

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF  
*RESALAT* AND *ETEMAD-E MELLI* EDITORIALS

SEYEDALI JAVADI

THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR  
OF PHILOSOPHY

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA  
KUALA LUMPUR

2017

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

**ORIGINAL LITERARY WORK DECLARATION**

Name of Candidate: **SEYEDALI JAVADI** (I.C / Passport No: **U25223105**)

Registration / Matric No: **AHA090043**

Name of Degree: **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Title of Project Paper / Research Report / Dissertation / Thesis (“this Work”):

**“PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF *RESALAT*  
AND *ETEMAD-E MELLI* EDITORIALS”**

Field of Study: **NEWSPAPER MEDIA**

I do solemnly and sincerely declare that:

- (1) I am the sole author / writer of this Work;
- (2) This Work is original;
- (3) Any use of any work in which copyright exists was done by way of fair dealing and for permitted purposes and any excerpt or extract from, or reference to or reproduction of any copyright work has been disclosed expressly and sufficiently and the title of the Work and its authorship have been acknowledged in this Work;
- (4) I do not have any actual knowledge nor do I ought reasonably to know that the making of this work constitutes an infringement of any copyright work;
- (5) I hereby assign all and every rights in the copyright to this Work to the University of Malaya (“UM”), who henceforth shall be owner of the copyright in this Work and that any reproduction or use in any form or by any means whatsoever is prohibited without the written consent of UM having been first had and obtained;
- (6) I am fully aware that if in the course of making this Work I have infringed any copyright whether intentionally or otherwise, I may be subject to legal action or any other action as may be determined by UM.

Candidate’s Signature

Date:

SEYEDALI JAVADI

Subscribed and solemnly declared before,

Witness’s Signature

Date:

Name:

Designation:

## ABSTRACT

This research contributes to a better understanding of the discursive struggles phenomenon to create a meaning. The current study was carried out under the Social Constructionism, Post Modernism and Critical paradigms with the use of theoretical framework of Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory. Laclau and Mouffe (2014) suggested that the authenticity in a society is with its discursive and political processes which determine our thoughts and acts which eventually shape the society. In fact, the election campaigns are among competitive discourses (semantic challenges) towards organising a society in a specific way (politics) and are essentially not between the subjects, which are only performers in certain situations within the discourses. Since the mass media are one of the most important channels for discursive representations in the society, they are considered as a central emerging area of discursive struggles for consolidation of meanings. On this basis, the topic of this thesis has been developed, namely to make an appropriate decision on assigning power to a discourse (in discursive campaigns) which requires a transparent information and safe communication processes. This is a global need since the main obstacle is the ambiguity and distortion of information. The study has been carried out based on a qualitative research method namely critical discourse analysis. It focuses on the two principal discourses in Iran, namely the Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse (represented by *Resalat* newspaper) and the Iranian Reformism discourse (represented by *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper). The research has covered all editorials in the two above-mentioned newspapers, published from Saturday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 to Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009. Based on the interpretation of the results, it could be concluded that the discourses were struggling with each other over getting hegemony (relative consolidation of meaning). How these discourses were trying to dominate their own ways of understanding from the world and their definitions of local and global events over people's minds and as a result their favourite social

orders will be dominated in the society. In order to achieve this purpose, they must attribute their intended signifieds to the relevant floating signifiers to create meanings and images (discursive mechanism of representation).

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menyumbang kepada penggunaan wacana atau *discursive* ilmu yang memberikan penekanan makna atau erti kepada sesuatu fenomena berdasarkan pengetahuan dan pengalaman. Kajian ini dijalankan mengikut Teori Konstruktivisme Sosial, Post Modernisme dan Paradigma Kritis yang diperkenalkan oleh Laclau dan Mouffe's (2001) dan teori wacana. Menurut kedua-dua sarjana ini, wacana sosial masyarakat dan proses politik memainkan peranan dalam menentukan pemikiran dan pembentukan sebenar sesebuah masyarakat. Pilihan raya merupakan salah satu wacana retorik yang memberikan persaingan semasa pembentukan sesebuah masyarakat melalui perbincangan yang mampu mewujudkan kecenderungan masyarakat agar sehaluan dengan bentuk perbincangan tersebut. Media sebagai landasan perbincangan sesebuah masyarakat merupakan satu daripada medium penting yang menjadi ruang retorik bagi merasionalkan sesuatu maksud. Berdasarkan pentingnya wacana dalam masyarakat, tesis ini dijalankan bagi memperlihatkan kuasa wacana dalam politik yang berupaya menampilkan ketelusan dari segi fakta dan sistem komunikasi yang boleh memberikan kepercayaan kepada masyarakat. Keperluan sebegini bersifat global bagi menangani sebarang gangguan yang menyebabkan kegusaran kepada kebolehpercayaan sesuatu maklumat. Kajian ini dijalankan berasaskan kaedah kualitatif berpandukan analisis wacana kritis. Kajian ini memberikan fokus kepada dua bentuk wacana utama di Iran, iaitu wacana Iranian Islamic Principlism (diwakili oleh surat khabar *Resalat*) dan wacana Iranian Reformism (diwakili oleh surat khabar *Etemad-e Meili*). Kajian ini merangkumi semua rencana editorial yang terdapat dalam kedua-dua jenis surat khabar di atas yang diterbitkan mulai 4 April 2009 hingga 12 Jun 2009. Hasil dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa wacana-wacana tersebut sering berjuang antara satu sama lain bagi mendapatkan gabungan maksud hegemoni. Selain itu, wacana-wacana ini juga didapati sering mendominasi fahaman pembaca mengikut kecenderungan wacana

dalam mentafsir perkembangan isu di dalam dan di luar negara. Wacana sebegini mempengaruhi masyarakat menerusi penyebaran bentuk susunan sosial yang condong berideologikan sesuatu fahaman. Simbol-simbol yang terdapat dalam wacana tersebut bertindak sebagai pencetus minda bagi menarik sudut pandangan pembaca untuk menerima sesuatu isu yang diketengahkan.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Azizah Hj. Hamzah and Dr. Md Azalanshah Bin Md Syed, co-supervisor for their support and help throughout writing my thesis. I would like also to express my gratitude to Dr. Seyed Reza Naghibulsadat, Dr. Seyed Mohammad Ali Hosseini Zadeh, Dr. Seyed Ali Asghar Soltani, Dr. Seyed Sadegh Haghghat, Dr. Ahmad Mohammadpoor and Dr. Abdolhosein Kalantari for providing me useful ideas which have contributed significantly to this thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b> .....	iii
<b>Abstrak</b> .....	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	vii
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	viii
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	xv
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	xvii
<b>List of Appendices</b> .....	xviii
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem .....	2
1.3 Research objectives and questions .....	5
1.3.1 Major research objectives and questions .....	6
1.3.2 Minor research objectives and questions .....	6
1.4 The significance of the study .....	7
1.4.1 The theoretical importance of the study .....	7
1.4.2 The social importance of the study .....	9
1.4.3 Historical process of the research subject .....	10
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	12
2.1 Introduction .....	12
2.2 Political development .....	12
2.3 Political culture in Iran .....	14

2.3.1 Sources of political culture in Iran .....	15
2.3.2 The characteristics of the political culture in Iran .....	15
2.3.3 Comparative study of political culture of Iranian before and after Islamic Revolution of Iran .....	16
2.4 Media and political development .....	18
2.5 Media and political discourse.....	21
2.6 Two newspapers under study .....	23
2.6.1 <i>Resalat</i> Newspaper .....	23
2.6.1.1 The views of <i>Resalat</i> newspaper .....	24
2.6.1.2 The combatant clergy association of Tehran.....	30
2.6.2 <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper .....	31
2.6.2.1 National trust party .....	31
2.7 The main political discourses in contemporary Iranian society .....	33
2.7.1 Traditional patrimonialism .....	34
2.7.1.1 Some of the most important elements of this discourse .....	34
2.7.1.2 The patrimonial political practice.....	35
2.7.1.3 The main features of the patrimonial political culture .....	35
2.7.2 The absolute modernism .....	35
2.7.2.1 Some of the most important components of this discourse.....	35
2.7.2.2 The political practice which was formed under this discourse .....	36
2.7.2.3 The main features of Iran’s political culture which was formed under this discourse.....	36
2.7.3 Islamic revolutionary discourse.....	37

2.7.3.1 The formation of metaphorical space of Islamic revolution discourse	38
2.7.3.2 Secularists or Modernists	39
2.7.3.3 Islamic groups and parties (Traditionalist and the Principlist)	40
2.7.3.4 Articulation of tradition and Modernism in the Metaphorical space of Islamic Revolution Discourse	42
2.7.3.5 The charismatic leadership of Imam Khomeini (1979- 1989)	42
2.7.3.6 Exclusion and Antagonism in Islamic revolution discourse	44
2.8 The stages of transformation of the political culture discourse in Iran	47
2.9 A brief description of Sign, Symbol and Meaning	48
2.10 Previous researches, a review of relevant theses and dissertations	50
2.11 Definitions of important words, terms and variables of the research	63
2.11.1 The editorial	63
2.11.2 The leading floating signifier	64
2.11.3 The propaganda technique	65
2.11.4 Definition of the discourse from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe	67
2.11.5 Political image	67
2.11.6 Theoretical description of media representations	67
2.11.7 Theoretical description of campaign	68
2.11.8 Theoretical description of political culture	68
2.11.9 Definition of the politics from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe	69
2.11.10 Definition of the power from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe	69
2.11.11 Propaganda and the used propaganda techniques	69

2.12 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse theory .....	77
2.12.1 Part one: primary explanations.....	77
2.12.2 Part two: The genealogy of discourse theory .....	81
2.12.2.1 Roots in linguistics .....	81
2.12.2.2 Roots in Sociology and Anthropology .....	84
2.12.2.3 The psychological roots.....	89
2.12.2.4 Roots in Philosophy.....	94
2.12.3 Part three: Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse theory (Essex school of discourse analysis).....	112
2.12.3.1 The concepts and components related to the discourse theory .....	112
2.12.3.2 The Society and Politics in the discursive analysis of Laclau and Mouffe.....	142
2.12.3.3 The left’s new strategy .....	154
2.12.3.4 Comparison and summing-up in the form of conceptual model ....	159
2.12.3.5 The critiques of Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory .....	162
2.13 The theoretical framework of research.....	163
<b>CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>164</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	164
3.2 Research method used in this thesis .....	164
3.2.1 A brief explanation on main approaches in discourse analysis.....	165
3.2.1.1 Looking into the discourse from the Linguistics perspective.....	166
3.2.1.2 Look into the discourse from the Political Philosophy perspective .	188
3.3 Research plan .....	188

3.3.1 Some fundamental specifications of the research .....	188
3.3.1.1 Theoretical paradigm of research.....	188
3.3.2 The process of the research execution.....	190
3.3.3 Why newspaper, <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> and <i>Resalat</i> , editorial section and this period of time? .....	191
3.4 The field (field of research).....	192
3.5 Analysis unit.....	193
3.6 The Informants (or Gatekeepers) size .....	194
3.7 The informant selection method.....	195
3.8 Data gathering procedure .....	198
3.9 Descriptions of the research variables.....	199
3.10 Ensuring rigor and goodness .....	200
3.11 The level of analysing information .....	204
3.12 Data collection tool .....	204
3.13 The used research method in brief .....	205
<b>CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF DATA.....</b>	<b>207</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	207
4.1.1 Explanation of the analysis method.....	208
4.1.2 Why has Laclau and Mouffe’s theory been selected?.....	211
4.2 Presentation of the findings .....	214
4.2.1 First report (extracted data from the editorial of <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper published in 04/04/2009) .....	215

4.2.2 Second report (extracted data from the the editorial of <i>Resalat</i> newspaper published in 09/04/2009) .....	238
4.2.3 Third report (extracted data from the the editorial of <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper published in 06/04/2009) .....	261
4.2.4 Fourth report (extracted data from the the editorial of <i>Resalat</i> newspaper published in 16/04/2009) .....	281
4.2.5 Fifth report (extracted data from the the editorial of <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper published in 15/04/2009) .....	307
4.2.6 Sixth report (extracted data from the the editorial of <i>Resalat</i> newspaper published in 25/04/2009) .....	322
4.3 The conclusions of the six editorials .....	337
4.3.1 The conclusion of the editorial number one .....	337
4.3.2 The conclusion of the editorial number two .....	338
4.3.3 The conclusion of the editorial number three .....	340
4.3.4 The conclusion of the editorial number four .....	342
4.3.5 The conclusion of the editorial number five .....	343
4.3.6 The conclusion of the editorial number six .....	344
<b>CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION</b> .....	346
5.1 Introduction .....	346
5.2 Analysis of findings based on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory .....	346
5.2.1 General principles for the analysis of all six editorials .....	346
5.2.2 Separate analysis of the editorials .....	353
5.2.2.1 The editorial number one ( <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper) .....	355

5.2.2.2 The editorial number two ( <i>Resalat</i> newspaper) .....	365
5.2.2.3 The editorial number three ( <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper).....	372
5.2.2.4 The editorial number four ( <i>Resalat</i> newspaper).....	379
5.2.2.5 The editorial number five ( <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper) .....	386
5.2.2.6 The editorial number six ( <i>Resalat</i> newspaper).....	393
5.3 Summary of findings .....	400
5.4 Implications of study .....	400
5.5 Limitations.....	402
5.6 Recommendations for future research.....	402
5.7 Conclusion.....	403
<b>References</b> .....	<b>407</b>
<b>Appendix</b> .....	<b>419</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 2.1:</b> The front page of <i>Resalat</i> newspaper .....	23
<b>Figure 2. 2:</b> The front page of <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper .....	30
<b>Figure 2.3:</b> The model of antagonistic boundaries based upon Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory .....	117
<b>Figure 2.4:</b> Analytical focus on discourse analysis approaches.....	159
<b>Figure 2.5:</b> The role of discourse in the constitution of the world.....	159
<b>Figure 2.6:</b> The metaphorical atmosphere of Islamic revolution discourse in 1979 and the articulation of the Iranian Reformism Discourse and the Iranian Islamic Principlism Discourse in 1997 (based on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory).....	160
<b>Figure 2.7:</b> The transformation model of semantic system in the Iranian Islamic Principlism Discourse (1978-2005) based on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, (The political faction close to the <i>Resalat</i> newspaper).....	161
<b>Figure 2.8:</b> The transformation model of semantic system in the Iranian reformism discourse (1978-2003), based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, (The political faction close to the <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper) .....	161
<b>Figure3.1:</b> Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis .....	179
<b>Figure 3.2:</b> The three core concepts society, cognition and discourse form a triangle in the van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Approach .....	182

**Figure 4.1:** The conceptual model of findings analysis based on Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory related to editorials number one and two.....209

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 2.1:</b> The classification of political groups in post-revolutionary years (Bashiriyeh,2003).....	39
--	----

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<b>Appendix A:</b> All the six editorials.....	419
<b>Appendix B:</b> Some complementary information about part sixth in chapter two ..	440
<b>Appendix C:</b> The research instrument .....	445

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This research explores the propaganda techniques used in the editorials of two leading Iranian newspapers, the *Resalat* and the *Etemad-e Melli*, from 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 until 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009. It analyses the discursive struggles during the 10th presidential election campaign in Iran. Conducted in the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tradition, this investigation combines insights from Fairclough and van Dijk. Finally, it utilises the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory to interpret the results obtained by the research method (CDA).

The current research is dealing with some subjects such as the mechanisms of political competitions in media and also the discursive struggles in Iranian political scene, with particular attention to the new areas of political sociology.

The thesis begins by research generalities in the first chapter which introduces and defines several key issues such as statement of the problem, the objectives and significance of the study etc. The literature review is discussed in the second chapter, principally engaging in the previous theoretical issues and the theoretical research framework etc. Chapter Three shall then elaborate on the research methodology, scrutinising the research plan, research questions, research population, analysis unit, sampling, descriptions of the research variables etc. Chapter four describes and analyses the research findings, followed by chapter five which gives an overview of the research, its recommendations, limitations and ultimate conclusion.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

If in politics the principle of selective power is accepted, then it will indirectly reflect the acceptance of election mechanism. As a result, the people's decision will become important. Logically, their decision will be formed by their own perceptions from the reality.

On the other hand, these images are created in discourses through attribution of meanings to the objectivities. Then in fact the arrangement of signs shape the societal organisation in a particular way. The relationships among all signs are created by articulations and discursive struggles in order to create meanings and definitions of reality. These meanings are the human's world, and these discursive subjectivities form the basis of their choices. In the other words, the objectivity is a sedimented discourse while the change and reproduction of the meaning are the political act. Therefore objectivity is a sedimented power, where has been forgotten that the world is politically constructed (Laclau, 1990).

Indeed, the votes are given for the discourses in the elections and personal judgments are made about them. The candidates are only discursive subjects. Therefore, the main challenge is among discourses (the competition is for interpreting the world, thereby prescribing guidelines for social actions).

Accordingly, the power and sign are considered as the two fundamental elements in constructing society. The power (style of understanding the world) is within the discourse (a meaningful set of related signifiers) and the discourse is the founder of object.

Since nowadays, the people's role in creating the legitimacy for power is significant, some societal elites-oligarchies-are trying to form the people's choices. As Mills (2004) believed they are trying to engineer the process of election in their own favour. This phenomenon is the cause for increasing importance of the Soft Power<sup>1</sup> vs. Hard Power. Thus, this social phenomenon has been selected as the research problem to be studied in the current study.

The importance of mass media is undoubtedly obvious in the modern society. They represent the events towards their own favourite discourse. The discursive productions of meanings and impressions can be very persuasive. The subjectivity-making is a powerful way to make people live in a particular discourse.

In a brief, it could be said, since the real campaign is happening among competing discourses and the mass media is one of the most important areas responsible for disseminating discursive representations therefore they are considered as the most important emerging area for discursive struggles. Furthermore, the representations and sense-makings of the media are neither impartial nor neutral affairs, but are constructed based upon their conceptual and discursive frameworks (Mehdizadeh, 2008). Also, the transparency of information is the most important prerequisite for the notion of efficiency in the direction of making proper decision and fair judgment in elections.

Exactly here the subject of the current study is being formed, for making a proper decision in order to assign power to a discourse in a process of semantic challenge is

---

<sup>1</sup> Soft Power:

Power is what gets things done; and soft power is the ability to achieve one's goals without force and typically involving the use of these methods persuasion, attraction and inducement, in other words, economic or cultural influence.

necessary the existence of transparent information and safe communication processes. In the other words the main obstacle is the ambiguity and distortion of information.

In this thesis, will be studied part of the manipulating factors of information (sixteen salient propaganda techniques) associated with the discursive struggles over the consolidation of meanings in the society during the process of 10th presidential election campaign in Iran.

In this way, the main aim is providing people the ability to make proper decision in order to gain maximum collective interests and this is one of the most important needs in every society.

In this research, the research method and main theory have been chosen to decrease ambiguities in mass communication. The ultimate purpose of this research is to identify propaganda techniques used for consolidating meanings of the leading floating signifiers in competition between the two rival discourses (Iranian Islamic Principlism and Iranian reformism) for dominance over each other which were used in the editorials of the *Resalat* and *Etemad-e Melli* newspapers from Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 until Friday 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009 in Iran.

As a result, the variables of the current research are firstly, the quantitative independent variable which is the editorial (105 editorials) in two newspapers, the *Resalat* (54 editorials) and the *Etemad-e Melli* (51 editorials) published from Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 until Friday 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009 (the 10th presidential election in Iran was held on Friday 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009).

Secondly, there are two qualitative dependent variables in the research, the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers which the main discursive

challenge takes place over attributing the favourite signifieds of each discourse to them. The other one is the propaganda techniques which probably each of the two discourses have utilised them for attributing their own favourite signifieds to the relevant leading floating signifiers in order to create the meanings and managing of people's perceptions.

Consequently, this study was approached in three stages of the documentary studies, the analysis of communicative events and the interpretation of extracted information based on the main theory of research.

The documentary study is the review of previous studies in order to recognise the characteristics of the two relevant discourses e.g. the field of discursivity (Iran social sphere), the order of political discursivity in Iranian society, especially the key signifiers (the nodal points and leading signifiers).

In the analysis of communicative events with applying the obtained information from the first stage, the focus will be on textual analysis for describing the linguistic and social structures based on Fairclough and van Dijk's analytical instruments.

Furthermore, will be identified the propaganda techniques which were probably used in the editorials in order to compete for defining the leading floating signifiers. Finally, will be interpreted the obtained information based on the main theory, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

### **1.3 Research objectives and questions**

The questions and objectives are as follows:

### **1.3.1 Major research objectives and questions**

RO1. The ultimate purpose of the current research is to identify the propaganda techniques which probably were used for consolidating the meanings of leading floating signifiers in the competition between the two mentioned rival discourses in order to dominate over another in the editorials of the *Resalat* and *Etemad-e Melli* newspapers from 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2009 to 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2009 in Iran.

RQ1. What propaganda techniques are used for consolidating the meanings of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

### **1.3.2 Minor research objectives and questions**

RO2. To identify the political discourse represented by each of the two newspapers (by emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers).

RQ2. What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

RO3. To identify the political culture in the Iranian society.

RQ3. What are the peculiarities of the political culture in the Iranian society?

RO4. To identify features of political images which have been created by these two newspapers.

RQ4. What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

RO5. To identify the campaigns conducted by these two newspapers.

RQ5. What are the peculiarities of conducted campaigns? (Referring to the editorials within the mentioned period)

## **1.4 The significance of the study**

### **1.4.1 The theoretical importance of the study**

In the last chapter of *Society and Politics*, Michael Rush (2002) highlights that the future of political sociology is about “the things that have yet to be done”, which is an important reason to carry out this research. He introduced some aspects of political sociology to researchers and asked them to work more on certain areas including competency, authority and legitimacy, whatever people think about and their beliefs, political communication, public opinion and ideology, relationship between ideology and public opinion and finally their role in political behaviour.

The subject of the current research is related to the above-mentioned aspects. The research also will deal with the following additional fields which are in line with the above suggested areas, public opinion and the influence over it (propaganda), political communication, mass media, discourse, cognition, perception, conception and ideology, authority, public acceptability and legitimacy, hermeneutics, sign and meaning.

With regard to above perhaps it could be said that, the current research potentially has enough theoretical importance for implementation. On the one hand, it seems that, in modern societies, the importance of transparency of information for a proper decision-making and the importance of mass media for transformation of information are clear although, the mass media does the representation and image-making.

Below are several limitations and comments from experts in this matter:

(a) The texts in the Iranian press are influenced by the discourses and ideologies that are dominant in their news agencies (Aghagolzadeh, 2006).

(b) The representations and sense-makings of the media are not neutral and impartial, they are constructed based on their discursive and conceptual frameworks (Mehdizadeh, 2008).

(c) The school of Glasgow (Glasgow University Media Group) has similar stances (Shokrkhah, 2005 ).

The ideological representations are normally a sign for point of views, opinions, perspectives, positions, benefits or other characteristics of groups (van Dijk, 1991b). Since the main function of the editorials is the express and persuasive communication of opinions (van Dijk, 1996), they are basic and suitable part of the texts for studying the assumptions of dominant ideology in a society or group (van Dijk, 1992). The emphasis on the difference between Us and Them is based on the political orientation of the newspapers (van Dijk, 1992).

Henry and Tator (2002) considered the critical discourse analysis as a tool for deconstructing ideologies in mass media, other elite groups and also for the determination and definition of social relations, economics and political power between dominant and subordinate groups. The media researchers utilise the critical discourse studies to discover the hidden ideologies behind the media representations (Hall, 2000); (Henry & Tator, 2002); (van Dijk, 1987); (van Dijk, 1991a); (van Dijk, 1992); (van Dijk, 1993). It seems that access to non-distorted information is worth investigating.

#### **1.4.2 The social importance of the study**

In Iran, the social changes tended to develop very fast and similar quick changes also happened in public opinions. The political groups try to influence more political measures, especially in the running up to elections. Ordinarily Iran holds a nationwide election. These elections are very effective for people to present their skills and capabilities because decision takers and decision makers are selected during the election process.

It seems that when we combine the three factors of fast changing society, more elections and the importance of decision takers and decision makers in forming the destiny of society, it will come to the light the social importance of recognising public opinion and the methods of affecting and influencing on them. This important matter basically influences the direction of society and political scenario.

In the last three decades, the Iranian society has encountered major changes, for example the rapid population growth specially having a high percentage of young population with their own special expectations, problems and desires. There has been a flock of migrants from rural areas to the big cities and their settlement over there in order to seek jobs and better opportunities. Also, the educational status has increased with more people having access to higher education.

Over the years, the family structures have changed to more distinct individualistic characteristics. There have been some rapid changes in communications with wider political usage of press, radio, television and internet. Among these changes the speedy transformation of socioeconomic class structures is obvious particularly the formation of new social classes and expansion of extensive movements among some sections of social classes.

Finally, the fast rate of industrialisation will increase the number of industrial workers (Alavi, 2007). These above changes warrant the necessity for researchers to design large and extensive studies encompassing all areas of social sciences, such as political sociology.

### **1.4.3 Historical process of the research subject**

Propaganda means “diffusion of ideology” and “influencing the audience”. It has long existed in the history of human societies. This includes ancient legendary and mythical heroes who create warlike morale boosting eagerness among youths, tribal and clan preceptors, preaches from the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers in public passages and even the Achaemenid and Sasanian petroglyphs.

According to some researchers, the propaganda expression means advertisement and “propagation of beliefs”. In relation to this, the first organised institution for political advertisement was established in the year 1622 AD by a committee from the Cardinals of Roman Catholic Church, namely faith propagation community (Congregatio de Propaganda Fide) under supervision of Pope Gregory IV<sup>th</sup> to supervise the missionary activities for foreign propagation (Asadi, 1992).

Those days, the propaganda expression chiefly implied holy and respectful meanings among many Catholics, but the ensuing misuse of this word in the course of time has decreased its holiness and credibility and incited hatred among people.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the propaganda expression entered into the political, social and commercial domains. As the concept of democracy was developed, especially with the right to vote, the propaganda expression eventually entered the election campaigns.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the invention and development of the new mass media significantly altered the methods and means of propagation of propaganda. Its efficiency and usefulness grew to record marked inroads in the economic, social and political fields.

