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Topic:

Power and Ideology in Discourse on Iran Nuclear Deal 2015:

The case of Barak Obama's and Mohammed Javad Zarif's speeches

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Board of Examiners: **Presented by:**
 Pr. Abbes Bahous (President)   **Amrani Djalal**
 Pr. Malika Mostefa Sbaa (Examiner)   **Eddine**
 Pr. Bakhta Abdelhay (Examiner)
 Dr. Abdeljalil Larbi Youcef (Examiner)
 Dr. Houari Mired (Examiner)

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the covert ideology and power relation incorporated by the President of the United States of America Barak Obama and the Iranian foreign minister Mohammed Javad Zarif in their political speeches about Iran's nuclear deal 2015. Based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the analysis is mainly performed through Transitivity system, Modality and Textual analysis. Furthermore, the analysis is based also on Norman Fairclough´s assumption in critical discourse analysis, claiming that "ideologies reside in text" that "it is not possible to read off ideologies from text", and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995). The analysis leads to the conclusion that the ideology of both leaders resides in their beliefs, conviction, assertion and ambition to settle this long and strenuous nuclear conflict by signing the deal in Geneva 2015.

Key Terms: Ideology, Power relation, Iran Deal, Critical Discourse Analysis, SFL, Transitivity, Modality, Textual Analysis

Résumé

Cette recherche a pour objectif d'examiner l'idéologie et le rapport de force incorporé par le Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique Barak Obama et le Ministre Iranien des affaires étrangeres Mohammed Javad Zarif dans leur discours politique à propos de l'accord relative au programme nucléaire Iranien en 2015. Basée sur la linguistique fonctionnelle systémique de Halliday (SFL), l'analyse est réalisée principalement par le biais du système de Transitivité, de Modalité et d'analyse textuelle. En outre, l'analyse se fonde également sur Norman Fairclough's hypothèse dans l'analyse critique du discours, affirmant que les idéologies résident dans le texte qu'il est possible de lire sur les idéologies de texte, et que les textes sont ouverts à diverses interprétations (Fairclough 1995). L'analyse arrive à la conclusion que l'idéologie des deux réside dans leur croyance, conviction, affirmation et ambition respectives en vue de résourdre ce long conflit relative au programme nucléaire Iranien par la signature de l'accord de Genève en 2015.

Termes clés: Idéologie, Rapport de force, l'analyse critique du discours, SFL, Accord sur le programme nucléaire Iranien, SFL, Transitivité, Modalité, Analyse Textuelle

ملخص

يدرس هذا البحث إيديولوجية كل من رئيسي الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية باراك أوباما ووزير الخارجية الايراني محمد جواد ظريف في خطابيهما السياسيين حول الصفقة النووية الإيرانية عام 2015. واستنادا إلى اللسانيات الوظيفية الجهازية لهاليداي (SFL)، التحليل يتم أساسا من خلال نظام Transitivity، القيد وتحليل النصوص. وعلاوة على ذلك، يستند التحليل أيضا على افتراض نورمان فاركلاف في تحليل الخطاب النقدي، مدعيا أن "الأيديولوجيات موجودة في النص" وانه "من غير الممكن قراءة الأيديولوجيات خارج النص"، وأن "النصوص مفتوحة لتفسيرات متنوعة" (Fairclough 1995). التحليل يؤدي إلى الاستنتاج بأن أيديولوجية كلا الزعيمين تكمن في معتقداتهم، و إيمانهم، التأكيد والطموح لتسوية هذا النزاع النووي الطويل والشاق من خلال التوقيع على اتفاق جنيف 2015.

كلمات المفتاح: إيديولوجية، الصفقة النووية الإيرانية، الوظيفية الجهازية، القيد،تحليل النصوص

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my parents, my wife and my children, Aya, Mohamed Ilyes and Adam. I don't have to forget my best friend Marki Nabil.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CNN: Cable News Network

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

NPR: National Public Radio

NPT: Non-Proliferation Treaty

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

NBC: National Broadcasting Company

US: United States

UK: United Kingdom

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Introduction

This study attempts to throw light on the nature and quality of discursive strategies used in Obama's and Mohammed Javad Zarif's speeches discourse on Iran's Nuclear Deal 2015. This is in order to examine the social power, in particular the ways dominance is expressed or enacted in text and talk, and to find out some ideologies (political) and power relations of both leaders in their speeches texts. The ideologies which both Obama and Zarif carry are their beliefs and duties which led them to come to term to sign the nuclear deal 2015. Working within the framework and guidelines of M.A.K Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics **SFL** (from the point of transitivity, modality and textual analysis), the general goal is to look at how both Obama's and Zarif's texts are perceived within American and Iranian socio-political context respectively, and to look at the covert ideologies which manifest themselves in both speeches, and how Iran's deal 2015 is portrayed in different international media. This analysis will be underpinned by Fairclough's CDA that ideologies reside in text, and it's impossible to read off ideologies from text, as well as texts are open to diverse interpretations (Fairclough, 1995).

Aims of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze both speeches of Barak Obama and Mohammed Javad Zarif using Halliday's SFL and Fairclough's CDA framework in order to explore:
1. The various dimensions of relations of power and discourse in the context of the Iran-US relations (Fairclough, N. Power and Discourse).
2. The crucial part that language plays in society and how language plays its functions within the structure of media as a power institution and what is the bilateral impact of these two systems on each other.
3. Through SFL and Fairclough approach's CDA framework, I will examine the covert ideology expressed in both texts of Obama and Mohammed Javad Zarif on Iran's deal.
4. Also, to see how the media, in both countries, scrutinized the Iran-US relation, in particular the hostage crisis on November 4th, 1979, and this nuclear deal which has begun to take a regular and solid ground since Obama came to authority in 2009, and its impact on both nations people and other countries like Saudi Arabia and Israel.
5. Additionally, another aim of this study is to look at the discourse of each speech and see how ideological differences manifest themselves in the discourse of each speech.

6. This study also seeks to find out how the Iran Nuclear Agreement is represented in the different media, the American and Iranian media among them, with different political perspectives in terms of its content, and how the Iranian and American negotiators are represented in the media in terms of their discourse strategies both negative and positive. Moreover, this study explores how the American media see Iran after they signed the deal; is it still a dangerous and mysterious country?

Significance of the Study

This study does not focus on the analysis of the deal and its implementations. In truth, it is an analysis of how the deal has been represented in the international media and its impact on people especially in Iran, Israel, United States and Saudi Arabia. In fact, this study is a part of a large research project which has looked at, particularly, the United States and Iran leaders' discourses of Iran's Nuclear Program in the American and Iranian newspapers. I believe this analysis is an important step towards understanding what triggered the western world led by the United States and Iran to sign this historical deal, and it will provide our readers with insights into the roots of the US-Iran conflict. Looking deeply at what Obama and Zarif said about the deal on July 14th, 2015, it is of great significance for users of language to be aware of ideological relationships in the socio-political contexts in which a language is positioned and functions and the multiple meanings that are fostered in each speech.

Iran's Nuclear Program: A brief history

For a better grasp of the perception of Iran's nuclear program, it is important to acknowledge the historical continuity of the pre- and post-revolutionary identities of Iran. Crucial instances in the recent history of Iran come to play a role in the way the news is produced and perceived on the Iranian side. Putting political discourses aside, Iran's nuclear program began as a natural continuation of technological development of the country at the time – not as a major international issue/problem/crisis – in the 1950s with the encouragement and investment of the USA and the West. It was part of providing support for the West-friendly monarch of Iran, Mohammad Reza Shah. In 1968, Iran joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT); this was 11 years before the Islamic Revolution and a year after an American-supplied nuclear reactor started its

activities in Tehran. Following that, extensive plans to build several nuclear power plants were announced by the Shah. Nuclear developments continued until the 1979 Iranian revolution.

The 1979 revolution reversed Iran's relations with the West, specifically the USA, amidst strong revolutionary thrusts portraying the revolution as an emancipation of the country from old and new colonisers and imperialist 'international arrogance'. Within a couple of years after the revolution and within a chaotic context of competing political struggles of various liberal, national and Islamic groups and parties, Saddam Hussein's Iraqi army launched an all-out invasion of Iran; this is the war which is officially referred to as 'imposed war' or 'sacred defence' and it continued for eight years (1980–1988). Iranian nuclear activities and plans were put on hold until the early 1990s, when Iran moved to have its long-awaited Bushehr power plant functional with the support of the Russians.

While the anti-Western rhetoric of Iran continued, rising sensitivities regarding Iran's nuclear program culminated in 2002 when the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) announced that it had come to learn about the existence of two undeclared nuclear sites in Iran. In 2003, the Iranian reformist government of Khatami2 signed an agreement with France, Germany and the UK to voluntarily suspend its nuclear enrichment program and fully cooperate with the IAEA during the negotiations. In return, the country's rights to peaceful nuclear energy would be recognised and technological support would be provided to Iran to that end. After two years of suspension, in February 2005, the outgoing government of Khatami asked for the negotiation to be expedited to reach a concrete agreement. Towards the end of 2005 and after the new president of Iran, Ahmadinejad had assumed office, under a revived revolutionary zeal and his widely controversial rhetoric Iran moved towards resuming its nuclear enrichment. Shortly after, the three European powers offered a package to Iran in return for abandoning enrichment. Iran dismissed the offer, characterising it as 'a humiliating and insulting empty box' and resumed its enrichment program under the highly belligerent rhetoric of the new president. By January 2006, news and commentary about Iran and its nuclear program had become the hottest news topic in the Western world as Iran continued its enrichment, along with some intermittent rounds of negotiation.

Iran Nuclear Deal

Iran nuclear deal is almost the last stage of the long conflict between the United States of America and Iran at the moment. It is an agreement that started to take place during Obama's presidency. It was in 2009 that Obama initiated to sit down with the Iranian leaders without preconditions, and it started with much difficulty after hard- liner Ahmadinejad who won another term in Iran. This term weakened the case for better relations. Ahmadinejad called for the elimination of Israel, a key U.S. alley, and declared the Holocaust a myth. Nevertheless, in 2013, promising a new course of moderation, Hassan Rohani, who became Iran's president in August, made a series of public statements suggesting new flexibility with the west and exchanged letters with Obama.

Talks convened in Geneva in early November with high hopes of reaching a deal that would include initial caps on Iran's capacity to make a nuclear bomb in exchange for the easing of some sanctions stifling Iran's economy. Secretary of state John Kerry said "significant change" is made; but the talks ended with no deal. The parties agreed to resume talks in November 20th, 2014. Six world powers and Iran struck a deal that calls on Tehran to limit its nuclear activities in return for sanctions relief. After five days of negotiations, Iranian foreign minister Mohammed Javad Zarif told reporters in the early hours of November 24th "Yes, we have a deal".

Lastly, Iran and a group of six nations led by the United States reached a historic accord on Tuesday 14th November 2015 to significantly limit Tehran nuclear ability for more than a decade in return for lifting international oil and financial sanctions. The deal culminates 20 months of negotiations on an agreement that president Obama had long sought as the biggest achievement of his presidency. Yet, the questions remain whether the deal will portend a new relationship between the United States and Iran, after decades of coups, hostage-taking, terrorism and sanctions

Literature Review

The case of Iran-US relation has been critically analyzed in several critical discourse analysis studies. There are relatively a number of studies that deal with the issue of US-Iran agreement over the Iran's nuclear program. In fact, this present study deals with Iran's deal 2015 which skeptically ends the long conflict between the two nations. To

my best knowledge, there are some studies that analyze the political discourse of their leaders from CDA perspectives to see how ideology and power relations are expressed through language. Among these studies is the one for Massoud Sharififar, Elahe Rahimi (Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at UN). The aim of this paper is to survey the art of linguistic spin in Obama's and Rouhani's political speeches at UN in September 2013 based on Halliday's systematic functional linguistics. The analysis is mainly performed through the transitivity system and modality to represent how two presidents' language can incorporate both ideology and power in their political speeches. In other words, they can manifest their power, capabilities, and policies through language; furthermore, the political implications of these speeches can be perceived better by common people. Another study, which was the critical analysis of Iran's Nuclear Power Program, is for Biook Behnam and Robabeh Moshtaghi Zenouz (A Contrastive Critical Analysis of Iranian and British Newspaper Reports on the Iran Nuclear Power Program). This study investigates how the Iranian and British press represent this program to their readers following different socio-political patterns. To undertake the comparison, a corpus consisting of prominent Iran Nuke reports in Iran Daily, Kayhan, The Guardian and The Telegraph spanning 2004 were analyzed in terms of the transitivity system and interpreted following Fairclough's (1989) framework. The papers tended to depict Iran as the main participant, mostly portrayed as a social deviant in the British papers in which the ideology seemed to include polarization. A new recent study has also made by Majid KhosraviNik, a professor of Media Studies at Newcastle University, is entitled (Macro and micro legitimationin discourse on Iran's nuclear programme: The case of Iranian national newspaper *Kayhan).* The study attempts to throw light on the nature and quality of discursive strategies used in Iranian discourse on the nuclear programme as represented in an influential Iranian daily, *Kayhan*. Working within the general guidelines of critical discourse analysis, the general orientation of the article is towards explicating how the newspaper texts may come to be perceived within an Iranian socio-political context. The article is part of a larger research project which has looked at the discourses of Iran's nuclear programme as represented in different British and Iranian newspapers, and the ways they may devise micro-linguistic and macro-argumentative strategies to construct and de/legitimise the positions of Self and Other. The focus of this article is on findings on the broad argumentative aspects of one of the influential Iranian dailies which functions as a flagship of what can arguably be called the

overarching conservative rhetoric of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Broad discursive approaches of the newspaper are distinguished in terms of a global, overarching, political macro-legitimatory approach versus a local, restricted micro-legitimatory approach towards identities of Self and Other and the nature of the political conflict over Iran's nuclear programme.

Conceptual Basis

Our conceptual basis is adopted from both Norman Fairclough's ideas on discourse and power and discourse and hegemony, and Michael Halliday´s Systemic Functional Linguistics. This paper attempts to deconstruct covert ideology which is 'hidden' in the text, stemming from the theoretical conceptualization of Batstone, who claims that "critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge, facilitating what Kress calls the 'retreat into mystification and impersonality' (1989, p.57)" (Batstone 1995, p.198-199). Furthermore, I shall depend on Halliday´s SFL as another tool beside Fairclough´s ideas on discourse. The main analytical tools of SFL are Transitivity, Modality and textual analysis.   SFL helps greatly in deconstructing covert ideologies.

Research Questions:

This study seeks to find out:

What ideology do both Barak Obama and Mohammed Zarif represent in their discourse speeches?

How is Iran Nuclear Deal represented in Obama and Zarif's speeches with different political perspectives in terms of its content?

Hypothesis

First hypothesis

The ideology of both leaders is their beliefs and conviction to reconciliate and bridge the gap between them throughout the deal 2015. It resides in their speech texts.

Second hypothesis

Through the present study, I hypothesize that the deal is a demonstrable step forward, initiated by Obama administration, towards the stability of relations between US and Iran, and putting an end to the chaos and conflicts in the Middle East region, and it is also a chance for Iran to fully reintegrate in the international community and boost its economy again.

Method

I have chosen almost the whole text of the Iranian foreign minister speech after two days of the deal release July 14th, 2015. It is taken from the following link: http://www.tehrantimes.com/index_View.asp?code=248019.

For the second speech, it is for Obama delivered on the same day. I selected almost the whole text this text is taken from New York Times newspaper. The link is: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/text-and-video-obamas-address-on-the-iran-nuclear-deal.html?_r=0

Chapter One

Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

l. Text and Discourse

l.1.Text

Text is the highest unit on the rank scale of semantic operating in a context of situation; it is language functioning in context (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Text is defined by reference to context, not by reference to lexicogrammar; it is therefore highly variable in size and nature, ranging from a line on a public sign to a folk tale. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.1) offer the following definition of text: "The word TEXT is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, written or spoken, or whatever length, that does form a unified whole". In describing how text form a unified whole, Halliday and Hassan introduce the concept of texture (Halliday and Hassan 1976, p.2, Hassan 1985b, chapter five). Texture is the property distinguishes text from non-text. Texture is what holds the clause of a text together to give them unity.

Texture, Halliday and Hassan suggest, involves the interaction of two components, coherence and cohesion. Coherence refers to the way a group of clauses or sentences relate to the context (Halliday and Hassan 1976, p.23). The term cohesion refers to the way we relate or tie together bits of our discourse. The result of these two dimensions is a piece of language which is using linguistic resources in a meaningful way within a situational and cultural context. If text is a 'unified whole' it is a whole unified in terms of meanings, not in terms of form. As Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.2) put it "A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit: a unit not of form but of meaning". More accurately, in systemic terms a text is a unit of meanings, a unit which expresses simultaneously, ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings.

A text is a semantic unit in the same sense that a clause is a grammatical unit (Halliday, 1981, for the analogy between the two), but it need not have the same kind of structural closure and this can be brought out by viewing it as a process. There are thus these two perspectives on a text- as a process unfolding in time, and as a product having unfolded in time.

Widdowson (2007, p.4) defines text as a piece of language as soon as it has a communicative purpose. He said: "A text can be defined as an actual use of language, as distinct from a sentence which is an abstract unit of linguistic analysis. We identify a piece of language as a text as soon as we recognize that it has been produced for a communicative purpose."

We may know what the language means but we do not understand what is meant by its use in a particular text. Widdowson (2007, p.4) explained this by giving the following example: "KEEP OFF THE GRASS". This is a public notice. If we refer to dictionary we know what the word GRASS denotes; but in this particular text it has another meaning with the definite article THE (the grass). But which grass? Obviously, one might say, the grass in the vicinity of the notice. So what do we do here is to establish reference by relating the text to the context in which it is located. So, for Widdowson text is use of language to perform a particular purpose: whether simple of complex, all texts are uses of language which are produced with the intention to refer to something for some purpose. We identify a stretch of language as text when we recognize this intention, and there are times when the intention is made explicit as when a text is labelled as a notice, or instruction, or report or proclamation.

I.2. Spoken and Written Text

We know that texts are the perceptible traces of the process of mediating a message. In conversation these traces are typically fragmented, and disappear as soon as they are produced to serve their immediate discourse purpose. They can be recorded, but do not to be, and usually are not. Thus, participants in spoken interaction produce and process text as they go along and there is no need for it to be retained as a record for it to mediate their discourse, and this mediation is regulated on-line to negotiate whatever convergence between intention and interpretation is required for the purpose. Written text, on the other hand, is not jointly constructed and construed on-line in this way. It is typically designed and recorded unilaterally in the act of production by one of the participants, the writer, as a completed expression of the intended message. The text is then taken up and interpreted as a separate process. The mediation, therefore, is displaced and delayed and this obviously will often make a convergence between intention and interpretation more difficult to achieve.

I.3. Discourse

Discourse is a difficult and fuzzy concept as it is used by social theorists (Foucault, 1972; 1977), critical linguists (Fowler & al, 1979) and finally critical discourse analysts (Van Dijk, 1990). All of them define discourse slightly different and from their various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints.

Discourse is often defined in two different ways: according to the formalist or structuralist paradigm, discourse is 'language above the clause' (Stubs, 1983, p.1). This approach to discourse focuses on the form which language 'above the sentence' takes, looking at the structural properties such as organization and cohesion, but paying little attention to the social ideas that inform the way people use and interpret language. However, the social aspect of language was emphasized by the so called functionalist paradigm, which states that discourse is language in use (Brown and Yule, 1983, p.1). Brown and Yule (1983) state that:

> The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs. (p.1)

The analysis of language cannot be divorced from the analysis of the purpose and function of language in human life. Therefore, discourse is seen as culturally and socially organized way of speaking. Language is used to mean something, and to do something, and meaning and doing are linked to the context of its usage. If we want to interpret a text properly, we need to work out what the speaker or writer is doing through discourse, and how this doing is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material context.

Many theorists tried to define discourse from different perspectives. The general idea they agree upon is that discourse is "…that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life…" (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002, p.1). This entails that there can be many types of discourses, of which we can speak of a journalistic, medical, judicial and political discourse. Each discourse contains a pattern which all utterances follow, depending on when or where they are used in social life. However, Fairclough and Wodak emphasize that speaking of a discourse not only includes written and spoken language but also visual images (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 In: Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002, p.61). However, Fowler defines and states that 'Discourse' is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies these beliefs etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience. Foucault (1972, p.49) does not think of discourse as a piece of text, but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.

By discourse Foucault means a group of statements which provide a language for talking about— a way of representing the knowledge about— a particular topic at a particular historical moment. He comments:

> Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word discourse, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements. (Foucault, 1972, p.80)

Also, Crystal (1987, p.116) attempted to pin down the meaning of discourse within linguistics. He contrasted it to the use of the term text:

> Discourse analysis focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such discourses as conversations, interviews, commentaries and speeches. Text analysis focuses on the structure of written language, as found in such texts as essays, notices, road signs and chapters.

Discourse is, at the very least, language plus context. The context includes our experience, assumptions and expectations. The context changes in our relationship with other when we construct and negotiate our way through the social practice of the world we live in (Nicola Woods, p.x).

The view of language as action and social behavior is one of the CDA undertakings, which sees discourse as a social practice. It is this definition that is useful for our analysis of institutional discourse. This implies a two-way relationship between a 'discursive event' (i.e. any use of discourse) and the situation, institution and social structure in which it occurs. So, discourse is shaped by discursive event and the situation (Fairclough, 1992, p.62).

A different view of discourse has also been formed by Foucault. Foucault (1972, p.49) does not think discourse as a piece of text, but as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak'. This view emerged from the fact that Foucault offered important theoretical concepts for understanding institutions as sites of discursive power. We will see in detail Foucault discourses.

Widdowson (2007, p.6), however, considers the production of texts to express ideas and beliefs, to explain something, to get other people to do certain things and to think in a certain way, as a discourse. So text is only a product of discourse and discourse is a meaning process: But identifying something as a text is not the same as interpreting it. You may recognize intentionality but not know the intention. This is where discourse

comes in, and why it needs to be distinguished from text. As I have tried to show, we achieve meaning by indexical realization, that is to say, by using language to engage our extralinguistic reality. Unless it is activated by this contextual connection, the text is inert. It is this activation, this acting of context on code, this indexical conversion of the symbol that I refer to as discourse. Discourse in this view is the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation. Text is its product.

Michel Foucault, in his turn, played a central role in the development of discourse analysis through both theoretical work and empirical research. Traditionally, Foucault's work was divided between an early archaeological phase and later genealogical phase, although the two overlap, with Foucault continuing to use tools from his archaeological in his later works. His discourse theory forms part of his archaeology. Foucault defines a discourse as:

> We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [...Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality (Foucault, 1972,p.117).

I.*4. Discourse as a Social Practice*

Discourse is not only the language we utter interactively in society, but it is practice. James Gee captures this aspect of discourse when he asserts that discourse includes much more than language:

> Discourses are, then, ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles (or types of people) by specific groups of people, whether families of certain sort, lawyers of a certain sort, bikers of a certain sort, business people of a certain sort, church members of a certain sort, African-Americans of a certain sort, women or men of a certain sort, and so on through a very long list. Discourses are... 'ways of being in the world'; they are 'forms of life'. They are, thus, always and everywhere social and products of social histories (1996, p.viii).

