso-level (a discourse practice level) and macro-level (a social practice level) of text interpretation (Fairclough, 1989: 4).

6. Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Halliday’s SFL is a perspective for describing language both externally as a social and cultural phenomenon and internally as a formal system for expressing meanings. SFL claims that
understanding the functions of language is responsible for generating its structures (Gerot & Wignell, 1994:12-14). Halliday (1985) stated that language use in SFL is realized through three metafunctions; ideational (through passivization choice), interpersonal (through mood and modality choices) and the textual features (through cohesion and coherence) (p. 142).

7. Methodology

7.1 Data Collection

The analyses of the extracts has been conducted through the qualitative research, which tackles text-based data. These textual data could be interview observation notes, diary entries, or media reports. Qualitative research focuses on the exploration of values, and meanings, of the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell, 2012:19). The sample is collected from the official websites of NGOs reports in Iraq - including the years (2019 & 2020).

7.2 Conceptual Framework

The analysis of the data selected will be carried out through an eclectic model including Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) theoretical framework relaying on Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL tactics to test the linguistic features.

7.3 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data is carried out according to three stages; the "description stage," which deals with textual analysis, the second is the "interpretation stage," which links the social practice with the textual practice. And the last one is "the explanation stage" which aims to portray a discourse as part of a social process (Fairclough, 1989:163).

1) Description Stage

Quirk, et. al., (1985) states that voice is a grammatical category which views the action of a sentence in two ways; "John admired Mary" (Active) "Mary was admired by John" (Passive). Matsukura (2004: 19) proposed that there are some functions to hide the agent or to foreground the action. Passivization not only deflects attention away from the agent but also highlights the patient of the act as a passive receiver. Gender of the people involved in the sentence is an
important factor, as men are seen as more active participants in the action being described, while women are seen as passive recipients of the action (Matsukura, 2004: 20).

2) Interpretation (Discursive Practice) Stage

In this stage, Fairclough (1989: 80) articulates that there are three major headings are presented for the interpretation stage (discursive analysis) includes; the force of utterances, i.e. what types of presuppositions they represent; the ‘coherence’ of texts; and the "intertextuality" of texts (Fairclough, 1989: 75). The concept of the 'coherence' of texts are realized in the lexicogrammar of the language to convey meanings. Mood is the system that is realized in the selection of the three main illocutionary acts in terms of indicative, interrogative and imperative. Indicative is categorized into two types: declarative is the clause as expression of a statement and interrogative is the clause as question. The interrogative is further divided into yes/no interrogative to ask polar questions and wh- interrogative for content questions. These Mood types function differently to produce different meanings in different situations (Halliday, 1985: 37).

3) Explanation (Social Practice) Stage

Fairclough (1989) states that this dimension goes beyond the process of production and interpretation of texts, to the study of their social effects as it interested in analyzing the relationship between interaction and social context (p.86). Halliday and Hasan (1976) refer to ‘text’ (e.g., a report) as a coherent unit of language comprising particular textual constituents that provides cohesiveness inside the text. Eggins (2004) argues that referencing takes place with the presupposed knowledge mentioned in the text to create cohesion (p. 95). The main two referencing categories: cataphoric (points onwards to the knowledge given later in the text), and anaphoric (which is the backward reference to something that has been mentioned before) (Ahmed, 2008: 99). The figure below represents the conceptual framework of the adopted model.
7. Analysis of Report


Extract (1): p.1

1. Recent years have seen an increase in "honor" killings of women in Iraq as a result of a variety of factors weakening institutions, an increase in violence from armed militias and the reinforcement of tribal norms. It is estimated that several hundreds of Iraqi women and girls are killed as a result of "honor" crimes each year. In 2017, 272 cases of "honor" crimes and 3,400 domestic violence cases were reported to the police and referred to courts. Women victims of sexual and gender-based violence that were unjustly incarcerated under false charges of engaging in prostitution are forced to remain at a shelter in Basra, unable to return home because they have been threatened with "honor" killings by their families.

The first report to be analyzed is from OWFI 2019 and it includes the issue of DV against women and girls. As far as the analysis of extract (1) is concerned, the passive phrase "have seen," which is, in turn, followed by its Patient "an increase in honor killings of women in Iraq" states that women and girls in Iraq are facing domestic violence, specifically, honor killings because of their gender. In line (4), the passive Patient (several hundreds of Iraqi women and girls) is followed by the passive verbal phrase (are killed as a result of honor crimes) is indicating that a lot of Iraqi women and girls are victims of honor crimes. Furthermore, the Patient "272 cases of honor crimes and 3,400 domestic violence cases" is followed by the passive
"were reported" and "referred," which is in itself is followed by the nominal phrases" to the police, to courts" in line (5). Here, the passive voice shows the number of women victims that had been registered. In the line (6), the passive phrase in "were unjustly incarcerated" and the phrase "are forced" indicate that women victims are detained in shelters for protection. The passive clause "have been threatened with honor killings by their families" refers to the danger that women face, in case, they leave the violence survivors shelters.