During the First World War (WWI) and the Second World War (WWII), political and economic campaigns were developed between the capitalist, fascist and communist systems to expedite the dissemination of ideological propaganda. Imperialistic politics outside those frontiers increased the capacity, development and quality of political and ideological propagation. For example, Josef Goebbels, a member of the Germany's Nazi party in 1933, was introduced as the minister of political propagation by Adolf Hitler. The supervision of radio, publications, cinemas and theaters were entrusted to him. Goebbels used all communication and educational means to disseminate the promotional manifestos of the Nazi party (Pratkanis & Aronson, 2000).

During the cold war, the establishment and protection from blockades between the East and West opened the strongest propaganda front in human history between the capitalist and communistic systems.

Nowadays, with the amazing rapid development of mass media and the methods of transferring information, the spreading of propaganda has become more sophisticated complicated and multidimensional with a firm reliance on technology. Modern propaganda mechanisms through the press, radio, television, cinema, video, satellite technologies, computer, facsimile etc compete to shape and influence the image-making, legitimacy-making and political persuasion of people. Such shifts normally follow the ominous direction of communicative dominance.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will explore the relevant historical precedents and theoretical foundations that are applicable to this research. We will review some historical issues such as the main political discourses in Iran from 1794 until now, the discursive frameworks of Iranian political culture as well as the history of the two involved newspapers. Furthermore, we will also analyse several previous researches related to the current thesis. For the theoretical framework of this study, we will focus on theoretical concepts and its characteristics and dimensions. Finally, we will describe the basic theory of the research in details.

The arrangement of contentes in the chapter are listed as Political development, Political culture in Iran, Media and political development, Media and political discourse, the History of the newspaper, Press discouses in Iran, the Main political discourses in Iran, the Deconstruction in discursive framework of Iranian political culture, Description of sign, symbole and meaning, Previouses researches, the Main definitions and concepts, Laclau and Mauffe's discourse theory and the Theoretical framework of research.

### **2.2 Political development**

Generally, focusing on the concept of development is regarded as one of the features of the beginning Cold War, colonials gaining independence and the birth of some new governments in Asia and Africa. Mainly, for the first time American writers and researchers by proposing the theory of Modernization as an excuse managed to find their own way into the newly independent countries. The first discussion in the field of political development was influenced by Cold War and American writers, specifically the followers of Modernization theory. As some researchers have been critique of

Modernization theory, the same way political development concept has faced some challenges too. Some specialists believe the purpose for these discussions are to westernize the other societies.

Different specialists in defining and understanding of political development have proposed various indicators such as: separation and division, urbanisation, middle class expansion, identity distinction, social groups expansion, expanding non-governmental political institution, institutionalization and complexity of political structure, rationalising bureaucratic system, expansion and effectiveness of government ideological organisation such as education department, media and legal institutions, decentralisation, creation of a homogeneous political culture and expansion of a common political symbol (as a language for communication), expanding the culture of political tolerance, removing myths and taboos from politics and government, generalization of politics and socialization of it, non-personalization of politics, equalising political power with other powers in the eyes of the public and losing its desirability, spreading the feeling of having the state and trusting political leaders in the political society as a source of legitimacy for government and ultimately socialization and growth of participatory culture (Tajik, 2000).

However, there are common agreements about only some factors of political development among experts. These are legitimacy, competition and political participant (Forghani, 2003). Since the above three factors make sense in relation with societies and cultures and different economic, political and social structures then it would be difficult to claim that one society is developed whereas the other is not.

In the recent years some studies have been carried out by Hossein Bashirieh (2001) regarding the structure of political power and the conditions and obstacles of political

development in Iran. He believes that there are three main obstacles for political development in Iran. These are; centralised control over political power sources, anti-competitive political culture and disunity in Iran political society.

### **2.3 Political culture in Iran**

Understanding political culture of a society has major complexities as it is mainly formed by product of the history process and influenced by various promoters ranging from geographic location to characteristics of political system of the society.

This concept was proposed after World War II and in relation to the field of political development. Gabriel Almond was first to employ the term of “Political Culture” in political sociology (Chilcote, 1998). Later on, Almond along with Sidney Verba defined political culture as People’s attitudes and their political stances towards their own political system (Chilcote, 1998).

Every political system functions within its social context and for that reason it requires a specific political culture in order to maintain the power and the continuity of its own sovereignty and by forming its context guaranties its existence. In other words, the coherence between political culture and political system will create political stability.

Political culture is one of the most important and effective characteristics on the process of the development of a society. Countries with a complex political culture usually are facing difficulties in the process of development. A tangle of the different layers of political culture is one of the concerns and exciting political factors in less developed country. With regard to the role of political culture in government structure in different countries, it is noting that the appearance of the domestic unrests, political clashes and

social uprising are all mostly related to the structure and quality of the political culture of those countries.

### **2.3.1 Sources of political culture in Iran**

Contemporary Iranian Political culture is a specific combination and it is constructed by three cultural layers of pre- Islamic Iranian culture, Islamic culture and modern westernised culture. This specific combination has generated some clashes and resistance among the layers over some periods of time through history (Qawam, 1996).

Overall, the following components could be considered as influential in creation, protection and promotion of political culture in Iran.

These are namely; Geographical location (Shabani, 1995), Economic system and demographic situation (Sariolghalam, 1998), Types of political system (Ahmadvand, 1995a), The religion of the Shia (Seddiqi, 2007) and Family (Al Ghafour, 1996).

### **2.3.2 The characteristics of the political culture in Iran**

Some of the main components of the political culture in Iran are as follows:

Negative individualism and lack of political interest and engagement (Ahmadvand, 1995b), Lack of political trust (Razzaghi, 1996b), The popularity of metonymy and metaphor (Howzeh, 2009), Spirit of Anti-cruelty and love of Justice (Shabani, 1995), and Tribal foundation of the Iranian political culture (Fuller, 2011).

### **2.3.3 Comparative study of political culture of Iranian before and after Islamic Revolution of Iran**

Almond in his book, *The Civic Culture* mentioned three pure types of political culture such as (Alem, 1995):

#### **(a) Parochial Political culture**

It is the lowest level of political culture and happens in the societies where there is no understanding of the government. In such type of societies, people do not consider themselves as a member of the society and fundamentally they have no role to play in decision-makings. There is not any political participatory in such societies.

#### **(b) Subject political culture**

In this type of political culture, People are aware of the political system and the various role of government. Here, people are informed about the results and decisions made by government however they do not have any effective role in the policy-making process.

#### **(c) Participant political culture**

In this type of political culture, people have a good knowledge of political system and in fact this culture is specifically related to the developed societies. People participate relatively in different fields and they show sensitivity towards political elites' behaviors. In such a political culture, people consider themselves belonging to the political system and believe that they can be effective in the improvement of political decisions.

Since none of these three political cultures exists in a pure way anywhere then Almond and Paul refer to a combination made from these three. The above mentioned combined

political cultures consist of Subject-Participant, Parochial-Participant and Parochial-Subject.

Based on Ahmad Ehsani's research (2007) in political culture of Iranians, there have been changes since the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Using the above, he managed to study Iranian peoples' trends towards political system in three aspects; System, Process and Policy making. The results are as follows:

(a) System Propensities

The legitimacy of the government is known as the most important issue for the system because people's positive or negative evaluation of the political system leads to their obedience or disloyalty towards the government. After the revolution in Iran unlike the past, people have willing to support and obey the political system.

(b) Process Propensities

Participant is known as the main axis of this level and political trust is considered as the principal in creating participant. Regarding the above factor, before Islamic Revolution in Iran due to dictatorships and distrust of political system, people showed less motivation to participate and in fact the political culture of Parochial-Subject was dominated. After the revolution, with rising awareness and self-belief among people and establishment of the new political system, the sense of trust was created between people and the system. As a result people's political participation increased and it resulted in political Participatory-Subject culture.

### (c) Policy Propensities

At this level, the important subjects for people have been stated, bearing in mind dictatorship and foreign aggression as the two elements of the insecurity throughout history of Iran, then access security is considered as the important factor however the other subjects have not been ignored. The changes through history of Iran from Constitutional period to the Islamic Revolution show that the people of Iran have made such an effort in protecting their religious values, obtaining justice and freedom.

### **2.4 Media and political development**

Any significant communication changes in a society would inevitably lead into an explosive political revolution (Toffler, 1987).

If we accept that political development is a process in which the basic authoritarian system are replaced with electoral systems based on public vote (Aghili & Jafari, 2012) then there will be a difficult period of time which countries should undergo in order to achieve their aim. Here the important role of media comes to the light.

Often in the process of political changes in order to reach the development goals, there could be a series of chaotic events and crisis which are the necessary part of changes. Since the groups feel threatened to lose their identity, values... and the government feels incapable of fulfilling public expectation. Consequently it feels threatened both internally and externally. These are the complications and crisis which threaten the progress in the path of development.

Lucian Pye, the theoretician of political development believes that in the process one of the distinctive role and function of media is to reduce the psychological complication of the development (Aghili & Jafari, 2012). Media is capable of accelerating the journey

by educating, informing, involving the elites, encouraging people to participate logical and free debates, confidence building, convincing and making an efficient bridge between people and government.

Political Stability is one of the phenomena affected severly by this process that of course has a close relation with national security. Political Stability is principally based on a balanced people's wishes on one hand and the functions of the dominant political system on the other hand. In every society, the dominant national system will reach stability if it provides convincing and appropriate response to the various public demands as well as being in line with people's beliefs and finally ideologically being accepted and approved by the society. Therefore, if the government efficiency declines or public opinion defies the dominant government strategy then they will create the ground for dissatisfaction.

The increasing dissatisfaction may lead to the deterioration of the legitimacy of the system and ultimately leads to the objection and manifestation in stability (Eftekhari, 1999).

Perhaps people's supervision could be the most appropriate tool to prevent social corruption and insecurity. Whilst in the recent widespread societies, it is impractical to delegate directly all aspects of power to people nevertheless the power of supervising the authorities should be granted to them, utilising up to date and appropriate tools. Here media will act as public voice. The effects of media right of supervision over political stability can be stated in the following four forms:

(a) Creating changes in citizen's wishes

This is the first effective factor in the amount of political stability in every country. Media by using different techniques with creating changes and prioritising the demands could stabilise or accelerate people's demand (Anthony Smith, 1990).

(b) Creating changes in the function of political system

Media could highlight the deficiencies and executive's weakness as well as critically appraising politics so that the government plans would fit the needs in the society. Media by using its informative duty can change people's perceptions towards government performance (Eftekhari, 2001a).

(c) Changes in Ideological coherence

Media is also capable of having a significant influence on the political stability in each society by its approach to citizens and authorities beliefs. Any approach that may ultimately leads to people's distrust towards the values and their reflection could take the efforts of government away from its real values and may lead even to destabilising of the most capable government. In contrast, strengthening the ideological coherence and planning in line with beliefs can compensate some of the deficiencies and restore the stability in the society (Vogel, 1992).

(d) Optimisation of the political stability

Media along with the other political players could serve the society with an attempt in discovering of the most effective patterns of political stability.

It seems the Iranian government through its development has gone forward by utilising a dynamic political stability based on Islamic-Iranian model. The dynamic political stability model is based on the following principles of people's demand, government adherence of people's requests and the acceptance of the direct link between national cohesion and public wishes. Based on Samuel Huntington's proposed model for a political system, following increasing citizens' demands, the governments will also evolve from previous state of stability to a new stage of stability at a higher level whilst maintaining public legitimacy. It provides conditions for the continuity of the previous system (Eftekhari, 2001b).

In dynamic political stability model, media supervision is offered as the unifying and reinforcing factor for political stability and they can make a connection from three dimensions with this model. Firstly, moving away from instability towards stability. Secondly, to play a part in creating an appropriate dynamic political stability model. Thirdly, being effective in the continuity of the ideal achieved model.

It should be pointed out that the intention of the Islamic-Iranian model of progress is a strategic recipe for presenting the components of dominant worldview of Islamic - Iranian civilization. A model based upon the Iranian wisdom to achieve the Islamic goals (Amraei, 2009). This model is considered as a map for development of Iran.

## **2.5 Media and political discourse**

In order to explain the relation between media and political discourse, the emphasis should be put on the main categories such as media, discourse, power and representation. It should be pointed out that often media are creators of the symbolic environments which have significant impact on the formation of the audiences' mental image of their surroundings.

The significance of media is in creating common paths of selecting and observing of the events which present the identical and consensual narratives of reality and as a result acculturate their own audiences. The world that is painted by media is a well organised cultural collection of general concepts and categories.

In the process of categorisation, phenomena and mental stereotypes in the society are discussed rather than our experiences and direct understanding of phenomena and based on this concept, it could be said that categorisation is a discursal base for creating some wrong understanding (Mehdizadeh, 2008).

Media represents discourses and Foucault considers every type of discourse as a social structure derived from power (Paya, 1996). Knowledge is always a shape of power. The effectiveness of power is far more important than the truth. The knowledge that is related to power not only relates the authority of the truth to itself but also it has the power to represent itself as the truth. Bearing in mind power is not always repressive but could be also productive (Soltani, 2008) and creates the reality, some realms of objects and rituals of truth.

Power is a continuous process. Power is specifically important in the field of representation. It is the power that provides the image of the truth to different issues and affairs and not the truth about the reality. According to Foucault, media is a device for imposing the power (Mehdizadeh, 2010).

It could be stated that media do not reflect the reality but discursively represent it and in this way they offer to their audiences simulations of the reality (Mehdizadeh, 2008). This as mentioned is the relation among politics, discourse, representation and media.

In the end It must be pointed out that significant part of the discussion in the thesis is related to this subject namely the study of the relationship between discourse, politics and media in Iran.

## 2.6 Two newspapers under study



Figure 2.1: The front page of *Resalat* newspaper

### 2.6.1 *Resalat* Newspaper

(Official Website: [www.resalat-news.com](http://www.resalat-news.com))

The *Resalat* Newspaper was first published in 1987. Its founder or patentee was Ahmad Azeri-Ghomi, he was also known as the corresponding manager of *Resalat* newspaper and Seyed Morteza Nabavi is the editor-in-chief of the newspaper. Its headquarter is based in Tehran, and it is a daily newspaper in Persian. It covers political, social, cultural economic and sports. The *Resalat* newspaper is known as a pro-combatant Clergy Association of Tehran (in Persian, Jame'eh-ye Ruhaniyyat-e Mobarez-e Tehran - JRM).

### **2.6.1.1 The views of *Resalat* newspaper**

#### **(a) The Goal and Policy of *Resalat* newspaper**

The board of trustees of *Resalat* newspaper declare their stances and goals as follows (Golabi, 2011):

#### **The Goal of the Publishing *Resalat* newspaper**

It is an attempt to spread the words of God, based on sacred religion of Islam and Ahlul-Bayt school of thought in order to establish God's commands, governance of Islamic jurisprudence and the guardianship of the Islamic jurist.

#### **The Policy of *Resalat* newspaper**

*Resalat* newspaper declares its policy based on the following factors:

- (a) Providing conditions for full sovereignty of Sharia (Islamic law) and a total implementation of Imam Khomeini's viewpoints, the founder of Islamic Revolution in all government affairs.
- (b) Its attempts are to protect and maintain unity among different parts of society particularly the unity among the Muslims both inside and outside the country and combat against any divisive movements in the country and Islamic societies.
- (c) Presenting the significant values of Islamic Revolution of Iran and revealing immoral plots of the global arrogance.

(d) *Resalat* newspaper has tried to discover, nourish and introduce the divine talents of the members of the society within the Islamic framework by spreading experts' words and opinions.

(e) The newspaper has tried to raise people's awareness and vision by reflecting the real news of the domestic and international events as well as analysing them in order to achieve the Islamic goals mentioned in constitutional law in all dimensions such as cultural, scientific, political, economic, social, artistic and military aspects.

(f) Supporting the resistance of oppressed and deprived people around the world for Muslim and non- Muslim against the world Imperialism.

(g) It attempts to establish Islamic justice and fairness in the society and fight for the right of oppressed and deprived people in the society.

(h) The protection and preservation of the heritage and values of Islamic Revolution, particularly its independence, freedom and a total reinforcement of the organizations and institutions related to Islamic Republic of Iran.

(i) It encourages people to participate continuously in revolutionary arena and facilitating their total involvement in the fields of political, social, economic and military activities.

(j) There has been continues efforts to create and develop a right missionary movement in the press and publications based on Prophet Muhammad (SAWS) and infallible Imams'(a.s) method and a total avoidance of any imposed ideas, deception, intimidation, chaos, cronyism, exaggeration, flattering, lie and defamation of different individuals and parties.

(k) The newspaper has always been a pro-justice and a defender of Hezbollah. Also it always tries to stay impartial and avoids being dependent on a particular party, association and organization, sectarianism and prejudiced confrontation with other groups.

### **The discourse of *Resalat* newspaper**

As it was mentioned before, *Resalat* newspaper is known as one of the main press in the Principlist movement. With the help from this newspaper, the Combatant Clergy Association and its allied groups managed to transfer their socio-political stances to their audiences. Mohammad-Reza Mahdavi Kani was a prominent cleric who was for a long time (1981-2014) the secretary-general of this important political organisation. Below, it is stated some of his positions in dealing with the important, common subjects in society in order to get more familiar with the discourse dominants this socio- political movement.

#### **(a) Carelessness and Negligence**

Promoting carelessness and negligence towards religion and religious systems only leads to the reinforcement of atheism. However, the promoters might not have bad intentions (Mahdavi Kani, 1999a).

Perhaps, in the beginning the above-mentioned discursal component may appear ambiguous however to fully understand this it ought to be born in mind that in this discussion the entire discourses are formed in the context of the deep division between the two fundamental discourses of Materialism and Islamism. In addition, usually in practice, existing discourses have eclectic state.

In this discursal component, the discourse of Principlism believes that the unintentional propagation of carelessness and negligence by Reformism discourse is leading to undermining Islam and encouraging atheism in the society (which indeed is happening). Thus, must insist on Islamic principals and protecting its values.

### **(b) Fundamentalism and Violence**

Enemies and hostile groups try to penetrate Islam by bringing up such issues. Muslims must always be aware of this hidden plot and never abandon their faith because their enemies do not want anything except the total disarmament of Jibhe Hagh (Pro-Justice Front). These groups want to disarm Iranians by accusing them of violence, but there is a difference between not being harsh and giving enemies the green light.

In general, there is a considerable difference between not being violent and inviting the enemies into the scenes. For some, avoiding violence is an excuse for providing comfort to the enemies and unintentionally invite them which eventually is leading to the replacement of their friends with the enemies (Mahdavi Kani, 1999a).

### **(c) The Limitations of Criticism**

Although critique of the issues such as politics, economy and executive topics are useful and constructive, challenging the bases and principles are not considered as a critique but are destructive and harmful. People who live in a society with common principles must respect these rules. By preserving those principles, they could discuss and criticise other issues. If there were no common principles, with which basis, and criteria, would they be able to be discussed (Mahdavi Kani, 1999a).

#### **(d) Absolute Guardianship of Islamic Jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih al-Mutlaqah)**

From the beginning, Imam Khomeini had emphasised on the absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist, although he manifested it gradually. The Islamic Revolution of Iran relies on the Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist for its own rising and continuity. We are the advocates of the Absolute Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist and will maintain forever. Our faith is mixed with Imamate and Wilayat and we cannot abandon our resistance in this path. However, as the followers of Wilayat, we must stick to the ethics (Mahdavi Kani, 1999a).

#### **(e) Rationality and lack of Extremism and Passivity**

We are part of a religious and spiritual group who in order to disseminate our beliefs need rationality and avoiding from extremism and passivity. Authority, rationality and the avoidance of extremism and passivity are the other very important criteria for the Combatant Clergy Association in order to select individuals (Mahdavi Kani, 2000).

#### **(f) Thinking based on Truth and Logic**

If a thought is based on logic and truth, even if it is defeated at a stage, it will again appear in the scene (Mahdavi Kani, 2000).

#### **(g) The Clergies and People**

The clergies must avoid any actions which separate them from the people. If the people feel that clergies do not pay attention to their needs or problems, a distance will be formed between them. The clergies must always share the sadness and happiness of the people (Mahdavi Kani, 2000).

#### **(h) De-Imam Khomeinisation**

Nowadays, some individuals attempt to carry out the project of De-Imam Khomeinization by trying to omit the name of the founder of the Islamic Republic from the society. They argue that the era of the revolution has ended (Mahdavi Kani, 2000).

#### **(i) Clerics and Politicians**

The clerics are unlike some politicians who use any possible methods to obtain personal benefits. We should always follow the correct methods which were taught by the great religious figures, although they might lead us to our own defeat (Mahdavi Kani, 2000).

#### **(j) A President for the Whole Nation**

We believe although the president is chosen by the majority of voters, he is considered as a president for the whole nation therefore he must protect their rights in the framework of Islam and Constitution (Mahdavi Kani, 1999b).

#### **(k) Healthy Political Atmosphere**

In a healthy political atmosphere, everyone must tolerate criticisms and listen to advices. Also, we should be able to express our own critical and recommending views (Mahdavi Kani, 1999b).

### 2.6.1.2 The combatant clergy association of Tehran

Below are some of the political stands of the Combatant Clergy Association of Tehran and aligned organisations.

It is important to point out that based on the idea of this faction, Allah choose the Valie Faghih and the religious experts have the role in discovering him. Valie Faghih's authorities are beyond the Law. Valie Faghih is legally considered as the head for all organisations. They believe strongly in the Islamic state. The activities and practices of a party are accepted by them if they are within a specific framework. Finally, according to them, commitment and knowledge are the two essential features for selecting the authorities (Mortaji, 1999).



Figure 2. 2: The front page of Etemad-e Melli newspaper

## **2.6.2 *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper**

(Websites: [www.sahamnews.org](http://www.sahamnews.org), [www.etemademelli.net](http://www.etemademelli.net))

The *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper was the official newspaper of The National Trust Party (in Persian, Hezb-e Etemad-e Melli or NTP). The party started its activity in 2005. The establishment of the party was approved by Interior Ministry on 15<sup>th</sup> of November 2005. The newspaper was published daily in Persian from 20<sup>th</sup> February 2006 until the temporary closure of it on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2009. The headquarter was based in Tehran, Iran. Mehdi Karoobi was the patentee or owner of the newspaper and Mohammad Javad Haghshenas was known as corresponding manager of the newspaper.

Mohammad Ghouchani, Abolfazl Shakouri and Kasra Nouri were the members of editorial board. The *Etemad-e Melli* Newspaper covers political, cultural, economic, social and sports news.

### **2.6.2.1 National trust party**

#### **Political tendency of National Trust Party**

Based on the structure of forming forces in the National Trust Party, this party is a combination of left reformist forces and left traditionalist forces. Although it was formed by the leftists but their political tendencies in comparison with the other leftists are more conservative, principlist and traditionalist. While they focus on democracy and the republicanism of the regime, also they emphasise on the traditional values of the society, Wilayat al-Faqih and its special role in the constitution. Additionally, this party focuses on the autency of some legal institutions such as the guardian council of the constitution despite of criticising it.

In the other words, this party is more conservative and rightist party despite of being called as a leftist party. On the other hand, this party criticises the legal and official institutions of the regim such as Radio and Television, the judicial system and some of the military organisations. Thus, it is generally similar to the legal critical currents of sovereignty or the left within the regime (Shadlo, 2006).

**Purposes and principles of internal policy of National Trust Party based on its doctrine (the article of association)**

(a) Supporting pluralism, legal competition of parties and political organisations in order to cooperate in controlling the internal affairs of the country.

(b) Defending from the lawful freedoms, constitutional and civil rights of all Iranian citizens from each language, ethnicity and religion.

(c) Endeavoring to gain power through cooperation with free election and fair competition in order to establish a powerful and effective government, focusing on removing discrimination, developing the political justice and providing sound political fields for all citizens.

(d) Supporting a free press as an objective aspect in freedom of speech which is an accepted policy of Islamic social principles.

(e) Focusing on the separation of powers and rejecting any type of intervention in the duties of powers.

(f) Focusing on Law-abiding and challenging any measures outside the framework of constitutional law (Shadlo, 2006).

## **Organisations and publications of National Trust Party**

The National Trust Party was formed in November 2005 through adequate financial sources in Tehran. It established its offices in the centers of some provinces and changed into an integrated party. Its central council was formed by 55 individuals (well-known individuals and former government officials) across the country. As a result, this party received more support from different regions across Iran and established the cores of party (factional) organisations. The main office of the party in Tehran was formed by various departments. The official newspaper of the National Trust Party was *Etemad-e Melli* which established on 20<sup>th</sup> February 2006 (Shadlo, 2006).

### **2.7 The main political discourses in contemporary Iranian society**

Generally, the dominant political discourses determine the political life and practice in all societies. Each discourse encourages a particular form of political climate and practices and defines the individual's identity and self-understanding in a specific way. It produces some features of political life and omits certain others. The researcher will introduce some of the most important political discourses in Iran in the last century.

It is necessary to mention that on the one hand, what studies based on the concept of political culture usually revolve around is the individual's imaginations and assumptions with respect to the government and political system. Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory these imaginations and assumptions are all created by discourse, so the discourse that they originate from should be referred to for understanding and also changing them.

On the other hand, the cultural elements have lasting characteristics and are only eroded gradually over time, thus we can often observe some elements of an old discourse in every new discourse.

### **2.7.1 Traditional patrimonialism**

The first major political discourse in Iran was the traditional patrimonialism (Bashiriyeh, 1999). The Iranian traditional patrimonialism discourse was the dominant discourse in pre-modern Iran, before the reform movement in the Qajar<sup>2</sup> era (1794-1925) and the Constitutional Revolution<sup>3</sup>.

#### **2.7.1.1 Some of the most important elements of this discourse**

The influential factors such as the pre-Islamic theory of Persian kingship, the special interpretation from the political Islam, the Qajar despotism and the tribal patriarchy are all considered as important and effective factors of traditional Patrimonialism discourse in Iran.

As a result, the mentioned discourse has emphasised on some components including, the absolute authority, political paternalism, sanctity of the state and rulers, the relationship between the rulers and the state clergies and finally the structure of power which is vertical, non-participatory and non-competitive. It is important to mention that the traditional patrimonial discourse is responsible for producing a patrimonial political culture and practice (Bashiriyeh, 2003).