It is common for sociolinguistics that language is considered as a form of social practice. This implies that, firstly, language is part of society, and not somehow external to it. Secondly, language is a social process. And thirdly, language is a socially

conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (Fairclough, P.22). There is no external relationship between language and society. Language is part of society. Linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a social sort, and social phenomena are linguistic phenomena. Linguistic phenomena are social in the sense that whenever people speak or write or listen or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects. However, social phenomena are linguistic in the sense that the language activity which goes on in social context is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes and practices; it is part of those processes and practices.

Now let us see how language is a social practice through looking at what differentiate discourse from text. A text is a product rather than a process; it is a product of the process of text production. This process is called discourse. Discourse here is the whole process of social interaction of which a text is part of it. This process includes in addition to the text the process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, of which the text is a resource. Text analysis is correspondingly only a part of discourse analysis, which also includes analysis of productive and interpretative processes. (See fig.1). So, discourse involves social conditions, which can be specified as social conditions of production, and social conditions of interpretation.

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│            Social conditions of production          │
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│    │ Process of production                  │       │
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│    │         │      Text        │           │       │
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│    │                                        │       │
│    │ Process of interpretation              │       │
│    │                                        │       │
│    │ interaction                            │       │
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│           Social conditions of interpretation       │
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│ context                                             │
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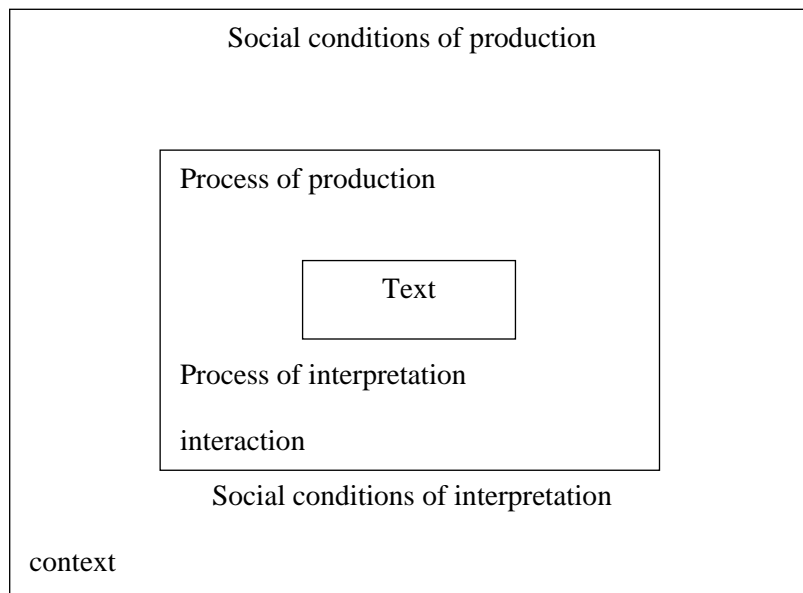
Fig.1: Discourse as Text, Interaction and Context (1996, p.25)

II. Discourse and Power

In this section we talk about discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted. We talk about power in face-to-face spoken discourse and the hidden power of mass media discourse.

II.*1. Power in face-to-face Spoken Discourse*

In this type of discourse we can say that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants. The powerful participants control and constrain the contents, on what is said and done, relations, the social relations people enter into in discourse, and finally they control subjects, or the 'subject positions' people can occupy.

Let us take an example to be clear on that. The teacher in the classroom is the powerful participant and the students are the non-powerful participants. Here the teacher has the right to give order and to ask questions to his students, whereas the students have only the obligation to comply and answer, in accordance with the subordinate relation of student to teacher. In fact, it is not the teacher who controls directly; but it is the constraints derived from the conventions of the discourse type being drawn upon.

II.*2. The Hidden Power*

The main area where we find hidden discourse is the 'mass media', television, radio, film as well as newspapers. Mass media discourse is interesting because the nature of power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power. But, what is the nature of the power relations in media discourse? In any sort of media, producers exercise power on consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and what is excluded, the subject being introduced, how events are represented to their audiences.

Media use different unequal social groupings as ministers and industrial managers contrast the unemployed people and the shopfloor workers. In the British media for instance, the balance of these 'sources' and their perspectives and ideologies is overwhelmingly in favor of existing power-holders. So we can see media power relations as relations of 'mediated' sort between power-holders and the mass of the population. So media plays a mean for the expression and reproduction of the power of the dominant class. And the mediated power of existing power-holders is also a 'hidden power', because it is implicit in the practices of the media rather than being explicit:

> The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of the capitalist class and other power-holder to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular way of holding causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the readers, and so forth. Thus through the way it readers, for instance, media discourse is able to exercise persuasive and powerful influence in social reproduction... (Fairclough 1996, p.54).

Another question in this context might be well asked, is the hidden power of media manipulative? And from whom exactly the power of media discourse is hidden? Sometimes the hidden power of media is manipulated, and sometimes not. Moreover, there are cases where media output is consciously manipulated in the interests of the capitalist class, and most importantly, the professional beliefs and assumptions of media workers are important in keeping the power of media discourse hidden from the mass of the population.

Power is also hidden in face-to-face discourse. For instance, there is obviously a close connection between requests and power, in that the right to request someone to do

something often derives from having power. But there are many grammatically different forms available for making requests. Some are direct and mark the power relationship explicitly, while others are indirect and leave it more or less implicit (Fairclough, p.55)

III. Discourse and Ideology

III.1. Discourse Functions Ideologically

There has been a discussion over the last years on the subject of ideology in relation to CDA. The concept of ideology is crucial to CDA. One of the undertakings of CDA is to expose the hidden ideologies that are reflected, reinforced and constructed in everyday and institutional discourse. Definitions of ideology fall in two broad categories: it is a system of ideas, beliefs and practices, and a crucial definition goes back to Marxist theory, which sees it as working in the interests of a social class and/or cultural groups: "… inherently misleading, as tools used by the dominant to make oppressive social systems seem natural and desirable and mask the cause of oppression" (Johnston, 2002, P.45).

Fairclough and Wodak cautiously went with this and defined ideology "ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (Fairclough & Wodak In: Van Dijk et al 1997, p.275). Van Dijk (1995, p.138) also defines ideology: "…we shall here simply define ideologies as systems that are at the basis of the socio-political cognitions of groups". According to Van Dijk, ideologies are made of the social norms and values that exist within the culture the group belongs to, and selected to optimize the realization of the group's goal. Ideology influences the way one construct the world in the sense that it has an important impact on the: "… specific knowledge and beliefs of individual language users." Hence, it will naturally influence language and therefore discourse.

Critical discourse analysts argue that discourse embodies ideological assumptions. They use the term ideology in a critical sense. Interestingly, it is claimed that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, for example, between social classes, women and men, ethnic minorities and the majority. These effects are understood as ideological effects. Fairclough defines critical discourse analysis as an approach which seeks to investigate systematically

often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts and broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes…, how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power…, how the opacity of these relations of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough 1993, p.135)

Fairclough (1992, p.87) understands ideologies to be: "Signification/constructions of reality the physical world, social relation, social identities which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination".

This critical conception of ideology, which is based on Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony (domination by consent), links it to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power and inequalities—that is to the process of maintaining domination. In the words of Fairclough (1995b, p.14), ideology is 'meaning in the service of power'. More precisely, he understands ideologies as constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination (Fairclough 1992b, p.87; cf. Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p.26f). Ideologies are created in societies in which relations of domination are based on social structures such as class and gender. According to Fairclough's definition, discourses can be more or less ideological, the ideological discourses being those that contribute to the maintenance and transformation of power realationd. Critical discourse analysts see ideologies as serving the interests of certain groups with social power, ensuring that events, practices and behaviors come to be regarded as legitimate and common-sense.

III.1. Location of Ideology

Ideology invests language in various ways at various levels. Ideology takes different locations. A number of accounts place ideology in the structure of language, and some in the discursive event itself. The structure option has the virtue of showing events, actual discoursal practice, to be constrained by social conventions, norms, histories. However, ideology resides in discursive events that imply the virtue of representing ideology as a process which goes on in events, and it permits transformation and fluidity to be highlighted:

> There is a textual variant of this location: ideologies reside in texts. While it is true that the forms and content of texts do bear the imprint of ideological processes and structures, it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts. This is because meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are

open to diverse interpretations, and because ideological processes appertain to discourses as whole social events.

IV. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

The systemic functional linguistics developed on the foundation of work by the social semiotic linguist Michael Halliday, whose extensive writings since the 1960s are currently being edited and re-issued in a ten-volume set of "collected works". Through the work of Halliday and his associates, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is increasingly recognized as a very useful descriptive and interpretive framework for viewing language as a strategic, meaning-making resource.

One of Halliday's major contributions to linguistic analysis is his development of a detailed functional grammar of modern English (Halliday, 1994), showing how simultaneous strands of meanings (the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions) are expressed in clause structures. Halliday's metafunctional grammar is now accessible not only through Halliday's own substantial text, but also through the many books which introduce and explore the grammar of the metafunctions and the relations of language to context. In this section, we look at and explore in detail SFL through the following subtitles:

- Language as social semiotic
- Context of situation
- Context of culture
- Halliday's metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual)

IV.1. Language as a Social Semiotic

SFL views language as a social semiotic resource people use to accomplish their purpose by expressing meaning in context. Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options: The theory behind the present account is known as systemic theory. Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options; whatever is chosen in one system becomes the way into a set of choices in another, and go on as far as we need to, or as far as we can in the time available, or as far as we know how (Halliday, 1994).

To understand what is meant by meaning as a choice, let us give the following example. Imagine that I am talking to a friend about the recent exploits of my five-year old progency. I want to say, for example, something along the lines of: 'when I got home from work yesterday, I could not believe what my progency had done!' While the word progency does capture the genealogical relationship between us, it is unlikely that I could use that word in a conversational context. Instead, I would find myself having to choose from among a set of possible words, including perhaps: kid, child, brat, darling, son, boy…My choice of one word or another involves me in a meaning-making process, where I must choose which dimensions of contrast I wish to encode. One of the choices I face is whether to specify the progency's sex or not: words such as son and boy specify sex. While child, brat, darling do not. Underlying the list of words, then, is a dimension of (ideational) contrast that can be systemized as in system1.

Specify sex — Son, boy

Do not specify sex — Child, brat,
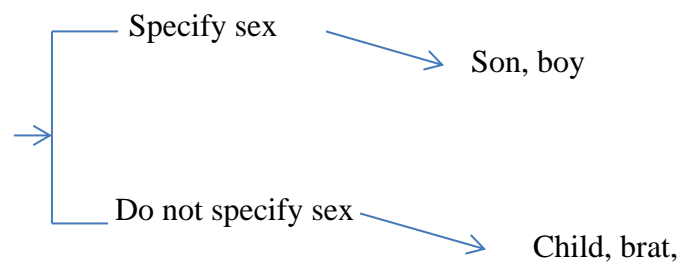
System 1: Lexical choice, specifying text

This is one semiotic choice of words. However, a further meaningful dimension of contrast among these words is that of attitudinal content. These attitudes are either positive (darling), or negative (brat). This set of (interpersonal) semiotic oppositions can be diagrammed as in system2.
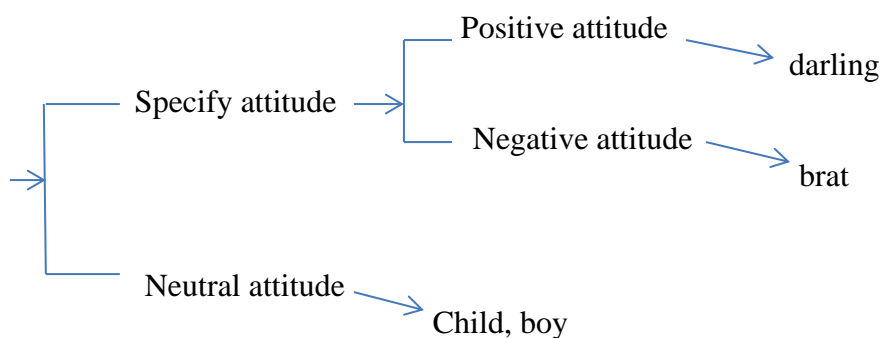
System 2: Lexical choice, specifying attitude

This example indicates that we can describe the lexical items in a language (the vocabulary) as semiotic systems. Identifying systems of lexical choice involves recognizing that words encode meaningful oppositions, and that the process of choosing lexical items is a semiotic process.

Thompson (1996, p.8) has at several points used term 'choice' in discussing meanings. The idea of choice that speaker/writer has multiple ways to express what they want to convey in a given situation has permeated in works related to SFL. Language realized in actual utterance by language users is a result of choice among number of possible ways to express the meanings they want to communicate.

Halliday (1994, p.16) argues that 'language is a resource for making, an indefinitely expandable source of meaning potential'. This view of language as a system has the implication that language is not a well-defined system, not the set of all grammatical sentences. It also implies that language exists and therefore must be studied in context. The available choices depend on aspects of the context in which the language is being used. Since language is viewed as semiotic potential, the description of language is a description of choice.

The study of language as social behavior is to account for language choice which is also technologically called 'meaning potential'. Halliday (1978, p.21) regarded language as "the encoding of a behavior potential into a meaning potential". He respectively used "can do" and "can mean" to refer to behavior potential and meaning potential. What we can mean is expression form of what we can do, which is viewed as semiotic system and can be encoded in language.

Of course, what we can do has other expression forms, such as non-verbal language, visual image, including such coercive means as police, army, economic

policy and so on. But language is still the main expression form of what we can do. Participants in communication can use language to simultaneously perform three functions, which are analyzed at the grammatical level. But in order to get a good understanding the functions of language, language users and researchers should go outside the language, and see language itself as the realization of something beyond, which, in Hallidayan words, refer to what we can do or behavioral potential. Therefore, it is of necessity to explore and interpret the meaning of language in social context from the social perspective.

Language is concerned with such social factors as context of situation. A particular choice in language system may be appropriate or inappropriate to a given context. The appropriate or inappropriate is related with another characteristic of language, which is commonly shared by most systemic linguists. Although individual scholars naturally have different research emphases or application contexts, the common interest is the opinion that language is seen as social semiotic, which means "how people use language with each other in accomplishing everyday social life" (Eggins, 2004, p.3).

It is proper to say that language system is the most sophisticated of all semiotic system, because language system has the feature the duality which is absent in other semiotic systems, such as traffic lights. Through language we, human beings, can perform various social roles, which are determined and constrained by lots of social factors rather than only speech roles of language communication. Unlike formalists who regarded language as an independent system, SFL takes language as a social semiotic resource people use to accomplish their purposes by expressing meanings in context. The term 'context' playing a key role in SFL is classified into two types: "context of situation" and "context of culture".

IV.2. *Context of Situation*

One of the first researchers to pursue this issue was the anthropologist Branislaw Malinowski (1923/46, 1935). In transcribing the daily life and events of the Trobri and Islanders, Malinowski found that it was impossible to make sense of literal or word-for-word translations from their language into English. In part, Malinowski argued that this indicated the need for the researcher to understand the cultural context in which the language was being used:

The study of any language, spoken by a people who live under conditions different from our own and possess a different culture, must be carried out in conjunction with the study of their culture and their environment" (Malinowski, 1946, p.306).

In order for observers to make sense of the events being described in his attempted translations, he found he had co include contextual glosses, i.e. the linguistic events were only interpretable when additional contextual information about the situation and the culture was provided. Malinowski claimed that language only becomes intelligible when it is placed within its context of situation. In coining this term, Malinowski wanted to capture the fact that the situation in which words are uttered 'can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression' and that 'the meaning of any single word is to a very high degree dependent on its context' (Malinowski, 1946, p.307).

Although confining his argument to so-called primitive' (i.e. non-literate) cultures, Malinowski developed an account of language that is both functional (makes reference to why people use language) and semantic (deals with how language means). In the following extended quotation, you will see Malinowski making an important association, between the fact that language only makes sense (only has meaning) when interpreted within its context and the claim that language is a functional resource (i.e. language use is purposeful):

It should be clear at once that the conception of meaning as contained in an utterance is false and futile. A statement, spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered. For each verbal statement by a human being has the aim and function of expressing some thought or feeling actual at that moment and in that situation, and necessary for some reason or other to be made known to another person or persons - in order either or serve purposes of common action, or to establish ties of purely social communion, or else to deliver the speaker of violent feelings or passions . . . utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the context of situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words . . . a word without linguisticcontext is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself, so in reality of a spoken living tongue, the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation (Malinowski, 1946, p.307).

Malinowski thus considered that, at least in primitive cultures, language was always being used to do something. Language functioned as 'a mode of action' (1946, p312). In developing an account of the different functions to which language could be put, Malinowski differentiated between the pragmatic function (when language is being used to achieve concrete goals, as well as to retell experience) and the magical (the non-

pragmatic functions).While Malinowski made an enormous contribution in identifying the fundamental semantic role of the context of situation and the context of culture, and in developing a functional account of language, he did not go on or formulate more precisely the nature of these two contexts, nor their relation to the functional organization of language. In addition, Malinowski restricted his observations by drawing an artificial distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilized' languages. Later theorists have argued that context is critical to meaning in *any* linguistic event in any language.

One scholar who developed a more general theory of meaning-in-context, influenced by Malinowski's work, was the linguist J. R, Firth (1935, 1950, 1951). With a life-long interesting the semantics of language, Firth extended the notion of context of situation to the more general issue of linguistic predictability. Firth pointed out that given a description of a context we can predict what language will be used. His rather quaint but exact formulation of this was to claim that learning to use language is very much a process of:

> "Learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances.Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free just to say what you please." (Firth 1935/57, p.28)

Predictability also works in the other direction: given an example of language use (what we would now call text), we can make predictions about what was going on at the time that it was produced.

In trying to determine what were the significant variables in the context of situation that allowed us to make such predictions, Firth suggested the following dimensions of situations:

A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities,
- The verbal action of the participants.
- The non-verbal action of the participants.

B. The relevant objects.

C. The effect of the verbal action. (Firth 1950/57, p.182)

This interest in specifying context was also pursued by researchers working within Sociolinguistic and ethnography of speaking approaches (for example, Hymes 1962/74,1964/72, Gumperz 1968,1971), with significant contributions from early register theorists such as Gregory 1967, Ure 1971, Ure and Ellis 1977. The major

contribution of Halliday's approach to context has been to argue for systematic correlations between the organization of language itself (the three types of meanings it encodes) and specific contextual features.

Halliday (pp.33-34) treats the 'situation' as the "theoretical sociolinguistic construct", and a 'particular situational type' as a "semiotics structure". The semiotics structure of the situation is formed out of the three sociosemiotic variables of field, tenor and mode.

Field

It is one of the three parameters of context. Field is concerned with what's going on in context; "what's going on" covers the activity and the domain of experience. The activity is the social and/ or semiotic process that the interactants in the context are engaged in. The domain of experience is the field of discourse that they range over—the subject matter, or "topic".

Tenor

Tenor refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?" (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, p.12). Tenor of discourse indicates the relationship between discourse participants (e.g. speaker/writer and hearer/reader) as manifested in language use. For instance, the language used between husband and wife, informal and intimate, is not the same of the language used between politicians in a conference, which is formal.

Mode

Mode refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like" (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, p.12).

These three variables are called the register variables. Halliday claimed that these three variables, of all the things going on in a situation at a time of language use, have a direct and significant impact on the type of language that will be produced. Field, tenor and mode are thus sets of related variables, with ranges of contrasting values. Together they define a multi-dimensional semiotic space – the environment of meanings in which language, other semiotic systems and social systems operate. The combinations of field, tenor and mode values determine different uses of language – the different meanings that are at risk in a given type of situation. There are systematic correspondences between the contextual values and the meanings that are at risk in the contexts defined by these values. As Halliday (1978) suggested, field values resonate with ideational meanings, tenor values resonate with interpersonal meanings, and mode values resonate with textual meanings (see also Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 26). In other words, the correspondences between context and language are based on the functional organization of both orders of meaning (Halliday, p.34).

Field, tenor and mode variables are the basis for any attempt to develop a taxonomy of situations. At the same time, since text is language functioning in context, the field, tenor and mode variables are also the basis of any attempt to develop a taxonomy of texts operating in situations. It is certainly true that in developing a taxonomy of texts, we can adopt – we need to adopt – a trinocular perspective, matching up contextual, semantic and lexicogrammatical considerations to support the taxonomy. However, to be meaningful, a taxonomy of texts must be grounded in contextual considerations. If the taxonomy is 'on the right track', semantic and lexicogrammatical considerations will align themselves with the contextual ones (Halliday, p.34).

IV.*3. Context of Culture*

Like context of situation, context of culture is an important element through which one can comprehend texts. The term context of culture was firstly put by the anthropologist Malinowski (1923). He saw that it is necessary to give information not only about what is happening but also about the whole cultural environment and the whole cultural history that is behind the participants and behind the social practices in which they take part, determining in this way their meaning inside that culture. Context of culture is very important also because it is not the immediate sights that is important but also the whole cultural history behind the text and determining the significance for the culture.

Knowing where, when the text is set will help to understand the text more. Halliday and Hasan (1985, p.46) point out that:

> The context of situation, however, is only the immediate environment. There is also a broader background against which the text has to be interpreted: its CONTEXT OF CULTURE.

Any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor, and mode that has brought a text into being, is not just a random jumble of features but a totality- a package, so to speak, of things that typically go together in the culture. People do these things on these occasions and attach these meanings and values to them; this is what a culture is.

The culture in which a certain political speech is created forms part of the context. Schiffrin (1987, p.4) confirms this view by stating that: "… language always occur(s) in a context, but its patterns – of form and function and at surface and underlying levels – are sensitive to features of that context." So, when a translator deals with political speeches, he/she has to be sensitive to this because "… language is potentially sensitive to all of the contexts in which it occurs, and, even more strongly, language reflects those contexts because it helps to constitute them" (Schiffrin, 1987, p.5).

IV.4. Halliday's Metafunctions

IV.4.1. The Interpersonal Metafunction

It is concerned with the interaction between speaker and addressee(s) -- the grammatical resources for enacting social roles in general, and speech roles in particular, in dialogic interaction; i.e. for establishing, changing, and maintaining interpersonal relations. One of its major grammatical systems is MOOD.

IV.4.2. The Ideational Metafunction

It is concerned with 'ideation' -- the grammatical resources for construing our experience of the world around us and inside us. One of its major grammatical systems is Transitivity, the resource for construing our experience the flux of 'goings-on', as structural configurations; each consisting of a process, the participants involved in the process, and circumstances attendant on it. For example: [Location:] in the open glade [Actor:] the wild rabbits [Process:] danced [Accompaniment:] with their shadows.

These two metafunctions orient towards two 'extra-linguistic' phenomena, the social world and the natural world; we construe the natural world in the ideational mode and to enact the social world in the interpersonal mode. For instance, we can construe a picture of what can participate in an action (ideational) and we can enact who gives orders to whom (interpersonal). In addition, there is a third metafunction, intrinsic to language (that is, orienting towards the phenomena created by language itself, viz. meanings), the textual metafunction.