Concerning cohesion all the sentences are positive declarative statements that are given to provide information concerning honor killings as one of the DV types against women in Iraq. In addition, there are referencing pronouns such as "they" which refers to "women" and "their," which refers to "women's homes." in line (8). The personal pronoun "they," is used to, anaphorically, to refer to the phrase "women victims of sexual and gender-based violence" which is mentioned in line (7). In addition, the possessive pronoun "their" is used, anaphorically, to refer to the phrase "women victims." Through the textual analysis carried out above, it can be stated that DA, specifically honor crimes are against women’s right to equality and equal protection within the family. DV is a manifestation of gender inequality deeply entrenched in discriminatory social, cultural and religious norms and beliefs. So, the spreading of such action, specifically in Iraq, is rooted in the concepts of masculinity and femininity's underlying gender inequalities.

Extract (2): p.2

1. *A 2015 study of marriages in Iraq found that 33.9 percent of marriages were conducted outside the courts system, of which 22 percent involved girls younger than 14 years old.*
2. *Forced, temporary, and early marriage has become a strategy of economic survival for many of Iraq’s poor families living in a context of ongoing conflict and insecurity, who may decide to marry their daughters off early with the idea that this spares them from financial burdens.*
3. *About 51 percent of forced marriages were conducted for economic incentives. There has also reportedly been a resurgence of the practice of *faityya*, marrying a woman off to resolve a dispute, where women were forced to marry in such an agreement in Basra in 2015.*

The passive voice in "33.9 percent of marriages were conducted in lines (1&2), where the Patient "33.9 percent of marriages" precedes the passive phrase "were conducted" to highlight the importance of the increasing number of illegal marriages. Thus, the passive verb phrase is followed by the clause "outside the courts system" to assert this idea. This idea continues with the Patient "51 percent of forced marriages," which is followed by the passive form "were
conducted" and followed by the complement "for economic incentives" in line (6). Moreover, in line (7) "There has also reportedly been a resurgence of the practice of *fasliyya*" A prominent kind of forced marriage, which is "fasliyya" is registered, specifically in southern part of Iraq," Here, the agentless passive form in "There has also reportedly been" emphasizes the anonymity of the number of these "fasliyya" marriages. The forced marriages thoughts are asserted in line (8), where the Patient "women" is followed by the passive form in the clause "were forced to marry." Concerning the interpretation level of analysis, where the coherence of text is concerned with the positive declarative statements to provide information concerning early and forced marriage against women in Iraq. On the other hand, in line (2), the relative "which." refers to "forced and early marriage in Iraq " Meanwhile, in line (4), the relative pronoun "who" refers to "Iraq’s poor families," while other referencing possessive pronouns such as "their," in line (5), refers to the "daughters," and the demonstrative "this" refers to the process "marriage" as a solution for poverty. Moreover, the pronouns" them" to refer to the same sense "women." From the textual analysis above, it is estimated that women and girls are vulnerable to forced /child marriage, which is inherently discriminatory, and contradicts universally accepted human rights norms. The male authority and female submission justify this discrimination against women in a variety of ways, including, the right to determine and compel to marry.


Extract (1): p.3-4

1. Domestic violence has increased globally, riding on the coattails of lockdown and shelter-in-place measures to control COVID-19. Since the Iraqi government imposed curfews March 17, 2020, domestic violence cases have reportedly spiked. UN officials in Iraq predicted that the actual number of domestic violence cases occurring during the curfew is likely significantly higher than what Government authorities have recorded. In April, after COVID-19 emerged in Iraq, an Iraqi woman died after being hospitalized for severe burn wounds, the culmination of serious abuse at the hands of her husband and his family.