---

<sup>2</sup> The Qajar is the name of a Turkmen tribe who ruled Iran from 1794 to 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Constitutional Revolution of Iran

The Persian Constitutional Revolution happened between 1905 and 1907 which led to the establishment of a parliament in Iran during the Qajar Dynasty.

### **2.7.1.2 The patrimonial political practice**

The patrimonial government during the Qajar dynasty is the product of the mentioned discourse. This political formation was based on the centrality of king as the owner of the country whereby his kindness and anger form the base of politics.

### **2.7.1.3 The main features of the patrimonial political culture**

Patrimonial political culture has caused suspicions amongst people towards the government. Spreading fear, pessimism, distrust and creating authoritarian personality are seen as the other signs of it. Furthermore, the characteristics such as the feeling of inadequacy, political passivity, silent protest, opportunism, obedience and negative individualism are all known as the result of patrimonial political culture (Zonis, 1971).

### **2.7.2 The absolute modernism**

The second major political discourse in Iran was the absolutist–modernist discourse of the Pahlavis<sup>4</sup> (1925-1979) (Bashiriyeh, 1999).

#### **2.7.2.1 Some of the most important components of this discourse**

The influential features such as the pre-Islamic theory of Persian Kingship, the traditional patrimonial discourse, the western modernist discourse of development and modernization, constitutionalism, legalism and populism are all considered as important and effective factors of traditional patrimonialism discourse during this period. As a result, the mentioned discourse has emphasised on some components including authoritarianism, modernist rationalism, the Persian nationalism, political centralism,

---

<sup>4</sup> The Pahlavi dynasty consisted of two Iranian monarchs, the father and son Reza Pahlavi (reigned 1925-1941) and Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (reigned 1941-1979).

cultural modernism, secularism, industrial development and finally the reforms which were controlled from the central government(Bashiriyeh, 2003).

### **2.7.2.2 The political practice which was formed under this discourse**

The absolute state of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-79) is the product of mentioned discourse.

It should be pointed out that in generally from a discursive perspective, the behaviors of a society or a group are rooted in the relations among signs of the dominant discourse in that society or group. The above-mentioned indicative proposition also narrates the same discursive rule.

### **2.7.2.3 The main features of Iran's political culture which was formed under this discourse**

During Pahlavi era (1925-79), some features of political culture such as egoism, opportunism, pugnacity and irresponsibility were formed and widely spread. Oligarchy, ruling elites was another key feature and played a powerful role. Money worshipping, insincere flattering in order to reach the aim became more common and popular. Over the time also the features such as lack of trust, pessimism, insecurity, hypocrisy and abuse of the relations between people were created. These are all considered as some other political features under this discourse (Zonis, 1971).

### 2.7.3 Islamic revolutionary discourse

The third major political discourse in Iran is the discourse of Islamic Revolution<sup>5</sup>. A quick look at the discourse of Islamic Revolution will clarify this section. This section is important for our research therefore it will be studied extensively. Also, this section attempts to address the emergence of two sub-discourses in the framework of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, which are known as Iranian principlism (*Resalat* is one of the main newspapers in this intellectual movement) and Iranian Reformism (*Etemad-e Melli* is one of the main newspapers in this intellectual movement).

In order to illustrate how they were formed, it is necessary to go back slightly and search their roots in the early days of the revolution. Therefore, initially a general analysis will be carried out over the changes in macro-discourse of Islamic revolution from 1978 to 2013 based on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

In the present section, the central root of idea behind the the conflict amongst Iranian political parties must be found in conflict between Modernism-Secularism and Islamism -Traditionalism. Almost from early Qajar, Islamism and Materialism have always been the two fundamental forces and promoters of social changes in the sociopolitical atmosphere of Iran. In the Pahlavi dynasty, modernism was presented in the form of Socialism-Marxism and Liberalism which in social changes have gone parallel with Islamism.

In fact, according to Bashiriyeh (2003), there is a deep social gap between Modernism and Traditionalism in the Iranian society which has caused division to two parts in the

---

<sup>5</sup> The Islamic Revolution refers to events involving the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty under Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and its replacement with an Islamic republic under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of the revolution which succeeded to seize power on Sunday, 11th February 1979.

society. It seems that the sociopolitical changes in Iran have been highly affected by the conflicts between Traditionalism and Modernism.

Here, the meaning of traditionalism is different from the one in western culture. Its meaning goes back to the Islamic principles. Here, Modernism refers to the views based on, Humanism, Individualism, Liberty, Legalism and Democracy of course based on a materialistic definition of them.

It should be noted that there are different attitudes towards Traditionalism and Modernism. The classification of political groups is merely based upon Traditionalism and Modernism, definitely far from reality. There are political groups that have both modernistic and traditionalistic characteristics however here the attention is being paid to the main characteristics of the more effective political groups.

### **2.7.3.1 The formation of metaphorical space of Islamic revolution discourse**

Pahlavism discourse failed in 1978 following facing legitimacy crisis in the 1950s. At the time the arrangement of the sub-discourses of the social era in Iran could be divided into two main groups: The sub-discourses which were rooted in modernism and those affected by traditionalism.

The classification of the post-revolution political forces and organisations by Bashiriyeh (2003) could be useful here. He divided the forces into four groups based on oppositions between secular - religious and right- left.

**Table 2.1:** The classification of political groups in post-revolutionary years

(Bashiriyeh, 2003)

	<b>Religious</b>	<b>Secular</b>
<b>Right</b>	Fundamentalist groups and parties	Liberal democratic parties
<b>Left</b>	Radical Islamism groups and parties	Socialistic groups and parties

**The post-revolutionary classification of political groups in Iran is as follows:**

### **2.7.3.2 Secularists or Modernists**

#### **(a) Liberal groups and parties**

The most important desire of these groups is sociopolitical freedom by restricting political power and establishing a type of Constitutionality or Republic. They requested democratic parliament and republic government. The most important liberal organisation was the National Front which itself divided into the party of Iran and the party of Iranian nation. After the victory of revolution, the National Front requested for the approval of a new constitution similar to the one in the democratic countries of Western Europe (Kayhan newspaper, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1979).

The second liberal group was the Freedom Movement with religious tendencies. It can be said in Iran, liberalism discourse was formed by articulation the signs of public and freedom around the nodal point “republic”.

### **(b) Socialist and Marxist groups and parties**

The most important Socialist and Marxist groups which were active in the years after the revolution were such as, the Organisation of Iranian People’s Fedai Guerrillas (majority and minority) (Persian: سازمان چریکهای فدایی خلق ایران), the Organisation of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (Persian: سازمان پیکار در راه آزادی طبقه کارگر), the Labour Party of Iran (Persian: حزب کار ایران), the Worker-communist Party of Iran (Persian: حزب کمونیست کارگری ایران)...

Due to their lack of credibility in Islamic environment, these groups did not expand in Iran. Therefore, it seems that they had the least effect on the articulation of signifiers in the Islamic revolution discourse.

### **2.7.3.3 Islamic groups and parties (Traditionalist and the Principlist)**

#### **(a) Islamic Principlist groups and parties**

The Islamic principlist groups and parties were the representative of traditionalistic groups. They were dissatisfied with the change from monarchy to republic. They wanted to mix religion with poletics in order to establish a religious government which can execute Islamic laws through a political system (Jomhuri-e Eslami newspaper dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1979). The most important organisation of this groups was the Islamic Republican Party (Persian: حزب جمهوری اسلامی) established in 1979. Other organisations are the Society of Seminary Teachers of Qom (Persian: جامعه مدرسین حوزه علمیه قم) and the Combatant Clergy Association (Persian: جامعه روحانیت مبارز)

The important signs which are articulated in this traditionalism discourse are Islam, Rowhāniyyat-e or the clerichood, Fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence and Wilayat al-Faqih or Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist. They, all determine the beliefs and deeds of the relevant parties. The Political Islam is the nodal point for other signs. *Resalat* newspaper belongs to this group.

#### **(b) Islamic Leftist parties (between Traditionalism and Modernism)**

The most important parties and organisations of this group are the Movement of Militant Muslims (Persian: جنبش مسلمانان مبارز), the Liberation Movement of People of Iran; Persian: جنبش آزادی بخش مردم ایران), Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution of Iran Organization (Persian: سازمان مجاهدین انقلاب اسلامی ایران)

As it is obvious from their names, they have been formed around the two nodal points of Islam and People. Therefore, these groups come between traditionalism and modernism. Of course, in some of them, modernism is more dominant whereas in some others traditionalism, such as the National Trust Party. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper belongs to this group.

In summary, it can be said that liberal, socialist and Marxist groups are considered to present the modernist and secular discourses while the Islamic principlist groups (with Imam Khomeini leadership) present the traditionalist discourse.

During victory of the revolution, Iran faced a wide range of sub-discourses beginning with Islamic traditionalism and ending with non-Islamic secular modernism. Islamic principlism with having Imam Khomeini as its core is considered as the strongest discourse.

#### **2.7.3.4 Articulation of tradition and Modernism in the Metaphorical space of Islamic Revolution Discourse**

During the pre-revolutionary years, in the ray of a new interpretation of Political Islam, Imam Khomeini could raise an umbrella which under it a collection of concepts which have been derived from Islamic tradition and modernity (that have no relation with each other in those days) formed the Islamic revolution discourse in 1978.

Discourse of Islamic Revolution could create a metaphorical environment, which is articulated by these concepts, in a way that many active political groups in the revolution could find their all ambitions and desires in that space. The Islamic revolution discourse which was shaped in the form of political system of Islamic republic is a result of articulating two important signs, Republic and Islam. Islam, itself was the nodal point of Islamic principlist and traditionalist groups that gathered the signs of Cleric, Jurisprudence and Wilayat al-Faqih together in a discourse.

On the other hand, the signs of People, Law and Freedom in the secularist modernist discourse have been articulated around the nodal point of Republic. Islam, Cleric, Jurisprudence and Wilayat al-Faqih have roots in Traditionalism whereas Republic, People, Law and Freedom have roots in Modernism. Although these two groups of signs had inconsistency but they were articulated in the ray of the metaphorical space of Islamic Revolution Discourse. They all together have been articulated around Imam Khomeini's character.

#### **2.7.3.5 The charismatic leadership of Imam Khomeini (1979- 1989)**

In fact, Imam Khomeini's character was the most important factor in turning the discourse of Islamic Revolution into a hegemonic discourse also its continuity. Imam Khomeini acted as a nodal point and the other signifiers of Islamic revolution discourse

were articulated around his character. This trait covered the conflicts between signs derived from Modernism and Traditionalism.

During his life, Imam Khomeini was the only source for giving meaning to the Islamic Revolution Discourse and the final authority in solving problems. Nonetheless, it does not mean the ignorance of Islam because in such situation, Islam, Revolution and Imam were united and they all manifested in the Imam's behaviour and words. He was the interpreter of ambiguous words and the nodal point of Islamic Revolution Discourse. Imam as a nodal point could articulate elements derived from Islamic tradition with those which were rooted from Modernism. He reconciled inconsistent words and settled temporary inconsistencies between the two discourses of Traditionalism and Modernism.

The two important signifiers of Republic and Islam were considered as the arms for Imam's leading signifier in the Islamic Republic Discourse. Republic and the related concepts such as People, Freedom and Law are known as new concepts which are referring to Secularism-Modernism Discourse. On the other hand, by placing the Imam in the center of clergy movement since 1963, he could present an interpretation of Islam in the form of political Islam based on Islamic jurisprudence and the guardianship of the Islamic jurist.

All those signifiers integrated with the elements from Modernism and all of them were articulated in a new form in the Islamic Revolution Discourse. Therefore, Imam Khomeini redefined two sporadic elements and articulated them as moments in the Islamic Revolution Discourse. The collection of elements which are rooted in modernism discourse has been integrated with those come from Traditionalism. The Imam as the nodal point has caused the integration of such moments. The assumption of

this writing is this principle which tradition and modernity have always been in contradiction with each other in the history of social changes in Iran. In fact, the driver of social changes has been the conflict between these two discourses.

Thus, integration of these moments is merely temporal, affected by early revolution metaphorical space and the charisma and character of the Imam. Most of the changes following the Islamic Revolution Discourse resulted from this fundamental conflict which shall be explained in next section.

### **2.7.3.6 Exclusion and Antagonism in Islamic revolution discourse**

In the Islamic Revolution Discourse, common confrontations can be divided into five periods from 1978 to 2013. The first period shows the confrontation of Islamists against non-religious forces (1978-1983). The Secular and Modernist groups were rejected during this period. The striking characteristic of this time is the antagonism based on the conflict between Islamism and Secularism.

In second period, the main confrontation was among left revolutionary forces and the right ones (1983-1989). The difference between these two Islamic forces was more economic rather than political. This period is distinguished from the next period by the two features, the eight years of Iran-Iraq war and also the presence of Imam Khomeini as the nodal point of Iranian revolution discourse. Traditional right-wing forces believed in private property and lack of control over domestic and foreign business. On the contrary, the traditional left-wing forces were more interested in state economy and Anti-imperialism.

In the third period, the main confrontation has been amongst the traditional right-wing, modernist right-wing (Muslim liberalist) and left wing (1989-1997). The war came to

the end during this period and Imam Khomeini was not present as the nodal point of this discourse. Another characteristic of this period was the start of economic development program. The government of Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989–97) belonged to this period and its main slogan was economic development.

The main confrontation between reformists and conservative wings happens during fourth period (1997-2005). The beginning and end of reformism discourse happened between 1997-2005. The reformist, Mohammad Khatami's eight years government was belong to this period. Khatami's government had a special emphasis on political development.

After this period, in the fifth period, we are witnessing the main confrontation between Principlists and democrats (2005-2013). This period is the beginning and end of principlism discourse. Democrats were divided into two groups of republicans and pro-constitution.

The first group is secular whereas the second one is religious. Republicanism was promoted by Akbar Ganji while constitutionalism was promoting by Saeed Hajarian. Mahmoud Ahmadi Nejad belonged to this period. Ahmadi Nejad focused on justice and changes in economic and management structure.

It is important to point out that, after weakening the non-Islamic groups in the first four years (1979-1983) and the departure of enemies from sociopolitical space, gradual otherness was more prominent among Islamic groups. This otherness is different from the primary one. The conflict between tradition and modernity in the first otherness was based on the conflict between secularism and Islamism. On the other hand, the gap between traditional and modern forces in early years of revolution was manifested in Islamic and non-Islamic forms.

However, the second otherness emerged between the right fundamentalism Islamists and the left radical Islamists. The community of combatant spiritualities is the striking example of the right traditional organizations and association of combatant spiritualists separated from the combatant spirituality community since 1987 is an example of left traditional organizations. These two groups have major differences. Right-wing traditionalists rooted for private property, no intervention of the government in economic affairs as well as the absence of domestic and foreign businesses. However, the left-wing traditionalist advocated Islamic economy, land reforms, installment and justice, economic intervention of the government, welfare of labour, nationalisation of foreign business and prevention of gathering funds.

The differences between the left and right traditionalists were not serious during Imam Khomeini's lifetime. As charismatic senior signifier in Islamic revolution discourse, Imam Khomeini was so influential that practically all problems were solved when referred to him. After his death in 1989, the Islamic revolution discourse lost its hegemony and other signifiers eventually manifested. Consequences from the earlier war worsened the situation. Thereby, a new chapter in history of the Islamic revolution discourse started.

According to Gabriel Almond, each political system operates within a specific pattern for political action, which could be called political culture (Ranjbar, 2009a). Almond and Verba (1963) believed in three types of political culture: Parochial, Subject and Participant. None of them exists purely, thus Almond and Powell coined a combination of these three types of political culture. The mixed types of political cultures are subject-participant, parochial-participant, parochial-subject (Ghavam, 1994).

Essentially for this introduction and based on previous researches in connection with the Iranian political culture after the Islamic revelation, the types of political culture in Iran is considered as the type of subject-participant political culture (Razzaghi, 1996a); (Esfandiari, 2015; Ranjbar, 2009b).

## **2.8 The stages of transformation of the political culture discourse in Iran**

There is a pattern with three different stages in the field of political culture discourse in Iran at least in the last century (from the Persian constitutional revolution, 1907 up to now) (Mossalanejad, 2007).

At the first stage, there has been considered some aspects of the discourse of resistance. This discourse takes action against the existing structure, for instance the resistance discourse which was formed during the Islamic revolution of Iran (the 1979 Revolution).

There has been considered some aspects of the legitimising discourse at the second stage. This discourse which is forming after the deconstruction phase and trying to protect the new created structure. Thus, the legitimising discourse obtains a conservative nature for instance the legitimising discourse which was formed during the early years of Islamic Revolution until the end of Iran -Iraq war (20 August 1988).

Finally, at the third stage, there has been some aspects of the discourse of arrangement in this phase. At this stage the social history of Iran shows that the social groups in Iran are making a new cultural identity. In the other words, they provide essential elements in order to change some aspects of the legitimising identity for instance the discourse of arrangement which has been commenced since 1989 onward.

## **2.9 A brief description of Sign, Symbol and Meaning**

### **(a) Sign:**

Generally, a sign is a thing which is replaced by another concept which is comprehensible or it transfers a particular meaning. In the other words, symbols, signs and how we use them are means to establish a communication between humans and for transferring meanings (Esslin, 1996). Signs, indexes etc. play a role in establishing communication channels between humans. Images, words, indexes and meanings are transferred across one another via communications based on symbols.

In this context (how to communicate with symbols in order to transfer meanings) information is able to be shared and exchanged. In the communication between humans, the messages and concepts are encoded whereby the addressees subsequently decode the encoded messages. In this instance, the media messages which have a set of codes are being decoded in line with the mind of a viewer, listener or reader where they individually considered meanings are transferred to the addressees. Actually, these codes create the rules because the signs are the final result of these rules and the existence of these common signs allows easy communication.

Based on this point of view: “culture and human communication” are full of complex sets of messages and codes. In fact, signs are known as things which are not important but as “US” in instead of things which referred to them are important and significant. They have secondary meanings which in some cases, can appear to be more important than others.

## **Types of Signs and Meanings:**

In general, the signs are divided into three groups such as Natural signs, Iconic signs and Arbitrary signs and Symbols (Esbati, 2010).

In the category of natural signs, there is a connection or relationship between the form of sign and its concept such as smoke and fire, foot print, etc. It simply means that wherever we see smoke there has been more likely fire or if we see a footprint in the snow, it means there should be a person.

In Iconic signs which are the second type of signs there is an objective and mimic similarity between its forms and concept such as the relation between the pictures of a snake which indicates the snake in itself. Due to this obvious similarity, we can find out the meanings from the one to the second one.

Finally, Arbitrary signs, there is no obvious similarity or straightforward relationship between their forms and concepts, instead this merely represents an arbitrary and conventional relationship.

It should be pointed out that the objectivity and interpretability of the symbolic signs are the two distinctive features or aspects which can distinguish symbolic signs from the others. Saussure believed in symbolic extractions of signs and he explained that some signs which have an arbitrary origin are in the group of signs (arbitrary signs). In terms of meanings, Roland Gerard Barthes in his article "The Third meaning" classified meanings in three groups(Sadat Hoseini, 2003).

First part of meaning, this section presents the information as in the message framework where the meanings and information are involved. Second part of meaning which is the

symbolic extraction and refers to its background and upon knowing the limited information of semiotic, it can become comprehensible. The third part of meaning is called “insensible and impassive” meaning. In this case, we are facing with the excess or amplitude of meanings. Such meanings are effective in receiving the implicit implications and how to understand and recognize them. Based on this definition, the scope of understanding and interpreting the widespread meanings may vary. In some cases, the interpretations and perceptions will be changed into a limited personal level.

There are various views toward this belief as Metz insisted that the implicit implications are not arbitrary and their limitations are determined by the semantic implications of a work. The implicit implications must develop the semantic implications and they could not deny or reject it (Metz, 1997). Such belief is based on the principle that the implicit implications of a concept do not exceed from its general framework and its scope is very limited. The general framework of his thoughts is structuralism where all cultural and psychological interpretations were completely denied.

## **2.10 Previous researches, a review of relevant theses and dissertations**

### **(a) Description of Procedure**

Please refer to the Appendix B for complementary explanations about this part.

### **(b) Reports**

As a general explanation, it is necessary to mention having reviewed more than 1000 relevant theses and dissertations, it was observed none of them had used Laclau and Mouffe's theory. Consequently, as my last resort five works were decided as they were closer to the current thesis which has led to the selection.

As it was mentioned previously, two main categories of views could be found in the field of critical discourse analysis. On the one hand, the three main approaches of Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk and on the other, the approaches of Laclau and Foucault. There are significant differences between these two main groups which the aim is briefly to identify the most important of them.

### **1. van Dijk's approach**

From van Dijk's point of view, discourse is the broad label of a communicative event for instance, verbal interaction, a written text, bodylanguage and paging style. Therefore, the intended purpose of the discourse in here is the language in its situational and social context which is completely different from Laclau and Mouffe and also Foucault's approaches. Also, his definition of Ideology was the system of beliefs. This definition is neutral even though Ideology can be positive or negative.

### **2. Faircloughian approach**

Fairclough applied the concept of discourse in three ways. Firstly, discourse from his view means language use as a social action. Secondly, Fairclough uses the term as a language use in a specific field for instance, a political or scientific discourse. Thirdly, discourse is considered by him as a manner of speech which gives meaning to our experiences from a specific point of view such as Reformist and Principlist discourse.

So far, the important point is that throughout all these three approaches, in general, discourse is associated with language use. However, the definition of discourse is more abstract in Foucault and Laclau's work which will be discussed in due course.

The definition of Ideology from Fairclough's point of view is a semantic structure which plays a role in production, reproduction and changes of unequal relations of power.

### **The definition of Ideology from Fairclough's point of view**

Ideology, in his view is a semantic structure which plays a role in production, reproduction and changes of unequal relations of power. As it is noticed here despite van Dijk's view, ideology has a negative meaning. It is worth mentioning here that at this stage for summarising it is decided to turn the attention away from Wodak's approach and focus on Laclau and Mouffe's.

I will try to explain the main differences between Laclau and Mouffe's approach with this part of CDA theory.

### **3. The definition of discourse according to Laclau and Mouffe**

From their point of views, a discourse is a field containing a collection of signs which are ended up into a network. If they are located in a particular discourse they will imply some pacific meanings.

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory aims to represent a discursive perception from all social matters and affairs. This discourse theory is comprehensive and rather abstract that has a general application for explaining the semiotic systems. The work carried out in the present thesis can be considered as a kind of semiotic critical analysis which is based on socio-political philosophy. This definition of discourse is significantly different from van Dijk and Fairclough's approaches toward discourse and it is much closer to Foucault's description of discourse based on his archive period.

It is worth pointing out that in his theory there is no need to describe the ideology and also in this theory the definition of power is very different from that of van Dijk and Fairclough's.

4. The other important point is that Fairclough in his three layers pattern in order to analyzing the discourse has utilised Halliday's semantic functional grammar as a linguistic theory to analysing the text.

A brief definition is given in here due to significant of Halliday's systematic functional linguistic theory in Fairclough's approach. In Halliday's systematic functional grammar it is assumed that the patterns of experience in the form of process are represented via ideational metafunction through the language. On this bases, through analysing the types of available processes in verbs and determining their frequency of occurrence for instance in an editorial, one could get an insight into the editor's point of views and experience. The capabilities of grammar for representing the experience occur through the system of transitivity in language. The system of transitivity is the mechanism of expressing ideational metafunction and experiential in the language.

Having mentioned the above four parts in general, the focus will now be on full analysis of each the following four selected studies.

## **1. First Thesis**

### **(a) Specifications**

- Title: <ISLAMISTS IN THE HEADLINES: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPERS>

This Thesis was carried out at the University of Utah in United States, by Pasha, Talaat on December 2011 in the fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D degree. The main purpose of this thesis is "examining how Islamists are socially, discursively and linguistically presented in the Egyptian state newspaper, al-Abram". The leading question of this thesis is "what would the "Egyptian government do to halt the Brother's political growth and potential threat? The applied research method for analysing this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

### **(b) Analysis**

Although in both theses (Talaat Pasha and the current research) the study utilises Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA) however there are many differences between these two studies as they are based on different theories, e.g. while the present study is based on Laclau and Mouffe, the other study is based on Fairclough's theory.

Foregrounding and backgrounding method have been used in the current study in order to analyse the style of interaction and competitive discourse? Talaat Pasha in his study has used transitivity system, nevertheless it also has foregrounding mechanism in itself which has function in the level of sentence? His work utilizes Huckin and also O'Halloran's ideas. The researcher believes that using these two approaches will add more validity to the results.

However, it seems that utilising these two approaches are somehow in contradiction with his consideration of al-Ahram as a newspaper for intellectuals. For instance, in the present research Resalat, Persian newspaper is considered as a credible socio-political newspaper with a special prose style for intended audiences who are mostly religious, educated and interested in politics. The majority of ordinary people do not read this newspaper. It begs the question that if al-Ahram is one of the most important

intellectual newspapers in Arabs world why then the intellectuals among Arabs are not capable of in depth analysis of the articles.

It should be mentioned that the researcher has used Huckin and O'Halloran's analytical tools for his analyzing whereas the analysis of the text in my work has been based on the tool which are formed by some both Fairclough and van Dijk's categories and also propaganda techniques. In Talaat Pasha's research due to its tendency towards linguistic, the researcher has utilised Michel Halliday's systematic Functional grammar. Whereas the current research in contrast due to its willing to the semiotic has benefited from Saussure and Peirce's ideas. Nevertheless, both researches have highly emphasised on phenomena such as representation, image-making in the field of communication and media.

In the end the following points ought to be pointed out.

Firstly, the purpose of Talaat Pasha's research in line with Fairclough's theory is the analysis of ideological functions in language and its style of representations while the purpose of the current research which is in line with Laclau and Mouffe's theory is to study the process of occurrence, continuity and deterioration of discourses and also the analysis of their interaction.

Secondly, it with the hindsight has also been appropriate, that similar analysis would have been carried out on Muslim Brotherhood's ideological speeches and books. Since this would be more in line with the nature and spirit of the CDA which is encouraging freedom and justice, in society.

## **2. Second Thesis**

### **(a) Specifications**

The second Thesis is under the title “THE BATTLE OF HEARTS AND MINDS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IRAQ WAR DISCOURSE IN POLITICS AND NEWSPAPERS”.