IV.*4.3. The Textual Metafunction*

It is concerned with the creation of text, with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in text unfolding in context. One of the major textual systems is THEME, the resource for setting up a local context for a clause by selecting a local point of departure in the flow of information (or perhaps rather 'swell of information', since it is not a uniform flow). Thus the spatial Location is given thematic status in the example analyzed for Transitivity above: [Theme:] in the open glade [Rheme:] the wild rabbits danced with their shadows.

The role of the textual metafunction is an enabling one. It serves to enable the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meaning as information that can be shared: it provides the speaker with strategies for guiding the listener in his/her interpretation of the text. As Figure 3 suggests, the three metafunctions are simultaneous; this simultaneity applies to both axes of organization, the systemic and the structural.
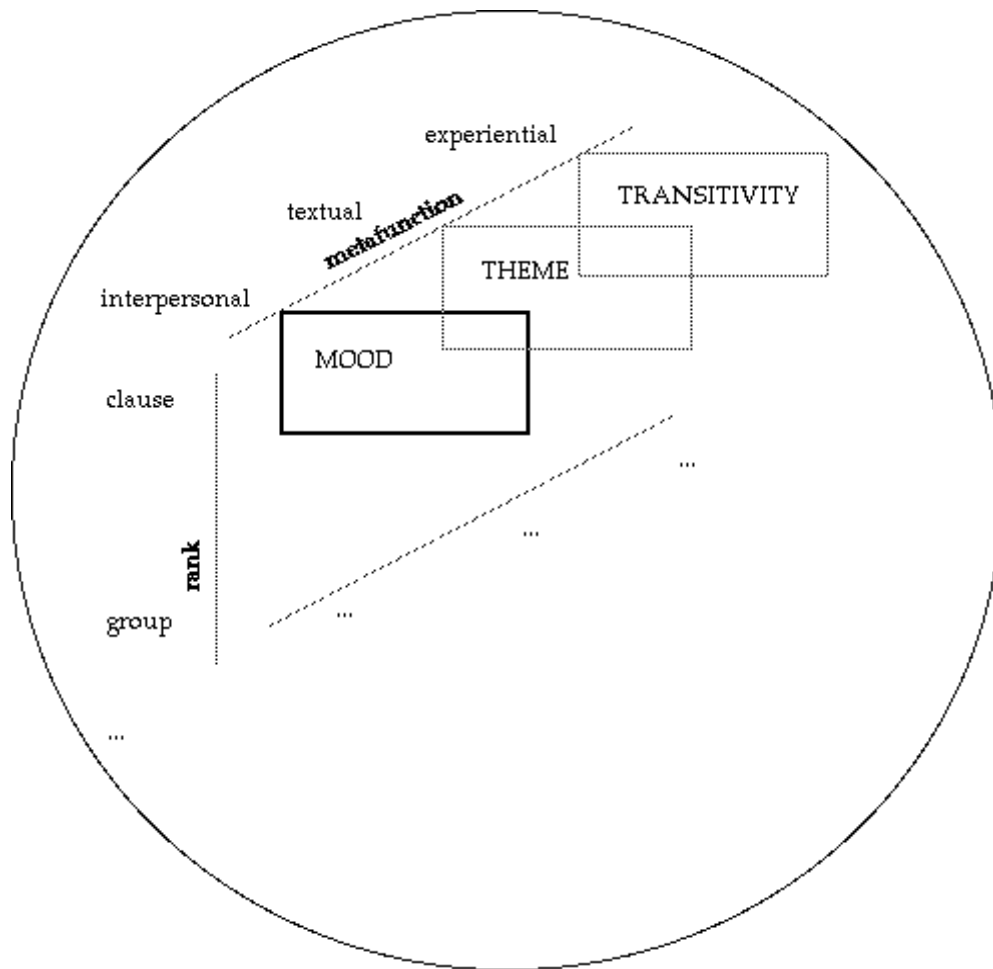
Fig. 3: The view of the grammar so far, relative to expansion by metafunction and rank

Source: By Christian Matthiessen & M. A. K. Halliday (1997)

metafunction:	system:	in the open glade	the wild rabbits	danced		with their shadows.
textual	THEME	Theme	Rheme			
interpersonal	MOOD	Adjunct	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Adjunct
		Residue 1	Mood		Residue 2	
ideational	TRANSITIVITY	Location	Actor	Process		Accompaniment

The simultaneous metafunctions in the structure of the clause (English)

Source: By Christian Matthiessen & M. A. K. Halliday (1997)

V. Transitivity

The ideational system at clause rank is Transitivity. Transitivity is concerned with construing one particular domain of our experience, our experience the flux of 'goings on', as configurations of a process (of some general type: material, mental, relational), the participants involved in it (Actor, Goal; Senser, Phenomenon; Carrier, Attribute; and soon), and the circumstances attendant on it (Cause, Location, Manner (including means and instrument), Accompaniment, and so on).Transitivity is the way the clause is used to analyze events and situations as being of certain type. It has the facility to analyze the same event in different ways, a facility which is of course of great interest in newspapers analysis. Newspapers provide abundant examples of ideological significance of transitivity. Transitivity system comprises six processes as follow:

1) Material processes: Physical action in the real world.

2) Relational processes: Expressing possession, equivalence, attributes…

3) Mental processes: Processes of cognition, affection and perception.

4) Verbal processes: Processes of communication.

5) Behavioral processes: Hybrid processes (a material + mental process).

6) Existential: Processes of existing by an empty there in subject position.

In English, the primary options in PROCESS TYPE are 'material/mental/verbal/relational'. This system is motivated by criteria (i) 'from above', (ii) 'from below', and (iii) 'from around'. Some of these criteria are set out and illustrated in the following table:

PROCESS TYPE	(i) From above	(ii) From below structural realization				(iii) From around	
	Category meaning					Projection	Tense
material	doing& happening	Actor	Process	Goal	Recipient		
		the company	Is giving	a new teapot	to my aunt		present-in-present
mental	sensing	Senser: conscious	Process	Phenomenon			
		My aunt	wants	a new teapot		+projection	Present
		My aunt	wants			them to buy a new teapot	
verbal	saying	Sayer: symbol source	Process	Verbiage	Receiver		
		the company'sletter	says	kindthings	to my aunt	+projection	Present
		the company'sletter	says		to my aunt	that she is entitled to a new teapot	
relational	being&having	Carrier	Process	Attribute			
		This teapot	is	beautiful			Present
		Identified	Process	Identified			
		this	is	the teapot the company gave my aunt			Present

Source: By Christian Matthiessen & M. A. K. Halliday (1997)

V.*1. Material Processes*

Material processes are processes about doing, about action. Actions involve Actor, or participants. For instance, look at the following clauses:

Diana has donated blood 36 times

Diana went to Geneva

Diana stayed up all night

All these clauses are describing processes of doing, usually concrete, tangible actions. Processes of doing are what we call material processes. The basic meaning of material processes is that some entity does something, undertakes some action.

*Actor***:** the Actor is the constituent of the clause who does the deed or performs the action. When the clause only has one participant and is active, the participant will be ACTOR.

*Goal***:** the Goal is that participant at whom the process is directed, to whom the action is extended. It is the participant treated in traditional grammar as the Direct Object, and it usually maps on to the Complement participant in the Mood analysis. The Goal is usually what becomes Subject in the passive.

V.*2. Mental Processes*

They are about mental reactions: about thoughts, feelings, perceptions. Halliday divides mental process verbs into three classes: cognition (verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding, for example I don't know her name), affection (verbs of liking, fearing, e.g. I hate injections), and perception (verbs of seeing, hearing, e.g. Simon heard it on the news).

V.*3. Verbal Processes*

The following clauses are all examples of verbal processes:

So I asked him a question.

They tell you nothing.

Simon told them a story.

The Arab boyfriend told her a lot of rubbish.

A verbal process typically contains three participants: Sayer (I), Receiver (him) and Verbiage (a question). The Sayer, the participant responsible for the verbal process, does not have to be a conscious participant (although it typically is), but anything capable of putting out a signal. The Receiver is the one to whom the verbal process is directed: the Beneficiary of a verbal message, occurring with or without a preposition depending on position in the clause. The Verbiage is a nominalized statement of the verbal process: a noun expressing some kind of verbal behavior (e.g. statement, questions, retort, answer, story*)*

From *action* to *being:* existential and relational processes

We have now described the structure of all the process types that have to do with actions or events of some kind. There remains a very large group of processes in English that do not encode action meanings at all, but instead encode meanings about states of being. For example:

> There were these two wonderful Swiss men.
> How many pints of blood are there in your body?
> She must have been really stupid.

There are two main types of these being processes: existential processes, where things are simply stated to exist; and relational processes, where things are stated to exist in relation to other things (are assigned attributes or identities).

V.*4. Existential Processes*

Existential processes represent experience by positing that 'there was/is something'. For example:

> There was snow on the ground,
> There were these two wonderful Swiss men.
> There's a hitch.

Existentiats are easy to identify as the structure involves the use of the word there. There, when used in existential processes, has no representational meaning: it does not refer to a location. It is present in the clause merely because all English clauses require a Subject. It is important to distinguish between there used as an existential Subject, and

there used as a Circumstance of location. While structural there is usually unstressed, circumstantial there is usually stressed and often carries an intonation contour.

V.*5. Relational Processes*

The category of Relational processes covers the many different ways in which *being* can be expressed in English clauses. Examples of the domain covered by relational processes are:

Di is a blood donor.

The operation was in Geneva,

The operation lasted one hour.

The story was Diana's,

Diana has a daughter.

Women are the brave ones.

The best place to give blood is in Geneva.

The operation took one hour,

The bomb was her boyfriend's,

The bomb belonged to the boyfriend.

VI. Theme and Rheme

VI.*1. Theme*

The definition of Theme as given by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.64*)* is that it is the element which serves as 'the starting-point for the message: it is what the clause is going to be about'. Since we typically depart from places with which we are familiar, the Theme typically contains familiar, or 'given', information, i.e. information which has already been mentioned somewhere in the text or is familiar from the context.

The identification of Theme is based on order: Theme is the element which comes first in the clause.

Example: <u>Many reasons for crying </u>are obvious, like hunger and discomfort due to heat,

                THEME

cold, illness, and lying position.

VI.*2. Rheme*

The definition of the Rheme the part of the clause in which the Theme is developed. Since we typically depart from the familiar to head towards the unfamiliar, the Rheme typically contains unfamiliar, or 'new', information. The identification criteria for the Rheme are simple: everything that is not the Theme is the Rheme. Thus, once you have identified the Theme in a clause, you have also identified the Rheme, which is just 'everything else'. The Rheme in the example given above includes all the non-underlined constituents of the clause.

VII. The Mood

Grammatically, interpersonal metafunction at the clausal level enjoys Mood. Mood is concerned with the topic of information or service and whether it is giving or demanding and the tenor of the relationship between interactants. Mood shows what role the speaker selects in the speech situation and what role he assigns to the addressee. If the speaker selects the imperative mood, he assumes the role of one giving commands and puts the addressee in the role of one expected to obey orders. For example, Pass me the book (Hu Zhuanglin, 1988). Halliday describes the MOOD element as carrying 'the burden of the clause as an interactive event'. That is why it remains constant, as the nub of the proposition.

There are three main elements to the MOOD constituent:

1. An expression of polarity: either Yes (positive polarity), or No (negative polarity)
2. A nominal type element: we call it the SUBJECT
3. A verbal type element: we call it the FINITE

But, since polarity does not endanger the argument, the subject (always expressed by a nominal group in class terms) and the finite (always expressed by a verbal group) elements are the only important components of the MOOD.

Subject

The definition of the Subject offered by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.117) is that it realizes the thing by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied. It provides the person or thing in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition, what is 'held responsible'.

The identification of the Subject can be achieved by the tag test: the element that gets picked up by the pronoun in the tag is the Subject. So, in order to uncover the Subject of any clause, you need simply to tag the clause. With a clause that is already a declarative, this is simple:

James	Went to the ceremony	Didn't he?
Subject		Subject

We can also detect the subject by changing the verb from singular to plural (was reading to were reading, likes to like) or plural to singular (were to was, like to likes)

Finite

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.115) define the finite in terms of its function in the clause to make the proposition definite. The identification of the finite again involves the tag test: the verbal part of the tag tells you which element the finite is. For example:

George	was	reading Henry James	wasn't	he?
Subject	Finite		Finite	Subject

In terms of finite verb, subject and tense choice, SFL helps us express the speech functions such as persuading, enticing, motivating, demanding, inviting, ordering, proposing, recommending, confirming, persisting, and denying through a set of Mood clause systems. Through the scale of delicacy (level of detail and particularity) in the mood system, a clause can be indicative or imperative. Indicative clauses are classified into interrogative and declarative; besides the element of tagging.
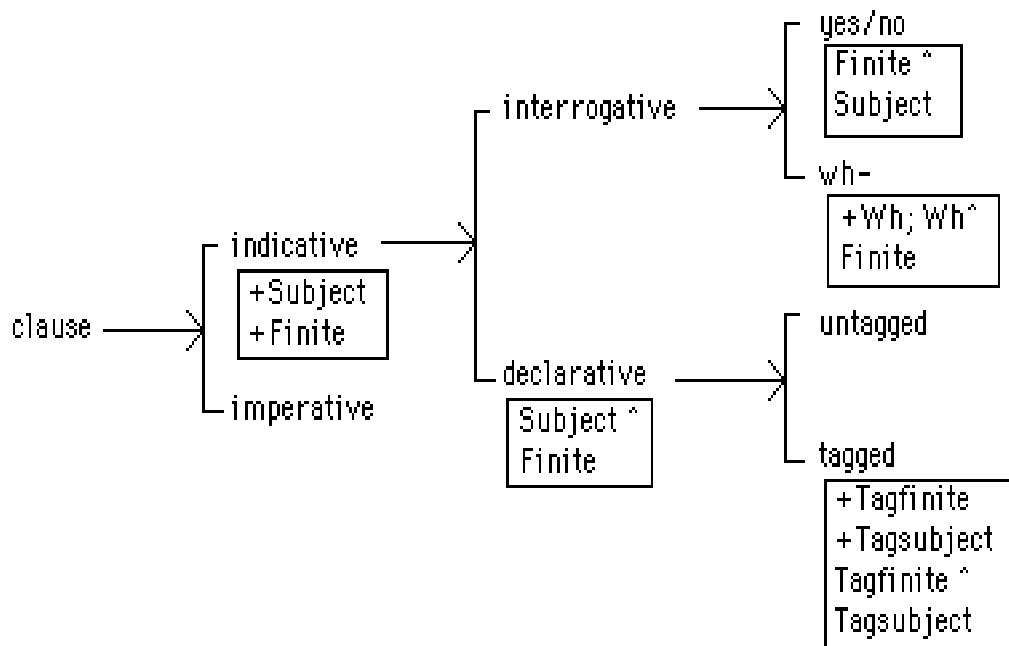
Network of MOOD systems (realization statements in boxes)

Source: By Christian Matthiessen & M. A. K. Halliday (1997)

VIII. The Residue

It is that part of the clause which comes after the Mood. It is somehow less essential to the arguability of the clause than is the Mood component. The Residue can also contain a number of functional, a predicator, one or more complement, and any number of different types of Adjuncts.

Predicator

The Predicator is the lexical or content part of the verbal group. For example:

I	am	reading	the book
Subject	Finite	Predicator	
MOOD		RESIDUE	

The verbal group contains two elements: am reading. The first part of the verbal group, am, is the Finite as it carries the selections for number, sense, polarity, etc. The second verbal element, reading, tells us what process was actually going on. This element is the Predicator. The definition of the Predicator, then, is that it fills the role of specifying the actual event, action or process being discussed.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.122) points out that in addition to its function to specify the kind of process of the clause, the Predicator has three other functions in the clause:

1. It adds time meanings through expressing a secondary tense: for example, in have been going to read the primary tense (have, present) is specified in the Finite, but the secondary tense (been going to) is specified in the Predicator.

2. It specifies aspects and phases: meanings such as seeming, trying, helping, which colour the verbal process without changing its ideational meaning.

3. It specifies the voice of the clause: the distinction between active voice (Henry James wrote 'The Bostonians') and passive voice ('The Bostonians' was written by Henry James) will be expressed through the Predicator.

Complement

A second component of the Residue is the Complement. A Complement is defined as a non-essential participant in the clause, a participant somehow affected by the main argument of the proposition. It is identified as an element within the Residue that has the potential of being Subject but is not. A Complement can get to be Subject through the process of making the clause passive:

Henry James	wrote		The Bostonians
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
MOOD		RESIDUE	

The Bostonians	Was	written	by Henry James
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
MOOD		RESIDUE	

IX. Modality

Modulation, however, is a way for speakers to express their judgements or attitudes about actions and events. Modality can informally be regarded as 'comment' or 'attitude'. It is useful for my purpose in this study because it distinguishes four types of comment, truth, obligation, desirability and permission.

A) Truth: a speaker / writer must always indicate or imply a commitment to the truth of any proposition s/he utters, or to a prediction of the degree of likelihood of an event described taking a place or having taken a place. Truth modality varies in strength along a scale from absolute confidence-down through various degrees of lesser certainty, for example:

Absolute confidence:

- The Tories **will not** make an election pledge to restore capital punishment for murderers and killer terrorist (Daily Express, 18 April 1986).

Lesser certainty:

- The best bet at Edinburgh this afternoon **could be** No Restraint (4.30) in the Honest Toun Maiden Stakes (Guardian, 7 July 1986).

Modality can also be indicated by some Adverbs or Modal Adjectives, for example:

- The youngster is **certainly** bred to go, being by King of Spain out of Edna who was a useful speedster on soft ground (Daily Express, 18 April 1986).

- Without Nelson Mandela's blessing, it is **unlikely** that any black leader in South Africa can be persuaded to meet the British Foreign secretary apart from Chief Gatsh Buthelezi (Guardian, 7 July 1986).

B) Obligation: the speaker/writer stipulates that the participants in a proposition ought to perform the actions specified in the proposition, for example:

- The campaign against terrorism and its sponsors **must be** continuous. No single blow will be enough. Terrorist reprisals **must be** punished in their turn (Daily Exprass, 18 April 1986).

C) Permission: the speaker/writer bestows permission to do something on the participants. Interestingly, the auxiliaries used also have a more neutral usage under truth or prediction: 'may', 'can', for example:

- Any time in the next ten years you **can** switch the Plan into, say, a savings scheme. (Insurance Advertisement, Guardian, 7 February 1986)

D) Desirability: the speaker/writer indicates approval or disapproval of the state of affairs communicated by the proposition. Implicit in B and C, this modality is explicit in a range of evaluative adjectives and adverbs. It is endemic in the press, particularly in editorials, and especially in the tabloids and the right-wing 'qualities':

- So the question which should be asked this weekend is not whether Mrs Thatcher was **right** to authorize the American raid but whether she was right, alone among Western European leaders, to continue to put the American connection above everything else. Having absolutely no faith in the capacity of Western Europe to resist the Soviet Union in the long run without the presence of American troops on this side of the Atlantic, I believe that she was **right**. (Sunday Telegraph, 20 April 1986)
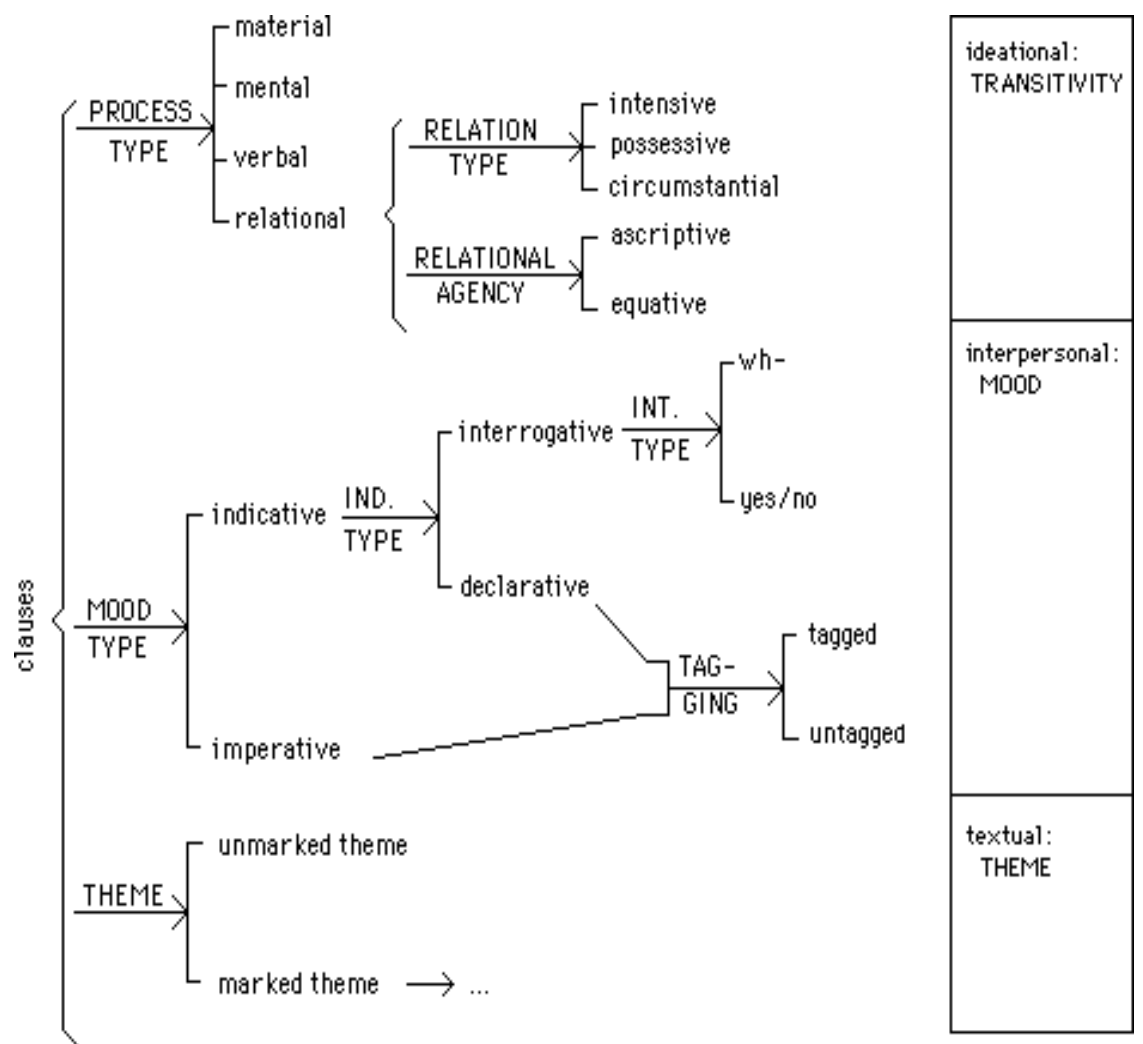
Metafunctions as manifested in the system network of the clause (English)

Source: By Christian Matthiessen & M. A. K. Halliday (1997)

X. CDA Framework by Fairclough

Fairclough is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA most significantly. His model may be the core section of the entire field of CDA, because he was the first to create a theoretical framework, which provided guidelines for future CDA research.