The passive form in line (1), where the Patient "domestic violence" is followed by the passive form in the clause "has increased globally" to emphasize the increasing danger of "domestic violence." While in line (3), the Patient "domestic violence cases" is followed by the passive form in have reportedly spiked." In line (7), the Patient is the victim "an Iraqi woman,"
which is followed by the passive form in the clause "being hospitalized for severe burn wounds."
The interpretation level of text is illustrated through the mood of sentences, where the positive declarative statements are given to provide information concerning early and forced marriage against women in Iraq. In addition, the relative pronoun "what" in line (5), refers to "the number of domestic violence cases." The reference in line (7), the pronoun "her" refers to "victim's husband" while the pronoun "his" refers to the "family of victim's husband" where is the explanation stage

Extract (2): p. 5

Women or girls may be killed for adultery, for having been raped, or refusing forced marriage. Honor killings remain widespread in Iraq, in part due to lack of legislation to prevent and punish them, and penal code provisions that all but encourage them by allowing mitigated sentencing for murder in certain cases. According to the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior’s Family and Child Protection Unit, 272 honor crimes cases were reported to the police and referred to courts in 2017. Available statistics likely undercount honor crimes due to lack of reporting, and because honor killings are frequently concealed as accidents or suicides, allowing perpetrators to avoid prosecution.

The patient phrase, in line (1), "Women or girls" is followed by the passive form in the clause "may be killed for adultery" and in "for having been raped." Here, the passive voice is giving importance to the Patient and confirming that women and girls are victims of honor crimes because of adultery or rape cases. The agentless passive form in line (5), where the patient "272 honor crimes cases" is followed by the passive form in the clause "were reported to the police." in line (7), the patient "honor killings" is followed by the passive "are concealed as accidents or suicides," to inform that honor crimes may take the forms of accidents such as suicides. Concerning the interpretation level of analysis, where the coherence of text is concerned in which the positive declarative statements are given to provide information concerning early and forced marriage against women in Iraq. The references in line (3), where the pronoun "them" refers to the family relative who commit," the other pronoun "them" refers to the honor crimes. At the explanation stage, it is important in this context to acknowledge that honor is in a specific relation to a male and female perspective. Honour crimes are forms of violation against women’s right to equality and equal protection within the family. From a thought that every woman has less value than males and that males have the ‘privilege’ to re-establish the family’s honor.
4.3 Discussion and Results

The current paper is after identifying the linguistic devices used in the NGOs selected reports, exploring passivation in identifying the implicit ideologies. The passivation, the types of mood and the references that help at presenting the ideological inequality of gender and power relation. To begin with the passive voice, where there are two participants; Agent and Patient. Women appear to be the Patient, while the men are the Agents in all the selective extracts (Re.1/ex.1/lines 3&4). Because women are vulnerable, the passive form is implying that the men are the perpetrators of the violence, who have the power to commit honor crimes as in (Re.1/ex.1/lines 1). In such society, woman has always been seen as a submissive daughter, sister or wife and viewed as an economic burden as in (Re.1/ex.2/line.6). In Iraq, women suffer from domestic violence as in (Re.2/ex.1/line 6). Concerning the discursive level of analysis, that the referencing of the text helps to affirm that the unequal distribution of power and resources between men and women; and, an adherence to rigidly defined gender roles and identities i.e., what it means to be masculine and feminine. Furthermore, referencing identifies presupposed information throughout the text (Eggins 2004: 95). The referencing items have been employed to create links between elements referred to as referential chains by using pronouns like (their, its, it, who, those, her, she, this, they, themselves, them, these, itself). The references presuppose that violence involving men and women, in which the female is usually the victim.

As it is noticed that the social power inequality depends on gender differences between men and women. In Iraq, women are viewed as subordinate to men and have a lower social status, allowing men to control over, and decision-making power. In brief, violence against women as being rooted in the ideology of men’s privilege over women, social norms regarding masculinity, and the need to assert male control or power.

5.2 Conclusions

As far as research questions are concerned, this study has come up with the following conclusions:

1) It is proved that the passive forms such as (may be killed, are concealed, being hospitalized, were forced, are killed, were reported, etc.) ensure committing DV against women and girls. Moreover, the passive forms are used, to indicate that women and girls are powerless victims to
DV through using the patients (Women or girls, honor killings, an Iraqi woman, etc.), which reflects the gender inequality. Moreover, the text is constructed by the declarative mood and it contains positive statements to provide information concerning DV issues.

2) In the case of reference, the personal, demonstrative, or possessive pronouns (e.g. she, her, them, this, those, etc.) are used to refer women and girls as powerless victims. The third person pronoun references (such as she, it, they), which have both anaphoric and deictic interpretation are mostly used. The anaphoric reference is mostly used to confirm the point that violence exists and takes place against women in these communities every day. Since anaphoric references refer back to a concepts or words referred to "old" information and serves as a marker for knowledge already possessed.

3) As far as the ideological perspectives are concerned, the reports presented violence against women and girls in Iraq stating how gender inequality plays an important role in shaping the different communities and their social structure.

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