This thesis was carried out at University of Tromsø in Norway, by Andreas Beddari Høyer in autumn 2008, in the fulfilment of the requirements for Master degree. The three objectives of this thesis are as follow, firstly it tries to highlight the ideological and semantic implications of the discourse and rhetoric of both Blair/Labour and newspaper articles connecting to the Iraq war. Secondly a comparison is made between the discourses of Blair, the Labour government with the newspaper discourse.

Finally, an attempt is made to compare the pre-war discourse with both government and newspaper discourses a year after the beginning of war. The applied method of research method in the thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson).

### **(b) Analysis**

In this thesis, based on the researcher’s claim, the two main theories of CDA and Lakoff and Johnson’s Metaphor theory have been used for analysing Blair’s speeches as well as the analysis of the newspapers articles. It is important to note, it seems there is some ambiguities with respect to its theory and methodology of his research which are briefly as follows:

1. As the researcher has partly pointed out CDA is a broad field, containing a large number of approaches which vary in their characteristics and definitions of basic concepts. Now the question is how it is possible to have a research based on CDA in general term and without referring to a specific approach as it has happened in this thesis and has caused some weaknesses.

2. The researcher has used another theory which is Lakoff and Johnson's. It should be pointed out this theory is not related to the discourse theory or even directly to the concept of Ideology despite the claim made by the author. Lakoff and Johnson have offered a theory in the field of cognitive linguistics. In summary, they claim that the human thought processes is essentially metaphoric, in another words the conceptual system of human mind which is the base of the way we think and act is mainly shaped and defined by Metaphor.

From their points of view, metaphor is used to understand and express the abstract concepts in the shape of concrete concepts. The basis of metaphor is the understanding of one idea based on understanding something else. This approach to metaphor concept is an answer to the question of that how we represent or think about the abstract concepts such as justice, time and ideas.

Based on the above it can be concluded that:

Firstly, this definition of metaphor is an expansion of its initial and traditional meaning. Secondly, it expresses one of the fundamental mechanisms dominating human mind and language. Thirdly, revealing one of the fundamental down side of human language which can be abused, in this instance, convincing public opinion or promoting some specific ideas. Therefore, this theory is not in line with discourse theory and can only be

used as a tool in discourse theory. I have also in my research instrument benefited from the metaphor category but with a limited range.

3. The other point in question is the use of Ideological discourse or non-ideological one. This distinction is practically problematic. If we consider the ideology in service of power then perhaps as consequence all discourses are linked in to power. On the other hand, it is difficult to evaluate which system of belief is ideology or otherwise. The researcher has not explained which definition of Ideology is the basis of the research whether is van Dijk, Fairclough or Foucault's Ideology which of course they all are different.

### **3. Third Thesis**

#### **(a) Specifications**

The third thesis is under the title of “THE CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION OF MEANING SCOTISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY OF THE 200 SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS”.

This thesis was carried out at university of Glasgow in Scotland, U.K. by Soule Daniel P.J in August 2006 in the fulfilment of PhD degree. The main objective of this thesis is the study of the potential effects of the new constitutional arrangements and electoral system on the campaign discourse of Scottish political parties. The applied research method in the thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Paul Chilton's theory.

## **(b) Analysis**

Since the main part of theoretical framework in this thesis is based on Paul Chilton's language theory, at this point its analysing seems to be more useful for the better understanding of the thesis.

### **Paul Chilton's Language Theory**

The stage of discourse basically should be noted as one of the stages in developing the linguistics which upon this basis a specific position for an utterer is obtained by a linguist. Within the new framework in language, the individual's characteristics involvement in creating productions of language find their way in the field of language study as significant elements and determiner.

At this stage, we encounter a branch of linguistics known as Pragmatics which deals with language use as a social action and also try to study the purpose of speaker and writer. The understanding of the intention of a subject is only possible by studying the deictic elements of a text. It is exactly at this stage that a theory appears such as Chilton's language theory. Since theories such as Chilton's theory and also Laclau and Mouffe's theory are inspired by some fellows' views such as Althusser and Gramsci, then there is in general a common conceptual space dominate over all of them. However, there are significant differences between them too.

In brief, Laclau's theory is counted as a macro-level theory whereas Chilton's theory is a micro-level theory which more focuses on utterance as a unit of study and tries to make a link between the text and context and specifically the relevant ideology with a discourse by using a deictic system of language.

In this theory, the emphasis is on modality concept which is a semantic category and it means how an utterer express stance over the state of affairs. As it reflects utterers' ideologies and also it will help to understand their intentions. Modality is usually shown in modals which are grammatical categories. After all, in some general concepts such as the relativity of meaning in many abstract words and to be defined in various ways and in related to different discourses which they are in them. Also, the function of polarisation of Ideologies in the utterers' subjectivity with their reflections could be seen in the texts.

Furthermore, the dominant egocentric viewpoint over an ideological text or some keywords such as "deictic centr" in Chilton's theory which in our mind is a reminder of the the keyword, "nodal point" in Laclau and Mouffe's approach and also "interpretant" in Peirce's semiotic theory. Over all, they build a common conceptual space between Chilton's and Laclau's theories.

#### **4. Fourth Work**

##### **(a) Specifications**

The fourth work is under the title "DISCOURSES IN THE NEWS: THE CASE OF OCCUPY WALL STREET IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE NEW YORK POST".

This thesis was carried out at Stockholm University by Caroline Renstrom in the autumn of 2012 in the fulfilment of Master degree. The main purpose of this study is to make it transparent on a linguistic level that newspapers have ability to creat different discursive realities of the Occupy Wall Street movement through their language use. This paper adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis approach in order to identify and

contrast the representation of the Occupy Wall Street movement in the New York Post and the New York Times. The 16 news articles in this study are analysed by the linguistic tools of global coherence, transitivity and lexical categorisation.

### **(b) Analysis**

As it has been mentioned before in the theories related to discourse there will be a connection between the fundamental concepts such as power, ideology and language. Discourse and discourse analysis as terminological terms are followed in two different directions in social sciences. One of these two from linguistics side which is involved in this article and the other one was rooted in Philosophy of language, phenomenology, hermeneutics and politico-social philosophy. The latter approach has been utilised in my current thesis.

In the field of linguistics the focus is on the study of sociopolitical roles of language and mainly we encounter an approach which is rooted from functional and structural linguistics. On this basis, discourse is as language larger than a sentence or practice. As a result, the discourse is considered as a subcategory of language. In contrast, we are willing to Foucault and Laclau's approach which on this basis the meanings are the result of social conditions and they are manifested in reality through language. The discourse is appeared to determine language practice. On this basis discourses are considered as subjective systems which dominate language and all other social phenomena in order to obtain power. Thus, in this way the discourse is defined as a containing system which is "beyond the language" and determined the use of language.

The researcher in his article has benefited substantially from Michele Halliday's ideas which is known as systemic functional linguistic. It is necessary to point out the tradition of functional linguistics in England is known by names such as Halliday and

Firth. It should be mentioned that the emphasis in functional linguistics is on the language roles rather than language form. The form of language is affected by its roles. Discourse is defined as language practice, and the text in context is known as the unit of analysing in this branch of linguistics, and analyst attempts to describe that how the specific language units and the involved formal relations are used in order to make sense and an acquisition of specific meaning become possible.

It is obvious that these definitions are significantly different from Foucault and Laclau's definitions which are in relation with the philosophical branch of discourse studies. The concept of transitivity which has been utilised for analysing the texts in this research is known as one of prominent concepts in Halliday's systemic functional grammar.

It is important to point out, the definition of discourse in the article is close to Fairclough's definition of discourse which is entirely different from Laclau's discourse definition. On the other hand, in the researcher's paper the important definitions of global coherence and also lexical categorisation are close to van Dijk's ideas about analysing critical discourse which I have also benefited from them in my research.

The definition of ideology in the article is close to Fairclough's approach which is of course considered different from van Dijk's definition of ideology. It is important to point out in the functional linguistics the emphasis is not mainly on the concepts of ideology and power and the arrival of these two concepts in arena of discourse analysis is due to the analysts in critical discourse. It is clear in Laclau and Mouffe's approaches, there is no need at all to define ideology term.

Apart from ideology, the other keyword in this research is the concept of power which its definition is taken from Fairclough and van Dijk's theories. It means power is usually the ability to do something which could be found in the hands of some and on the other

hands the others could be deprived from having it. The unequal relations of power, itself could be counted as the main source for social injustice. As a result, this definition of power is totally different from Laclau and Foucault's defining of power so they have similar approach towards it.

After all differences since the work has been carried out in the article is in a tradition of discourse analysis in general then we could say there has been a common conceptual system between some part of the work in my thesis and this article. For instance, the effort for clarity and transparency in analysis of language in order to make free the oppressed people and also social changes in the direction of obtaining a free and fair society are all in common with the aims of my thesis.

## **2.11 Definitions of important words, terms and variables of the research**

The purpose of defining important words, terms and variables of research is creating a common understanding between researcher and reader. The constructs and variables usually could be defined into two ways conceptual and operational.

### **2.11.1 The editorial**

#### **(a) The features of the Editorial in the current research**

Features of the Editorial as a variable in the research are known Independent as its role, Discrete Quantitative type and Nominal as its scale.

#### **(b) The theoretical definition of the Editorial**

The theoretical definition of Editorial is an essay which is written in a newspaper or publication, radio or television. It is written by experienced journalist, its aim is

reasoning and analysing of an event, problem or opinion expression of a special event (Ghandi, 2004).

It should be pointed out, the editorial is the most important type of essay in mass media and it has a legal responsibility for newspaper or any mass media (Ghandi, 2004). Also, the editorials play a significant role in the important world of media as they are the great samples for the reflection of the media owners and managers' ideology (Henry & Tator, 2002).

### **2.11.2 The leading floating signifier**

#### **(a)The features of the leading floating signifier in the current research**

Features of the Leading Floating Signifiers as a variable in the research are known Dependent as its role, Qualitative type and Nominal as its scale.

#### **(b)The definitions of the leading floating signifier**

##### **The conceptual definition of the variable**

The conceptual definition of the Floating Signifiers indicates that they are the signs which different discourses struggle to give them meaning in their own particular way (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

As it could be observed in the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, part of signs are considered as the floating Signifiers, that the various discourses try to give them meaning. The floating signifier is a signifier that its signified is floating (non-fixed) in the other words, the various signifiers are possible for it and various political groups compete with each other for the attribution of the favorite signified to it. Each

discourse, based on its own structure of semantic system, foregrounds the compatible signified with this semantic system and sends the other signifieds to the background.

### **The operational definition of the variable**

The signifiers such as <people, law, freedom, reforms, justice, civil society, values, political and economic development, the cultural invasion, the guardianship of the Jurist, the clergy...> that the two mentioned discourses are in competition for consolidation of their meaning, are instances of the concept of leading articulated floating signifiers.

### **2.11.3 The propaganda technique**

#### **(a) The features of the propaganda technique in the current research**

Features of the Propaganda Technique as a variable in the research are known Dependent as its role, Qualitative type and Nominal as its scale.

#### **(b) The definitions of the propaganda technique**

### **The conceptual definition of the variable**

Kimball Young's definition from the construct of propaganda states that propaganda is more or less deliberate, systematic and a planned use of signs which is mainly done by the suggestion and appropriate psychological techniques. Its aim is changing and controlling of thoughts, beliefs and values eventually changing the obvious behaviour of people in an arranged way (Holsti, 1993).

Rosta (2008) describes the techniques as methods and skills to present propaganda. Also in his view the convergent thinking with the aim of a correct implementation of

propaganda by the executors who are experts in this field are considered as the features in the field of propaganda techniques. Furthermore, the current field is focusing on the administrative knowledge and the implementation of affairs (Rosta & Khooyeh, 2008).

### **The operational definition of the variable**

Each of the propaganda techniques is considered as a category which can be extracted. On the one hand, they are totally the examples of operational definition of general field of techniques and on the other hand the discrete variable is measurable in nominal scale.

### **Macro, Middle and Micro Propaganda Techniques**

Since the focus of this research is on propaganda techniques (in comparative with tactics and strategies of propaganda), we have divided it into three subsets for better recognition of this field of propaganda. It should be noted that the distinction of these three parts is <for running macro propaganda techniques we need to use the middle and micro propaganda techniques, and for implementation of middle propaganda techniques we must use micro propaganda techniques>.

It is necessary to highlight that the macro propaganda techniques cover some techniques such as conditioning, induction, persuasion, setting agenda, image-making news, myth-making, creating imaginary enemies and the techniques of distortion.

While some of the middle propaganda techniques are known as the techniques of simulation, the techniques of de-sacredness and de-fascination, formatting of events, criteria of evaluation, the technique of increase of cost of action for rival, space-making, monologue and dialogue and last but not least the technique of normalization.

Finally, the micro propaganda techniques include the following techniques such as strengthening incompatible behaviours, connecting to the secondary symbols, using the right element to strike the right, technique of sublimation, short shooting or renege, social witness or use of instinct union, relying on like-minded and close people and finally the technique of pretend to integrity.

#### **2.11.4 Definition of the discourse from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe**

Discourse is an attempt to convert elements to moments through reducing their multiplicity of meanings to one well-established meaning. These elements are signs in the field of discursivity and have multiple meanings. All signs and meanings that are excluded from a discourse are making a field of discursivity. The moment in a discourse is a differential position which has been articulated inside a discourse and the articulation is the act of collection of various components and combining them in a new identity(Soltani, 2008).

#### **2.11.5 Political image**

Image is basically the sight or visitation representative or in a physical mode (for example in a picture or paint) or in the imagination (for example in literature or music) can be assumed. But nowadays, it generally means «structuring and proceeding or a public conclusion which was created to influence the addressee and it does not mean the reproduction of reality. Since reality is rarely matched with a picture (image), we can conclude that it is incorrect (O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, & Fiske, 1983).

#### **2.11.6 Theoretical description of media representations**

The media is very influential on knowledge and perception from the universe. People's information and opinion about the universe is related to the contents which was received

from the mass media because mass media are the inter-mediator between the individual information and social vast structures to make meanings. Mass media are not the mirrors for reflection of reality, but they influence the social structure of reality. Hence, representation is the mass media of the reality (Mehdizadeh, 2008).

#### **2.11.7 Theoretical description of campaign**

The campaign is an organised and coordinated persuasion process to influence public opinions and behaviors which the mass media organise and accomplish it to obtain the sets of determining aims (O'Sullivan et al., 1983).

#### **2.11.8 Theoretical description of political culture**

Gabriel Almond describes political culture as a subset for all social culture and relates them to the emotional-sentimental environments. A political system does its activities within the set framework. It is a determined model from tendencies which includes any political system or discusses about political culture from the tendencies which are followed by political factors. Tendencies are psychological and inner tends in the direction of political action which are influenced by factors such as traditions, historical memories, tendencies, manners, emotions and symbols.

We can separate these tendencies into three parts:

(a) Recognitions tendencies (knowledge and information that an individual has relative to the political system and its subsets).

(b) Emotional tendencies (emotional tends according to political system).

(c) Evaluating tendencies (individual judgments on political system)(Alavi, 2007).

### **2.11.9 Definition of the politics from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe**

The politics organises the society in a specific manner, so that makes negation and rejection become other possible manners. Production, reproduction and change of meaning are political actions. Authenticity with discursive and political processes is in the society(Soltani, 2008).

### **2.11.10 Definition of the power from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe**

The power consists of the authority to define and impose this definition against whoever who negates it (Nash, 2008).

### **2.11.11 Propaganda and the used propaganda techniques**

Lasswell defines propaganda as selecting the words and their publishing in order to affect the behaviours and the attitudes of the mass of people (Nasr, 2007). In the current study, have been utilized the following sixteen propaganda techniques.

#### **P1. Background Tactic**

This is one of the most common techniques in the news media. Here, the journalists focussed on past events to form public opinions by relating the past subjects to a current event to transfer their message to the readers (Soltanifar & Hashemi, 2003).

#### **P2. Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie)**

This old tactic is extensively used in the media. The message, which is not factual, is deliberately expressed or transferred. Based on the view of Joseph Goebbels, the great lie is, its belief will be easy for the mass of people. This method is used in order to threat the enemies and excite public opinion. A lie must be as great as possible so that

nobody will try to deny or ignore it. Goebbels believed that, I sometimes lied as I am afraid of them. (Moradi, Mohammadi, Baseri, Hobbi, & Elyasi, 2010)

### **P3. The Agenda-Setting**

Bernard Cohen (1963) believed that, the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think; but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

The agenda-setting is a process, that through it, the mass media determines the relative importance and priority of a subject for their audience by impacting their cognition (Sabilan Ardestani, 2008).

### **P4. Schismatism**

Schismatism means segregating a large population into smaller groups. For example, the policy of “divide and rule” was defined as a historical strategy in order to dominate other nations (Joneydi, 2010).

### **P5. The Reversal Tactic**

Some manipulations in the messages as the inverting technique are (to some extent) impudent (Fallahi, 2006). By inverting the facts to the audiences, the experts of psychological operations promote the unreal and false information among them to create an incorrect image about the facts in the peoples’ minds. Peterson views that by screening, manipulation and distortion, the media can choose to introduce any white information as black, ugly as beautiful, occupying as liberating, the love of freedom as terrorism etc (Suri, 2006).

## **P6. Ridicule (and mocking)**

The experts of psychological operations use this technique to create satire plots and ridiculous or funny stories such as comical caricatures and diffuse them in various forms among the targeted groups. Their high speed of dissemination means comical and funny stories or poems can be enriched by psychological operations to become easily understandable with additional meanings and purposes for different groups of people based on their age, jobs, interests and thoughts. They can also easily repeat them to others but due to the ridicule, some targeted audiences may plausibly lose their mental balances and thus resort to other imprudent measures (Joneydi, 2010).

## **P7. To release a part of truth**

Sometimes a news, a word or an accident is expressed with regards to its source and content of message in a systematic and well-organised manner. If any part of the chain is interrupted, some parts of the message will need to be diverted. This method is one of the most common ways in the press where they usually state some part of the news in proportion to the political position and the political faction that pertains to them. This method is common in publishing the views of political leaders. They use the major headlines in the newspapers, based on the interest of that publication.

According to the views of psychological operations, when a news is complete, all of its elements are figured out completely. However, if one of them ignores it like by asking How? Where? When? Who? Whom? or Why?, the news is incomplete and it represents a type of the biased release of a part of truth (Lasswell, 2004).

## **P8. Censorship**

Censorship is one of the most functional techniques in the psychological operations and refers to the activities which prevent the communication freedom (seeking, processing, transferring and receiving information). Based on the view of Blake and Harlosen, Censorship refers to the intentional omission of some information and knowledge in order to form the others' idea and thoughts (Sarabi, 2005).

## **P9. Wittingly Distortion**

Based on the American Heritage, astute or wise management is used in order to accomplish personal aims (Joneydi, 2010). Similarly, Norman Salomon (2006), defines it as the desirable result or purpose of a process which uses the especial tools (semantic, technical, psychological, behavioral etc.) in order to persuade, control and mislead people. Such purpose can be real and concrete (an individual, government or a practice), or mental (mentality, imagination etc.). Through this technique, the media reflects some of the news or released messages and deletes or distorts certain others so that some changes will appear in the content and meaning which can influence the opinions of audiences.

## **P10. Pretension instead of truth**

A method which based on an important message spread in the community, till follow that, a specific group or person is forced to respond to it (Seifpour, 2010).

## **P11. The Technique of Message Repetition**

Based on the view of Sotoudeh (1995), in order to understand a stimulus, repeating it for several times can be effective. For this reason, we can see that a radio and TV.

presenter in order to advertise a good repeat it for several times. Therefore, if the propagandist wants to penetrate in the minds of audiences (the message of his/her propaganda), he/she must use the repetition method because by this way, it is possible to keep the related message of propaganda in the minds of audience and fading them are impossible. Hitler believed that, to some extent, if genius is being used in organising the propaganda, even a fundamental principle is not being considered, it will be ineffective. For this reason, the work of propaganda must be limited to some finite thoughts and then, must be repeated continuously (Sotoudeh, 1995). Certainly, the concept of repetition is limited in the axis of subjects and it is different in how to practice and do it. If the repetition is being done in the topics and subjects, this practice will change into an anti-propaganda and Boomerang effect which has negative effects on its audiences.

### **P12. The Technique of Rumour**

Rumour refers to an especial doubtful proposition (or subject) without criteria reassuring for examination which usually is being transferred from one person to the others orally (Allport & Postman, 1993). Each rumour involves this meaning that some part of a fact is being transferred (Allport & Postman, 1993).

Two main conditions are necessary for a rumour: (a) The subject of a rumour must be attractive for the speakers and listeners. (b) The real events must be covered with a type of ambiguity. This ambiguity can be inculcated by the lack of accurate news or by emotional commotions that forces a person to do not want or do not accept the facts or real points in the presented news (Allport & Postman, 1993). Simply, the below equation indicates the rumour prevalence rate:  $\text{Ambiguity} \times \text{Importance} = \text{Rate of rumour prevalence}$

For creating or increasing confidence to the reality of a rumour (believing a rumour), mostly some components of news or “a core of a truth” is being added to it, while transferring it, the false subjects and imaginary details overshadow the other parts as the reality and false are not distinguishable.

How to recognise a hidden truth in a rumour and principally, the existence of a truth in a rumour or its non-existence is always impossible (Allport & Postman, 1993).The most important point in the rumour is that its subject must be chosen as it must be appropriate to the background in order to the accomplish the purpose of designers and if it does not be appropriate to the background, it won't diffused and if it does not be consistent with its designer's aim , so it will be an breach of purpose.The tools of a rumour are individuals who diffuse it via telephones or internet and sometimes are the mass media which uses the especial methods in order to be safe from the legal prosecution.

Some ways in order to escape from the legal prosecutions are: (a) Presenting an analysis in a form of a story, a Joke or poems. (b) Putting the story names for the considered characters. (c) Quoting news from the sources which are not prosecutable such as foreign radios. (d) Quoting news from the Non-authoritative and unknown sources, like the column of people's telephones in the newspapers which are anonymous.

In addition, the other ways for rumors spreading by mass media are: (a) The bring up the numerous speculations and guesses and also detailed attention to the intended topic as the analysis. (b) Heading down an inaccurate subject and then denial it or apologise for it, but in small letters and in a place that people cannot see it easily(Kaviani, 2001).

### **P13. To sort the message**

Thousand news daily are transferred to the media that each medium based on its policy is able to transfer a small part of them to its audiences. It is natural that all media are not able to release all news and it is not necessary too. Therefore, the media try to sort and choose some news by applying some certain policies. The media use two strategies for choosing the news. Firstly, based on news-centered policies, they use hard news (general and net news that are in opposition of soft news and they are outlined with interpretations and analyses) and the hard news are divided based on their importance and requirement of their specific audiences

Secondly, macro policies of the media are defined, then a piece of new is chosen and prioritized in direction of its policy. This type of news is more applicable in governmental media and the news is sorted as a specific mission.

In order to change content of a message, a piece of new is formulated in a way that some important points are chosen and other points are omitted and in news terms, they will be modified and summarised. This phenomenon is done mostly in summarising speeches of leaders and political characters and western radios, news agencies and journals have a long history in this regard and this is the most commone way of journalism in western world (Bahmani, 2012).

### **P14. To Highlight Message**

Another method in media is to extract a message among other messages and underestimates importance of other news. It is highlighting against underestimation. Highlighting has different forms and each of them is used in media by a certain method.

News highlight in newspapers is done by techniques of paging, size of title, use of pictures, designs, and place of news in each page.

On radio, this is done by prioritising for reading the news, the time allocated to the news, change of tone of broadcaster. On TV, news highlight is done by prioritising for reading the news, using news summary, the time allocated to the news, using pictures, slides and films, it is mostly applicable in newspapers.

The media can underestimate the value of a new and highlighted piece of news that cover other news. Big and large headlines in newspapers throughout the world use this technique. The main headlines of each newspaper are the most important opinion of that newspaper on the subject. It has been used to highlight weaknesses, news related to socio-economic problems and it is a tool for political wars in media (Bahmani, 2012).

### **P15. Sensationalism**

Sensationalism is the use of exciting or shocking stories or language at the expense of accuracy in order to provoke public interest or excitement. It is a type of editorial bias in mass media in which events and news topics or pieces are overly-hyped to increase viewership or readership numbers. Often the new groups will try to become a piece of news by some measures such as sensationalism (Nasr, 2007).

### **P16. To artificially prioritize for news (to create high priority for a news)**

Another form of press methods is the emphasis on rapid and every moment transfer of messages and increase of its quantity. Its purpose is to create a type of brainstorm for the audience towards the subject matter, like a type of news isolation for the audience towards other news sources. It creates confidence among the audience, inculcating that

the press is able to transfer the information to the audiences as soon as possible. This technique is also used by the audience to ponder less on the news. By accelerating to report accidents and incidents using the created opportunities, the media are still able to achieve many of their aims (that until now, were not provided)(Soltanifar, 2016). In the end, it seems that the mentioning of the following two points is useful.

First of all, over here the sequence of mentioning propaganda techniques is similar to the research instrument. Secondly, here the letter “P” is an abbreviation for the word of “Propaganda” which has been used with the same meaning in the research instrument.

## **2.12 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse theory**

As you would know there are various interpretations of Discourse theory in the different branches of the humanities. Laclau and Mouffe have presented the most important discursive theory in the field of Political Science (Hosseini Zadeh, 2005). In this part, the attempt will be made to introduce them in a brief.

### **2.12.1 Part one: primary explanations**

Ernesto Laclau<sup>6</sup> was a sociopolitical theorist. He was originally from Argentina and for many years was teaching in England. He was the author of many articles in the field of Politics and Ideology in the Marxist theory. His wife, Chantal Mouffe<sup>7</sup> was born in Belgium and she did some studies about Althusser's thoughts. She has broadly written

---

6 Ernesto Laclau:

Ernesto Laclau (born 1935, in Argentina) is Professor of Political Theory in the Department of Government, University of Essex, and Distinguished Professor for Humanities and Rhetorical Studies at Northwestern University. He is the author of, amongst other works, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (with Chantal Mouffe), *New Reflections of the Revolution of Our Time*, *The Populist Reason*, *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* (with Judith Butler and Slavoj Zizek), and *Emancipation(s)* (GoogleBooks, 2001; Robson, 2011) .