His belief that the language is an irreducible part of social life is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. He is the only CDA scholar who defines the relationship between power and language (social power and ideology) in his research (Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough provides a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse: 1) the linguistic *description* of the formal properties of the text; 2) the *interpretation* of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation, 3) the *explanation* of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality. Fairclough's analysis has gone beyond the "whatness" of the text description towards the "how" and "whyness" of the text interpretation and explanation. There are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them. This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community. He believes in a "hidden agenda".

X.*1. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model*

Fairclough applies the concept of discourse in three different ways. First, discourse refers to language use as social practice. Second, discourse is understood as the kind of language used within a specific field, such as political or scientific discourse. Third, discourse is used as a count noun (a discourse, the discourse, the discourses, discourses).

Discourse contributes to the construction of: social identities; social relations and system of knowledge and meaning. Thus discourse has three functions: an identity

function, a relational function and an ideational function. Here, Fairclough draws on Halliday's multifunctional approach to language.

In any analysis, two dimensions of discourse are important:

- The *communicative event*, an instance of language use such as a newspaper article, a film, a video, an interview or a political speech (Fairclough 1995b)

- *The order of discourse*, the configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field. Discourse types consist of discourses and genre (1995b, p.66)

A genre is a particular usage of language which participates in, and constitutes, part of a particular social practice, for example, an interview genre, a news genre or an advertising genre (1995b, p.56). Examples of orders of discourse include the order of discourse of the media, the health service or an individual hospital (1995b, p.56; 1998b, p.145). Within an order of discourse, there are specific discursive practices through which text and talk are produced and consumed or interpreted (Fairclough 1998, p.145).

For instance, within a hospital's order of discourse, the discursive practices which take place include doctor-patient consultations, the scientific staff's technical language (both written and spoken) and the public relations officer's spoken and written promotional language. In every discursive practice-that is, in the production and consumption of text and talk- discourse types (discourses and genres) are used in particular ways.

Every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions:

- it is a *text* (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these)

- it is a *discursive practice* which involves the production and consumption of texts

- it is a *social practice*

Fairclough's three dimensional model (Fig.1) is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society. All three dimensions should be covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event. The analysis should focus, then, on, first, the linguistic features of the text, second, on processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice), and third on the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice). So the relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice. Hence

it is only through discursive practice-whereby people use language to produce and consume texts-that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. Those discourses and genres which are articulated together to produce a text, and which its receivers draw on in interpretation, have a particular linguistic structure that shapes both the production and consumption of the text.

The analysis of a communicative event thus includes:

- analysis of the discourses and genres which are articulated in the production and consumption of the text (the level of discursive practice)
- analysis of the linguistic structure (the level of the text)
- considerations about whether the discursive practice reproduces or, instead, restructures the existing orders of discourse and about what consequences this has for the broader social practice (the level of social practice)

Chapter Two

Media and Iran's Deal coverage on Media

I. Media and Mass Communication

I.1. *Definition of Media and Mass Communication*

When people think of the media, they primarily think of one of the most popular leisure activities in the world: watching television. However, there are many other forms of media, or mediums, which must be examined when studying mass communication such. Until recently, defining mass media was easy. Mass media were comprised of eight traditional industries: books, newspapers, magazines, recordings, radio, movies, television, and the Internet. Recent technological advances and societal changes, however, challenge traditional definitions of mass communication. Mass communication theories have also evolved with the changing nature of the media.

Although the definition of mass communication can vary from source to source, most definitions have similar elements. Mass communication is often described or explained by comparing it to interpersonal communication, when a source encodes a message and sends it to a receiver via both verbal and nonverbal messages who then decodes the message and provides feedback. In interpersonal communication, the source and receiver are typically individuals, the channel is typically face-to-face, and the communication is typically private. Feedback is generally direct and immediate.

Mass communication, however, is the process by which a person, group of people, or large organization creates a message and transmits it through some type of medium to a large, anonymous, heterogeneous audience. In mass communication, the source is typically a professional communicator or a complex organization that incurs a great cost. The message is typically rapid and public. And, as stated, the receiver is generally large, heterogeneous, and anonymous. Feedback in mass communication is generally indirect and delayed.

New technology, however, tends to blur the lines between traditional interpersonal communication and mass communication. With a good computer and basic computer skills, a single individual can publish his or her own professional looking magazine. With the trend towards narrowcasting in the broadcast and cable industries, the audience is becoming less anonymous and less heterogeneous. And with Internet channels designed to show unique content, the audience can be relatively small.

There are also some questions as to whether other, non-traditional forms of communication should be considered when examining mass communication. For example, some researchers feel cell phones should be included in the definition of mass

communication. At first look it may appear that the cell phone does not fit our definition because it is usually used for person-to-person communication. However, most current cell phones have Internet access and are able to connect to the Web, which is typically included in mass communication. The question is, then, does this make the cell phone a mass medium? Researchers disagree on the issue (p.623).

I.2. *History of the Study of Mass Communication*

Scholars have been studying the media and mass communication for over a century. Although newspapers had been around for many years, it was the introduction of film and radio that ushered in the academic study of the media as a form of communication. It is with radio and film that literacy was no longer a barrier for enjoying the benefits of the media. The first films were made at the end of the 1800s and in the early 1900s. The first official radio station began operations on November 2, 1920, on the top of Hornes department store in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The 1920s saw a rapid growth in both film and radio as a form of popular entertainment.

There are three paradigms by which the media have been examined. The first paradigm, called the powerful effects paradigm, viewed the media as very strong and powerful; it governed from around the 1920s to the 1940s. Researchers felt that the media (primarily radio and television) had a very immediate and direct impact on audiences. The assumption was that the audience was passive and uncritical. Research during this timeframe generally supported the powerful effects paradigm. Perhaps the most famous large-scale examination of the media was The Payne Fund Studies, a series of 13 studies undertaken between 1929 and 1932 that focused on the effects of movies on young people. The results of these studies showed that there were strong and powerful effects of viewing movies on children. However, current researchers generally dismiss the results of these studies due to numerous methodological errors.

The second paradigm often referred to as the minimalist effects or the limited effects paradigm began in the 1940s and ended in the 1970s. Perhaps no study was more influential in the paradigm shift from powerful effects to limited effects than one conducted by Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues on the influence of the media in the 1940 presidential election. The researchers found that the mass media had little direct influence on voting behaviour and that it was interpersonal communication with others that had a far greater influence. The media tended to reinforce existing behaviours rather

than change them. Reinforcing this paradigm, Wilbur Schramm conducted a series of well-publicized, multiyear studies on the effects of television on children. Results of Schramm's work showed that there is a complex relationship between children's television viewing and subsequent behaviour. He found it difficult to predict the effect of watching television and questioned the causal relationship between watching television and negative effects. There were many variables that would influence this relationship, including the child's age, mental ability, and social situation.

Changes in society and in communication technology in the 1960s ushered in the third paradigm, often called the cumulative effects paradigm. An increase in the number of households with television, violent images of the civil rights movement, and a number of new theories of media exposure caused a reevaluation of the perception of the effects of media exposure. It is during this time that theories of long-term influence such as social learning theory (social cognitive theory) and cultivation theory were developed. Researchers no longer saw the effects of the media as limited or directed and immediate, but they did see the effects as cumulative and powerful. It was the first time that children had been exposed to television all their lives, and it was thought that this constant, long-term viewing of violent or negative images would have profound effects on viewers. This paradigm was supported by research during this time period, and the idea of long-term, cumulative effects of mass media is generally supported today (p.624).

I.3. *Understanding Media: Marshall McLuhan's Notions*

Understanding media is a crucial part of our daily life. Media help us not only appreciate the role of media, but also help us be more informed citizens, more savvy consumers, and more successful workers. Media influence aspects of life. To understand media very well, I would refer mainly to Marshall McLuhan's book "Understanding Media". In this book, McLuhan offered some provocative thoughts. He said that the media themselves were far more important than any content they carried. Indeed, he said, each medium, such as print or broadcast, physically affects the human central nervous system in a certain way. Media influence the way the brain works and how it processes information. They create new patterns of thought and behavior. McLuhan emphasizes the role of media and communication technologies in influencing

the historical development of societies. According to him the content of the media is largely irrelevant to understanding their influence.

In fact, there two notions of McLuhan's media paradigm I would like to refer to them to see what is meant by media according to McLuhan. First notion is "Medium is the Message", and the second one is "Medium as an Extension of the Human Body".

I.3.1. Medium is the Message

This notion is the most crucial concept of McLuhan's media paradigm. McLuhan meant that the "content" of any medium is always another medium. He stated a set of examples such as the content of writing is speech, just as the written word is the content of print, and print is the content of the telegraph.

McLuhan (1964, p.8), then, asked the question: "what is the content of speech?" he said, it is necessary to say, "It is an actual process of thought, which is in itself nonverbal". He also went on to say that the "message" of any medium or technology is the "change" of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs. More clearly, McLuhan gives the example that the railway did not introduce movement or transportation or wheel or road into human society, but it accelerated andenlarged the scale of previous human functions, creating totally new kinds of cities and new kinds of work and leisure.

McLuhan emphasized that each medium delivers information in a different way and that content is fundamentally shaped by that medium. For example, although television news has the advantage of offering video and live coverage, making a story comes vividly alive, it is also a faster-paced medium. That means stories get reported in different ways that print. A story told on television will be more visual, have less information, and be able to offer less history and context than the same story covered in monthly magazine.

This theory of McLuhan "the medium is the message" has its remarkable influence in society by the changes the new message brings about. He tells us that noticing change in our societal or cultural ground conditions indicates the presence of a new medium. In other words, new forms of media transform (massage) our experience of ourselves and our society, and this influence is ultimately more important than the content that is transmitted in its specific messages—technology determines experience. Through the

concept of the new message or medium has its influence on society, we have the opportunity to influence the development and evolution of the new innovation before the effects become persuasive. As McLuhan (1964, p.199) reminds us: "control over change would seem to consist in moving not with it, but ahead of it. Anticipation gives the power to deflect and control force"

In his book "Media is the Message" McLuhan (1967, p.26) clearly did not underestimate the significance of this effect:

> All media work us over completely. They are so persuasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the message. Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without knowledge of the media work as environment.

Kroker (1984, p.63) claims that McLuhan's world is the world of "technological sensorium". It is the world in which the invisible environment of new electronic technologies of communication is being secretly imposed on us.

> In order to perceive the "invisible ground rules" of the technological media, we have to learn to think in reverse image: to perceive the subliminal grammar of technology as metaphor, as a simulacrum or sign-system, silently and persuasively processing human existence.

I.3.2. Medium as an Extension of the Human Body

This is McLuhan's second important paradigm of understanding media, "Medium as an Extension of the Human Body". McLuhan (1964, p.26) argued that media quite literally extend sight, hearing, and touch through time and space. He said that "All media are extensions of some human faculty-psychic or physical". He started from the idea that when a particular part of the body stops being capable of performing the given task with sufficient quantity and quality, a new technology is intended and replaces it. For instance, clothes were invented to extend and replace the skin, because it was no longer capable of providing protection against the roughness of the climate. What is more, McLuhan saw that the wheel is an extension of the foot; the book is an extension of the central nervous system. Thus, McLuhan considers the electronic media to be of a particular importance as they extend our central nervous system, or minds:

In his understanding, technology is an extension of biology: the expansion of the electronic media as the metaphor of environment of twentieth-century experience implies that, for the first time, the central nervous system itself has been exteriorized. (Kroker 1984, p.57)

All in all, media play an important role in our lives and culture. We use media for entertainment and they provide us with information and education. Another aspect of media is its ability to act as a public forum for the discussion of important issues. Media can also monitor government, business, and other institutions.

II. Mass Communication Theories

There are a number of theories, some specific to mass communication and some more general theories that have been examined when studying the mass media. A majority of the theories used developed outside of the field of communication and then were applied to the media by communication scholars. Before we go in detail to these theories, let us see some definitions of theory of different communication theorists.

II.1. *Defining Theory*

In everyday life we all implicitly have some sort of working theory to comprehend what is happening around us. We cannot survive by observation only. There should be a theory to explain, comprehend and interpret phenomena and put forward propositions suggesting why such phenomena occur. So media theorists have struggled over time to provide such theories to enhance our awareness and deepen and develop our understanding of the role of theory in explaining the media. The first general purpose of theory is to answer the question 'What is going on?' events and behavior are often so complex you need a theory to describe what is happening. For example, it is often difficult to differentiate between the process of information and entertainment in the output of the media. Explanatory theory provides the basis for trying to predict what will happen in the future based on drawing conclusions from a set of premises about behavior or conditions in the present (Kevin Williams 2003, pp.15-16).There are other definitions of theory. John Bowers and John Courtright offered a traditional scientific definition: "Theories … are sets of statements asserting relationships among classes of variables" (1984, p. 13). Charles Berger defines theory as "A theory consists of a set of interrelated propositions that stipulate relationships among theoretical constructs and an account of the mechanism or mechanisms that explain the relationships stipulated in the

propositions" (2005, p. 417). In this study we are to have three broad categories of media theories and briefly explain some of the major theories in each category. These theories used by media scholars in the last 50 years.

II.2. *Categories of Communication Theory*

II.2.1. Theories about Culture and Society

The first category includes theories based on the media's effects on culture and society. Many of these theories can be applied to things other than mass media and mass communication. However, all have been used to examine the media's influence on the world around us. Most of these theories focus on macrolevel media effects on culture and society.

Media systems dependency theory is a systems-based theory that examines the mutual dependence between the media system, the political system, and the general public. According to this theory, each member of the dependency triad is dependent upon and has influence over the other two. Each has influence over the other, yet each needs the other to exist. For example, the political system needs the media system for information dissemination and publicity and needs the general public for legitimacy and for votes during the election season. The general public needs the political system for authority and structure and needs the media system for entertainment and information. Those who examine the media from a dependency perspective argue that any systemwide examination of the media should be examined through these dependencies.

Agenda-setting theory attempts to explain how the general public determines the most important issues of the day. According to agenda setting, the media do not necessarily tell people what or how they should think about an issue. However, the media (and specifically the news media) can influence people's perception as to what is important to consider and talk about. The more someone sees an issue being covered in the news, the more this person will feel this is an important issue. So the influence is not in the direction as would be expected— from the individual to the media. It is not the individual that sets the media agenda, it is the media coverage of an issue that sets the public agenda. This becomes increasingly distressing given the criteria that news organizations use to determine the newsworthiness of a story.

Spiral of silence is a theory of public opinion. The theory is based on the assumption that people do not like to feel isolated and that society tends to isolate those

with deviant or novel positions not congruent with prevailing thought. Because we fear isolation, we constantly assess the situation around us and the perceptions of people with whom we interact. If our opinion is that of the dominant majority, we speak out and give our opinion. If our opinion is deviant from the dominant majority, we are more likely to keep our opinion to ourselves. This could eventually lead to an actual change in our position. The spiral of silence focuses on how different or deviant opinions are suppressed in our society.

Knowledge gap hypothesis looks at the role of and use of communication technology in society. According to those who study this hypothesis, the general public can be split into two segments: the information rich and the information poor. The information rich are those of a higher socioeconomic status that tend to be wealthier, better educated, and have greater knowledge on a variety of issues than those who are information poor. The information rich have better access to technology and are more technologically savvy. When a new technology is introduced, the information rich tend to acquire information and adopt the new technology at a faster rate than the information poor. Therefore, the gap between the two population segments tends to increase rather than decrease. This concept is very similar to the digital divide.

Cultural imperialism typically focuses on how Western nations dominate the media around the world and how this domination can have powerful effects on other cultures. According to the theory, the importing of cultural products (primarily film and television) by smaller, less-developed countries can have the unintended effect of imposing Western values and ideology—inherently imbedded in cultural products—on the importing country. This can then have relatively large, macrolevel effects on the host country by Americanizing it, changing or destroying the local culture.

Critical cultural studies theories focus on the social role of mass media and how the media can be used to define power relations among various subcultures and maintain the status quo. Critical cultural studies researchers examine how the media relate to matters of ideology, race, social class, and gender. The media are seen not only as a reflection of culture, but also as cultural producers themselves. The emphasis is on how political and social structures influence mediated communication and how this affects power relations by maintaining or supporting those with power in our society (2009, pp.624-625).

II.2.2. Theories of Influence and Persuasion

Another category of theories focuses on how the media can influence or persuade people to think or behave in a particular way. This is perhaps the most often researched area of the mass media. Although there are a number of theories that can be applied to this area, below are descriptions of four of the more common theories used in the study of mass media.

Social cognitive theory, developed primarily by psychologist Albert Bandura in the 1960s, focuses on how and why people tend to model what they see in the media. It is a theory that focuses on our capacity to learn without direct experience. This observational learning is dependent upon a number of things including the subject's ability to understand and remember what he or she saw, identification with the mediated character, and the circumstances that would lead up to the modelling of this behaviour. Social cognitive theory is one of the most often cited and examined theories applied to the study of the media and mass communication.

Cultivation theory research began towards the end of the 1960s in reaction to the turmoil from the civil rights and women's movements being presented in the news. According to cultivation researchers, television is the primary storyteller in today's society and has become the primary source of socialization for people today. Television also presents a mainstream, homogenous view of the world. There are consistent themes such as high levels of violence, stereotypical gender roles, and the virtual nonexistence of the elderly that cross all program genres. The more someone watches television, the more he or she will perceive television reality as the same as real life. Therefore, heavy television viewers feel the world is a more dangerous place, place a stronger emphasis on traditional gender roles, and underestimate the number of elderly people at greater rates than light television viewers.

The elaboration likelihood model (ELM) examines the ways in which people are persuaded. According to the ELM, there are two routes to persuasion: the central route and the peripheral route. If persuasion takes place via the central route, critical examination of the situation has occurred, and the best decision with the available facts is made. For example, a student deciding whether to go to a study group or to stay home would examine all the facts and decide that it would be better for his grade if he attended the study group. If a peripheral route is taken, some decision rule other than critical thinking is used. In this example, this person could be persuaded to go to a study

group because all his friends want to go to a study group. The decision rule here would be majority rule. Little critical thinking would occur. Persuasion via the central route tends to last longer and be more salient than persuasion via the peripheral route.

Desensitization is one of the most often cited media theories by the popular press. According to desensitization, repeated exposure to violent or sexual images reduces the initial negative reaction to these images, and viewers tend to eventually become comfortable viewing those images. Viewers are no longer bothered by seeing somebody murdered or raped on television. The fear, then, is that these viewers will then not have the feelings of concern, empathy, or sympathy toward victims of actual violence. Additionally, desensitized viewers may end up seeing these deviant or criminal behaviours as normal and common (2009, pp.625-626).

II.2.3. Media Use Theories

The final category focuses more on the motives for using the media rather than directly examining effects. Perhaps the most studied theory in this category is uses and gratifications theory, which focuses not necessarily on the effects of media exposure, but more on the reasons why we choose to expose ourselves to specific forms of media. According to uses and gratifications researchers, media users are active and choose a medium to satisfy a specific need. If a user needs information, her or she could read the newspaper, watch television, listen to the radio—whatever medium will best meet the need for information. An inherent assumption here is that we all have functional alternatives. If the need is entertainment, the user may choose another medium. These different patterns of media choice can eventually lead to different patterns of exposure and effects (2009, p.626).

III. The Emergence of New Media

Evolution or transformation of the media, or the need to develop new media, are driven by situations when, first, existing media no longer deliver a satisfactory service, for technological, social or cultural reasons. Second, technological innovation has resulted in such change in old forms of media that old notions no longer apply, or need to be revised or reformulated. Third, new forms of media have emerged, calling for new notions and new concepts. And last, the legal and regulatory framework applying to the media has lagged behind changes and new development, requiring its adjustment and modernization. According to Stober (2004), the evolution of media proceeds in three

stages: the original invention of a new medium (mainly of technical nature), followed by innovation (involving changes needed to introduce the new medium into social use and develop an economic model), and then diffusion, when the new medium becomes a new cultural technology for users, audiences and consumers.

Another technology which has brought a drastic change to the traditional media, it is convergence technology. Convergence has changed traditional mass media and has driven the emergence of new forms and modes of communication. The main features of this convergent digital communication include: multimedia communication; interactivity; asynchronous communication; individualisation/personalization (customisation) ; portability of receivers and mobile reception; disintermediation (elimination of intermediaries, e.g. media organisations, as anyone can offer information and other content to be directly accessed by users and receivers); and "neo-intermediation" (emergence of new intermediaries, especially on the Internet, capable of offering new services or aggregating and packaging content in new ways). From this fact, Cardoso (2006, pp. 123-124) defines new media as follows:

> **New media**: all those means of communication, representation and knowledge (i.e. media), in which we find the digitalisation of the signal and its content, that possess dimensions of multimediality and interactivity. This definition [is] comprehensive [and] inclusive of everything from the mobile phone to digital television and also embracing game consoles and the Internet … The new media may be termed thus because they are mediators of communication, because they introduce the novelty of incorporating new technological dimensions, because they combine interpersonal communication and mass media dimensions on one and the same platform, because they induce organisational change and new forms of time management and because they seek the synthesis of the textual and visual rhetoric, thus promoting new audiences and social reconstruction tools.

So far, media development has been cumulative rather than substitutive: newly emerging media did not replace older media, though they may have modified their functions and content. Digitalisation and convergence can potentially change this. The Internet, for example, is both a new medium, and a technology with which all the other media and modes of communication seem to want to interact through the establishment of digital or analogue links. With the digitisation of all media, they may all be transformed into convergent media distributed on broadband networks. Older media will not be substituted for and disappear, but may re-emerge in changed form, as another source of content available on broadband Internet and other broadband

networks. On this basis we may conclude that one element of the new notion of media is that traditional media are being changed into digital, convergent media that:

• can incorporate all forms of media existing so far and potentially may assimilate them into a variety of media forms existing alongside one another on broadband networks;

• combine all levels and patterns of social communication and all modes of content delivery;

• are capable of overcoming constraints of time and space.

The development of new media technology such as the internet is a great advancement for the media ownership. The net is an example of how technology combines the old-fashioned, face-to-face communication with mass communication. Howard Rheingold (1994) is an advocate of the democracy-enhancing nature of the internet. He argues it is a means by which the domination of information flow by large corporations. It provides the potential of the unlimited and unrestricted flow of information. Digital television is seen as expanding the number of media outlets from which people can gain information and enjoy entertainment. Interactive services, as one media manager argues, are taking people where they want to be, when they want to go there and with people they want to be with (Murdock 2000, p.46):

> The media industries are strongly promoting the liberating potential of the new technologies such as digital television. An advertisement for ntl in Britain in February, 2000, stated that: We're transforming the face of TV with a host of interactive and enhanced services, from interactive shopping and banking services to tele-voting and the chance to control a camera angle on a football match, or even your favourite drama (Murdoch, 2000, p.50).

IV. Notions of Otherness and Representation

IV.*1. Stuart's Representation of the Other*

If we look at the differences that do exist between Iran and the west (the united states of America mainly), economic, political, social or religious, we must engage with Hall's questions related to representation and the other. Among these questions: how do we represent people and nations, like Iran, which are significantly different from the west? In Hall's terms, how do we represent Iran which is significantly different from us (American people)?