7 Chantal Mouffe:

Chantal Mouffe (born 1943, in Belgium) is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster. Her books include *The Return of the Political*; *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (with Ernesto Laclau); *The Dimensions of Radical Democracy*; *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*; *Deconstruction and Pragmatism*; *The Democratic Paradox*; and *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*, all from Verso (Robson, 2011) .

and given speeches about some categories such as Class, Ideology, Politics and Hegemony. Laclau and Mouffe are contemporary scholars whom classified among the prominent thinkers of post-Marxist, post-modernist and post-structuralist.

In the 1980s, they joined the voices that claimed the crisis in Marxism. They believed that the Marxist discourse has not presented a minimum and useful understanding in the direction of theorising society, hence it would be an obstacle in the wake of social changes. They argued that after the World War II, the new process of commoditization, bureaucratization and authoritarianism have provoked an increase in the politicization process of social relationships, also the breaking-up of old union and forms of socialism.

These processes were created as a result of increasing expansion of capitalist relations in the individual and social life. With emergence of the Keynesian welfare state and increase of media and mass culture, these processes have created new forms of resistance and opposition that are manifested in the new social movements. Although they started with Marxism, they then started to criticise Marxism and accepted newer approaches, though the general lines of Marxism are still very apparent in their works.

One of Laclau and Mouffe's characteristics view - whom both have some joint works in the fields of sociopolitical contemporary society - is their engagement to the fields of discursive power, for that reason they have been obviously influenced by Foucault. Laclau and Mouffe presented an image which was influenced by Derrida and Foucault's post-structural perspectives for language. Based upon this view they argued that the society is a discursive construction, therefore it is a variable system of distinctions.

What distinguishes Laclau and Mouffe's discursive analysis from other discursive theories is the extension of the discourse from the fields of culture and philosophy to

politics and society. They were willing to develop a form of non-reductionist understanding of politics based on a combination of post-Althusserian and neo-Gramscian views.

Laclau and Mouffe offered their personal opinions about the discourse theory in their principal book namely, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2014) and supplemented it with a number of texts such as *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (1990) also *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (2000). At the end of this section, it will be probably useful to remind the five points to familiarize with the dominant mindset over the theory:

### **First, Social Constructionism:**

Since the two approaches of Laclau and Mouffe's, Critical discourse analysis and also Foucault approach are highly affected by the social constructionism theory then perhaps it would be necessary even briefly to mention the four main principles of social constructionism (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

#### **(a) A Critical Approach to Taken-for- granted Knowledge**

Our knowledge about the world should not be considered as an objective reality. The reality is only accessible for us by the categories. The representations of the world by us and our understandings are not the reflections of the reality which "exists outside" but these representations and the understandings are the results of categorisation of the world by us and in a discursive term, they are known as the products of discourse.

### **(b) Historical and Cultural Specificity**

We are fundamentally historical and cultural beings. Our views and knowledge about the world are the results of interactions among people which belong to a specific period of history. This view is an Anti-Essentialism view.

### **(c) Link between Knowledge and Social Processes**

Our ways of understanding the world is created and sustained by social processes. Knowledge is being constructed through social interactions between people. We construct the common facts within it and we start competing against each other over things which are true or false.

### **(d) Link between Knowledge and Social Action**

Within the framework of a particular worldview, some forms of actions and behaviours are considered as natural while others considered as unimaginable. Different social understanding about the world is leading to the different social actions. As a result, social construction of knowledge and reality carry social consequences.

## **Secondly, Postmodernism**

Since Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is highly affected by Postmodernism, perhaps it would be beneficial if we mention some important parts of this school of thought which has affected on Laclau and Mouffe's theory (David Howarth, 2000).

First of all, the postmodernists criticise from what that Jean -Francois Lyotard calls it the denial of the metanarratives, on the other term, grand narratives of emancipation in modernity.

Second point, is American pragmatist philosopher, Richard Rorty's anti-foundationalist stance which shows there is not any objective view that guarantees knowledge or realistic presentation of the world.

The third important point related to post-modernism is its anti-essentialism.

### **Thirdly, Sociology of Knowledge**

As it was previously pointed out Laclau and Mouffe's theory is affected by social constructivism. According to this view which is based upon post-structuralism, the symbolic social interaction constructs meaning in the society. This theory instead of providing causal explanations of socio-theoretical changes, it tries to understand and describe the meanings which are formed within social process. In such studies, the focus is on social construction of mankind's perception from realities, for that reason is considered as a type of sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1996).

## **2.12.2 Part two: The genealogy of discourse theory**

### **2.12.2.1 Roots in linguistics**

#### **(a) Saussure, Ferdinand de (1857 –1913)**

He was a Swiss linguist and professor of this field at the University of Geneva. Saussure with proposing linguistic structures put the first step in creating the discourse theory, although after a long time, his theory (structuralist linguistic) was used for the understanding and explanation of social processes.

He considered language as a static system of interconnected units (Synchronic, Non-historical) without reference to time (Diachronic, Historical) and treated the character of changing as subsidiary (de Saussure, 1999). The language, as a system of signs

(Langue), includes pertinent rules and if a speaker wants to make a meaningful communication. Others must accept them. He fixed structures of language as a network of signs, where each sign gives meaning to the others. The language in this context is different from speech (Parole or speech-in-context). The speech is an individual action but the language (Langue) is a social measure (de Saussure, 1999). The speech is the use of language in a position by users in different conditions. Saussure gave priority to the basic structure of language, believing that speech is not very important because of people's tastes and its mistakes effect (de Saussure, 1999).

The sign is the basic element of Saussure's theory. He divided it into two parts; the signifier (sound-image) and signified (concept). He maintains that there is no necessary or natural connection between the signifier and signified. The relationship between the signifier and signified is optional and accidental (Arbitrary) (Sojudi, 2009). This convention attributes meaning to a sign. So, the link between the signifier and signified is established only within a special semantic system; and not based on external reality or logical rules.

The identity and meaning of each sign or signifier in the language is stabilised to differentiate from other signs without referring to an object in the outside world. Therefore, the signs have a communicational identity and possess a distinct meaning versus the other signs in the semantic system.

In presenting the perspective of Kant, the structuralist scholars, particularly Saussure, believed that our understanding toward the universe is influenced by language. In fact, the frameworks of a language formed it. In other words, the mind does not present the reality but it is the light of a system of signs and significations that forms our cognition

about the outside world. Therefore, based on the view of structuralists, there is no way to get hold of reality and the truth except through language (Pishkhani, 1999).

Thus, the verbal order made by Plato is changed and the scientific linguistic sparked a revolution that is named the linguistic turn. The words are emptied from authenticity and the relationship between language and words with the world are treated as a contractual relationship. As a result, the language will not be imagined as the honest reporters of the world. The concepts acquired its meaning because of relations; primarily in oppositional relations.

The concepts are merely separate and they are defined not based on their own positive contents, but instead by their oppositional relations with other components of the system (de Saussure, 1999). It is not the content which determines the meaning but the relations in a system does it. The most precise characteristic of these concepts is that thing which is not in other concepts (de Saussure, 1999). Nothing has meaning by itself. In language, it is only a deviation and there is no meaning without differences (de Saussure, 1999). Differences and relations are two Saussurian keywords which get a specific meaning out of their relation and difference between each other (David Howarth & Howarth, 2000).

Saussure compared the language with chess where each sign gets its own identity and value in relation to others and in the framework of a system of rules (de Saussure, 1999). Therefore, an element, signifier or word becomes important when they are seen in totality of the system. The words and institutions like chessmen need a common set of rules and values. The discourse theorists accept Saussure's theory about the communicational identity of signs, but do not accept the precise distinction between langue and parole. They believe that the signs get meaning in application. Therefore, in

this theory, fixing the meaning of signs is temporary and temporal and the structure of language is always changed during the usage.

#### **2.12.2.2 Roots in Sociology and Anthropology**

##### **(a) Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1908-2009)**

French anthropologist and ethnologist. Strauss expands Saussure's structural analysis towards social sciences. His ethnological ideas emphasised on the structures of deep and subconsciously different actions. We can find them in language, myths, systems of classification and distinction, event from the kind of dresses etc. Strauss's structuralism is an effort to find unchangeable structures or nominal generalities that reflect the quiddity of human wisdom.

In the history of Western philosophy, the structuralists, for the first time, challenged the centrality of the human mind. It can be said that structuralism is a response against the subjectivity philosophy of Sartre, Kant, Descartes and in general, the subjectivism philosophers.

Levi-Strauss considered the importance of language and its structure in understanding the nature of the human mind. He believed that analyzing the deeper structures of cultural phenomena could assist to recognize their mechanisms and also attain the techniques of cultural-social changes through this way. Based on his approach, the cultural structures followed the linguistic postulates.

(Lévi-Strauss, 1969) believed that by studying the different myths of South American tribes, it becomes clearer that all of them have the similar structures. In determining and studying the cultural structures, he used binary oppositions to classify human behavior,

believing that all behaviors belong to one of these two spectra. The discussion of Derrida was started by studying these binary oppositions(Zeimaran, 2007).

Some Marxist thinkers intrigued structuralism and this topic drove them to analyse the social macro structures(Zeimaran, 2007).

The following are some of Strauss's ideas which are related to the research subject (Fkvhy, 2003):

Firstly, the social behavior has its roots in coherent logical systems but their orders are hidden. Secondly, the individual wants are not important enough, people get their own patterns from the social systems that they live in. So, description of people's behaviors must rely on studies of existing social systems. Thirdly, social interaction is the foundation of all human societies and it constructs a social system based on exchanges. If our aim is cognition of the fundamental system that organizes a society, we must the focus on the total social areas, including the myths.

Fourthly, the structure of a social system has a subconscious aspect for all members of that system thus we cannot objectively observe it all. The key to explore this structure is through linguistics. Finally, he is convinced that language and cultural systems are both built on units of principles because both are embedded in the human brain which reflects its neurological organization. According to his ideas, the cultural systems were also built based on a relatively small number of symbols.

#### **(b) Gramsci, Antonio (1891-1937)**

He was an Italian writer, politician, political theorist, philosopher, sociologist and linguist. Gramsci emphasized on the concept of ideology and its relation with power. He

believed that ideology is instrumental in serving power, only in coercion but also in this rule where people who are ruled over are inclined to acquire a conception of the world that belongs to the ruling class. Thus the philosophy of ruling class emerged as common sense (Kalantari, 2012).

He used the concept of hegemony to express the ability of dominant classes to apply their cultural and social leadership in a certain historical period. Without any direct coercion over the lower class, they kept their power in order to direct and lead people in economic, cultural and political realms.

Hegemony depicts a situation where the people's consent is seriously needed for some methods of understanding the world that are compatible with the corporate interests of the power block. Thus our attempt to understand ourselves, organize social relations and lead our collaboration is dependent on ourselves (O'Sullivan et al., 1983).

### **(c) Althusser, Louis Pierre (1918–1990)**

Louis Althusser was born in Birmandreis, a suburb of Algiers. He was one of the most influential Marxist philosophers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. He is the most important theorist of structuralism that has influenced the discursive theories, especially in understanding the subjects. He believed that the subject is under the control of ideological structures, which is not free and independent in his opinions. The ideology points that by putting a person in specific situations, specific actions can be expected to arise.

The structuralism was successful in critiques of positivism, but with emphasis on the priority of the structures. Unfortunately, this theory was conservative: it showed features of being closed, stabilized, unhistorical, self objectification. Such weaknesses gradually marginalized this theory, akin to what was noted in the Saussure's theory

because he considered the lingual system as a complete and closed system, believing that the lingual structures are timeless.

A summary of Althusserianism relates to the research subject (Tanhaei, 2004). First and foremost, he in his own theory - the theory of theoretical practice which believes that knowledge is sociohistorical products and consequently has relative autonomy. He emphasized that every society is a complex unit, inclusive of social actions which we can be divided into four categories: economical, ideological, political and theoretical.

Each society has a transformational structure of work processing that comprises of three components: raw material, means of production and the product. Hence, knowledge is a product of theoretical practice and a transfer of raw materials to construct concepts, means of production using the problematic (or theoretical) framework and the products of the knowledge. In opposition to the empiricist model of knowledge production, Althusser proposes that the cognitive processes of the production of concepts is inherently a theoretical process where the starting point and the final product are the conceptual issues of knowledge. He trusts that his theory is the discursive construction of reality (anti-empiricism). He reaffirmed that if the theoretical practices reaches the scientific threshold, they do not need to issue philosophical guarantees or external verification. They shall possess their own special standards for correctness survey.

Secondly, each type of socioeconomic formation are decentred structures with concurrent savings of their own units; essentially a structure of structures that follows itself in the domains of economy, politics and ideology. Thirdly, it is perceived the ideologies were created from the impersonal historical processes in which social structures dominate the human actors who carried them. People are intrigued by an

ideology which gets its own individuality and social identities in an ideological state apparatus (ISA) through the mechanism of hail or interpellation (Althusser, 1984).

Fourthly, the Althusser's theory of ideology is primarily an area of imaginary affairs, distorted from the real relations between subject and the society. People live in these frameworks as if they are not objects but are instead the subjects. In other words, ideology is a set of representations from imaginary relations between people and their own existing conditions. The necessary condition is for people to play their respective roles in every imaginable society as social actors.

Althusser argued that specific socioeconomic structures require particular ideologies. Ideology, or the background ideas that we possess about the way in which the world must function and of how we function within it. These ideologies are presented by institutions, which provide the developing subject with categories in which people can recognize themselves. Subsequent to these recognition is to continue living under the existing social relations. Althusser believed that regimes or states are able to maintain control by reproducing subjects who imagine that their positions within the social structure are a natural one.

#### **(d) Pêcheux, Michel (1938–1983)**

He was a French philosopher and linguist. He was the student of Louis Althusser as well, hence his researches were inclined towards the framework of a tripartite agreement between «Marxism of Althusser, the psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan and linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure» (Pêcheux, 1982). Pêcheux criticized the existing linguistic models, especially the patterns of Noam Chomsky, and defended the «Analysis of Language as a Social Practice, or Discourse, Intertwined with the Ideology».

He believed in the subjects cannot cognize themselves. They create themselves in identification and relation to other subjects (David Howarth & Howarth, 2000). Also, he believed that the meanings of words and expressions are formed in ideological conflicts. The ideological practices of language are a type of discourse that give meaning to the phenomena and subjects.

In Pecheux's view, discourses are constructed in conflict with other discourses and they have aggressive aspects, thus they are having a political dimension. The meaning of words, expressions and the forming of a subject are the final result of the political actions (Macdonell, 2001). There is no subject or human outside of a discourse. Ideological conflicts and discourse dictates our understanding of reality, such as the image of our self identity (S. Mills, 2003). Finally, he believes meaning does not lie only in language but exudes in everyday relations, based on contradiction and confrontation. The words change their meanings based on the positions that they are used. These contradictory positions form some meanings and suppress other meanings and do not permit them to appear. As a result, the meaning of words changes from one discourse to another. This process is subconscious where the actual practice is more important than its original intention. So it is not possible to plan for an authentic meaning outside of ideological and political relationships (Macdonell, 2001).

### **2.12.2.3 The psychological roots**

#### **Lacan, Jacques (-Marie-Émile)**

Lacan was a French Psychoanalyst who lived between 1901 and 1981 in Paris. However, his main interest was psychoanalysis, his school of thought covered Psychoanalysis, Structuralism and Post-structuralism. A quick look at the Psychoanalytic principles of Lacan indicates three constitutive parts of human's ego structure.

## **(1) The Imaginary Order**

First of them, the imaginary order shows an endless seeking to find itself. He believed that the ego is discontinuous structurally and there is a gap between self and self's image. For this reason, it continuously tries to integrate the other (an image in a mirror or the other person that saw him / her) with itself (coordination and identification).

The term of imaginary order is continuously effective, implying that the humans want to be more perfect (complete) and attain greater unity. In fact, the desirable ego is the main core of the imaginary order. It is an exaggerated image that a person created from his self-existence, based on his / her personal ambition. This order is being humiliated by Lacan who pointed out that the modern period is the representative of the climax of humans' imaginary order.

## **(2) The Symbolic Order (Movallali, 2005)**

The second order is the symbolic order based on the views of Lacan. He believed that our world is full of signs and symbols. As the post-structuralist, he believed that everything around us is enriched with signs and symbols and that there is not a reality except for language and symbols or signs. He maintains that language is not only a communicative tool but also a thing whereby we can express ourselves. This step is a stage of language (that) the subject enters which has his / her tools as individuals. Its difference is that the definition of all linguists, prior to Saussure, was that language is a quiddity outside of us as we can attain and express ourselves through it. After Saussure, the concept of language changed and turned into the structural concept where all things were summarized in symbols and it is language which makes us social beings.

In fact, we are not the ones that speak but this is the language which speaks through us. The deference between Saussure and Lacan as a structuralist and the post-structuralist is that there is always a signifier and signified in the concept of Saussure. Saussure maintains that the signified continuously has priority over signifier. He assumes a reality and fact as absolute and gives priority to the signified. He believed that every word can explain this concept. So, according to Saussure, the system of signifier and signified is a completely conventional and artificial system. But in spite of all that, he gives priority to the signified, but not the signifier. By virtue of the logic and thoughts of Lacan and all post-structuralists, this priority favoured the signifier. In contrast to the views of Saussure, Lacan believed that there is no mutual relationship between the signifier and signified; meaning that we can access a signifier for several signified(s) or we can access several signified(s) for any signifier. He later concludes that the signifier has priority over the signified. According to the theory of Lacan, the priority of signifiers basically indicates that there is a system of signification where when we put subjects into this system, the subject will be limited to just one signifier.

The imaginary order is the pre-linguistic sequence while in the symbolic order, an individual enters the linguistic stage language so that he / she learns the language.

According to Lacan, this stage is important as it leads into the formation of a subject. Here, the human enters the fields of language and the language of symbols. In fact, he / she enters a system of signification to express him / herself through these signifiers. This stage is significant as it gives us our individual identity upon utilizing the gifts of language and symbolic order. We owe our individuality to the system of signification. This is a positive gift because it leads into the formation of a subject and individual identities.

Nonetheless on other hand, there is a paradox as if we are condemned to only express ourselves from the language. Here, the subjects will be opposite to one another. The term of symbolic order came from the symbols and signs. The presence of a subject in the symbolic order requires the absence of his / her ego, i.e. finding a subject as an individual who expresses him / herself; meaning that his / her ego (being) has been hidden.

Lacan obligated it to Hegel because when Hegel talks about words, they exist in the non-existence of that object. In other words, the existence of everything is the non-existence of that thing's quiddity. This is what Hegel said about words. Lacan uses this saying about the subject. The presence of a subject in the system of signification gives an individuality to it and causes it to express itself. This requires a thing which is behind a subject, the nature of all spiritual aspects which can disappear. This is a coercion which exists in the recognition of significations.

Naturally, when we talk about a word, we only understand an especial conventional concept. If there is a thing except for that meaning, it was hidden behind that word and cannot emerge. For this reason, the subject will be opposite to each other; forming and emerging in front of one another. The other symbolic order introduced by Lacan is the representative of symbolic order, which is used by the society. In reality, it is called a symbolic order where we can enter the society and its system of signification, observe all of its rules and naturally express ourselves. However, we identify it as the other.

Therefore, a language which is transferred to us through another way will be in front of a subject. Reality was defined in the symbolic order as a purely linguistic reality. We do not have everything outside the field of a subject. If we want to talk about reality, it becomes the linguistic reality. On one hand, it allows us the individuality but on the

other, it condemns us because we do not recognize ourselves the other way. We are condemned to express ourselves through a signification system. This limitation always disappears when it exists under the subject and within our ego. It is directed toward the unconscious mind and cannot express itself freely since this is a place which is called as the pre-linguistic meaning.

### **(3) The real order (Movallali, 2005)**

The real order indicates the fields of life which are not recognizable. In fact, the real order is the world prior to its separation by language. This means that the real order is a thing which will not become symbolic or enter the field of language for recognition.

### **The Unconscious (Kadivar, 2002)**

Lacan contested that the formation of the unconscious originated from the encounters of self and the symbolic order. He conceived that the unconscious is formed in a place where it is impossible for a subject to express himself / herself and become symbolic order to express himself / herself through language. The unconscious has a linguistic structure complete with its own decoding and encoding features as in any of the signification system. He views language not as a thing that must be limited to the verbal language, but it apparently includes each signification or semiological system. Therefore, these signs are not limited to the verbal language. The visual language and all that we do have a sematological system which is completely conventional. Lacan iterates that the unconscious will not say things that are merely from a semiological system which has an especial statement which we can enter by using our especial verbal system.

He believed that the unconscious has a language whereby it speaks with via especial codes that does the coding. We can enter this unconscious by decoding and be informed of what and whenever it wants to say us.

### **The Lacanian Signifier (Evans, 2007)**

For Lacan, a unique condition which characterizes this thing as a signifier must be registered in a system which attains a certain value due to its difference to the other components of that system. This is the differential nature of a signifier and due to this characteristic, it will never have a unique and constant meaning. Inversely, its meaning will change in terms of the place where it occupies within the structure.

#### **2.12.2.4 Roots in Philosophy**

**(a) Wittgenstein, Ludwig (Josef Johann): Born: 1889, Vienna - Died: 1951, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England.**

He was an Austrian-British philosopher who worked primarily on logic, the philosophy of mathematics, mind and language.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, philosophy was no longer the direct study of being, thought and episteme; but was the study with intermediates of language (Pears, 2000). This circulation of thought tries to study the role of language in relation to the understanding of being and searches for meanings in conjunction with language and reality. Such intellectual movement is known as the analytical philosophy. There are at least two main groups within analytical philosophy (Bochenski, 2000). These groups are the advocates of the logical language such as B.Russel, G.Frege, J.Ayer and the early Wittgenstein and also the advocates of the conventional language such as J.L.Austin, AW.Moore and the later Wittgenstein(Sterols, 2004).

It is imperative to remember that specialists usually believe that Wittgenstein has had two different views on the role of language in philosophy during his academic life(Kalantari, 2012).

Wittgenstein, during the first part of his intellectual activities (early Wittgenstein) believed in firstly, the picture theory of language, thus he argued that language is the picture of the real and a meaningful proposition is a proposition which is formed or its logical structure is like reality(Wittgenstein, 1992).

Secondly, during this time, in his view, thinking is limited to language and the borders of language are the ones thinking in the real world, I.e. our language is our world (Wittgenstein, 1992). Third, from his point of view, the language is the symbolic statement of the fact (Wittgenstein, 1992).

Furthermore, he said that we could design a standard, like mathematics to determine and complete language. Through it, we can state all topics or difficulties which arise due to linguistic dysfunctions. For example, philosophical issues will be deleted (Kalantari, 2012). Finally, he brought an abstract of his idea in this period in the Tractatus Logicophilosophicus book(1992).

Wittgenstein, during the second part of his intellectual activity (later Wittgenstein) which is more related to our research topic believed in firstly, each sign is a dead thing on its own. Then what does give life to it? The sign is alive when applied and the application is in ordinary life. Secondly, from his point of view, there is no pure and abstract language. Each language has its own specific life and it gets meaning in a form of life and on the basis of specific behaviour. The form of life and its practices give meaning to the sign or the statements. Again, there is no unique and comprehensive logic and rationality.

Third, in his view, every form of life has its own specific logic and rationality. The language and rationality are the basic part of everyday life, language is a set of rules and procedures that emerge in the form of everyday life.

Finally, Wittgenstein during this period pointed out that right and wrong, good and bad, agreement and disagreement etc. are inside the rule and not before or outside it (Fann, 2007). Based on the idea of Wittgenstein, 'ego' is not outside of the language and its relationship with language is not based on consciousness or any mental activity, but it is by a type of existential state (being- in- life) (Mavence, 2000).

The linguistic application and meaning are made possible by the rules in everyday life. The correct application of language is following of the rule. It is possible that these rules are varied, so they guide us towards many different languages. Wittgenstein accepts this idea and calls following the rules in everyday life as the language game (Hutto, 2006).

The language game in itself hides rules, everyday life, the application and meaning. The meaning of a word is not the object, but its application. The meaning is reliant to the form of life, even our thinking is a testimony that we learn from our life. Our subject and subjective activities are also formed inside the language game. Human cannot exist or think outside of the language game even the ego is formed inside it (Wittgenstein, 2001).

Conclusion: It seems that Wittgenstein's later radical critiques on the Cartesian Dualism of Subject - Object, Mind- Body and Mind -Action had pushed the subject into everyday life via language (language games) with emphasis on experience (Praxis). The idea that language constructs the world (Zandieh, 2007) all are his work which is relevant to this research.

**(b) Heidegger, Martin: Born: 1889, Messkirch, Schwarzwald, Germany. Died: 1976, Messkirch, West Germany**

School: Phenomenology, Hermeneutics, Existentialism

Main interests: Ontology, Metaphysics, Art, Greek philosophy, Technology, Language, Poetry, Thinking.

Heidegger was in (or at least began) from the school of Phenomenology. His studies were skewed towards the relationship between 'phenomena' (namely whatever that emerges as data on consciousness) and 'ego' (that the phenomena appears in it) (Lyotard, 1996).

Heidegger insists that we must return to the phenomenon of everyday activities and relinquish traditional oppositions such as Subject - Object, Representation- Represented, Conscious - Unconscious, Explicit- Implicit etc. because of these categories convert our understanding from the world into the belief system of a subject or subjectivity (Hubert Dreyfus et al., 1997).

He chose the expression of Dasein and with that, wanted to oppose all kinds of Humanism and Anthropocentrism that emerge with the Cartesian subject (Ahmadi, 2001). Dasein in the German language means 'special existence', though its literal analysis (Da + Sein) refers to 'being' + 'there' (Magee, 1993). The question of existence is one of existential components that we now term as Dasein (Heidegger, 1988). The basis of Dasein is existence while the existences are the ways of being Dasein (Heidegger, 1988). Based on his idea, Dasein is directly linked to the world and the world is available of it. He is adamant that the fundamental characteristic of Dasein is 'being-in-the-world' (Heidegger, 1988).

Heidegger believes that people learn a behavior and these behaviors eventually determine their direction to the phenomena of the world. Hence 'knowing how' refers to what a person living in the real world prefers while 'knowing that' is a philosophical issue. Furthermore, from this perspective, we are defined in the real relationship with phenomena and are not distanced from them; much like the design of philosophy and science (Vaezi, 2001).

Heidegger describes consciousness as an unknown but familiar illusion (Abazari, 1998). The perception of being emerges from our conducts but this perception is not our product. Instead, we are the product of this perception (Magee, 1993). Basically we are going towards the ideas of never, but the ideas keep coming towards us (Ahmadi, 2001).

Heidegger views that both realism and idealism were rejected because the world and consciousness are inseparable. In order to study Dasein, we must refer to everyday life where the essential structures are found that determine Dasein. Analysis of these structures is an achievement towards comprehending the true meaning of Dasein. Dasein is always 'In-Relation-With' and 'Being-With' , thus providing another important angle on the existence of Dasein (Heidegger, 1988).

Nothing has a constant meaning for and everything gets certain meanings in relation to the others; based on being in the world. The meaning is hidden in the form of life. For Heidegger, being in the world with others is the same 'Life-World' and everything gets meaning in the Life-World in line with its rules (that are collective facts). Heidegger like Wittgenstein, believed that the language and the world are closely connected with each other while language is all by which meanings will appear (Ahmadi, 1993). Language is something which we think with and or use to express our thoughts (Grisham, 2000).

Language is the house of being (Heidegger, 1996). From this view, discourse is a type of detailing. Dasein is also a discourse with a common origin with respect to existential (Heidegger, 1988). Discourse is not reducible to words but it is an existential situation that refers to a relationship with the world that appears in words. Hence understanding and meaning are in discourse because discourses connect us to the situation of Dasein in the world (Kalantari, 2012).

**(c) Derrida, Jacques: Born, 1930, El Biar, Algeria. Died, 2004, Paris, France**

He raised post-structuralism with emphasis on the weaknesses of Saussure's linguistic theory and structuralism. The most important concept that he raised was deconstruction. This refers to an analysis of the institutions and foundations as well as the deconstruction of tradition to discover the elements that made it (Zeimaran, 2007).

Derrida considers bipolar oppositions and dual distinctions in the western thinking with deconstruction of the subjective and transcendental thoughts. Thus he reckons the early categories of western philosophy is historically essential, believing that they are a system of possible and optional choices (Zeimaran, 2007). The deconstructionist believes that a transcendental discourse gets its existence and identity in creating the otherness and opposition with others.

The purpose of Derrida is to remove the weak points of Saussure's theory by deconstruction of an accurate conceptual distinction between writing and speech, signifier and signified. It is also applied in critiques of the Saussure's structuralism in the social sciences. Derrida rejects this theory about the priority of speech over writing as the other dual distinctions in the western thought (Michael Payne, 2001). He affirmed that these distinctions determine a superior quiddity and essence against a rejected fringe which is possible and accidental.

Derida is convinced that if a rejected 'other' is necessary for defining quiddity, then the 'other' has formed part of its identity. Therefore, concepts get meaning with their others; and the other is a part of its identity.

He uses Hermeneutics and Phenomenological issues for analysing language and presents the new concepts and he used "difference" as a term to explain the process of achieving stabilization of meanings. That stabilization is done by discriminating it from the others and suspending the substitute meanings. When a meaning is stabilized for a symbol, the other meanings of this word will be suspended. This concept also refers to the historical and contingency of forming identities.

In accordance with Derida's theory, discourses are the infinite language systems which are produced by playing the discriminations. It plays a mediators role for our understanding of the world and organizes our experience from it. We should consider that discourses face limitations in representing the world. Symbols are historical and depend on the context and situation. For this reason, the language system cannot fix the symbols' identity in relation to the theories, words and objects. Consequently, complete stabilization of meaning and access to a closed discourse system is not possible (David Howarth & Howarth, 2000). Hence, Derida emphasized the necessity of a constitutive "outside" or "other" for identity formation.

In creating each discourse structure, an "other" is needed which is considered as a possible and impossible condition of discourses. Although the "other" plays a key role in the formation of discourse's structure, self can still change it; thus it is a cause of cohesion and also disintegration. In addition, Derida believes that structures are naturally indeterminate and pluralistic. Ambiguity and uncertainty are the inherent features of structures but it is not possible to overcome them.

In his thoughts, the concept of humanity subject eliminates. Humans are active within the available structures such as language. In fact, human does not form the language or use it in order to understand the world, but the language forms the human's perception (David Howarth & Howarth, 2000).

### **Metaphysics of Presence**

Divergent criticism of Jacques Derrida, from the hypothesis of meaning presents the basis of signification and the function of signs. It discredits the basis of presence's philosophy and leads to the destruction of the traditional basics of thinking (metaphysics).

According to Derrida, the basis of metaphysics depends on the fundamental assumption of semiotics as each signifier is associated with its signified or, each signifier creates the signified. Metaphysics is based on the assumption that the meaning is continuously present and its ambiguity is the result of our inability to find the right way, or the wrong devices that we have chosen.

Derrida believes that in the history of Western philosophy, the meaning is present in the word and is expressed by the term "Logos". He called the belief on the direct presence of a meaning as Metaphysics of Presence. For this reason, it can be said that the history of philosophical thinking was the history of metaphysics or philosophy of presence (Esmailzadeh, 2005).

### **Identity and Essence**

The philosophy of presence was formed based on the systematic selection of rules and a particular logic for thinking as it assumes the priority and the significance of this term

(identification) and correspondence. Nevertheless, when this logic was defined and introduced, it was accepted as the quiddities of thinking and was ignored in relation to conventional rules.

### **Binary Oppositions and Essentialism**

Such thinking constantly reaches a series of binary oppositions by assuming the presence of a series of principles and by believing in the presence of centralities. Derrida claims that the philosophical reason continuously attained these binary oppositions and considered them in a stated or non-stated hierarchical way. Each of these oppositional cases (finally) is the negative or negating form of the other cases. Sometimes the wrongness of this point is obvious which refers to the absence of rightness; or death which refers to the lack of life; or bad which indicates the lack of goodness. Occasionally, it is not stated, but it is instead indirectly.

### **Anti-Foundationalism and Anti-Essentialism**

Derrida with his project of destroying metaphysics tries to disturb such oppositions and show that in the dichotomies which are the basis of human's thinking, it is not possible to access a foundation or a base. There is no center and principle (Esmailzadeh, 2005).

### **From Difference to Deconstruction**

Derrida seeks the root of dichotomies in difference or otherness. Understanding that intention about difference is difficult, he considered it not only as a concept or a kind of existence but also as the first act and movement or the play of existence. It is possible to understand the otherness through what it creates and its differences.

So, otherness is prior to a difference between signifier and signified. It is the prerequisite of any language system and the condition of each thought. Language which is the effect of otherness, without merely referring to a thing, conveys to us its objectivity, which was made by absence, distance, delay and replacement.

So providing a language by persons is for the things to be clear in it. The words must refer to the essence of those things or individuals so as to indicate that the truth is an ineffective effort. The meaning is constantly delaying, as a result our efforts to represent a thing through language and thought with such delay of meaning could not reach to a good conclusion.

### **Essentialism and Foundationalism**

In order to explain their philosophies, the pioneer scholars require a basis, foundation, base or a source. Post-modern philosophers consider the avoidance of violence in their work. The basic principles in the modern period resulted in the ideology of militancy, such as the furnaces of burning humans in the Nazism period and the labor camps of Stalin. For this reason, Lyotard speaks of a post-modern attitude of pluralism and tolerance.

### **Hegemony**

All philosophers who were called as the post-modern philosophers, consciously or unconsciously, declared their views in contrast to each kind of hegemony.

### **Deconstruction and Identity**

Derrida, by using an approach called deconstruction [Derrida used it as a concept to refer to renovation (destroying and creating them again)], did a basic study on the nature

of western metaphysics and its original meanings of the identification rule. Therefore, the aim of deconstruction is to show the fundamental oppositions of western philosophy. However, the issue is that deconstruction does not claim a coherent, cohesive and clear theory.

The purpose of deconstruction is generally to criticize each claim and presence of the reason's abilities in order to attain and recognize its own presuppositions. Deconstruction aims to disturb the dream of wisdom in order to reach a logical and final understanding of truths and primary meanings. Derrida insists that deconstruction represents justice since it is an analytical weapon which can examine political situations and challenge the liberal-legal thinking. In fact, Derrida exposes the deconstruction task to question the basis, principles and challenge or make them unstable. The Western mind has always been full of metaphysical presuppositions, thus Derrida was looking for a way to escape.

With regards to deconstruction, he believed that whenever something is made, such as a philosophical system, tradition or culture; someone will want to take it down to the end in order to analyze its foundations. A person looks at a system and analyses how it is created so as to determine what are its basic foundations and if he / she replaces them, he / she will be freed from the power of that system (Zeimaran, 2007).

### **The Suggested Solution of Derrida for Deconstruction (Pishkhani, 1999)**

Derrida suggested to escape from the metaphysics realm as follows:

(a) Reversing the priority between binary oppositions.

(b) Focusing on the principle of uncertainty.

These means challenge the certainty values of a spectrum in front each other.

### **Logocentrism**

Derrida in its general form views that the present day is the period of escape from the center. So, one of his main themes is to recognize the centers in different texts; to seek what is the meaning of a center in a text and their effects on our reading. In order to understand a text, there is no way except by embedding a center in the text. The whole thinking of the West is based on this idea. For example, in the earliest tribes, there were people who had known this in general (irrespective the topics of knowledge). But the Western history has divided knowledge into the magic, science, art etc. and then, the science further divided into various sub-branches until further divisions are not possible except through logos and the semantic center (the culture of logocentrism) (Pishkhani, 1999).

### **There is Nothing Outside of the Text**

The works of Derrida are a kind of critique of philosophy and its basis. He challenges the truth and cognition. He considered philosophy as writing and since he is a philosopher, writing and understanding of texts were his main concerns. All existence is considered as a text, whether it is a book or the nature, society or the existence of a reader himself; the reader eventually re-creates it. Each text is based on the number of its audience with its unique interpretation and explanation. Each reading is an endless writing which does not take place consciously. Hence, the audience too can never realize the true intention of the original writer of that work.

Absence is dominated by presence, thus we only follow the trace of absences in a text. What is hidden in the margin of a text or in a space between lines is as significant as the

words of the text. Since each reading is in fact a writing, there is a variety of interpretation and explanation which lead to a polysemic of a work in practice. In this way, whatever occurs or takes place in the world, the deconstruction will solve it in itself like a solvent.

To Derrida, each text has no reference or a signified in reality. It does not attain the pure signification. No author has a thoughtful intention and principally, he / she is not able to apply his / her deliberate intention. Hence, the author should and could not be considered as the ultimate signified in the interpretation of a text. What remains is nothing except a text and its effect on the sense of audiences. Moreover, the register of speech and the style of writing have priority over the text content (ThoughtClub, 2013).

### **Uncertainty Communicative Disorder**

Ultimately, Derrida believes there are two main directions in his writings which are the clues to understand his concepts: communicative disorders and uncertainty (Zeimaran, 2007).

**(d) Foucault, Michel (Hubert Dreyfus et al., 1997) : Born, 1926, Poitiers, France. Died, 1984, Paris**

Michel Foucault was a French philosopher, social theorist, historian of ideas, and literary critic. His main field of work was modern hermeneutics, structuralism and post-modernism. Foucault's held a reputation as the first person who dispossessed the enlightenment hypothesis about the objectivity of knowledge. To him, language does not represent the reality of the world but it reflects the personal experience of a person. He, in his anthropological studies, stated that there is a relationship between utilizing language and power. Here the language has an instrumental aspect for the powerful

figures and privilege ones and is effective in maintaining or supporting their political-social situations. For him, the task of Hermeneutics is to depose the latent power beyond the text which we are reading.

As a result, he believed that the historical documents which are being presented to us, all are subjective and distorted and in fact, they reflect the world-view of authors and readers. The historical events which are being recorded are those that are conformed to our tendency towards power. Foucault says that each social relationship is a power relationship. But, he reminds us that each power relation does not necessarily lead to dominance. From his view, power in the modern society is a system of relations based on knowledge (the network of knowledge-power) which place the individual inside itself.

This is to say that an individual gets dominated by power in the following ways as he/she is gaining identification and recognition in the society, at the same time being registered by administrative system as a person. He /she starts knowing and categorizing himself or herself in accordance with norms and imposed knowledge from society.

They get visible when they locate under the systems of knowledges such as medicine, psychology and education. As a result, a person get dominated by power in all above cases (Foucault, 1999). Power affects the individual bodies through education and social discipline and for that reason, could talk about bio-power or bio-politics which control individual bodies and giving them discipline in their own way (Foucault, 1999) & (Foucault, 2005).

In the end, Foucault stated that the study of power had not been his main purpose, he wanted to study the "Subject" namely what forms individual as a person who knows and based on Foucault's view simultaneously himself/herself under control (Hubert Dreyfus

& Rabinow, 2003). It seems at the same time criticize himself. Foucault presents two rather different perceptions, archaeology and genealogy.

### **Archaeology**

According to Foucault (1972), “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” (p. 117).

In archaeology, he wanted to identify the distinct and independent periods of history and he tried to collect the cooperative elements of a cognitive- linguistic system and specified the dominant rules over them. He also intended to distinguish the discontinuity between them. Based up on that, Foucault has brought up the formation of collections, and archive systems and he stated that the truth in each historical period will be organized based on the system of that era and It is not possible to generalize it to other periods(Khaleghi dameghani, 2006).

Based on that, he specified three Epistemes as the Renaissance, Classicism and Modernism. He believed that each of these regimes of knowledge has a fundamental cognitive system. Discourse theory is a part of his archaeology theory.

From Foucault's point of view, a discourse is formed from a limited numbers of "statements" (Énoncé) which require specific conditions in order to emerge. In this understanding discourse is not timeless or idealistic but is historical and temporal from the beginning.

He believed that the truth is the product of discourse and different systems of knowledge determine what is true or false therefore the search for the truth outside the discourse is pointless. Foucault's aim is to search for different systems of knowledge, discourses and rules which all determine what we should say or not to say and also which is true or false. Thus, in Archeology he tries to explain the rules of formation which are responsible for constructing discourses and also providing the possible conditions for creating social science. Archeology relies on discontinuity principle and lack of consistency. It tries to know the distinct and independent periods of history. Also, it collects coordinated elements of a linguistic-cognitive system and trying to determine the dominant rules over them(Zeimaran, 1999).

Here Foucault attempts to reject the human-centered reports from discourse because he believes that these reports present a founder subject as the source of a discourse which also accounts as a factor for its identity and continuity whereas such a subject does not exist.

His second attempt is to criticize the seeking of a source or real cause for the discourse. Discourse complexity prevents it from reducing it-like Marxism- to a special field such as materialistic factors. Thirdly, his critique of the views considers the discursive formation as integrated and consistent. He tried to extend this point of view in Archeology.

He believes discursive formation is scattered and there is a lack of clarity and consistency within it. Foucault considers "statement" as the main subject or on the other word, the main unit of discourse. He stated that he had shown that the formation of concepts is not based on the history of ideas, but it is determined based on the relations of statements(Haghighat, 2007). What allows these statements to emerge (or not) are the

governing discursive rules. Discursive rules are a set of necessitating and depriving rules that form the subjects and they conceal themselves during this process. They form the 'nature' of the body, unconscious state of mind and the emotional part of life in humans which they try to control them (Khaleghi dameghani, 2006).

Based on Foucault's view, they control humans via three ways:

-External ways of control: he calls them prohibition rejection and sanction systems.

-Internal ways of control: Discourse has control over itself. It includes different interpretations, emphasis on the author and scientific discipline.

The conditions of using speeches:

The attempt is everybody is not allowed to have access to the speech. Here he wants to show the rules which play a role to determine the statements as true or false. In contrary, there are theories which assume pre-existing reality because he believes in things form within discourse and during special processes (Khaleghi dameghani, 2006). Foucault also mentioned about the processes of producing discourse. During these processes, some discourses are prohibited or suppressed and some being approved.

Discourses during this process are divided into rational and irrational, right and wrong and during a process which is called "The Will to Truth" the true discourses are preferred over the false ones. Here, his aim is to discover the rules which have role in determining the statements as true and false.

## **Genealogy**

Foucault paid attention to genealogy in his latter part of his work. Here, his focus was upon the relation between power, knowledge and truth. In fact, genealogy is interested to study the centrality of power and hegemony in the formation of discourses, identities and institutions. It tries to extend the feature of axis-power in sovereign discourses. According to Foucault, power must not be limited to political institutions because power flows through society and directly plays a productive role (Hosseini Zadeh, 2005). In genealogy, Foucault tied the emergence and expansion of social sciences with power. He believes that knowledge is integrated deeply with power relations and develops coordinately with progress in exercise of power. On the other word, wherever power is exercised, knowledge will be produced too. Based upon this view, human sciences are formed within the network of power relations and in contrast, they have assisted to the progression of power technologies. Thus, Foucault attempts to study the bilateral relationships between power and knowledge. In this way, he tries to reveal the feature of axis-power in modern social sciences and regimes of truth(Hosseini Zadeh, 2005). The main issue in his genealogy is how humans are being formed as subjects and object after being placed within a system of power and knowledge relations(Haghighat, 2007). The most important feature of genealogy is that we should go directly towards body, where the major mistake of our ancestors in recognition of the "effect" instead of "cause" made some difficulties for the body. The body is the place of ancestry. The purpose of each power- knowledge is to access the dominance and producing the obedient bodies.

### **2.12.3 Part three: Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory (Essex school of discourse analysis)**

#### **2.12.3.1 The concepts and components related to the discourse theory**

These two theorists introduced a discursive theory involving of expression of its key concepts. Laclau and Mouffe have used many concepts which were sometimes complicated whereby an understanding of their theory and its application is needed to know them. The feature of their concepts is that specific forms are linked together like a chain. The understanding of each concept guides us to recognize other concepts as some of the main concepts involve several other concepts.

#### **(a) First Component:**

##### **1. The Power**

According to its especial definition, power can be considered as the most fundamental concept in discourse theory because the formation of each discourse is possible only through power imposition. According to Laclau and Mouffe, power is the power and ability to define and impose this definition against everything which denies or rejects it (Nash, 2008).

Discourses reject the other and stabilize themselves by the power. They try to overcome each other by imposing power and since the victory of each of them is not predetermined, the main role of power in the survival or destruction of discourse will become clearer. Their concept of power is very similar to that of Foucault. Power is not a thing that is present in the hands of someone and absent in hands of others, but it is a thing which produces a society and subjects. Power has surrounded all aspects of our lives including personal and social dimensions. This provides order, law, education,

welfare, health and other basic requirements of our life and it is impossible to be free from the domination of power. Like Foucault, the power in the theory of Laclau and Mouffe is like a capillary in the human body which was interwoven in the society of humans. The life and survival of a community depend on it. In political negotiations, a discourse will become successful which accesses the more devices of power.

In order to explain this issue, Norman Fairclough used the concept of “power behind discourse” (Fairclough, 2001). The ability of discourses to stabilize a meaning and become hegemonic depends on the power which is behind them and supports them. The power behind a discourse gives a meaning to the symbols by foregrounding and makes it hegemonic by creating a consensus. Then, it temporarily stabilizes the especial meaning of symbols or the floating signifiers of that discourse in the minds of subjects. On the other hand, it tries to deviate the meaning presented by an opponent discourse by back-grounding and de-structuralizing its nodal points.

## **2. The Adversary**

The discourses always back-grounds the other and foregrounds themselves. Whatever back-grounding of another is, it cannot remove the rival from the scene of challenge and competition completely. Therefore, there is always the possibility of reconstruction and “return of the oppressed”.

It is noteworthy that otherness includes various concepts ranging from competition to adversary to violent oppression. So, the relationship between self and the other is not always hostile. One of the features of a democratic radical discourse, based on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, is that it formally recognizes the legitimacy of a conflict and the right of an opposition. They suggest the sense of competition instead of

hostility. Such an approach declines an enemy into rival and hostility into competition (Hosseini Zadeh, 2010).

Given that a complete removal of other is not possible, it can be said that the more the capacity of discourses toward changing hostile into competition, the more stabilized their situation. In addition, another can be seen as a competitor on a scene and promote the competitive environment. It plays a role as an “effective outside” in shaping and creating an identity. In any case, the conflicts of discourse should not be excessive. Violent suppression of the other discourse increases the likelihood of its radicalism. The first spark of the Islamic Revolution in Iran on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1963 was intensified by the severe suppression of people via Pahlavi’s regime until it was eventually overthrown.

Discourses in some cases are able to remove the adversaries without suppression. This is done by “hegemonic intervention”, a new articulation and discursive reconstruction which focused on the means of power and ideological persuasion. It prevents the fragmentation of a discourse's identity by removing the existing barriers and crisis. For example, different discourses may be immersed in otherness and discursive discussions in a community, but if foreign (alien) enemies attack this country at the same time, different identities will be vanished in favor of national identity.

In these circumstances, suppression of competitor's discourse will become legitimate in public. In such a case, hegemonic intervention has occurred. It is a sample of political actions as its function is parallel with the chain of equivalence. In fact, they generate chains of equivalence in the circumstances of a crisis; they link the different identities and distinctive political forces around a nodal point and create a new social arrangement from the various scattered elements in the disturbing conditions (without tranquil). Based on the above-mentioned points, the simultaneous otherness has two conflicting

functions. On one hand, it exposes the discourses to fragmentation by making the meanings of stabilized signifiers unstable and it challenges the discourse, thus preventing the complete formation and stabilization of discourses. However, on the other hand, it too plays an essential role in the formation of their identity. Laclau used the sense of “effective outside” in order to explain the features and functions of otherness. Since hostility and otherness like the sense of instability threaten the existence of a discourse and expose it to the fragmentation, they refer to the contingency of events, temporariness of phenomenon and discourses (Hosseini Zadeh, 2010).

### **3. The Concepts of Antagonism, Otherness and Constitutive Outside**

Firstly, it must be mentioned that antagonism is different from the contrast of Hegel and Marxist. The Marxian class conflict has a predetermined orientation and is based on the rules, but the antagonism lacks any necessary rule or any predetermined orientation. Conflict in Marxism takes place within a system and leads into its fragmentation, but antagonism is external and leads to the formation and the coherence of a discourse which similarly threatens it and leads into fragmentation. Antagonism refers to a relationship of an event with an outside thing which plays an important role in determining the identity of that event. Laclau uses the concept of a constructive outside to explain the features of otherness while Derrida focuses on the formation of identities and stabilization of meanings over the existence of other or an enemy.

Secondly, understanding the discursive theory is impossible without understanding the concepts of otherness and antagonism because discourses will be formed principally in differences and conflicts with each other. Identification of a discourse is only possible in conflict with other discourses. The day can be understood in contrast with night. So, the

identity of a day depends on the night and vice versa. Identity of all discourses depends on the existence of the other. Therefore, discourses will always face otherness.

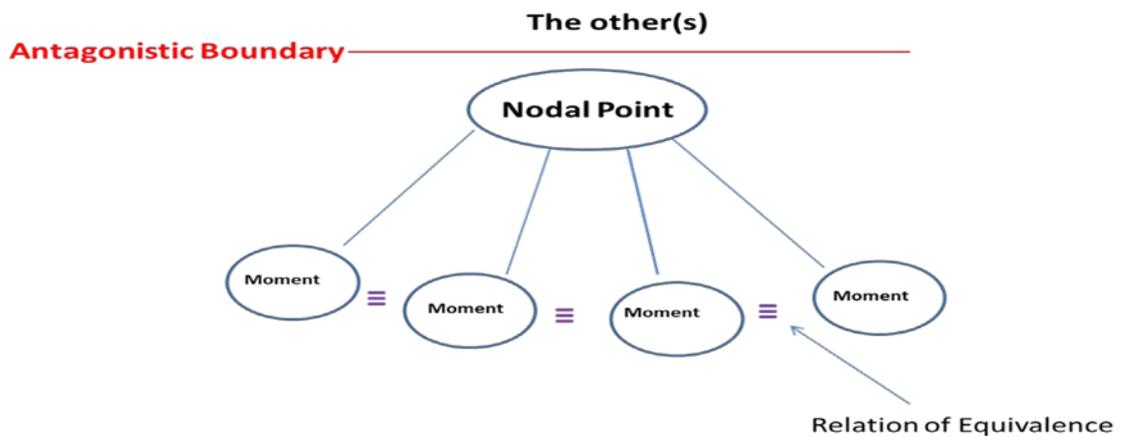
Sometimes, there are various others against a discourse that uses them in different situations and for accessing the various identities. Therefore, a distinction between non-internal and non-external other is possible. For example, in the political system of Iran, Israel is the non-external discourse of (as it was modified) fundamentalism (as the same as *Resalat* newspaper) and the discourse (as it was modified) is considered as the non-internal reformist.

Now the answer to the above question is found in this point that the other backgrounded discourses always try to present a new meaning from the moments (stabilized signifiers) and disturb the temporary stabilization of a meaning which was created by a dominant discourse. Therefore, the signifiers are continuously exposed to the semantic floating or instability. If the semantic stability of signifiers in a discourse is disturbed, the stability of that discourse will be jeopardized. In fact, it encounters crisis and instability of identity and if the rejected discourses accomplish this task, the hegemony of a ruling discourse will be removed and the ground for the domination of opponent discourses will be provided.

Based on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, the collective identity or a group formation and in its widest form, the identity of a discourse is created under the common principles with an individual identity or the identity of a subject meaning that it is formed by the opposition between inside and outside. The identity of a subject results from a conflict between two types of an identity. Firstly, a perfected identity created by an individual in his / her idealistic horizons results from his / her unconscious mind and secondly, an identity which society defines for him via subject positions.

Therefore, it can be said that identity results from the integration of desires and reality. Then, a subject always tries to approach the reality with his / her desires by removing the obstacles and back-grounding the competitors.

The motivation of political subjects for introducing the new discourses results from this issue. In other words, the political subjects hope to recover their identity in the new discourse such that it becomes closer to their internal desires. The discursive and collective identification came about from an antagonism between two types of external and internal identities; i.e. they result from an opposition between internal semantic system with others and the external enemies. Myth plays the same role in the formation of discourse's identity as well as the role of mental ideals and desires in the formation of subjects' identity.