Let us first see how language represents the other. Hall (1997, p.1) states:

In language, we use sign and symbols, whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes even objects, to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is one of the media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the process by which meaning is produced.

The question of representation of the other, which is potentially different from 'us', depends on the sharing culture. If we have the same culture, we see or represent the world with the same interpretation. Thus, culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and making sense of the world, in broadly similar ways. (Hall 1997, p.2). So, Hall (1997, p.3) gives emphasis to cultural practices to represent the others. It is participants in culture who give meaning to people, objects and events:

> It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them—how we represent them— that we give them meaning. In part, we give objects, people and events meaning by how we use them, or integrate them into our everyday practices. It is our use of pile of bricks and mortar which makes it a 'house'; and what we feel, think or say about it that makes it a 'house' a 'home'. In part, we give things meaning by how we represent them, the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them.

Another question suggested by Hall about the representation of the other is: how do we represent people and places which are significantly different from us? One potential answer offered by Hall is that difference is essential for the construction of meaning and identity. Without difference, meaning could not exist. For instance, Saussure argues that the word 'black' means, not because there is some sense of 'blackness', but because we can contrast it with its opposite 'white'. It is the difference between white and black which signifies, which carries meaning. Hall (1997, pp.234-235) said that difference helps to construct identity:

> We know that it is to be 'British', not only because of certain national characteristics, but also because we can mark its 'difference' from its 'others'— Britishness is not- French, not-American, not-German, not-Pakistani, not-Jamaican and so on.

The second argument by Saussure that we need 'difference' because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the 'Other'. The Russian linguist, Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, pp.293-294) studied language in terms of how meaning is sustained in the dialogue between two or more speakers. He said "meaning does not belong to any one speaker. It arises in the give-and-take between different speakers". Bakhtin argued that meaning is established through dialogue. So we need the 'Other' to interact and interplay with them. So the 'Other', in short, is essential to meaning.

The most important and concerned theory of explaining the role of difference is the psychoanalytic explanation (Hall, p.237). The argument here is that the 'Other' is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity:

> According to Freud, the consolidation of our definitions of 'self' and of our sexual identities depends on the way we are formed as subjects, especially in relation to that stage of early development which he called the Oedipus complex (after the Oedipus story in Greek myth). A unified sense of oneself as a subject and one's sexual identity- Freud argued - aw not fixed in the very young child However, according to Freud's version of the Oedipus myth, at a certain point the boy develops an unconscious erotic attraction to the Mother, but finds the Father barring his way to 'satisfaction' However, when he discovers that women do not have a penis, he assumes that his Mother was punished by castration, and that he might be punished in the same way if he persists with his unconscious desire. In fear, he switches his identification to his old 'rival', the Father, thereby taking on the beginnings of an identification with a masculine identity. The girl child identifies the opposite way- with the Father. But she cannot 'be' him, since she lacks the penis. She can only 'win' him by being willing, unconsciously, to bear a man's child- thereby taking up and identifying with the Mother's role. And 'becoming feminine'

These explanations of 'difference' and the 'Other' are both necessary and threatening at the same time. First, they have to come to play an increasingly significant role. Second, difference is ambivalent. It can be positive and negative. It is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities and a subjective sense of the self as a sexed subject, and at the same time, it is threatening, a site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the Other (Hall 1997, p.238)

Now, let us explore one example of the repertoire of representation and representational practices which have been used to mark racial difference and signify the racialized Other in western popular culture. This example is from the period of plantation slavery and its aftermath in the USA. The concept of the racialized ideology

did not appear until slavery was severely challenged by the abolitionists in 19th century. Frederickson (1987) sums up this racial difference which took place in this period:

> Heavily emphasized was the historical case against the black man based on his supposed failure to develop a civilized way of life in Africa. As portrayed in pro-slavery writing, Africa was always and had been the scene of unmitigated savagery, cannibalism, devil worship, and licentiousness. Also advanced was an early form of biological argument, based on real or imagined physiological and anatomical differences especially in cranial characteristics and facial angles - which allegedly explained mental and physical inferiority. Finally there was the appeal to deep-seated white fears of widespread miscegenation [sexual relations and interbreeding between the races], as pro-slavery theorists sought to deepen white anxieties by claiming that the abolition of slavery would lead to inter-marriage and the degeneracy of the race. Although all these arguments had appeared earlier in fugitive or embryonic form, there is something startling about the rapidity with which they were brought together and organized in a rigid polemical pattern, once the defenders of slavery found themselves in a propaganda war with the abolitionists.
>
> (Frederickson, 1987, p.49)

This racialized discourse is structured by a set of 'binary oppositions'. There is the powerful opposition between "Civilizations" (white) and "Savagery" (black). There is the opposition between the biological or bodily characteristics of the "black" and "white" races, polarized into to their extreme opposites—each signifiers of an absolute difference between human types or species. Racial theory applied the Culture/Nature distinction differently to the two racialized groups. Among whites, 'Culture' was opposed to 'Nature' amongst blacks, it was assumed, 'Culture' coincided with 'Nature' whereas whites developed 'Culture' to subdue and overcome 'Nature', for blacks. 'Culture' and 'Nature' were interchangeable.

IV.2. *Said's World of "Orient and Occident"*

Edward Said's work of Orientalism is such a useful in the representation of Iran in the American media. Said demonstrated how discursive practices were deployed in order to symbolically divide the world between Orient and Occident, East and West. Said (1979, pp.12) associated the "Orient" with the 'Other', and an integral part of European material civilization and culture:

> The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the other. The orient is an integral part of European material civilization.

Said (1979, p.3) defined orientalism a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient. Said went on and said that Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident. Said (1979, p.4) contends that the Orient, as much as the Occident, is not an interface of nature. It is rather an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that has given it reality and presence for the west. It would be wrong to assume that the Orient is "essentially an idea, or a creation with no corresponding reality"; but it is about the East as created consistency and that "regular constellation of ideas" (p.6). These ideas, cultures, and histories cannot be understood unless they are studied with their force. So, the relationship between the Orient and Occident is a matter of power, domination and hegemony. This brings us, Said said, to another concept that Orientalism is not a "structure of lies or myth which would simply blow away. What is more, it is not an airy European fantasy about the orient; but orientalism is a created body of theory and practice:

> …but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied-indeed, made truly productive-the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture.

Said (1979, p.6) claims that it is the cultural hegemony that gives durability to orientalism. This idea was taken from Gramsci's distinction between civil and political society. This latter consists of state institutions like army, police and the central bureaucracy, and the former (civil society) is made of voluntary affiliations like schools, families, and unions. So we find culture operating in the former. In any society, certain cultural forms and ideas predominate over others: the form of this cultural leadership is what Gramsci has identified as 'hegemony' (p.7). Said came to conclude that Orientalism is to be defined not mere political subject matter, but it is a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philogical texts:

> Therefore, Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious "Western" imperialist plot to hold down the "Oriental" world. It is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into

aesthetic scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philogical texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of "interests" which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different..

V. Language and Ideology

In a purely language and ideology context, ideology is understood in its role as a political-economic weapon in the service of oppressive forces (class, colonial, imperial). Strategies like deception and hegemony are employed by one group or class against another. In Chesnokov's words

> No exploiting class can do without deceiving the people and fabricating a public opinion that allegedly expresses the real interests, aspirations and views of the majority of the population. (Chesnokov 1969, p.359)

So, this paper is concerned with ideology as a tool which exploits language to convey noble assumptions, but it conceals political and economic agenda of exploitation.

Before we understand the notion of language and ideology, a few concepts about ideology should be clarified.

V.1. *Definition of Ideology*

"Nobody," says Terry Eagleton, "has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology" (Eagleton, 1991: 1). Eagleton may be right as far as the wording of the concept of *ideology* is concerned. However, scholars generally agree on the social nature of *ideology*: It is about social relations, consciousness, and power struggle which play important parts in carrying out ideological objectives. Ideology, thus, is also about the consciousness of those relations (Kelle and Kovalson, 1973; Gouldner, 1976; Thompson, 1984; Fairclough, 1989).

O'Sullivan, Fiske, Hartley, Montgomery, and Saunders refine the above views on *ideology* thus:

> The social relations of signification (knowledge and consciousness) in class societies. . . .Ideology is seen as any knowledge that is posed as natural or generally applicable, particularly when its social origins are suppressed. . . . Hence. . . ideology is seen as the practice of reproducing social relations of

inequality within the sphere of signification and discourse. (O'Sullivan *et al*, 1994: 139-140)

Ideology, it can be argued, is one mechanism by which a ruling group tries to deceive and control the ruled. In the words of J.B. Thompson (1984: 4), ideology is "linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power—to maintain domination. . . by disguising, legitimating, or distorting those relations".

One important definition is provided by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is that an ideology is "a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones; is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and change it" (Vol. 20. 1985:768). This otherwise comprehensive definition can be criticized on one ground: it makes no explicit reference to religion as ideology or part of an ideology.

Ideology in the West is almost always understood in negative terms (Althusser, 1977; Eagleton, 1989; Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough notes that in the United States, *ideology* and *totalitarianism* are taken to be the same, as "*totalitarianism* is a superordinate term which subsumes *fascism*, *communism*, *Marxism*" (Fairclough, 1989: 94). Because definitions of *ideology* have as their context the Western society and its political-economic problems and issues, it would be relevant to consider non-Western perspectives on ideology too. For instance, in the Islamic context, ideology is not a negative concept. It is, indeed, an exceedingly positive, inspirational notion which governs people's lives.

From the Islamic point of view, ideology and religion do not exclude each other: ideological truths are religious truths and *vice versa* (Fitzgerald, 2003). Islamic scholars have claimed that there is no difference between the Islamic and the ideological (Nasr, 1994). For an Islamist a statement like, "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force" (Marx and Engels, 1974: 64) should be meaningless. The positive image of ideology in Islam can be understood from the fact that the most influential Islamic scholars of the twentieth century have argued that *Islam is not a religion, but an ideology*. For example, Parwez (1959) denounces the very term religion and says that Islam should not be called a religion, but an ideology. Maududi (1960) and Ahmed (1960) also take the same stand. These Islamic scholars came from the Indian subcontinent. The Egyptian Hasan al Bana's[2] formulation of Islamic ideology has inspired almost every Islamic political movement in the world since the early

decades of the 20th century: "The Quran is our constitution, the Prophet is our Guide; death for the glory of Allah is our greatest ambition" (cited by Hiro, 1989: 63).

In Islam, there is no matter-soul schism (Iqbal, 1977[1944]). The Prophet Muhammad was both the political ruler and the religious leader of his people. The mosque is not just a place of worship, but a place of political deliberation too. The *haj* is not just a religious ritual, it is a great occasion for the Muslims from all over the world to come together and discuss their sociopolitical problems (Arjomand 1987; Mandaville, 2007). God's laws as laid down in the Scripture must be obeyed. The *here* and the *hereafter* are two aspects of the same unity. God's signs are everywhere without exceptions.

All in all, we can say that ideology is a legitimated, normative, systematic exercise of power by a group in order to achieve specified objectives embedded in an impersonal entity or system.

V.2. *Hegemony*

"Hegemony," in Fraser's words, "is the attempt to provide authoritative definitions of social needs, and the power to shape the political agenda" (Fraser, 1991: 100). Raymond Williams credits Antonio Gramsci with refining the notion of hegemony as it is understood today. Williams says that it was Gramsci who made hegemony central to the operation of ideology in a given system (for details, see Williams, 1977: 108-114). Hegemony refers to the way a ruling group secures the consent of the subordinate classes. Hegemony, in Gramsci's own words, is

> a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria. . . between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups. . . equilibria in which the interest of the dominant group prevail. (Gramsci, 1968: 182)

He argues that it is through common sense that people in a society organize their lives and experiences. Common sense equals good sense, and ideological truths are taken for granted. Hence, instead of coercing the subordinate groups into accepting the authority and ruling ideas of the ruling class, hegemony naturalizes these ideas so that their acceptance goes unquestioned. Since social systems continue to evolve, the permanence of the acquiescence of the subordinate classes cannot be guaranteed. Hegemony, then, has to reproduce and reinvent the ruling ideas to maintain the hold of the ruling classes. In Gramsci's own words:

Every philosophical current leaves behind it a sediment of 'common sense'; this is the document of its historical effectiveness. Common sense is not rigid and immobile but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life. Common sense creates the folklore of the future, that is as a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given place and time. (Gramsci, 1971: 362)

Williams' reading of the above Gramscian passage is this: hegemony is a "process", and not a system or a structure. In his own words, hegemony is

a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular. Its internal structures are highly complex, as can readily be seen in any concrete analysis. Moreover, it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own. We have then to add to the concept of hegemony the concepts of counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony, which are real and persistent elements of practice. (Williams, 1977: 112-113)

Hegemony commands consent of people. Consent is not always a conscious choice; in a hegemonic institutional dispensation, people's acquiescence may be unconscious. Fairclough expresses this point thus:

"Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations. Practices can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant bloc, and to have become naturalized." (Fairclough, 1989: 33)

VI. Language and Ideology in practice: Some examples

There is a great body of literature which tries to show how language and ideology cover almost every area and subject of human inquiry (see, e.g., Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew, 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodges and Kress, 1993; Wright 1998). However, George Orwell was one of the earliest writers who in prose and fiction tried to show the nexus between language and ideology. In his essay "Politics and the English Language", he says:

. . . political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of

peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*. (Orwell, 1984 [1945], p.362)

VI.1. *Chomsky's Critique of Language and Ideology in the US*

In his numerous political writings Chomsky shows how language is employed in the service of ideology. He argues that from the Cold War onwards the United States has been interfering in every part of the world in the name of human rights and democracy, but in fact these interventions are meant to destroy indigenous oppositions to American exploitation. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the United States has promoted highly emotive theses such as 'human rights' and 'crimes against humanity' in order to demonize anti-American resistance. However, behind this faced of humanitarian concern is American pillage if indigenous natural resources. Thus slogans like "the evil empire", "Islamo-fascism", and "the axis of evil" are but a cover for an ideology of intervention. "Chomsky's work on ideology," in the words of Rai, "consists of exactly this: revealing the hidden assumptions of mainstream critics." (Rai, 1995: 36)

Here are a few relevant observations from Chomsky's corpus on language and ideology:

1. "In the case of Cambodia reported atrocities have not only be eagerly seized upon by the Western media but also embellished by substantial fabrications—which, interestingly, persist even long after they have exposed. The case of Timor is radically different. The media have shown no interest in examining the atrocities of the Indonesian invaders, though even in absolute numbers these are on the same scale as those reported by sources of comparable credibility concerning Cambodia, and relative to the population, are many times as great." (cited by Rai, 1995: 28)

2. "One would have to search a long time to find a favorable word about Syria, South Yemen, etc., or any word at all. Such coverage as there is uniformly negative, generally harshly so, with no mitigating elements." (Chomsky, 1989: 152)

3. "For the past twenty-two years, I have been searching to find some reference in mainstream journalism or scholarship to an American invasion of South Vietnam in 1962 (or ever), or an American attack against South Vietnam, or American aggression in Indochina—without success. There is no such event in history. Rather, there is an American defense of South Vietnam against terrorists supported from outside (namely,

from Vietnam), a defense that was unwise, the dives maintain. . . . Within the mainstream, there is no one who can call an invasion an 'invasion', or perceive the fact; it is unimaginable that any American journalist would have publicly called upon South Vietnam to resist the American invasion". (Chomsky in Peck, 1987: 225)

4. "The basic structure of the argument has the childlike simplicity of a fairy tale. There are two forces in the world, at 'opposite poles'. In one corner we have absolute evil; in the other sublimity". The Cold War as projected by the American media was this: on one side of the conflict was a "nightmare" and on the other, "defender of freedom"; "the fundamental design of the Kremlin is the complete subversion or forcible destruction of the machinery of government and structure of society"; "the fundamental purpose of the United States is to assure the integrity and vitality of our free society, which is founded upon the dignity and worth of the individual"; "since a defeat of free institutions anywhere is a defeat everywhere, no corner of the world, however tiny and insignificant, can escape our ministration"; in order to defeat the Soviet Union we must overcome weaknesses in our society, such as "the excesses of a permanently open mind", "the excess of tolerance", and to "distinguish between the necessity for tolerance and the necessity for just suppression". (Chomsky, 1992: 9-12)

5. ". . . our primary concern [in writing the book] here is not to try to establish the facts with regard to postwar Indochina, but rather to investigate their refraction through the prism of Western ideology. . ." (Chomsky and Herman, 1979: 139f)

VI.2. *Deceiving and Demonizing: Said on Iran*

Edward Said's Chapter 2 of *Covering Islam* (1981) is a critique of how the West has seen Iran from an ideological-linguistic point of view resulting in lying, duplicity, and war-mongering. After the Iranian students took American hostages in 1979, the entire American media—print and electronic—lost all objectivity and demonized Iran and the Iranians without paying regard to facts. Said says:

> The ideology of modernization produced a way of seeing Islam whose apex and culmination was the image of the Shah of Iran, both at is zenith, as a 'modern' ruler, and when his regime collapsed, as a casualty to what was looked upon as medieval fanaticism and religiosity. . . before he left office President Carter allegedly advised the State Department to 'focus all public attention on building up a wave of resentment against the Iranians'. (Introduction: xii-xxi).

Said wrote that the seizure of the American embassy in November 4th, 1979 by Iranian students was a remarkable accident which completely ruined the Iran-US

relations. The American media covered this unprecedented event every day, day and night, in which the American diplomats were seized and the country was unable to free them. From this point, let us see how the American media critically elaborated the US-Iran relations since the embassy seizure event. Said (1981, p.88) wrote "Iran took up much of the nightly network news immediately after the embassy was seized. For several months ABC scheduled a daily late-evening special, America Held Hostage, and PBS's MacNeil/Lehrer Report ran an unprecedented number of shows on the crisis. For months Walter Cronkite would add to his "that's the way it is" a reminder of how many days the hostages had been in captivity: "the two-hundred and seventh day," and so on. Ted Koppel's ABC program Nightline, which achieved longevity and success, began because of the hostage crisis. Hodding Carter, the State Department spokesman during the period, achieved star status within about two weeks; on the other hand, neither then Secretary Cyrus Vance nor Zbigniew Brzezinski was very much in evidence until after the abortive rescue effort in late April 1980. Interviews with Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, with Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, with parents of the hostages, alternated regularly with Iranian demonstrations, three-minute courses on the history of Islam, bulletins from the ex-shah's hospital, solemn-faced commentators and experts analyzing, reflecting, debating, haranguing, and advancing theories, courses of action, speculations about the future interpretations of events, psychologies, Soviet moves, and Muslim reactions: and still the fifty-odd Americans remained incarcerated."

As a matter of fact, it was not only a war against Iran, but it was a war against the Islamic world and Islam. The American media never stopped showing Iran to the Americans and the world as uncivilized, militant, dangerous, and anti-Americans. There were plenty of evidence on that. On November 7 the St. Louis Post Dispatch had printed the proceedings of a workshop held in St. Louis on Iran and the Persian Gulf. One expert was quoted as saying that "the loss of Iran to an Islamic form of government was the greatest setback the United States has had in recent years." Islam, in other words, is by definition inimical to United States interests. And there was Professor J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia University, who, when asked by an ABC reporter on November 21 whether to be a Muslim Shi'ite meant being "anti-American," responded with a categorical affirmative.

The New York Times newspaper linked this embassy crisis to the Shi'ites "Embassy seizure is linked to both Shi'ite approval of authority and anger over the Shah." Daniel B. Drooz argued in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution on November 29

"Where there are Shi'ites, there is trouble," interestingly, there was a popular confusion between Arabs, Muslims and Iranians at that time in the American press. For example, a CBS Nightly News segment on Islam November 21. Moharram was described by reporter Randy Daniels as a period when Shi'ite Muslims "celebrated Mohammed's challenge to world leaders"—a statement so wrong as to be silly. Moharram is an Islamic month; Shi'ite Muslims commemorate the martyrdom of Hussein during the first ten days of Moharram. To clear up this confusing situation, the Times, a British leading newspaper, published a series of four long articles by Flora Lewis, "Upsurge in Islam", all attempting seriously to deal with Islam in crisis. That was in the four last days of 1979. There are some excellent things in her articles; Said said (p.93), for example, her success in delineating complexity and diversity—but there are serious weaknesses too, most of them inherent in the way Islam is supposedly viewed nowadays. A decade later Chris Hedges, also in the Times, published an article entitled "A Language Divided Against Itself," which purported to show how Muslim extremists took advantage of Arabic, already corrupted by nationalism, to produce a new language of hatred, simplistic formulas, and religious fervor: "the brutalization of political conversation," he concludes, "has left so few Arabs able to talk to one another."

To sum up, some of the examples from the mainstream media provided by Said (1981, p.75-125) are:

1. "Let there be a rage and revulsion in those first hours of release [of American hostages]" (*The New York Times*).

2. "What should have been done? Mining harbors, or landing marines, or dropping a few bombs might frighten rational foes. But was Iran—*is* Iran—rational?" (*The New York Times*).

3. *Newsweek* lied about torture that had nothing to do with the facts.

4. *The Washington Post* claimed that Iran's hostage-taking was a "war against civilization by terrorists."

5. *The Washington Post* pleaded for blocking the truth about Iran in order to demonize it to the American people. It said that "the Iran obscenity" [i.e., the hostage-taking] had raised the possibility that "freedom of press", which presented news about Iran, might be "perverted into a weapon amid directly at the heart of American nationalism and self-esteem".

6. *The New York Times* published a report that under the garb of calm objectivity and expert knowledge of the Iranian culture referred not to Iran but "the Persian psyche".

The report made the following points: (i) "Persian proclivity" to resist the very concept of a "rational negotiating process"; (ii) Iranians are overridingly egotistical, and for them reality is malevolent; (iii) and, Iranians have the "bazaar mentality" that urges immediate advantage over longtime gain.

Said (1981: Introduction, p.xxvii) comments that *The New York Times* "text is rather ideological statement designed, I think, to turn 'Persian' into a timeless, acutely disturbing essence, thereby enhancing the superior morality and national sanity of the American half of the negotiations [over the American hostages in 1979]. . . 'the effects of the Iranian revolution' are set aside in the interests of the 'relatively constant. . . cultural and psychological qualities' underlying 'the Persian psyche'".

He also makes a very sharp comment on the ideological framing of Iran: "So strong was the ideological commitment to the idea of a monolithic and unchanging Islam that no note was taken of the political processes *within* this particular Islamic country" (Said, 1981, p.94).