**Figure 2.3:** The model of antagonistic boundaries based upon Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory

In this model, the emphasis is on the antagonism which makes articulation possible. The model is presented to explain how an articulation become hegemonic and thus turn into the dominant discourse(Poursafir, 2008).

#### **4. The Deconstruction**

Deconstruction is accounted as one of the implications of this theory. Its meanings are followed by the concept of hegemony which approaches a signifier to a particular signified and as a result, the meaning of that sign is stabilized (temporary) and a floating signifier changes into a moment.

But the aim of deconstruction is to remove meaning stability and to break the hegemony of a rival discourse; because breaking the semantic stability of a discourse leads into the loss of hegemony of that discourse. In deconstruction, the signifiers are redefined and a new meaning is attributed to them. This task is done by separating the signified from its signifier and, if possible, by assigning another signified to the intended signifier. For instance, in the previous example on a control signifier, the reformist discourse tries to separate the consultative concept as a signified which was contributed to the control signifier in the fundamentalist discourse and replace the approbation concept.

This term indicates that in some cases, in addition to deconstruction by a rival or competitor, omitting a signifier and signified of a discourse from the new domain of a discourse is possible. This issue goes back to the fundamental differences between discourses. For example, the hereditary of a government is one of the signifiers of imperial regimes which was rejected and removed completely from the structure of political discourse in Iran after Islamic revolution. In order to present a sample of discursive deconstructions, the following example is striking: in the discourse of Pahlavi, Shah is the nodal point which is the symbol of national unity and the glory of Aryan race and the great civilization of Iran. In order to overcome the discourse of Pahlavi, the discourse of Islamic revolution occurred by its nodal point from the beginning and its signifier was separated from its signified by deconstruction which is

clear in the speech of related leaders of Islamic revolution from the beginning of this movement.

Shah was seen as an incompetent, egotistic, unreligious person; the one who destroyed national autonomy and the humiliation of not being a symbol of national glory. This deconstruction and the back-grounding of other by the discourse of Islamic revolution, besides foregrounding the nodal point of self, i.e. the leadership of Imam Khomeini and the consensus in the minds of subjects, could break the hegemony of rival's discourse and changed itself into the hegemonic type.

### **5. The Back Grounding and Foregrounding**

The concept of otherness per se associates with the concepts of back-grounding and foregrounding. These two concepts emerge in different forms in discursive discussions. Back-grounding refers to self-weakness points and the strength points of a competitor and foregrounding refers to self-strength points and the weakness points of a competitor. In fact, foregrounding and back-grounding are effective methods for maintaining and keeping power and hegemony of a discourse.

### **6. Hegemony and Stabilizing of Meaning**

According to Barrett (1991), "*Hegemony is best understood as the organisation of consent –the processes through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion.*" (p. 54).

Laclau and Mouffe use the flexibility of the relationship between signifier and signified in the political fields and connected it to the hegemonic concept. It means that if there is an agreement about an especial meaning for a signifier in a society, i.e. the public

accepts and fixes temporarily a certain concept for that signifier, that signifier will become hegemonic. When the signifiers of a discourse become hegemonic, then whole of that discourse will be hegemonic. Temporary stabilization of identities is the main work of hegemony in a discourse. Accessing to the hegemony which is the final aim of a discourse will be possible through meaning stabilization.

Hegemonic practices are the examples of political actions and include the connection of different identities and political forces to a joint project and the creation of a new social order from the scattered and various elements. The concept of hegemony is rooted in the idea of Gramsci. This concept refers to the trend of meaning production for stabilizing the power and sometimes, it is interpreted as the moral and intellectual leadership. Based on this, the labor class must lead different social forces in order to reinforce themselves in the political campaign. They should promote their slogans and demands and direct the interests of the public or nation.

Thus, hegemony is always associated with a kind of universalism. It is the political logic that leads into the creation of a new consensus and a common sense (David Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis, 2000). Laclau called the efforts of political projects for stabilizing the limited and finite discourses as the hegemonic practices which have two conditions. The first one refers to the hostility and hostile forces and the second one is the instability of boundaries which distinguish these forces (David Howarth et al., 2000). Thus, hegemonic practices are done in hostile social domain and various projects which are in conflict and competition and the elements which can be absorbed and articulated.

The aim of hegemonic practices is to create or stabilize the semantic system or hegemonic formulation. These formulations were organized around a central signifier

around which a society is formed. A hegemonic discourse refers to its success in stabilizing its intended meaning.

**(b) Second components:**

**7. The Myth, Social Imagination and Metaphoric**

According to Laclau (1990), “By myth we mean a space of representation which bears no relation of continuity with the dominant ‘structural objectivity’. Myth is thus a principle of reading of a given situation, whose terms are external to what is representable in the objective spatiality constituted by the given structure” (p. 61).

Social conditions are always unstable. The dominant discourses constantly face social crises and problems. Such instability and represent weak hegemonic articulations are the main subjects of a discourse (Achilles heel). Because they generate the requirement for an alternative discourse in the minds of subjects in order to solve the problems. In such circumstances, the social theories will be introduced to explain the problems and present the related solutions for consideration as an alternative for that existing discourse. Social theories provide an ideal space from a community in which there are no problems or crisis. The prominent example of this issue can be conducting the elections in the democratic political structures.

Laclau called theory as a myth. Since the myths are the result of the instabilities of discourses governing on the social systems, they try to escape and create a new social objectivity. The current community is also an objectified social imagination, a visualized myth which faced crisis and became unstable. Based on the discursive viewpoint, organizing the reality and overcoming the crisis is done through theoretical reconstruction and theorization. Consequently, in order to fill the gaps, societies always

require theorization and discourse creation. Through this, organizing the problems, eliminating defects, instabilities and finally developing the human societies will be possible (Hosseini Zadeh, 2010). For example, discussion of civilizations is a myth which hides an extensive collection of variations, discrimination and differences in its sense and presents an imagination of an ideal world. Civilized nations, by focusing on their problems, try to create peace in the world and displays an especial formation of international system in accordance with this imagination.

Why did Laclau called a theory as a myth? This question leads us to another concept called social imagination. Myth presents the demands of a certain class or group of people in a society and this is not enough for changing into a hegemonic discourse. Thus, a myth must change into a social imagination, which is in contrast to the myth, is global and directs the different sections of a society. In fact, the social imagination is an ideal or utopian space created by a myth which became prevalent among the people of a society. The myth of political development in the discourse of reformations overcame the rival and became hegemonic when it changed into the social imagination and became prevalent. But how does this happen? What is the communicative bridge between myth and social imagination?

The answer is hidden in the metaphorical sense. In order to become prevalent, a myth must go beyond the needs and demands of society and takes an ideal and metaphorical form. In this case, a discourse shows itself as a general and universal discourse which is able to respond to all needs and demands of a society. It hides the fact that a discourse cannot direct all social groups and satisfy their needs and demands. This problem arises since the social realities are complex and variant, and it is not possible to represent them completely. Hence, there is no choice except resorting to metaphor and myth; which is far from reality.

The emerging discourse, in order to be seen as a hegemonic, must introduce itself as the only existing solution to get rid of critical situations and the partial or specific demands in that symbolized aspect must be considered as the proof of public demands and display the general requests. Then, the myths change into the social imagination by creating an ideological and allegorical space and there is always an empty distance between the space which was represented and objectified in the ideological space. For this reason, Laclau used the concept of myth instead of theory. An existing distance between reality and myth provides the possibility of emergence of discourses and new myths.

The allegorical and mythological aspects of a discourse lead to its reinforcement and acceptance in the general level. Similarly, it presents a weakness point. The metaphorical aspect in finding a discourse results in the creation of an ideal imagination in the minds of subjects and this issue increases expectations. If a discourse presents a complete ideal, it must provide and satisfy all demands and solve problems. However, in practice, this is not always possible because instability is always present and a complete organization of reality is not fundamentally possible. When a discourse becomes dominant, it will detach from its metaphorical space and its true nature will be revealed. When the dominant discourse failed to fulfill its promises, and settle the crisis, parts of a society depart from it and gradually, the dissatisfaction and uncertainties toward that discourse become clearer. This situation leads into alienation and the crisis of an identity in the subject (followers). Therefore, the decline of a dominant discourse occurs and a society becomes ready to identify new discourses and myths which claim perfection and draw an idealistic space from the facts.

## **8. The Availability and Credibility**

In order to change a myth into a social imagination, in addition to the requirement for creating a metaphorical space, two conditions must be considered. Firstly, the concept of availability which has two aspects: first, the literature and the concepts of that discourse must be simple and understandable or must be present by a simple language. Secondly, the public must access that discourse in a situation in a way that there is not any alternative discourse in a hegemonic form in competition (Laclau, 1990).

The intended discourse in the minds of subjects (public thoughts) must be recognized as the most available substitution for the existing discourse in order to escape from the problems and the present critical conditions. Therefore, if the social crisis is so intense that disturbs the organization of a ruling discourse, the availability can singly guarantee the success of a discourse (Sayyid, 2000). When society exposes the conditions of disorganization and crisis and a discourse is able to provide order and organization, it will help the public thoughts to accept it.

Certainly, this issue does not indicate the correctness of premises and their logical consistency / stability in the minds of people or they do not like its content. The reason is that in disorganized situations, the organization is the most important thing and the content of this organization will be the second problem (Laclau, 1994). The second concept is credibility, i.e. the consistency of suggested principles of a discourse with the fundamental principles of a society. There are always common principles in all societies which are acceptable by the majority of people. For example, religion in Iran was a common principle and the criterion of credit and the discourses against religion have lost their credit and was rejected by the people (Hosseini Zadeh, 2010). It can also be referred to the micro-discourses within the political system of Iran where the only way

for their popularization and dissemination is to accept the values and principles of Islamic revolution discourse. For instance, in the presidential elections of 1997, each of the opponent discourses tried to represent itself as the only way to maintain and keep the principles and desires of Islamic revolution and displayed other discourses which lead into their decline.

## **9. The Articulation**

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), “[W]e will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice.” (p. 105).

Articulation is an action that creates a relationship among various elements including concepts, symbols, actions etc. in the way that their primary identity changes in order to find a new identity. So, the identity of a discourse is the result of a relationship which is created through an articulation among various elements (Haghighat, 2007). In fact, discourses are hegemonic articulations which have changed from imagination into objectivity in social fields. Articulation produces a semantic system and a discourse is the domination of a particular semantic system on the social field. For example, the reformism (*Etemad-e Melli* Newspaper belongs to this discourse) is a semantic system which became hegemonic in Iranian socio-political context during Islamic Revolution of Iran and changed from imagination into objectivity.

According to Laclau and Mouffe, there are no fundamental thing such as Marxism which gives meaning and identity to other phenomena. The identity of everything is merely obtained in the network of other articulated identities. Thus, identities are constructed by hegemonic articulations. In addition to aforementioned points, the formation of identity depends on the concept of others that will be explained later.

## 10. The Discourse

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), “The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*.” (p. 105).

A structured totality which is resulted from an articulation action is called a discourse. Discourses are composed of a collection of terms that are related to each other in a significant way (Martin, 2001). In fact, the discourses are an abstract formation from codes, objects, people etc. which are located around a nodal point and get their identity against a collection of otherness. Discourses form our understanding towards reality and the world. Therefore, the meaning and human understanding about reality is always based on discourses consequently they are relative. From this point of view a discourse involves all domains of social life (Martin, 2001).

Laclau and Mouffe rejected the distinction between discursive and non-discursive domains in Foucault and the other scholars’ theories. Instead they focused on the discursivity of all social fields. Therefore, Laclau and Mouffe’ discursive analysis encounters a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic data (speeches, reports, historical events, interviews, policymaking(s), declarations, ideas, thoughts, organizations, and institutions) as a text (David Howarth et al., 2000). According to Laclau and Mouffe, discourses are the only ways for the human’s recognition toward the real world.

Each discourse encompasses some parts of the social domain and gives an especial meaning to everything within a framework of semantic system, a concept which is characteristic of that semantic system. In such a case, a verb, word, symbol etc. in two different discourses may have different or even conflicting meanings. Fundamentally, the words within the contradictory discourses are meaningful not in a common

language. For this reason, every action and event must be discursive to have a meaning. Nothing has an identity by itself. Actions, words and things are meaningful and significant when they are located in the framework of a particular discourse.

### **A Summary of Laclau's Viewpoints towards Discourse**

(a) A discourse cannot be attributed solely to a combination of speech and writing. These two things are assumed as the internal components of a discursive generality. Hence discourse is defined as a meaningful collection of linguistic and non-linguistic signs. Thus, it involves both materialistic and theoretical dimensions.

(b) Discourse focuses on the fact that social configuration is meaningful.

(c) A discourse does not only replace ideology. Society analyzes and treats it as a text i.e. a structure based on the rules of discourse which focused on the symbolic features of social relations. Perhaps it can be said that the concept of a discourse has been replaced by the concept of ideology in Marxism and language in postmodern theories.

(d) Contrary to the beliefs of Saussure, a discourse is never understood as a closed system of distinctions of perception. Therefore, discourses are not able to accomplish and block the identities.

(e) In this approach, the centrality of political articulation has been assumed.

(f) In this approach, the social and political identities are assumed as discourse products.

### **11. The Identity**

In the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, the stabilized identity is not permanent and predetermined. The identities are created by the discourses and the formation of a

discourse precedes the formation of identities (AnnaMarie Smith, 1998). Therefore, the identities are discursive and are situations which are assigned to an individual or a group within the discourses. Discursive identity is created by a chain of equivalence where different signs which contrast against the other chains are interconnected. Identities, as the linguistic signs, will be formed in contrast with the other. Therefore, they are partial and communicative; never become completely stable (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002).

The meaning of a sign within a discourse is never stabilized and there is constantly the possibility of penetration of other meanings and discourses. Therefore, the discursive identity is unstable due to the existence of an endless discursive discussion and its antagonism. So, in identity, its relativity and rejection must be considered.

Hostile forces play two different roles: it prevents the formation of a complete identity and its stabilization while being part of the conditions of identity-existence because the recognition of identities is possible through the existence of other or antagonist. Considering different discourses, an individual can occupy various situations. For example, a negro will be considered as a black person in the discourse of Negroes due to its skin color, as a worker in the discourse of Marxism due to being a worker, as a Christian in the discourse of Christianity due to being Christian or as a female in the discourse of feminism due to being a woman. If the discourses are contradictory, this issue can be the origin of identity crisis.

## 12. The Subject Positions<sup>8</sup>, Political Subjectivity and Interpellation

Laclau and Mouffe, like Foucault, deny the structural determinism of Marxist, in one hand, and the autonomous subject of Kant and the philosophers of Enlightenment age, on the other hand. To them, a subject is not entirely restricted or free (in denying the autonomous subject he agreed with the view of Nietzsche, Freud and Heidegger and his theory toward subjects is mainly influenced by Althusser). In order to show the position of the subject in the discourse theory, Laclau and Mouffe distinguished between two situations where the subject is. The first position is the subject's position. This concept refers to hegemonic discourse governing the subjects. When the subject is in the framework of a hegemonic articulation, he / she are overwhelmed with it and his / her freedom or liberty is limited. In this case, this is a discourse which determines the position of a subject and his / her practical pattern because this issue is required for its identity. Since, according to this theory, anything outside of the discourse is without identity and thus not recognizable; the subject is not excluded from this rule. The identity of a subject becomes clear by the dominant discourse and not the subject (he talked about the concept of positioning in order to explain the concept of subject). The individuals are positioned as subjects by ideological behaviours which determines the position of an individual in a society and his / her identity. Thus, the subjects in different discourses will find various (and occasionally) conflicting identities. The recognition of a subject about himself / herself under the communist domination is considerably different from the recognition of another subject under liberalism domination.

---

<sup>8</sup> Subjects

Subjects are to be understood as 'subject positions' within a discursive structure (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014).

Certainly, the hegemony of a discourse over the minds of subjects is beyond this issue because these two subjects in the above example not only have a different attitude toward themselves but also to the whole world around themselves. They understand them differently with fixed identity and interests, reduces it to the subjectivity positions that define the discourses within themselves. Each subjectivity position is made by its difference with other subjectivity situations. Those which were determined by each discourse for the subjects are exposed to predetermined situations.

It should be noted that there is always a wide range of discourses and situations by which the humans can reach an identity. As a result, each individual can access various subjectivity positions (David Howarth et al., 2000). The second concept is the political subjectivity that refers to a case in which the position of a dominant discourse becomes unstable due to the social instabilities. At this time, a subject is free to act as a broker or political agent, challenges the hegemonic discourse and introduces its intended arrangement over a society (subjects are created on the unstable edges of discursive structures) (Laclau, 1990). According to Laclau, since the discourses and structures are never stable and there is always crisis and instability in them; and also due to contingency and possibility of discourses and a social system created by them, we can observe the emergence of a political subject. By presenting his definition about a subject, Laclau displayed it as an active or dynamic agent and gave him / her a driving force. A force urges the subject to seek his / her identity within various discourses and for this reason, he / she tries hard to create the optimum situations and the dominance of new discourses. Laclau believed that this concept helps to solve bygone problem of agent-structure in the social sciences (Laclau, 1990). Therefore, subject in certain conditions, has a kind of autonomy.

When a discourse cannot assign an identity to the social agents due to the instability, people such as thinkers, leaders and great politicians will appear in the role of subject. When the dominant discourse weakens, new subjects and articulations emerge and in these situations, the people make decisions about the discourses and not discourse about people. In fact, when the myths are forming in the critical conditions, the subjectivity positions are disturbed or become unstable and the creative subjects appear and sometimes change the fate of nations. However, the moment myths' appear and the objectivity of discourses is equivalent to disappearance of subjects, the loss of his / her autonomy and his / her disintegration in a structural recognition is the basis of the practice of subjects.

#### **(d) Third components**

### **13. The Signifier<sup>9</sup> and Signified<sup>10</sup>**

The two concepts, signifier and signified play significant roles in the theory of Laclau and Mouffe. Signifiers are people, concepts, phrases, abstracts or real symbols which refer to the especial meanings within the especial discursive frameworks. A meaning and a concept of a signifier refers to it (a referent). A referent is a symbol that by seeing it, the considered signifier will become clear to us. For example, the plurality / multiplicity of critical media is a symbol, mark and referent which directs us toward the signifier of "freedom of speech".

### **14. The Nodal Point**

---

<sup>9</sup> Signifier

Jacques Lacan believed that this is signifier that makes signified (Payne, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Meaning and identity

Meaning and identity are the result of the relation between signifier and signified. Finding meaning or finding identity is the result of the subject's position.

According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), “A *nodal point* is a privileged sign around which the other signs are ordered; the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point” (p. 26).

Laclau and Mouffe borrowed this concept from Lacan. A nodal point refers to a person, symbol or concept and other signifiers are articulated around it. The nodal point is like a column of a tent and if you remove it, the tent will collapse. The nodal point is a thing which was rejected in the discourse of an opponent and its place is empty. For example, the nodal point in the discourse of Islamic Revolution is the leadership of Imam Khomeini. It is also true that the political development in a so called reformist discourse is Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and the freedom in the political thought of Western liberalism is associated with other concepts such as rights of humanity, democracy, civil society etc. as the liberalism signifiers were formed around the direction of liberalism path. Then, the articulation process takes place and the aforementioned concepts find an especial identity in the framework of a liberalism discourse.

### **15. The Floating signifier**

According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), “*Floating signifiers* are the signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way” (p. 28).

In this theory, the symbols and concepts are the floating signifiers that the different discourses try to give a meaning. A floating signifier is a signifier that its referent is unstable / floating. It has multiple referents and different political groups compete with each other to assign their intended referent. Each discourse is based on the structure of its semantic system foregrounds while a referent is consistent with this semantic system and deviate from other referents. For example, the concept of monitoring elections is a

floating signifier in Iranian political discourses which has at least two referents. Some of micro-discourses of this system try to define its referent as the consultative monitoring and others define it as approbation supervision.

## **16. The Empty Signifier**

In his recent works, Laclau used the concept of empty signifiers in order to explain the metaphorical trend of a myth. An empty signifier indicates a gap in the social space. It shows a hidden issue. The task of empty signifiers represents / reflects the idealistic and desirable situation. Since these signifiers always emphasize imperfections, their creation leads to the development and dynamism of society and politics (Laclau, 1994). The empty signifiers are the result of new myths' creation.

Articulation of the new political discourses takes place around an empty signifier in an unstable discourse. Therefore, an empty signifier will be in the place of a nodal point. Emptiness is a feature of a nodal point and thus is a condition of its success in hegemony (Laclau, 1996 ).

The existence of empty signifiers indicating instabilities, requests and crises in the sociopolitical domain provide the ground for formation of new discourses. If the dominant discourses can fill these gaps, they will guarantee their life. Otherwise, they will be replaced by the competitive discourses which created the idealistic thoughts in the minds of the subjects through these empty signifiers. According to people, settling shortcomings and crises depends on their hegemony.

For example, the political development as an empty signifier of a discourse during instability was changed into a myth by the functionality of reformists' political subjects.

One of the features of myths is its desirability for the people. But this was not still desirable for all people and only dominated a part of society including a new middle class, intellectuals and academic classes. This is not enough for a discourse to be seen as a hegemonic discourse as it must be in a metaphorical form. An idealistic halo should be around it which indicates a better future; as in one hand, it encourages and helps the intellectuals and idealistic individuals of a society more than before while on the other hand, it can penetrate the general levels of a society and the inferior social layers.

Accordingly, when this idealistic space was transferred into a society, gradually, the myth of political development as a nodal point of reformist's discourse distributed among people and based on the request of majority is changed. The floating signifiers of this discourse also reached a relative semantic stability in the public thoughts in the light of practices of reformists' political subjects by an identity-seeking resulted from an articulation around a nodal point. Then, the political development was changed into a social thought and by deconstructing and back-grounding of an opponent discourse reached objectivity from imagination before it finally became hegemonic. The elements are signifiers and symbols whereby their meanings have not been fixed and the different discourses try to give them a meaning.

## **17. The Element**

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), “*we will call element any difference that is not discursively articulated.*”(p. 105).

The elements are floating signifiers which were not still located in a form of a discourse. Each signifier, prior to inserting into a discourse, is an element.

## **18. The Dislocation**

Principally, stabilizing and obstructing is not permanent in the meanings of the signs. The stabilization of the signifiers' meaning is temporary in all discourses, thus Laclau and Mouffe used the word “moment” to show the temporariness of the meanings of symbols. Therefore, it is always likely to change or make unstable and fixed meanings of a moment. This is called instability. Instability is very extensive, ranging from the micro-level i.e. meaning of a sign (signifier) to the macro-levels i.e. discourses governing on the world. In fact, the world is based on the structure of instabilities and a social system always becomes significant in a relationship between instability and stability of a meaning.

The concept of instability in the theory of Laclau and Mouffe refers to the crisis and events that challenge the hegemony of discourses. Since no discourse can be fixed completely and maintain its domination forever, it is the center of existentialism in this theory. Instability provides the possibility to create new articulations and competitive / alternative subjects by weakening the hegemony of a dominant discourse in one hand and it encourages the dominant discourse on the other; in order to restructure itself and prevent the instabilities of meanings and signifiers. Instability includes a kind of change; but the process and its direction were not predetermined. In the instability, there

is no final aim to guide a change. It is only possibility and probability, coincidence and contingency.

The instable structure cannot determine principles for its development. Therefore, instability also refers to the possibility and contingency of social formations. Freedom or liberty is the other result of instability. The less the determination and structural determinism, the more freedom and the wider the domain of a subjects' activity (Hosseini Zadeh, 2010). What is the nature of events and crises that lead to the instability of signifiers' meanings and the temporariness of discourses' stability? What is the origin and main reason of this instability? The answers are hidden in the concepts of otherness and antagonism.

## **19. The Moment**

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), "*The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call moments.*" (p. 105).

The signifiers and the elements which have been articulated within a discourse reached a temporary identity and meaning. For example, in the discourse of classical liberalism, the freedom has been temporarily stabilized in the sense of lack of external determinism. It should be noted that meanings and identities are always relative and it is possible to change them in terms of changes of a discourse. The meaning is never well-established or stabilized.

## **20. The Closure**

When an element changes into a moment, it exits from the floating state and gets a stable or fixed meaning. The concept of closure refers to the stabilization of the

meanings of signs which creates under the hegemonic effect of a discourse. Hence, closure is a temporary end of giving identity to the signs and the relative and temporary stabilization of a sign's meaning in a discourse. In its most general form, a closure refers to the stabilization of a discourse which also never happens completely.

The requirement for stabilizing the meaning of a sign within a discourse which is the subject of all discursive discussions is foregrounding the intended meaning and rejecting or back-grounding the other possible meanings. After rejecting other meanings, they will be in the discursivity domain. Omitting the meanings of other is temporary and it is always possible that these meanings are fore-grounded by other discourses and may change into a threat for the rejecting discourse. These points indicate that the discourses always compete to stabilize their meaning as well its hegemony over the other meanings by deconstruction and back-grounding the meanings of other. Therefore, there is struggle and competition over this theory.

This is a permanent competition over creating a meaning which is similarly the driving force of a society. Producing and stabilizing a meaning is one of the most important devices of discourses for getting power, and creating stability in the relationships of power and the hegemonic continuance. Discourses display the relationships of power as natural, logical and acceptable in a society through producing a meaning, foregrounding it and creating a consensus under the light of hegemonic dominance over a community until they be safe from the other viewpoints.

The other important functions of hegemony is that it replaces dominance with force, changes power into a fact in public and displays it as a natural and ordinary issue as if it existed before and will be forever. In order to explain this issue, considering and presenting the viewpoint of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist, is valuable. He

believed that hegemony is resulted from a power whereby the ruling class can persuade the other classes as the interests of that class is the interests of all people (Soltani, 2008).

**21. The principle of “the relationship between the Signifier and the Signified is arbitrary” (Saussure called this 'Unmotivated')**

In the theory of Laclau and Mouffe through Saussure's thoughts, the connection of each sign with its meaning is not inherent but arbitrary or conventional. The principle of arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified is the most important existentialism principles of this theory. The reason of the existence of different signifiers for a signified in various languages is arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified by which the language can be considered as a bridge for us in order to recognize the outside world.