VII. Media Coverage of Iran's Nuclear Program 2009-2012

Much has been said about Iran nuclear program in the international media, especially the American and the British newspapers. So, descriptions of Iran's nuclear capabilities and intentions in newspapers coverage varied widely. When discussing Iran's nuclear work, newspapers used a range of terms to describe the activities, referencing Iran's "nuclear program," its "nuclear weapons program," its "nuclear ambitions," and the activities of a "nuclear Iran"

In the run-up to the October 2009 Geneva negotiations, newspaper coverage varied in how it discussed Iran's nuclear capabilities and intentions, which had a significant effect on how it described the possible outcomes of the negotiations. A September 30 Financial Times report focused specifically on British assessments that "Iran has been making clandestine efforts to design a nuclear warhead 'since late 2004 or early 2005,' an assessment that would imply Tehran is taking final steps towards nuclear weapons capability." This article did acknowledge how this assessment differed from others, in particular the U.S. estimate, but it didn't attempt to reconcile the differences between them or explore the impact on negotiations if the British estimate was wrong.

A September 27, 2009 Washington Post article that focused on the U.S. bargaining position going into the Geneva talks characterized Iran's capabilities in a different manner. The article depicted Iranian efforts to develop nuclear weapons as "suspected"

and referred generally to Iran's "nuclear ambitions." The article failed to clarify whether the suspected activities were past activities or whether they were ongoing—an important point. In one respect, reference to Iran's "nuclear ambitions" is appropriate, because no one knows with a great deal of certainty what Iran intends to do with the nuclear capabilities it already has and those it could develop in the future. On the other hand, by using a nebulous and imprecise term such as Iran's nuclear "ambitions," the article suggests that Iran has nuclear intentions that include developing nuclear weapons, when this is a disputed notion. This article also includes explicit mention of Iran's "rights" under the NPT to enrich uranium and possess other components of the nuclear fuel cycle—a point that is equally relevant to negotiations between the P5+1 and Iran.

A September 28, 2009 New York Times article took yet another tack in describing Iranian capabilities, describing the assessment of the United States and its allies that Iran's nuclear program is "meant to create a weapon." According to its national intelligence estimates, the U.S. intelligence community does not believe that Iran currently intends or has decided to resume efforts to build a nuclear weapon. Can Iran have no intention of building a nuclear weapon and also have a nuclear program meant to create a weapon? As was the case in referring to Iran's nuclear ambition, this wording seems to assume that Iran has an intent that is different from some official estimates.

As pressure grew on the U.S. government and its allies to act to limit Iranian capabilities in late 2011 and early 2012, newspaper portrayals of Iran's intentions and capabilities grew even more consequential. What had been the effect of the additional sanctions on Iran's nuclear program and on Iran's willingness to make concessions? What else should be done? These were the central policy questions being discussed by officials, and the newspaper coverage during this period reflected this. The coverage also began to reflect a growing divergence about the goal of coercive diplomatic efforts. This divergence was well captured in a March 5, 2012 Independent article:

> For Israel, the "red line" comes when Iran is capable of building a nuclear weapon. According to most Israeli readings, Iran is—thanks to its enrichment of uranium—not far off that point.
> For the U.S. administration, the red line comes significantly later, namely if and when Iran starts building, or at least decides to build, a nuclear weapon. This is why President Obama chose his words carefully when he spoke yesterday of his determination to prevent Iran from "acquiring a nuclear weapon," and this is why he believes there is time for sanctions and diplomatic pressure.

The February 2012 release of an IAEA report on Iran's nuclear activities provided a window into how government officials began to change the way they talked about Iranian capabilities and intentions, and the ways that coverage shifted. The report noted that Iran had begun enriching uranium up to 20 percent U-235 in the Fordow enrichment facility and enlarging its total stockpiles of this type of uranium.

A February 25, 2012 Washington Post report was careful to characterize Iranian advances in uranium enrichment as moving Iran closer to having the requisite material to build a nuclear weapon, without suggesting that Iran had emphatically decided to build a weapon. The article did not acknowledge that the NPT does not prohibit non-nuclear weapon states from enriching uranium up to 20 percent U-235 or limit the amount of such material they can have for peaceful purposes, such as fueling a research reactor or producing isotopes for medical use. Instead the report focused on the degree to which Iran's activities moved it closer to being able to build a nuclear weapon (i.e., improving its capability to produce a nuclear weapon) and on the likelihood that the "advances" were in excess of what Iran needed to meet its stated goals.

Other coverage of the IAEA report was less nuanced, instead using less precise language about Iran's "nuclear ambitions" and simply presenting Iran's claims and U.S., European, and Israeli suspicions about Iranian nuclear activities: "New suspicions over Iran's nuclear ambitions emerged Friday," reported a February 25, 2012 Wall Street Journal article. "Iran has dramatically accelerated its production of enriched uranium in recent months while refusing to cooperate with an investigation of evidence that it may have worked on designing a bomb," a February 25, 2012 Guardian report read.

VIII. Different International Media Coverage of Iran Deal 2015

In this study, and to avoid being biased, I would report what the international media have Iran's deal 2015. The content and the analysis of this coverage do not carry any opinion or view of mine. I would rather stay neutral, and I do not incline to any media outlet analysis. So, the international media coverage of Iran's deal 2015 is critically important to public understanding of the issue. Different media outlets such as televisions, radios, and newspapers and Internet publications have tried to frame the coverage in a manner which is consistent to the context of Iran-US conflict. They are

playing an important role in delivering the public with information about happenings from which they are far removed (physically and culturally). Now let us see what different international media think about Iran nuclear deal.

VIII.*1. The British Media*

In a video owned by *BBC World Service* in London and released on Monday 2, November, 2015, 6.45pm, the BBC's speaker Nik Gowing has debated Iran's deal 2015 issue in an excellent panel. The motion of this panel is "the nuclear deal with Iran won't make the world a safer place". So, the deal, to sum up, reached between Iran and six world powers in July 14th, 2014 is a major diplomatic breakthrough. In exchange for Tehran halting its nuclear weapons program, the west will lift the sanctions that have been crippling Iran's economy for the last decade. The deal was hailed by president Obama as 'a historic understanding' and met with cheers of approval from around the world. However, of course, the panel agreed, the agreement does not guarantee that Iran will never get the bomb some time in the future. But its supporters argue that in a complex world it is the best option going. There will be pre-emptive strike on Iran's nuclear facilities for at least 10 years. The freeing up of over 100 billion pound of frozen assets will increase Iran's stability, and improved communication and trade between Iran and other countries with strengthen the hand of those Iranians who want their nation to be part of the modern world.

That is the line of those who support the deal. But to others, including Israel's Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, it is so much as historic understanding as a terrifying historic mistake. Once the agreement's restrictions expire in around 2025, what is there to stop the Mullah cranking up their nuclear program and producing the bomb? In the meantime, relaxing sanctions will allow the Tehran to channel ever more funds to murderous regimes such as Assad's Syria, and the terrorist organizations Hamas and Hezbollah.

The historic nuclear deal between the west and Iran got a mixed reception from Britain's national press. Some newspapers hailed it as a triumph (*Guardian, Daily Mirror*). Some thought it unacceptable (*Times, Sun*). Several were wary (*Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Independent*). All recognised what it means for US President Barack Obama. It could well be the legacy that defines his presidency in the future. But not all were convinced he should have dared to make, as in the Times's headline over its leading article, a reckless gamble.

The Times contended that Obama has been guilty of "appeasement for the sake of a presidential legacy" and that his "gamble that will make life more dangerous for Iran's neighbours and more difficult for future US presidents".

If the agreement with Iran is honoured, said *the Telegraph*, "then Iran's bomb-making potential will be dramatically curtailed. But that is a big if". It pointed to possible "flaws" in the deal and the "genuine concerns" of Israel and the Gulf states who do not trust the Islamic Republic. But, in its view, "a deal had to be negotiated" and said: "Perhaps the Vienna agreement marks a turning point – but we still need to be wary of an unshackled Tehran".

The Mail, in its turn, was also worried about whether Iran can be trusted or not? "Seen in the most optimistic light", it said, it might gain the west "a powerful ally in the fight against IS". But it recognised that the deal is controversial: "Barack Obama may hail a rare foreign policy triumph. But the west must be ready to reimpose sanctions at the first hint of treachery from Tehran".

The Mirror was much more enthusiastic about the outcome of the deal, seeing it as a "ray of hope" and believing "the world is a slightly safer place today". It contended: "Ten years of tense negotiations to bring Tehran in from the cold is a triumph for political and economic pressure over the hawks who would have started another war...", "The landmark agreement tacitly acknowledges the important truth that Iran, not the USA or Britain, is best placed to confront and defeat the terrorists of the Islamic State... we should celebrate the success of dull diplomacy".

Similarly, *the Guardian*, in a leader headlined "a triumph of diplomacy", viewed the deal as "a victory for patient diplomacy". It continued: "Credit goes to the tireless US secretary of state, John Kerry, but also to America's partners: Germany, France and Britain, including the former European high representative on foreign affairs, Baroness Ashton, and, in spite of tensions over Ukraine, also to Russia, and, to a lesser extent, China. Credit, too, to the Iranian president Hassan Rouhani, who has had to face down suspicious hardliners at home".

VIII.*2. The Israeli Media*

This Israeli media coverage was taken from The New Arab Newspaper by its reporter Nidal Mohammed Watad. Date of publication is July 15, 2015. So, he reported that the widespread Israeli media coverage of the nuclear agreement between six world powers

(Germany, France, China, Russia, US and Britain) and Iran was accompanied by bitter cries of politicians from right to left alike who described the deal as national disaster. The Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu spoke during a news conference in Jerusalem, July 14th, 2015, saying that Israel would not be bound by the nuclear deal and would defend itself. However, the Israeli commentators seem to agree that the landmark agreement has resulted in the birth of an internationally recognized regional power, as a partner and part of the solution more than it is part of the problem. Amos Harel and Zvi Barel in *HAARETZ* newspaper and Alex Fishman in *YNETNEWS* agreed that the deal is inconvenient reality and poses major challenges for Israel, but they also added that despite its disadvantages, it was not catastrophic for Israel's security.

In contrast, as expected the pro-Netanyahu newspaper *ISRAEL HAYOM*, funded by American casino mogul Sheldom Adelson, was the only outlet that adopted Netanyahu's melancholy narrative. Israel Hayom reporter Boaz Bismuth said for example the deal was a mark of disgrace on the international and western community. Also Dan Margalit said that the new situation will force Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the gulf to institutionalize security cooperation amongst them in order to deter Iran. In *Haaretz*, Arab affair commentator Zvi Barel said that the most important aspect of the deal was how Iran was dealt with during the negotiations as an equal to the other negotiating countries. He believes this raises questions on the future repercussions, and whether the deal will pave the way to accept Iran as a legitimate partner regionally and internationally.

Another person who tried to break out of the unified media chorus line was Ben-Israel. He is one of the greatest experts on the Iranian research program and its significance for Israel. In an article written for the Israeli daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*, he argued that the deal has several positive aspects. He said the agreement is not as dangerous as it is perceived by the Israeli public and decision-makers. "What we have here is a non-dialogue between people who do not want to listen. The agreement is not bad at all; it is even good for Israel. The president of the United States said that the deal distances Iran from a nuclear bomb for a decade or two, and he is correct. It distances the threat for a long time, it averts an atom bomb for 15 years, and that's not bad at all".

Ben-Israel told Al-Monitor that he was disappointed over the way the important discussion of the nuclear deal has taken place in the media, and the lack of impact his

words had on the public. "This shows the great problem affecting the Israeli media. Our media is not a dictatorship media, yet no dissenting voice is heard. On the other hand, every junior Knesset member suddenly becomes a nuclear expert and explains why the deal is terrible"

VIII.*3. The Iranian Media*

The Iranian media said that the signing of this historic deal is a "day of truth". This expresses the excitement of the Iranian media and the Iranian people who were awaiting this deal to end their sufferings. Iranian media coverage of the negotiations and agreement has been marked by longing, positivity and support. The celebration of this deal was successful and in line with Islamic law, and national customs. Iranian media took creative approaches to herald the nuclear deal. Let us take a roundup reaction of some newspapers.

Asia newspaper dedicated its front page almost entirely to one word: "DEAL". Iraj Jamshid, the editor in chief of Asia, wrote that since the Rouhani administration took office, Asia has made an extra effort to follow and report on the nuclear negotiations. He also noted that Asia was aware of this new government's ability to handle and resolve the nuclear issue.

Etemaad, a reformist newspaper declared "the world changed", and called the deal a "diplomatic revolution". Etemaad's editor argued that very few events throughout history make an impact on the world and, he wrote, "Without exaggeration this deal is one of those events that will change the world". Interestingly, *Shahravad* newspaper describes the deal as "An atomic explosion without a bomb". The paper quotes president Hassan Rouhani: "In order to have peace, one must compromise and pay, and even fight, but fight only at the negotiating table". *Shahravad* columnist Armin Montazeri writes that the deal will help Iran reach its ultimate long-term goal, which is to become the most powerful country in the region by 2025. "It is as if the world powers have realized that they cannot prevent Iran from doing so", he writes, and have concluded that "they need Iran's mental and physical support to fight against radicalism in the region".

Last but not least, *Ebtekar* devoted its front page to a mash-up image of Zarif and Mohamed Mossadegh. The former Iranian prime minister who nationalized the Iranian oil industry in 1951. The headline reads "the beginning of an Iranian era". Ebtekar compares the nuclear deal to that of the nationalization of oil and believes that the people of Iran will remember the date July 14, 2015, just as they remember Marsh 19, 1951.

VIII.*4. The American Media*

The media in the United States are divided in two, against and with, concerning the support of Iran's Deal 2015. The conservative media like *Fox News* and *The Washington Post* continue to wage a campaign to attack this historic deal. An article on the front page of Washington Post on September 1st, 2015 reported on a Quinnipiac Survey of 1,563 registered voters taken August 20-25 that suggested that the deal reached by U.S and the world powers with Iran to limit Iran's nuclear program is unpopular with voters. According to *the Post*:

> House and Senate Democrats appear to get little politically, at least in the near term, out of going on the record for or against the Iran deal -- except yet another chance to take one for the team. A Monday Quinnipiac University poll revealed that just 25 percent of Americans support the deal, while 55 percent oppose it, yet Obama is close to his magic number of 34 in the Senate to save the deal from Republicans in Congress. (*The Washington Post*, 9/1/15)

A Fox News national security analyst KT McFarland says: Iran Will "Very Likely" Expand Weapons Programs After Nuclear Deal. He considered Iran as a nuclear explosion, and must be severely sanctioned; otherwise a nuclear holocaust in the Middle East will happen if Iran goes through. He declares:

> Nothing's inevitable, and everything's preventable. But this Iran getting its hands on nuclear weapons and an Iran that talks about annihilating Israel, death to America, other countries in the region responding by getting nuclear weapons programs of their own. If nuclear weapons are awash in the Middle East, I think it's only a matter of time before somebody uses one. Accidentally, inadvertently, or intentionally, but that's a part of the world that could see a nuclear explosion. (*Fox News*, America's Newsroom, 8/17/15)

Another Fox Analyst Ed Rollins contends that U.S. Must "Kill This Deal":

> It's becoming more and more clear that the issue is the money and what they do with the money than just the nuclear weapon. Everybody's talked about the

nuclear weapon, Khomeini has a new book, the Supreme Commander, called Palestine in which he basically said the nuclear weapon is to keep Israel from doing anything back to them, that they're going to take Israel out by the war of attrition, by Hezbollah, Hamas, what have you. And I think that's very accurate. So, we put sanctions on initially when they kidnapped and took over our embassy in 1978. So I think the reality is -- I don't care where our friends go. I think America has to take a stand here, and it's very, very important that we basically kill this deal. (Fox News, Sunday Morning Futures, 8/2/15)

However, *The New York Time* reported on August 8th, 2015: "29 U.S. Scientists Praise Iran Nuclear Deal." This report did by William J. Broad. He stated 'Twenty-nine of the nation's top scientists — including Nobel laureates, veteran makers of nuclear arms and former White House science advisers — wrote to president Obama on Saturday to praise the Iran deal, calling it innovative and stringent'.

The NBC News reported by Andrea Mitchell on August 19, 2015 'Deal Between Iran And The IAEA Aims To "Close The File" On Past Activity At Parchin Only, And Not The Long-Term Inspection Regime As Part Of The Landmark Deal'. *The NBC News* explained that the side deal between the IAEA and Iran pertains only to past military nuclear activity at the Parchin military site, and "not the long-term inspection regime agreed to for the remainder of the nuclear deal":

> Iran is required to "close the file" on past military dimensions of its nuclear program before it can get sanctions relief and proceed with the long-term nuclear deal negotiated in Vienna.
>
> But, Wednesday night, two senior U.S. officials told *NBC News* that the unusual arrangement between the IAEA and Tehran relates only to past military activity and that UN inspectors, including IAEA Director Yukiya Amano, would be on site to supervise the Iranians at every step of the way.
>
> Both sides agree the controversial arrangement only involves Parchin and its past military activity -- not the long-term inspection regime agreed to for the remainder of the nuclear deal. The administration claims the future inspection regime is unprecedented in its intrusiveness. (*NBC News* 8/19/15)

The NPR News also reported on July 20, 2015 that 'Nuke Inspectors Gear Up For Iran, But Americans Unlikely To Be Included'. *NPR* explained how the U.S. will most likely not directly inspect Iranian sites because the language in the agreement allows for only inspectors from countries that "have diplomatic relations with Iran" to protect the objectivity of the inspections:

The language in the agreement says that Iran "will generally allow the designation of inspectors from nations that have diplomatic relations with Iran."

Since the U.S. and Iran broke off ties after the 1979 Islamic revolution, it appears unlikely that any American inspectors will be getting a first-hand look at the Iranian nuclear facilities.

U.S. officials say they will make sure the IAEA has what it needs. Jon Wolfsthal, a nuclear expert in the White House, told the Atlantic Council that the Obama administration is already offering technology to ensure Iran adheres to strict limits on its uranium enrichment program. (*NPR*, 7/20/15)

VIII.5. *The Saudi Arabia Media*

Saudi Arabian media attacked Iran's nuclear deal with world powers on Wednesday, with cartoonists depicting it as an assault on Arab interests and columnists decrying the focus on Tehran's atomic plans instead of its backing for regional militias.

Riyadh's official reaction to the deal was a terse statement that welcomed any agreement that would ensure Iran could not develop a nuclear arsenal, but stressed the importance of tough inspections and the ability to reimpose sanctions quickly. In private, however, Saudi officials fear an Iran released from international pressure and economic sanctions will have more freedom and money to back allies across the region who are opposed by Riyadh.

A cartoon in *Asharq al-Awsat*, a pan-Arab daily close to King Salman's branch of the ruling family, showed a trampled body marked "Middle East", with a placard saying "nuclear deal" sticking from its head. The top-hatted and turbaned silhouettes of America's Uncle Sam and an Iranian cleric ran across the body hand in hand, portraying a widely voiced concern that Washington's quest for a deal means it has realigned with Tehran at Arab expense. A Saudi official on Tuesday told Reuters he feared the agreement would make the Middle East more dangerous if it gave too many concessions to an Iranian government that Riyadh blames for turmoil in Yemen, Syria and Iraq.

In *al-Jazirah daily*, columnist Jasser al-Jasser wrote an article headlined "A terrorist Iran instead of a nuclear Iran", alluding to his fear that the deal would simply allow Tehran to back Shi'ite Muslim militias and militants. A concern that such Iranian involvement in Arab countries was feeding the sectarian conflict that allowed Islamic State to thrive was evident in a cartoon in the Saudi daily al-Watan, also owned by a branch of the ruling family. It showed an Iranian cleric with a malignant facial

expression turning the spigot on an oil pipeline marked "nuclear deal", from which dollar bills were pouring into the mouth of a masked militant labelled "terrorism".

In a column on the front page of *al-Hayat*, another Saudi-owned Arab daily, Ghassan Charbel also linked the deal to Islamic State, but he argued that it was shared fear of the group that had prompted Iran and the United States to agree. "A third man contributed to achieving the agreement without showing up or calling for it. His name is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," he wrote, referring to the militant group's self-declared caliph.

Chapter Three

The Analysis of Obama's and Mohammed Zarif's Speeches

The analysis of Obama's and Zarif's political speeches on Iran's nuclear deal 2015 will be based principally on both Fairclough´s assumptions on discourse and ideology (ideologies reside in text, it is not possible to read off ideologies from text, and texts are open to diverse interpretations),   and Halliday´s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL): Transitivity, Modality and Textual analysis. Before we start the analysis, it is good enough to make an outline of both speeches, and do statistics, how much frequency, number of mention and statistics of words and sentences and paragraphs are mentioned in both speeches. At the same time, from this statistical analysis we can conclude what kind of language used by both leaders, simple, complex, colloquial, difficult … etc.

l. Fairclough Approach Analysis

l.1. Obama's Speech

l.1.1. Outline of Obama´s speech

1-Salutation

2- Expressing great relief after achieving the deal, and he considers the deal as a result of decades of hard negotiations (Today, after two years of negotiations, the United States, together with our international partners, has achieved something that decades of animosity has not.

3- The President Obama states the results of signing the deal (Because of this deal, Iran will remove two-thirds of its installed centrifuges -- the machines necessary to produce highly enriched uranium for a bomb -- and store them under constant international supervision. Iran will not use its advanced centrifuges to produce enriched uranium for the next decade. Iran will also get rid of 98 percent of its stockpile of enriched uranium.)

4- Obama puts it clear that if Iran violates the deal, the sanctions will snap back to previous conditions (And if Iran violates the deal, all of these sanctions will snap back into place. So there's a very clear incentive for Iran to follow through, and there are very real consequences for a violation...)

5- Obama finally thanks all those who have contributed to the success of the deal (I want to thank the American negotiating team. We had a team of experts working for several weeks straight on this, including our Secretary of Energy, Ernie Moniz. And I want to particularly thank John Kerry, our Secretary of State, who began his service to

this country more than four decades ago when he put on our uniform and went off to war. He's now making this country safer through his commitment to strong, principled American diplomacy.)

6-Obama stresses that America is always the strongest country in the world. (History shows that America must lead not just with our might, but with our principles. It

shows we are stronger not when we are alone, but when we bring the world together. Today's announcement marks one more chapter in this pursuit of a safer and more helpful and more hopeful world.)

7- He always resorts to God for help and blessing at the end of his speech.

So the whole text is coherent, organized, accurate and logical. So it can help to persuade the public to accept and support his policies towards the deal.

Meanwhile, Obama always ends his speech with strong religious content as at the end of this speech:

Thank you. _God_ bless you. And _God_ bless the United States of America.

l.1.2. Ideological Analysis:

Our analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Obama's speech attempts to link the discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideology of this text.

> 1) Today, after two years of negotiations, the United States, together with our international partners, has achieved something that decades of animosity has not -- a comprehensive, long-term deal with Iran that will prevent it from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

Starting with this opening and with the temporal deixis "Today", Obama gives his discourse an air of fresh start. Moreover, it is clear that Obama points out directly to those who contributed to the achievement of the deal. He includes all US partners. So Obama language is straightforward and meaningful, he is so pragmatic in describing the deal as comprehensive and achievable. (**Pragmatic**)

> 2) This deal demonstrates that American diplomacy can bring about real and meaningful change -- change that makes our country, and the world, safer and more secure. This deal is also in line with a tradition of American leadership. It's now more than 50 years since President Kennedy stood before the American people and said, "Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate." He was speaking then about the need for discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union, which led to efforts to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons.

In this paragraph Obama talks about the American diplomacy as something special and unique to the United States, and he considers it as the leading diplomacy in the world in terms its power and professionalism and experience in bringing the Iranians and the Soviet Union to negotiate their nuclear programs. (***Power, Professionalism, Experience***)

> 3) Because of this deal, we will, for the first time, be in a position to verify all of these commitments. *That means this deal is not built on trust; it is built on verification*. Inspectors will have 24/7 access to Iran's key nuclear facilities.

Obama here expresses his logic and prudence towards the Iranians. He stresses that the deal is not built on trust; but it is 'built on hard, cold logic and our ability to verify that Iran is not pursuing a nuclear weapon**.** He is so logic in coping with this issue. (***Logic***)

> 4) Because of this deal, inspectors will also be able to access any suspicious location. Put simply, the organization responsible for the inspections, the IAEA, will have access where necessary, when necessary. That arrangement is permanent. And the IAEA has also reached an agreement with Iran to get access that it needs to complete its investigation into the possible military dimensions of Iran's past nuclear research.

Obama adhere the responsibility of verification of Iran's nuclear centers to IAEA, and this is according an agenda and a plan agreed upon between Iran and IAEA. *The arrangement is permanent* means that the verification must be accomplished till they make sure that Iran's capability of fabricating nuclear weapon is suspended forever; but it is likely that it will take a long time, and that's what the Americans need, they need to keep watch on Iran.

> 5) As Iran takes steps to implement this deal, it will receive relief from the sanctions that we put in place because of Iran's nuclear program -- both America's own sanctions and sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council. This relief will be phased in. Iran must complete key nuclear steps before it begins to receive new sanctions relief. And over the course of the next decade, Iran must abide by the deal before additional sanctions are lifted, including five years for restrictions related to arms, and eight years for restrictions related to ballistic missiles.

Obama put a strict plan for the Iranians to implement this deal, and they will receive, in return, a gradual lifting of the sanctions. So he is urging Iran to abide by the deal.

6) As the American people and Congress review the deal, it will be important to consider the alternative. Consider what happens in a world without this deal. Without this deal, there is no scenario where the world joins us in sanctioning Iran until it completely dismantles its nuclear program. Nothing we know about the Iranian government suggests that it would simply capitulate under that kind of pressure. And the world would not support an effort to permanently sanction Iran into submission. We put sanctions in place to get a diplomatic resolution, and that is what we have done. Without this deal, there would be no agreed-upon limitations for the Iranian nuclear program. Iran could produce, operate and test more and more centrifuges. Iran could fuel a reactor capable of producing plutonium for a bomb. And we would not have any of the inspections that allow us to detect a covert nuclear weapons program. In other words, no deal means no lasting constraints on Iran's nuclear program.

Obama here stresses the importance of the deal to limit the Iranian nuclear program. We can learn from this paragraph that US strategy towards the Middle East has started to change its way (We put sanctions in place to get a diplomatic resolution). There is a shift from the military options to the diplomatic resolution to avoid the high costs and unintended consequences. This demonstrates Obama's policy when he came first to the white house. So ideologically speaking, Obama is a man who inclines to peaceful resolution rather than military interventions. ()

7) I've been President and Commander-in-Chief for over six years now. Time and again, I have faced decisions about whether or not to use military force. It's the gravest decision that any President has to make. Many times, in multiple countries, I have decided to use force. And I will never hesitate to do so when it is in our national security interest. I strongly believe that our national security interest now depends upon preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon -- which means that without a diplomatic resolution, either I or a future U.S. President would face a decision about whether or not to allow Iran to obtain a nuclear weapon or whether to use our military to stop it.

In this paragraph, Obama threatens by using military force if Iran does not stop fabricating nuclear weapons. So he strongly expresses this tough attitude and ideology whether *Iran with "us" or against.* At the same time, he looks so attentive and pensive in encountering issues as far Iran's deal is concerned. So ideologically speaking, it is Obama belief and commitment that this issue should be resolved peacefully and through negotiations. (expressing the ideology of ***Diplomacy***)

8) Now, that doesn't mean that this deal will resolve all of our differences with Iran. We share the concerns expressed by many of our friends in the

Middle East, including Israel and the Gulf States, about Iran's support for terrorism and its use of proxies to destabilize the region. But that is precisely why we are taking this step -- because an Iran armed with a nuclear weapon would be far more destabilizing and far more dangerous to our friends and to the world.

Obama put more pressure on Iran to surrender completely to the terms of the deal, and he accused Iran as a country supporting terrorism and destabilizing the Middle East region. All this is for the benefit of Israel, the first ally of US, and if one (Iran) messes with Israel, the United States is there to defend it. According to Obama, Shia are one of the races that are a real threat to Israel, especially those who carry the ideology which opposing every regime in the region.

9) I am confident that this deal will meet the national security interest of the United States and our allies. So I will veto any legislation that prevents the successful implementation of this deal.

At this point, Obama expresses his confidence that the deal will receive a big echo from his allies and the national security. At the same time, the right for veto is available and allowable for him against any opposition (he means the Republicans opposition). So Obama implicitly expresses that there is no getting back of this deal and must be passed and implemented immediately. (***Confidence, Assertion***)

10) Time and again, I have made clear to the Iranian people that we will always be open to engagement on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect. Our differences are real and the difficult history between our nations cannot be ignored. But it is possible to *change*. The path of violence and rigid ideology, a foreign policy based on threats to attack your neighbors or eradicate Israel -- that's a dead end. A different path, one of tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflict, leads to more integration into the global economy, more engagement with the international community, and the ability of the Iranian people to prosper and thrive.

Obama recalls the Iranians that this is a real chance to integrate into the global economy, and to end their threats to attack neighbor and eradicate Israel. It is a strong message to stay obedient to the rule of the world power (USA). In the meantime, he points out to the ideology of Iran of violence and being rigid, and it must come to end. So he advocates an era of change, of new engagement and commitment to the international community. (***Change***)

11) History shows that America must lead not just with our might, but with our principles. It shows we are stronger not when we are alone, but when we bring the world together. Today's announcement marks one more chapter in this pursuit of a safer and more helpful and more hopeful world.

Obama recalls the world that the United States of America is the leading country and it is a country of principles. It is their *duty* to bring peace and justice and make the world safer. (***Duty***)

l.2. Zarif's Speech

l.2.1. Outline of Zarif´s speech

1-Salutation

2-Zarif expresses honor and delight to have reached the nuclear agreement.

3- Zarif considers that the deal is a result of collective efforts and political will

4-The Iranian foreign minister thanks all parts who contributed in the success of the deal.

5-He describes the deal as an important step towards changing its strategy for peaceful sakes, and therefore, Iran becomes no longer a dangerous nation.

6-Zarif announces The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action that includes the deal text

7-Zarif stresses that the agreement opens new possibilities and horizons to end the 10 years crisis between Iran and US.

8-Zarif invites all concerned parts to step up efforts to implement this historic deal.

9-Finally he closes the speech thanking his audience.

l.2.2. Ideological Analysis

> 1) It is a great honour for us to announce that we have reached an agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue.

A fresh opening of his speech, the Iranian foreign minister expresses his great relief by using the statement 'reached an agreement'. That means that both sides are in agreement of the deal. Through the material process (Halliday, 1994), the participants of the agreement are represented as social actors who emphasized the action to reach the deal.

> 2) With courage, political will, mutual respect and leadership, we delivered on what the world was hoping for: a shared commitment to peace and to join hands in order to make our world safer. This is an historic day also because we are creating the conditions for building trust

and opening a new chapter in our relationship. This achievement is the result of a collective effort.

A fresh and general introduction to the definition or description of the deal. Zarif uses some key strong words like courage, respect, historic. That means that his political practice is professional and he is a good negotiator and political figure. (***Responsibility***)

3) This achievement is the result of a collective effort.

Zarif attributed the achievement of the deal to all participants of the deal, including the US ones. He shows a kind of diplomacy in front the international media and those who are very concerned with the deal.

4) No one ever thought it would be easy. Historic decisions never are. But despite all twists and turns of the talks, and the number of extensions, hope and determination enabled us to overcome all the difficult moments. We have always been aware we had a responsibility to our generation and the future ones.

Zarif expresses the long difficult road they passed through to achieve this historic deal. He would like to say that this deal is good for the generations to come, at the same time, it is a responsibility of the current politicians in Iran to save the country. (***Determination***)

5) Thanks to the constructive engagement of all parties, and the dedication and ability of our teams, we have successfully concluded negotiations and resolved a dispute that lasted more than 10 years. Many people brought these difficult negotiations forward during the last decade and we would like to thank all of them - as we would like to thank the International Atomic Energy Agency for its critical contribution and close cooperation as well as the Austrian government for the support and hospitality.

Zarif thanks all parties who contributed to successfully resolve the dispute, including IAEA. He expresses great relief and confession that the negotiations were tough and hard. (***Confession***)

6) The E3/EU+3 and the Islamic Republic of Iran welcome this historic Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), which will ensure that Iran's nuclear programme will be exclusively peaceful, and mark a fundamental shift in their approach to this issue. They anticipate that full implementation of this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action will positively contribute to regional and international peace and security. Iran reaffirms that under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons.

This confirms that Iran will not shrink back from its pledge to stop pursuing a nuclear program, but it will be for peaceful goals.

7) The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action includes Iran's own long-term plan with agreed limitations on Iran's nuclear program, and will produce the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear programme, including steps on access in areas of trade, technology, finance, and energy.

The lifting of sanctions on Iran is what Zarif persists on, it is very important to achieve this goal. It has crippled the country's economy in particular. So iran will be soon open to the international trade market, and will be able to sell its oil in Europe and US. (**Persistence**)

8) We know that this agreement will be subject to intense scrutiny. But what we are announcing today is not only a deal but a good deal. And a good deal for all sides – and the wider international community.

Zarif confesses that this deal is 'good deal', however, he states that i twill be subject to intense scrutiny. He expresses his reserve to some points on the agreement. (**Reserve**)

9) This agreement opens new possibilities and a way forward to end a crisis that has lasted for more than 10 years. We are committed to make sure this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is fully implemented, counting also on the contribution of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Zarif expresses the commitment of his country to the deal signed and considers the agreement, and hope to end the conflict and crisis that lasted for more than 10 years. (**Commitment, Hope**)

10) We call on the world community to support the implementation of this historic effort. This is the conclusion of our negotiations, but this is not the end of our common work. We will keep doing this important task together.

Zarif calls for more corporation and common work. This indicates that both leaders and countries are fully convinced of this deal. (***Collaboration***)

## II. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics Analysis

II.1. Statistics of used words and connotations in both Speeches

In order to arrive at a more quantitative based result of this analysis, statistics of used words, sentences and paragraphs are undertaken, and they yield to the following results.
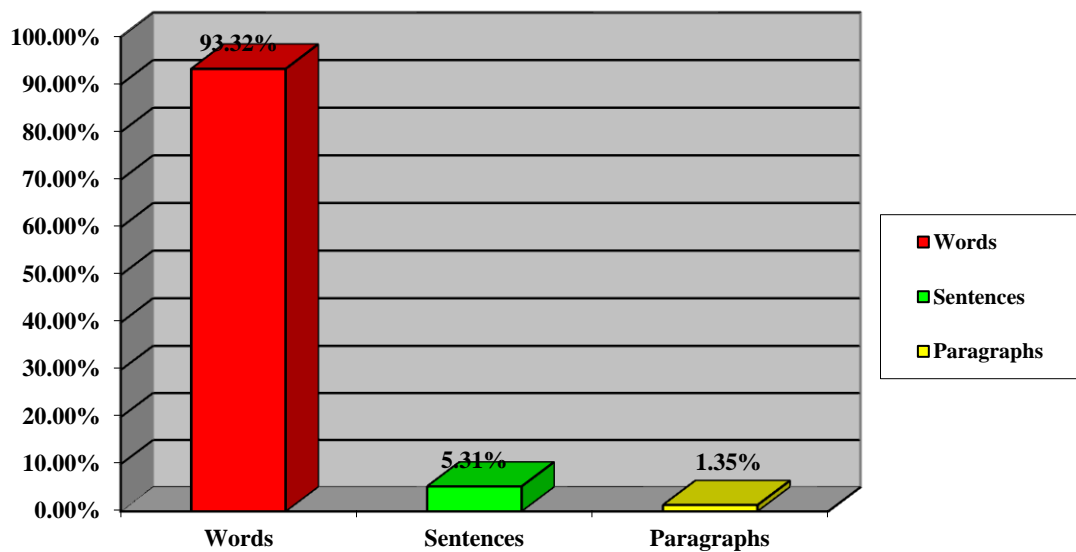
Table 1: Statistics of both Speeches

Statistical terms	Statistics	
	Obama's speech	Zarif's speech
Words	1995	825
Sentences	171	47
Paragraphs	31	12
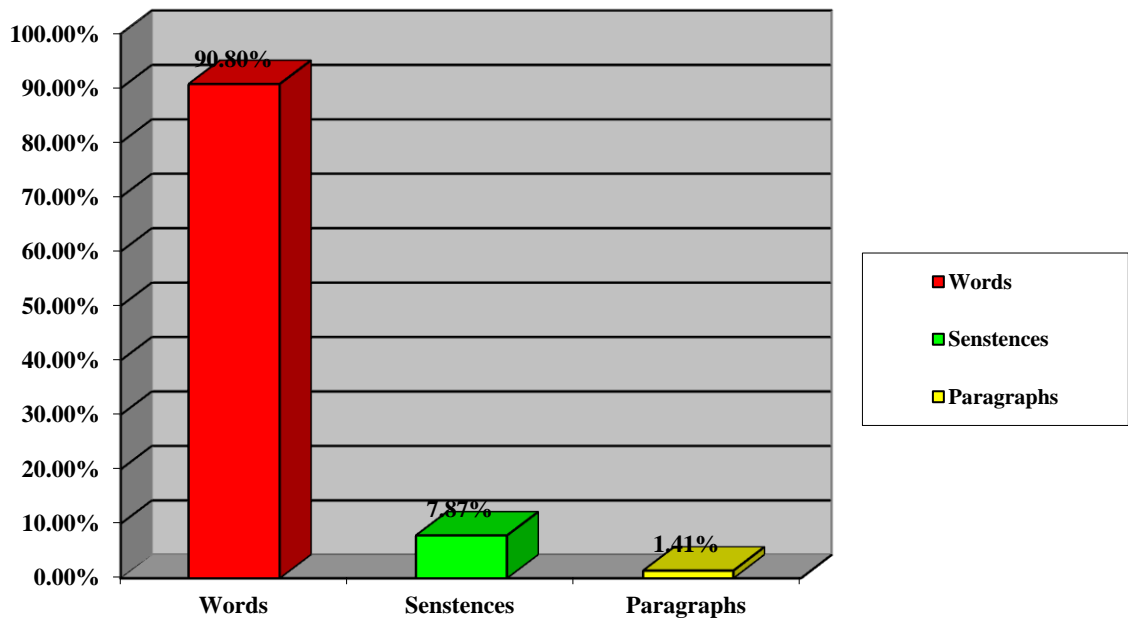
Figure 1 Statistics of Obama's speech

Figure 2 Statistics of Zarif's Speech

From table 1, Obama's speech includes roughly 1995 words. It constitutes 171 sentences and 31 paragraphs. What is remarkable here, Obama often uses simple language and sometimes colloquial, we rarely find difficult and obscure words or

meanings in his speeches, especially those which being addressed to general public or specifically to his audience. This is to shorten the distance between him and his audience. However, Zarif's speech includes 825 words that constitute 47 sentences and 12 paragraphs. Zarif speaks simple and sometimes formal language. His language is precise, brief and appropriate to the context. He can transmit his message to his audience easily and smoothly. That means also he is very good at speaking English, well-experienced figure in politics and he is a skilled man in delivering such speeches like this one. He uses fewer but concentrated words.

ll.2. Transitivity Analysis

Transitivity system is a system for explaining the whole clause. This clause consists of three components: process, participants and circumstances. Halliday divides process into six types: Material, Mental, Rational, Behavioural, Verbal and Existential process.

Table 2: Overview of Process Type

Process type	Core meaning	Participants
Material	Doing, happening	Actor, Goal
Mental	Sensing	Sensor, Phenomenon
Relational	being	
Verbal	Saying	Sayer, Receiver, Verbiage
Behavioural	Behaving	behaver
Existential	existing	Existent

Table 3: Transitivity in both speeches

Process Types	Obama's speech frequency	Zarif's speech frequency
Material	57	38
Relational	23	20
Mental	11	10
Verbal	10	9
Existential	6	4
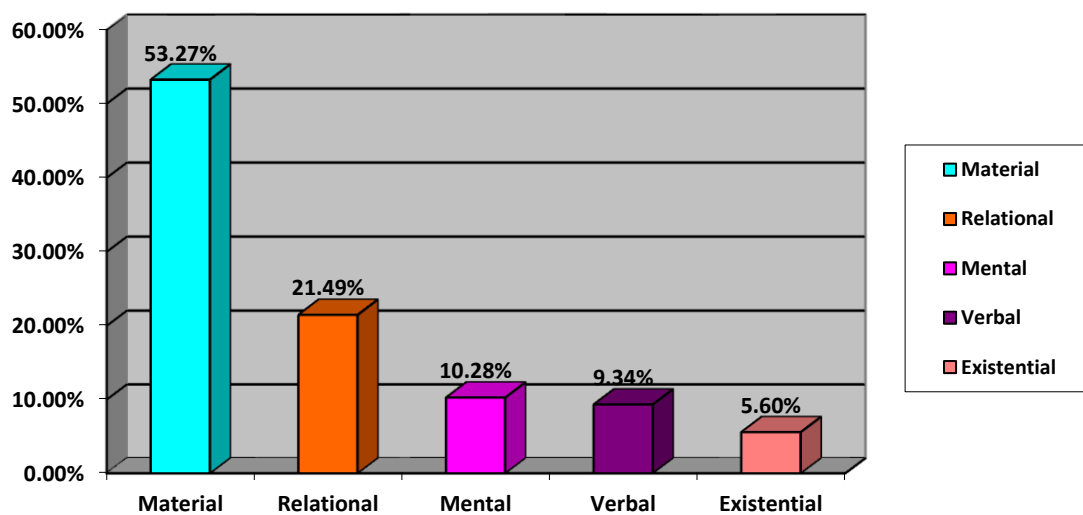
Figure 3: Transitivity in Obama's Speech
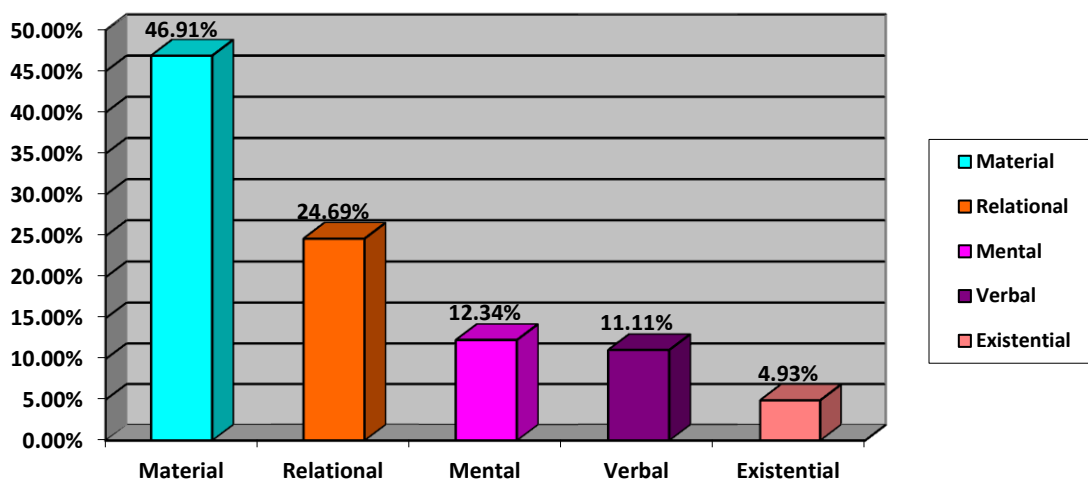
Figure 4: Transitivity in Zarif's speech

According to table 2, the material process has the highest frequency in both speeches. Then it comes the relational process in the second place with 23 to Obama and 20 to Zarif. The mental process is third as a low frequency and the verbal and existential processes as the lowest frequency.

II.2.1. Material Process:

Material process is a process of 'doing and happening'. It includes events and activities that occur around us. There are two participants in this process: the Actor and the Goal. The actor is the one who does the action. The goal is the one who is affected by the action. We take examples from both speeches.

Table 4: Transitivity analysis of Obama's speech (Material System)

Actor	Process	Goal
The United States, we, Iran, IAEA, American people, Congress, I	Achieved, have stopped, will remove, reached, review, will veto	Something, 98 percent of its stockpile, an agreement, any legislation

Table 5: Transitivity analysis of Zarif's speech (Material System)

Actor	Process	Goal
We, many people, hope, the agreement	Delivered on, enabled, brought, opens	What the world was hoping for, us, these difficult negotiations, new possibilities

If we look at both tables 3 and 4, we can notice that the material process is done by both leaders Obama and Zarif, or generally by both governments of their nations, the United States and Iran. According to both tables, most of the actors are I, We, United States, Iran, American people, Congress. This indicates that Obama and Zarif and their governments are action leaders, who are backing up and endorsing the deal. They are extremely determined to protect this historic deal achieved after long and hard negotiations. Material process, as a process of doing, is a good choice in the address to demonstrate what the governments of both nations have achieved, what they are doing and what they will do in future. And it can also arouse the American and Iranian people confidence toward the presidents and their governments and to get their support in policies or measures taken towards the deal. For example:

Obama's speech

The United States (Actor) has achieved (Material Process) something that decades of animosity has not (Goal)

We (Actor) have stopped (Material Process) the spread of nuclear weapons (goal)

Iran (Actor) will not produce (Material Process) the highly enriched uranium (Goal)

We (Actor) will continue (Material process) the work we began at Camp David (Goal) to elevate our partnership with the Gulf States to strengthen their capabilities to counter threats from Iran or terrorist groups like ISIL.

I (Actor) have made (Material process) clear to the Iranian people that we (Actor) will always be open (Material process) to engagement on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect (Goal).

The IAEA (Actor) has always reached (Material Process) an agreement (Goal)

As the American people and congress (Actor) review (Material Process) the deal (Goal)

Zarif's speech

We (Actor) delivered on (Material Process) what the world was hoping for (Goal)

Many people (Actor) brought (Material Process) these difficult negotiations (Goal)

This agreement (Actor) opens (Material Process) new possibilities (Goal)

II.2.2. Relational Process

Relational process is a process of 'being' that through identification, attribution, and possession shows the link among entities (Saragih, 2010, p.8). This process is identified by two modes: identifying relational process and attributive relational process. Identifying relational process means that one entity is being used to identify another. The verbs that are used in this process are (am, is, are, was, were…). Attributive process means that an entity has some characteristics that ascribed to it (Halliday, 1994, p.120). The verbs that are used in this process are: look, cost, play, sound, gets, seem…

Table 6: Transitivity analysis of Obama's and Zarif's speeches (Relational Process)

Attributive relational process	Identifying relational process
It (the deal) is also complex (Zarif's speech)	This achievement is the result of collective effort (Zarif's speech)
That arrangement is permanent (Obama's speech) I am confident	This deal is also in line with a tradition of American leadership (Obama's speech)

If we look at this table 5, the modes which are established in this process are attributive and identifying. If the process is attributive the participants are "carrier" and "attribute" and clauses with attributive processes are "non-passivisable". For example, 'I' is carrier and 'confident' is attribute. The carrier here is obvious and represented through 'am'. However, if the process is identifying the participants are "token" and "value", and clauses undergo "passivisation". For example 'this achievement' is token and 'the result of a collective effort' is value. These processes of identifying and attributive both are considered as processes of being which can establish and explain the relationship between entities. This relational process can show us how this deal is important, though it took a long time to be achieved, and also show us the relationship between both leaders and their beliefs and determination to go ahead with this deal settle any risk which may devastate the world and the Middle East in particular.

II.2.3. Mental Process

This process includes perception, cognition, affection and desire such as know, think, feel, see, like, hate, please and etc. let us take examples from both speeches:

Obama's speech

I (Sensor) will remind (Mental Process) congress

I (sensor) believe (Mental Process)

I (Sensor) want (Mental Process) to thank the members of the congress

We (Sensor) know (Mental Process) about the Iranian government

Zarif's speech

No one (Sensor) ever thought (Mental Process) it would be easy

We (Sensor) would like (Mental Process) to thank the International Atomic Energy Agency

Iran (Sensor) reaffirms (Mental Process) that under no circumstances…

We (Sensor) know (Mental Process) that this agreement will be subject to intense scrutiny

We could notice in both speeches a good deal of use of mental verbs such as : think, like, remind, reaffirm, know. These mental processes are expressed by human being or a conscious entity (Obama and Zarif). Human can express their inner feeling to arouse the sense of others. So both leaders use these sense verbs to arouse the feeling of their audience and people and get their support for the deal, in other words, they want to connect their political beliefs with people expectations.

II.2.4. *Verbal Process*

The verbal process typically contains three participants: the Sayer, the Receiver and the Verbiage. The sayer is the one who is responsible for the verbal process. The receiver is the one to whom the verbal process is directed. The verbiage is a nominalized statement of the verbal process.

Obama's speech

He (Sayer) was speaking (verbial process) then about the need for discussions (receiver)

Zarif's speech

We (sayer) announce (verbial process) that we have reached an agreement (receiver)

II.3. Modality

Modality is a way for speakers to express their judgements or attitudes about actions and events. We can distinguish four types of modality:

Truth modality: the speaker must always indicate a commitment to the truth of any proposition he/she utters, or to a prediction of the degree of likelihood of an event

described taking a place or having taken a place. It can be expressed by modals like: must, could, ought to, will, or by adverbs like certainly and unlikely.

Obligation modality: here the speaker stipulates that the participants in a proposition ought to perform the actions. It can be expressed by must, ought to.

Permission modality: the speaker bestows permission to do something on the participants. It can be expressed by: can, may, might.

Desirability modality: the speaker indicates approval or disapproval of the state of affairs communicated by the proposition.
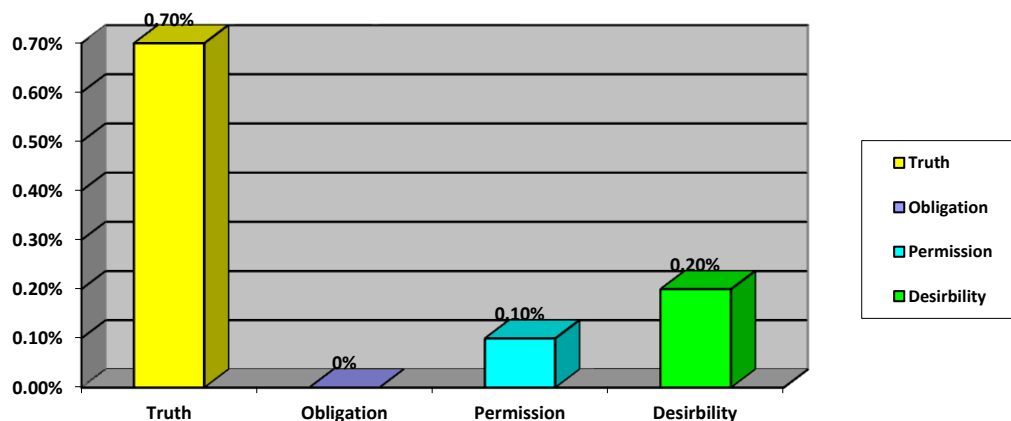
Table 7: Modal Verbs

	Low politeness	**Median politeness**	**High politeness**
Positive	Can, may, could, might, dare	Will, would, should, shall	Must, Ought to, need, has/had to
Negative	Needn´t, doesn´t/didn´t, have to, need to	Won´t, wouldn´t, shouldn´t, isn´t/wasn´t to	Mustn´t, oughtn´t to, can´t couldn´t, mayn´t, mightn´t, hasn´t/hadn´t to

Table 8: Modality in Obama's and Zarif's speeches

Modality types	Obama's speech frequency	Zarif's speech frequency
truth	38	7
obligation	4	0
permission	3	1
desirability	2	2
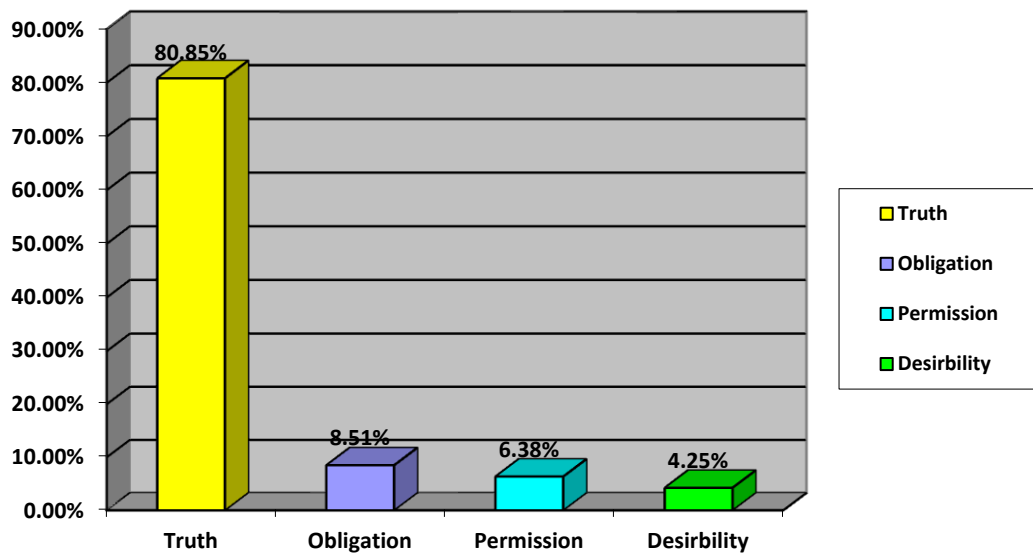
Figure 5: Modality in Obama's speech
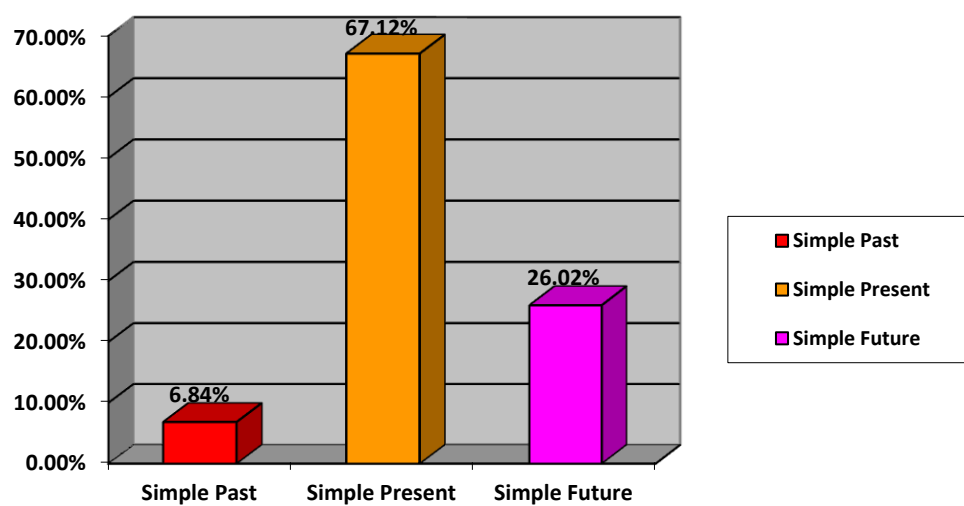
Figure 6: Modality in Zarif's speech

According to table 8, in both speeches the modality truth has the highest number; it is in the first rank. The most frequently adopted modal verb in both speeches is "will". This modal verb is to show both Obama's and Zarif's plans for the future, and at the same time, it expresses the difficulties they will be facing in the future when implementing the clauses of the deal. What is more, both leaders put their plans for the future, that expresses also the difficulties and the oppositions they will encounter by their people and their political parties in their countries.
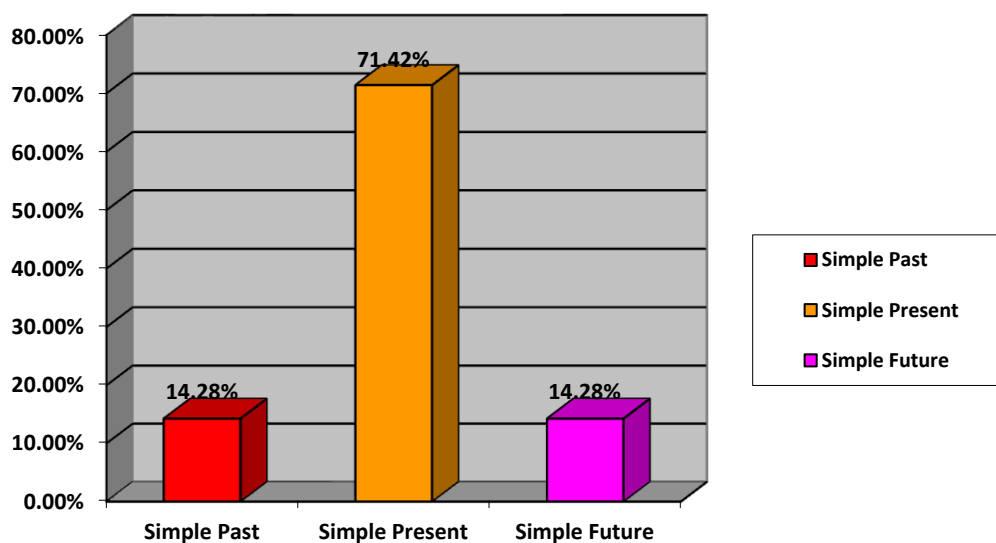
ll.4. Tense

According to Halliday (1994), the term tense refers to past, present and future at the moment of speaking.

Table 9: Tense in both speeches

Speeches	Past	Present	Future
Obama	10	98	38
Zarif	6	30	06

Figure 7: Tenses in Obama's speech

Figure 8: Tenses in Zarif's speech

According to table 9, we can notice that the simple present has the majority in both speeches. The future tense ranks the second. The simple past does not occur a lot especially in Zarif's speech. He does not refer to past actions like Obama does. However, it is natural that the simple present has the most frequency because both leaders are talking about the present situation with the present audience. They talk about issues that are based on facts. They try to focus the attention of their people to the importance of this deal. They use future tense to talk about the difficulties and work awaiting them and the planned strategies to fulfill the clauses of the deal. This helps to arouse confidence in their people's hearts so that they can follow them .Also they use the simple past and past perfect to refer to past activities and what they have done in the past. The use of the future has the second majority, that means that both leaders are ready and full of ambitions to work together to realize this step ahead.

ll.5. Personal Pronouns

Li (2002) states that one of the roles of personal pronoun is that it has an interpersonal functions in discourse and it makes a kind of link between the speaker and the listener in a speech. Also pronouns can be used to explain ideologies and power relations. Here
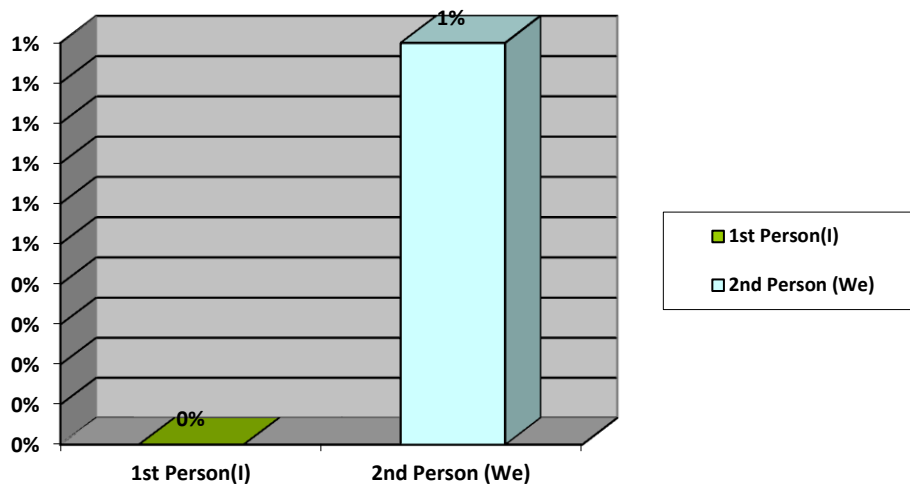
in this study I only confine my statistics to two pronouns I and WE, because they are mostly used in both texts.

Table 10: Personal Pronouns in both speeches

Personal pronouns		Obama's speech	Zarif's speech
First	I	18	00
pronoun	WE	26	15
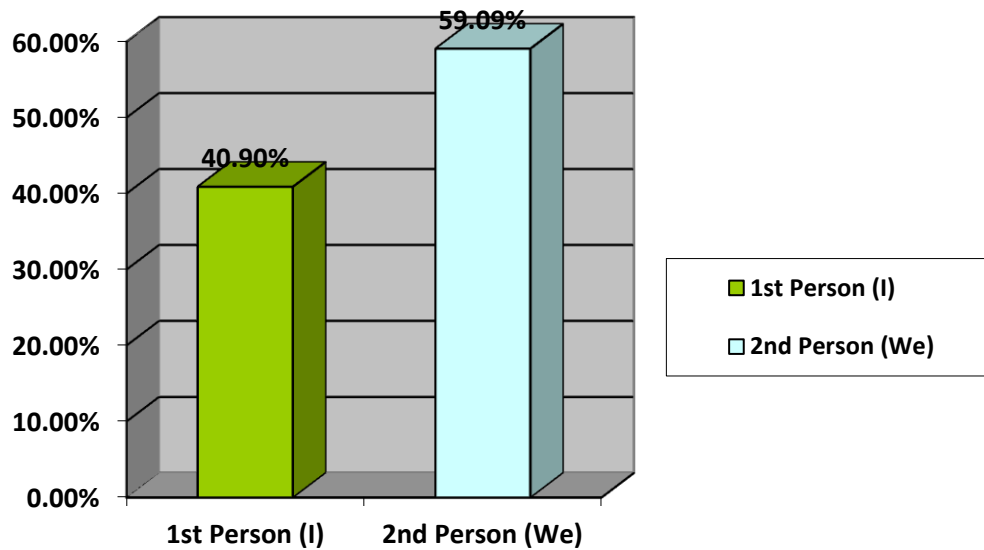
Figure 9: Obama's use of pronouns

Figure 10: Zarif's use of pronouns

The data in table 10 shows that, the first person pronouns (we and I) are used the most in both addressers' speech texts. In Obama's speech 'we' turns up 26 times and in Zarif's speech it turns up about 15 times. The pronoun 'we' suggests two meanings. On one hand, it suggests an idea of 'I and you' that shortens the distance between the president and the audience and creates a feeling of common purpose. On the other hand, it means 'I and others', which refers to a sense of authority by the addresser and his team, who tries to establish the powerful government that the audience expects.

ll.6. Textual Analysis

The textual function refers to the fact that language has mechanisms to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences.

We take both speeches texts as an example and see how both addressers convey their message to their audience in a unified and coherent way.

Obama's speech

1- Salutation

2- Expressing great relief after achieving the deal, and he considers the deal as a result of decades of hard negotiations (Today, after two years of negotiations, the United States, together with our international partners, has achieved something that decades of animosity has not.

3- The President Obama states the results of signing the deal (Because of this deal, Iran will remove two-thirds of its installed centrifuges -- the machines necessary to produce highly enriched uranium for a bomb -- and store them under constant international supervision. Iran will not use its advanced centrifuges to produce enriched uranium for the next decade. Iran will also get rid of 98 percent of its stockpile of enriched uranium.)

4- Obama puts it clear that if Iran violates the deal, the sanctions will snap back to previous conditions (And if Iran violates the deal, all of these sanctions will snap back into place. So there's a very clear incentive for Iran to follow through, and there are very real consequences for a violation...)

5- Obama finally thanks all those who have contributed to the success of the deal (I want to thank the American negotiating team. We had a team of experts working for several weeks straight on this, including our Secretary of Energy, Ernie Moniz. And I want to particularly thank John Kerry, our Secretary of State, who began his service to this country more than four decades ago when he put on our uniform and went off to war. He's now making this country safer through his commitment to strong, principled American diplomacy.)

6- Obama stresses that America is always the strongest country in the world. (History shows that America must lead not just with our might, but with our principles. It shows we are stronger not when we are alone, but when we bring the world together. Today's announcement marks one more chapter in this pursuit of a safer and more helpful and more hopeful world.)

7- He always resorts to God for help and blessing at the end of his speech.

So the whole text is coherent, organized, accurate and logical. So it can help to persuade the public to accept and support his policies towards the deal.

Meanwhile, Obama always ends his speech with strong religious content as at the end of this speech:

Thank you. *God* bless you. And *God* bless the United States of America.

Zarif's speech

Salutation

1- Zarif expresses honor and delight to have reached the nuclear agreement.

2- Zarif considers that the deal is a result of collective efforts and political will

4-The Iranian foreign minister thanks all parts who contributed in the success of the deal.

5- He describes the deal as an important step towards changing its strategy for peaceful sakes, and therefore, Iran becomes no longer a dangerous nation.

6- Zarif announces The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action that includes the deal text

7- Zarif stresses that the agreement opens new possibilities and horizons to end the 10 years crisis between Iran and US.

8- Zarif invites all concerned parts to step up efforts to implement this historic deal.

9- Finally he closes the speech thanking his audience.

General Conclusion

Obama's and Zarif's speeches are analyzed according to Halliday's systematic functional linguistic, and Fairclough's approach to CDA. Some features of two addressers are revealed as followed. First, Obama has applied a colloquial, less formal language, consisting of simple words and short sentences that are understandable to different people. But Zarif has used a bit difficult words and his language is rather formal. Second, regarding transitivity analysis, which is based on different processes, both addressers' speeches have included the material processes as a process of 'doing' and "happening" more than other processes. This is especially prevalent in Obama's speech. It can be realized that one of the notable functions of this process regards to president's activities and his government, including what presidents have done and will do in future. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) proposed that the material process should be dominant in transitivity analysis of any text. Unlike material clauses symbolizing the doings of the participants in this study, relational clauses furnish descriptive information about the appearance of the phenomena and the qualities of the pertinent participants. In addition to relational processes, other types of processes, in terms of frequency, are conveyed by mental, verbal, behavioral and existential. In contrast to relational processes concentrating on categorization and explication, mental processes are involved in the depiction of the participants thoughts, affection and cognition. They reflect the orator's perceptional changes and represent ideologies resided in his consciousness. Verbal processes also indicate the symbolic activities of saying and permit the political orators to voice their concern, objection, sympathy and so on. Third, from modality metafunction, it can be understood that both leaders use of modal verbs shows their firm plan to fulfil the tasks and make their language easy as much as possible as well as shortening the distance between them and the audience. Another role of modal verbs, especially the frequent use of 'will' and 'can' in presidents' speeches, it can persuade the audience to have faith in the government's ability about the implementing of the deal in the future.

One of the prominent factors that signalize an addresser's speech is the use of personal pronouns. Obama and Zarif give significant role to personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'I' to make sense of intimacy with the audience as well as follow a common objective. The tense can be also another factor that signalizes presidents' political speech. Because it refers to present, past and future events as well as activities that

demonstrate government's objectives and at the same time display the world wide situations that extend from political, cultural, and economical field at present.

From the transitivity, modality and textual analysis, we can elucidate the ideology and power relation of both leaders. The ideology is the beliefs and thoughts and conviction that both leaders carry when agreeing to sign the deal. Their ideologies are embedded in the structure of their speech text. So they invest language to show indirectly their ideologies. They both reflect their ideologies variously through the use of pronouns especially like 'I' and 'WE'. These ideologies can be grouped into categories:

1. Divinity ideology: it resides in their belief in God who motivates them to settle the conflict by signing the Iran deal 2015

2. Political ideology: it is embedded in their political will and struggle all over this lengthy period of negotiations to come to common terms to end their nuclear conflict, and their determination to work collaboratively to find a way or another to succeed this deal.

Additionally, I used another concept of Fairclough which is "ideologies reside in text, and meanings are produced through interpretations", and I attempted to decipher the covert ideologies of both leaders in their speeches. I concluded the following:

1- The result of the analysis Obama's speech shows that the key ideological components of Obama regarding this deal can be summarized in the following concept: professionalism, duty, experience, pragmatism, power, logic, diplomacy, with us or against us, confidence, assertion and change.

2- The result of the analysis of Zarif's speech shows that the key ideological components of Zarif regarding this deal can be summarized in the following concept: determination, responsibility, confession, persistence, reserve, hope, commitment, conviction.

According to Fairclough approach to CDA, the discursive event is interrelated with the discursive structure of the text. So the discursive event has been shaped by both speech of our analysis, and the discursive structure and the discourse of both leaders became subject of interpretation.

Most of the statements in both texts are declarative; most of them form the material process. This implies that both leaders could express their legitimate power to present their policies and future plans.

So this nuclear agreement signed in 2015 between P5 and Iran is an important step to end the conflict between the two nations over Iran nuclear program. Both leaders, Obama and Rouhani, have endorsed publicly that the deal will change the world and open doors to Iran to reintegrate economically and boost its commercial trade. However, it rests a crucial issue of how and when to start really implementing this deal on the ground, and it seems it is a deal of full skeptics. Barak Obama and his supporters of the deal are wary, and they still consider Iran to be the gravest threat to world peace. Therefore, the United States, which is an intimate ally and supporter to Israel and Saudi Arabia, does not have total trust in Iran. So, if Iran does not adhere fully to the deal, the sanction will snap back. The Republicans, the opposition party to the democrats in US, are almost opposed to the agreement, and they promise now, in the race for the white house presidency if they are elected, will immediately bomb Iran. So the deal, though considered a historic and very important deal by both leaders, is still swaying between success and failure. We will see in the future how things will shape out. Actually, we cannot confirm yet the result till the next president of the United States of America is elected by the end of 2016.

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