This is the language by which we understand things. There is nothing in nature to say what the boundary between green and blue, or mountains, hills and valleys really is. Laclau and Mouffe believed that the meta-discursive world has no effective role in the word we know because the things and objects of meta-discursive world are formless and consequently, are not understandable for us (Soltani, 2008).

Although Laclau and Mouffe were the advocates of Saussure's theory, their perceptions have fundamental differences versus the theory of Saussure. He believed the stability of this conventional relationship as well as the arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified. But the viewpoint of Laclau and Mouffe is affected by the post-structuralism view of Derrida towards a stable relationship of signifier and signified which leads to the separation of signifier from signified. Hence, the meaning of the signs will be changed. Such an attitude provides the field of ambiguity and semantic multiplicity (multiplicity of meanings).

The misunderstandings in daily life and the use of words such as freedom, democracy and justice with different and contradictory meanings indicate that, in contrast to the view of Saussure, the relationship between signifier and signified is always subject to change (Soltani, 2008). Although the process of meaning stabilization is not accomplished completely and permanently and undergoes continuous changes, the discourses are trying to stabilize a meaning because by stabilizing the meanings of floating signifiers, a semantic system and the existence of a discourse will be formed. But how this is accomplished?

Laclau and Mouffe answered this question by creating the articulation process and the concept of hegemony. In the process of articulation, communication takes place between various elements which results in a systematic and coherent generality for a discourse to be formed (Martin, 2001). In the articulation process, the discourses assemble the floating signifiers in the field of society like the scattered parts of a puzzle for presenting a comprehensible meaning and clear image of social political system. The stability of meaning is created by the hegemonization of an articulated semantic system. The explanation of hegemonic notions and the related concepts of meaning-stability will be presented in the next section.

## **22. The field of discursivity and its relationships with the concepts of Moment and Elements**

The cohesion of a discourse depends on the stability of a relationship between signifier; and the stability of a relationship between signifiers and the nodal point. The signifiers around a nodal point are called a moment. Each sign may have several meanings. Naturally, each discourse stabilizes one of those meanings in accordance to its semantics system and rejects the rest. According to Laclau and Mouffe, the possible

meanings of signs which were excluded from a discourse are called discursive domains. The overflow of meanings of a signifier or a sign into this domain takes place in a discourse which creates a semantic consistency (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). Before introducing into a discourse in its framework, the articulation and stabilization of the meaning of a moment is in the discursive domain, which is called an element. Elements are the floating signifiers which are still not under the category of a discourse. In fact, they are excluded from an intended discourse although such exclusion is temporary. The concept of discourse from the viewpoint of Mouffe and Laclau can be defined as follows: a discourse is an attempt to change the elements into a moment through reducing the multiplicity of meanings into one stabilized (stable) meaning (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

### **23. The Contingency and Possibility**

Contingency is considered as one of the fundamental concepts of Mouffe and Laclau's theory. This is rooted in the concept of contingencies in the Aristotelian philosophy against any kind of inherent and essential notions in the domain of a community. Here, the concept of contingency was used when there is no possibility to document to a certain cause (Laclau, 1990). In the Christian philosophy, the concept of possibility was associated with contingency; a possibility was an entity that the conditions of its existence were being determined from the outside, i.e. its existence was based on other. Laclau uses this concept in these two dimensions:

Contingency refers to the lack of objective rules of historical evolution and rejecting the necessity. It observes historical events by chance, resulting from their dependency on the hegemonic articulations; and Contingency or possibility also refers to the externality of existential conditions of each nature. The existence and identity of a nature came

from outside. This other or outside plays a big role in the practices of discourses and identification. No discourses will be formed without discrimination and otherness.

#### **24. The Logic of Difference and Chain of Equivalence**

Otherness directs our attention toward the other concept called the logic of difference, which refers to the plurality feature of a society and focuses on the differences and distinctions between the social forces. Logic of difference tries to disturb the chain of equivalence by focusing on the varieties and differences. Thus, differences exist in the social fields. In this case, the concept of otherness and antagonism will become clear or prominent. The logic or chain of equivalence is the simplification logic of political situations.

The discourses always try to hide existing differences and display a society as a uniform community. This task is done by generating the chain of equivalence whereby in the articulation process, the main signs in a semantic chain integrate with the other signs and will be against an other as it seems that it threatens them (De Vos, 2003) . This logic focuses on the differences and boundaries between social forces. In contrast, the logic of equivalence tries to decrease the discrimination between them by articulating parts of these forces in order to reinforce them against another. Therefore, the discrimination between different elements will be forgotten and all of them will be solved in a semantic system a discourse creates.

For example, by the naturalism ideology, various features of people in a country will be forgotten due to placing in a chain of equivalence where all of them are equal and identical. Although the differences were never forgotten (Smith, 1998), the way for plurality and otherness is open. In the Islamic Revolution of Iran, all groups were against the regime of Shah. Islam, Liberal, Marxist, Nationalism etc. were in the

equivalence chain of Islamic Revolution discourse and their fundamental differences with each other were temporarily forgotten.

### **2.12.3.2 The Society and Politics in the discursive analysis of Laclau and Mouffe**

Here, we try to discuss some features and principles of the social formations of this theory.

#### **1. Contingency**

The contingency of social relations and formations means to deny or reject the necessity and predictability of structures. The existence of opposition (antagonism) and dependency of discourse structures to “other” or “thing” makes the social relations unpredictable. Since there is no absolute discourse and fixed identity and no antagonism threatens the discourses and identities, therefore, all things will be in the domain of contingency. For that reason, observing accidental events and discourses results from impossibility of final stabilization and the existence of “other” or “thing” which causes continual changes in available identities. The society has an open nature and it is never stabilized. A hegemonic articulation partially stabilizes the society for a short time, but there are periods of organic crisis in which the hegemonic articulations weakened the dominant discourses. The subsequent increase of social elements change into floating signifiers are exposed to the new discourses. No social force can stabilize its hegemonic superiority completely as the formation of social shapes is temporarily changing.

#### **2. The Role of Power in Forming Social Formations**

Based on the power-discussion, Laclau and Mouffe approached the Foucault’s theory of genealogy. Here, power is not a thing that all people possess and exercise on others but society is created by power that makes the social world. Therefore, power includes all

processes and forces which make the social world. Power is active and productive, it creates a world for our dwelling and releases us from disorder and disturbance. The formation of each identity and society is the product of power-relations meaning that create a society and stabilize each discourse by rejecting and repressing “other” or “thing”. Therefore, rejecting, denying and repressing all contingencies and substitutions make stabilization of a discourse possible.

Identities are based on function of power; each identity stabilizes itself by rejecting or denying the adversaries’ possibilities. All possible meanings must be rejected in order to stabilize a meaning for a symbol, thus, each type of stabilization and objectivity are formed by the power-relations. Identity and objectivity are created by making a coarse hierarchy between two opposing poles such as black and white, male and female, West and East etc. Since power is a precondition of identity and objectivity, there is no society without power. Removing power leads into dispersion of the society. Therefore, it is not possible to imagine a society free from power- relations, hence, the concepts such as release are not feasible.

### **3. The Primacy of Politics**

According to Laclau and Mouffe, how to think, the base of society and social acts are the products of political articulations. The system of social relations as articulated collections of discourses are constant political structures, i.e. they depend on power-exercise, antagonism and rejection of “other”. Therefore, the discourses which make a society and help us to understand the world are political structures in nature. Laclau and Mouffe separated policy from political affairs. Politics has a secondary concept and is derived from the political affair which refers to the permanent existence of antagonism

and negotiation in a society. Negotiation is the inherent feature of all societies because there is an adversarial and inimical relation in each society.

However, politics is a collection of discourses' exercise and institutions which intends to create a special system or discipline and social organization in the conditions that can be potentially adversarial under the political affairs (Ghasemi, 2004). Politics refers to techniques and processes whereby we can create a society by rejecting the contingencies and temporary stabilization. Politics is responsible for society organization and social decision-making. Political affair is the field of negotiation between discourses in order to stabilize and overcome the others and when a discourse becomes dominant, and rejects its adversaries or substitutes, the objectified or materialized world will be formed.

Objectivity is a stabilized discourse and formed society; a discourse which its substitutes were rejected. In these cases, the stabilized discourse seems natural and permanent but its political roots are being forgotten. When the substitutes and substitutes' discourses are forgotten, a dominant discourse will be presented as a mere option of reality; but the rejected discourses can enter the political game and change into a problem by new articulations. The existence of "other", although weak and unsuccessful, prevents a complete continuance of objectified or materialized discourse. In this case, Laclau presents the term "discourse sedimentation" by using Husserl's view (Laclau, 1990).

### **Discourse Sedimentation**

Discourse sedimentation seems natural, objective and its substitutes are forgotten. Husserl, in the field of sciences, believed that the practice of science is being routinized gradually and the previous theories and researches will be considered as the assumed

issues. Hence, science is limited to the application of theories. The initial conditions in which the available scientific theories had been introduced will be forgotten and the substitutes of these theories and the intuitive conditions of scientific assumptions' development will be ignored. Husserl believes that phenomenology must be about the revival or survival of the current conditions of scientific theories and recovers the rejected historical options until different contingencies and theories are represented again for science to become alive. Therefore, sedimentation process must be stopped by the reactivation.

### **The Reactivation**

Reactivation means the contingency of a dominant discourse and emphasizes on rejected historical options and also manifests possible power relations (Laclau, 1990). It should be considered that discourse resists rejection and do not accept failure or defeat. Rejection can manifest the potential abilities of a rejected discourse and assist its reactivation. The more successful the discourse stabilization or rejection, the more the forgetting of its roots. Then alternative contingencies are gradually forgotten and the effects of hegemonic discourse's contingencies are removed.

This discourse seems natural and objective and the exercises which were strange and unusual appears as usual (Smith, 1998). Thus, "sedimentation" and changing into objectivity is accompanied with covering initial conditions and the effects of contingency are based on the power of dominant discourse. Reactivation does not mean returning back to the roots but it returns to the historical conditions and alternative contingencies which were rejected. The repressed substitutes are revived but not necessarily accepted. The main aim is to discover the contingency conditions and focus on the power of materialized discourse. After this discovery, the new options and

possibilities will be defined. In any case, the materialized forms or shapes of discourses form a society and politics is the field of negotiation and antagonism where the indeterminate nature of substitutes and their settlement manifest through power relations.

Laclau concludes that it is not possible to imagine a society in which the politics are eliminated completely and all negotiations are settled by discourse objectivity. Such society is a closed world which reproduces itself constantly (a utopian society) which is never realized. Therefore, the desire to create a society without dispute in the world is not possible. Conversely all things cannot be political, otherwise there will be no society. We should consider a distinction, ambiguous or clear, between political and social affair to form a society, although the boundaries of community and politics are not clear and this feature is inherent in social relations. Therefore, creating a calm and harmonic society is not feasible because it is not possible of remove the power-relations and antagonism. But a determined amount of objectivity is essential because human requires organization in life and vice versa.

By considering this, the concept of hegemony is between politics and objectivity. Political negotiations go toward objectivity through hegemonic interventions and transition from the political negotiations towards objectivity is possible via hegemonic interventions(Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

#### **4. Instability in the Discourses and Social formations**

The concept of “instability” is one of the central concepts of Laclau. Identities and discourses are unstable due to the existence of antagonism. As mentioned earlier, “other” provides the contingency conditions and identity formation and also threatens it. Instabilities are the events which are the result of antagonism and the emergence of

“other” in the societies. There are events which are not able to symbolize themselves through the available discourse systems but they try to remove or exterminate it. Instability causes the disorder and destructs the structure of a discourse and leads the society into crisis. Instabilities in the new world have dual effects, it threatens the available identities and they are a basis on which the new identities are being formed.

Laclau explains the contemporary problems and crisis of societies based on this concept. In this theory, issues as commercialization, bureaucracy and globalization are explained under the instability concept. Instabilities provide the possibility of new subjects and articulations. It refers to temporariness of social objectivities and discourses; therefore, they constantly exist because discourses will not be fixed forever i.e. not completely. It means the contingency of social formations. Instability is a type of change which direction has not been determined from the beginning. Aristotle said the movement from “strength” to “act” and “material” to “shape” is important but there is no extreme in order to direct a change and being contingent is in its extreme or utmost.

The instable structure cannot provide the principles for its change but it provides the possibility of new articulations. Instability means the existence of freedom (Laclau, 1990). The less the structural force, the more the freedom will be. Instable structure cannot impose or exercise itself on a person and there are continual ways for the new articulations. If the instabilities such as materialization (commercialization) of life and bureaucracy impose limitations, the possibilities will form by which changes can be created. For example, bureaucracy has provided the field of knowledge increase and the decisions based on negotiations or discussions and finally democracy. Therefore, Laclau criticizes the pessimistic image of Frankfurt School about the contemporary status of society and their hopelessness because the instability of structures and the presence of instabilities and crisis provide constant opportunities for people as the world defeated by

capitalism was a limited world and full of power-relations. It is hoped that the future world will be better than current one.

In any case, instabilities which are the result of materialization (commercialization) and bureaucracy create oppositions and introduce the novel social activists into the historical field as they can create their social forms (Laclau, 1990). Laclau believes that instable structures of contemporary societies do not have a central power. Lack of centrality has rooted in the discourse quality of social structure and the continuance presence of “other”. Several centers of power in the contemporary societies can be formed and the more the instability, the more the tendency of power toward dispersion. Therefore, discourses are continually formed about a central signifier, then begin to decline. Instable structures could not have a stable political system. In fact, the more stable the structures, the more unstable the political system will be. Thus, the concept of crisis in Marxism changes into instability. And in spite of crisis, there is no orientation and regulation in the nature of instability. Instability provides a field for “subject” appearance or presence and new articulations and shows the decline of objectified structure.

## **5. The History of the Social Formations**

This quality refers to the contingency nature of their existential conditions. Structures and the existence of things or objects are historical and are associated with the semantic systems in a society. The historical perception of a “thing” refers to the contingent conditions of its existence. Instead of seeking the objective meaning in a society, we should consider de-structuralism of all meanings and return them to the initial reality and their historical conditions. Based on these points, society constantly has an open or extensive quality, and dominant objectivity will never be governed.

## **6. The Rise and Fall of Discourse: from Myth to Social Imaginations**

According to Laclau, discourse, or social myths, is the result of structural instabilities. Myth represents the social instable conditions and tries to present an appropriate solution to solve the crisis. Myths indicate an ideological representation of social space, and through re-articulation, the instable signifiers try to provide a new social objectivity. Therefore, the objectified or materialized conditions and an established society is a crystallized myth. When myths are formed in the critical conditions, the subjects will appear, but the accurate moment of myth and discourse accomplishment is the moment of “subject disappearance” (being hidden) and its disintegration in the structure; in this case, the “subject” is being reduced to a “subject” position. Therefore, a “subject” appears in the mythical space and begins to decline after the discourse objectivity. In order to represent and explain a social space, creating a space with a metaphorical or mythical aspect is essential. Therefore, there are two aspects, a represented space and a space which is being represented.

In other words, it refers to the available social space and a discourse space which was ideologically made. The mythical space made by subjects does not have a logic form similar to the available structure but it is a criticism of available structure which forms a mythical functional quality. Similarly, a mythical space is presented as a rational alternative of dominant structural discourse (Laclau, 1990).

Therefore, in order to form a myth, it must go beyond the level of available instabilities and change into a metaphorical shape. This theory has rooted in the lack of representational possibility of social reality, since the social reality is complex. It is not possible to represent it and we should restore to the metaphor and myth which is far from reality. There are many demands and varieties in the society, so it is not possible to

represent all of them by one discourse. Therefore, we should keep a distance from the reality or the special demand and restore to the metaphor and represent ourselves as ordinary people.

If the mythical space is limited to a special demand, its development will not be possible. A discourse becomes pervasive when it seems general and global. Transition from a real domain to the general and metaphorical field has been possible due to the duality of represented space and metaphorical space. Therefore, there are various demands, crises and benefits in a society and each space must change into a metaphorical space in order to represent them. If it focuses on some demands, it will face the decline of its colonial power.

Conversely, demands, requests and instabilities are formed under the effect mythical spaces and the imaginative horizons. Therefore, mythical and discourse spaces try to cover the requests, demands and instabilities and to organize them desirably; but it is not deduced from these instabilities and crises. There is no rational relationship between demands and the instabilities of unstable structures and discourses. Their aim is to introduce a new system and articulation, and it cannot be said that each of them is the product of the other. There is always a gap between reality and myth and this issue provides the possibility of discourses and new myths' appearance.

In order to explain how a myth changes into a dominant discourse, Laclau uses two concepts:

### **The Availability**

This means being available in a field or situation in which no other discourse has presented itself as a real alternative of hegemony (Laclau, 1990). Therefore, availability

can ensure a victory of a special discourse (Sayyid, 2000) and change it into an imaginative horizon of a society. There is no common sense between the content of available instabilities and myths which represent it and in this case, it is sufficient that this discourse is able to represent itself as if it can provide discipline in order to assure its acceptance.

This new discourse is accepted by some groups of a society because they like its contents and it is a discipline which is a good alternative for the public crisis. Discipline is required in the chaotic conditions and the real content of this discipline is the secondary distress or trouble (Laclau, 1994). The possibility of identity formation with a political discourse depends not only on the qualities and its real content, but also on its ability to assure order, discipline and continuity of society (Laclau, 1994). When there is disorder, a person feels an identity gap. He wants to fill this gap although he is indifferent to the content (Laclau, 1994). Thus, the content of discourse is in a secondary place and its ability is important in creating the order or discipline and society-organization that attracts the people.

In his recent works, Laclau used the term “empty signifiers” to explain the colonialism trend. These signifiers represent a thing which does not exist. In the disorganized conditions, as Hobbs imagines them in the natural condition, discipline is a signifier that indicates an absent thing. Empty signifiers represent a desirable and ideological situation. The society dynamicity and politics depend on these signifiers because they continuously warn the defects and flaws (Laclau, 1994). Thus, they are instabilities which are represented by these signifiers and associated with changes.

## **The Creditability**

This refers to the proposed principles of a discourse that must be consistent or compatible with the basic principles of a society. The more the instability and disorder in the organization of a society, the more dispersed its basic principles will be. If there are principles which make a group consistent and organized, discourses cannot overcome them and thus fight with them (Laclau, 1996).

Although the metaphorical or mythical aspect of a discourse reinforces it, it is considered as a weak source. If a discourse represents a perfect desire or ideal, it should answer all crises and social demands although this is not possible. It is not possible to organize reality. When a discourse becomes dominant, its (discourse) metaphorical shape changes (keeps a distance from its metaphorical shape) into objectivity contents. It organizes some demands and instabilities. Some of the demands will be ignored, the colonial power of discourses decreases and its weakness points manifests and it does not represent a perfect ideal any more. In fact, when a dominant discourse is not able to satisfy the demands of all parts of a society, they (all parts of a society) keep a distance from it. Consequently, this discourse begins to decline and provides a field for the other myths which claim “perfection”. During this process, the imaginative horizon of a society changes and the other discourse governs the collective minds. For example, a “welfare government” was a myth which was created for the “capitalism reconstruction” after the great depression and gradually declined due to further crisis and instabilities.

Therefore, it is possible to recognize the following stages in the decline of discourses:

- (a) Development of organic crisis and debilitation of traditional dominant discourse.

(b) Contest (competition) of adversary groups for presenting a myth to solve this crisis. These myths try to organize the identity-formations in accordance with all types of “subject positions”.

**(c) A Discourse is superior to the others (Governs the Others)**

The colonial feature of that factor is this “superiority”. This quality is prominent i.e. rejection and criticism of a dominant discourse are striking and opposition against it is accounted as the factor of unity and consistency of this discourse. While the other options emphasize on the partial demands or requests, a hegemonic discourse has a metaphorical aspect that defines itself as a responsive framework for an increasingly combinations of various demands based on a generic interpretation. This discourse tries to hide its special aspect in favor of bad-metaphorical characteristics and by emphasizing the criticism of the present system, it claims that it is able to reconstruct the ideological and political domains (Laclau, 1990). This discourse changes into a social imagination.

**(d) Establishing a new Social system**

At the beginning of a new discourse and identity-formations with changed subject positions, we may observe a kind of disorder, though, a discipline and order is created gradually and the new situation seems natural and usual (Laclau, 2012). He believes that myths are essential for our life. In a society where there is no myth, we can say that this society is an ideological place as there is no instabilities and crises in it and works as a machine or it is a society in which crisis and instabilities are intense and pervasive as there is no place for representation. It is either a graveyard or an asylum (AnnaMarie Smith, 1998). Society needs myths and the instabilities or crisis of available capitalism intensifies it.

## **The Politics and Space**

Laclau believed that politics and space are opposite. Space includes a perfect imagination and a discourse which is responsible for all problems and solves them and politics means discourses' negotiations in order to win and impose a power which leads into their victory in the social fields. Therefore, politics means the emergence (appearance), oppositions and the political roots of a discourse but space is the metaphorical aspect and perfection of a discourse. Each discourse, after its victory, tries to remove all its political effects; and since fixing the social field is not possible, the discourses' victory is temporary.

Basically, there is no possibility for achieving "utopia" and the co-existence of all demands and solving all crises. Laclau believed that Plato & Hobbs ignored the political nature of social acts in their theories. Plato tries to create an ideological society but Hobbs tries to solve crises and dislocations through repressing the varieties and differences and creating a repressive power. These two ways do not work effectively. Political society is an incomplete society which is changing constantly and never achieves perfection. Society is the product of individuals' decision-making and these individuals are incomplete. Since the social agents are limited, the society will be determinate.

### **2.12.3.3 The left's new strategy**

Laclau and Mouffe defined the theory of democratic radical as a new left strategy against the crisis of a contemporary society. This theory emphasizes on the expansion trend of democratic wave since the French Revolution until now and is an attempt to deepen the values and principles of democracy and to eliminate dominant relations in the contemporary capitalism world. They believed that the contemporary society

experiences profound changes. The commoditization of life, the bureaucratic social relationships and the development of new culture forms which are associated with the development of communicative tools and resulted into the formation of a mass culture and the instability of traditional identities are some of the features of contemporary societies.

These changes have led to the development of democracy regardless of its negative aspects. Availability of most people to a wide range of information and goods made the uncertainty in the defined forms possible. In fact, a kind of cultural democratization is occurring in order to develop the need of equality (Laclau, 1990). Laclau and Mouffe believed that the spread of conflicts of a contemporary society is the deepening of democratic revolution and must be analyzed based on the democratic understanding of a society. In the light of this analysis, the category of a consistent subject and conscious broker should be ignored and the discursive distribution and the diversity of subject's positions must be acknowledged.

Therefore, accepting the multiplicity of positions and identities is the main basis of democratic radical discourse. Democratic radical believes in the autonomy of social fields based on the equivalence logic of equality. According to this theory, there are a variety of conflicts and crises that their impacts should be studied in the framework of the democratic revolution. Each of these conflicts and crises has a relatively autonomous nature, but the direction and the end of these conflicts and crises are not clear. These hegemonic formations are random which determine the path. The discursive feature of a democratic revolution provides the way to introduce various types of theories and political systems ranging from right populism and totalitarianism to the democratic radical.

Essentially, post war organized capitalism, has been faced by development of new critical hostilities. But how this crisis will be solved cannot be determined. Formulation of new demands and conflicts is very vague; for example, there are various forms of feminism and ecology, i.e. radical feminism against men and Marxist feminism against capitalist relations. Therefore, the shape and form of a conflict's articulation is the result of hegemonic articulation (not predetermined), So, these conflicts do not possess a progressive character such as socialistic goals (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). The various discourses from the right to the left can articulate and organize them and this is the articulation which objectifies them. Therefore, there is no subject who is not under the influence of a dominant system and creates a certain departure point for the main political changes and also nothing guarantees the stability of a settled order. The multidimensional feature of social conflicts leads into the dependency of their meaning to the hegemonic articulations. In fact, the ambiguity inherent in a society develops hegemonic practices. Therefore, these are the hegemonic articulations which give meanings to the crisis and use them in their favor. Each crisis and social conflict essentially has not a clear meaning outside a discursive structure. Each conflict is itself a floating signifier; a completely wild conflict in which a form that can be articulated with other elements in a discursive articulation was not predetermined. The radical democracy needs the consideration of the freedom demands and here, it links with liberalism. According to Laclau, liberalism should not be rejected because morally and ethically, it defends the rights of people in order to accomplish the human capacities. But defending the freedom must not be associated with the ideal bourgeois individualism. Another individual must be born regardless of ownership-oriented individualistic forms. So, the thought of natural rights preceding society, the distinction between an individual and a society and in general, the person's rights must be released and only the individual rights must be discussed in the field of social relations.

Democratic rights can be collectively imposed and only in this case, equal rights for the others can be imagined (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). Democratic revolution has created a new form of society. In the preceding societies which were organized by the divine political logic, power was hidden in the king who was considered as the representation of God and the symbol of justice and logic. Society was imagined as a body and its hierarchy was based on the principle of unconditional order. In the democratic societies, the center of power is a completely empty space and the reference to the divine sponsor and the possibility of representing the main solidarity of a society has been disappeared. Consequently, a gap was occurred between the positions of power, knowledge and rights and their basics are not clear and guaranteed and therefore, a process of endless questioning started and there is no certain or stabilized rule. The center of a society is not directed anywhere and no unity and solidarity can omit the existing distinctions. The society has been debentured and there is not a center for creating a main unity. Totalitarianism was an endeavor for reconstructing the unity and solidarity which was damaged and disturbed by democracy; a unity which was between power, knowledge and rights. Since the democratic logic is based on the discrimination, the logic of totalitarianism tries to remove them and create a center which reconstructs a unit society because there is no other basis in the democratic society from which an exalted order emerges and there is no center in order to link power, knowledge and rights to each other. It is necessary to integrate some of the political spaces through the hegemonic practice. But these articulations are always partial and expose a challenge, because there is not any exalted guarantee. Each attempt for denying and ignoring the multiplicity character of a society and creating a closed environment leads into totalitarianism.

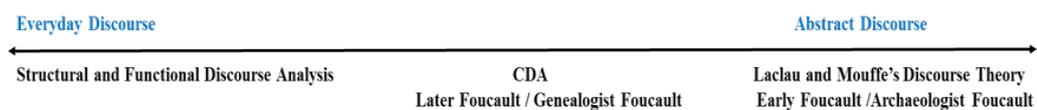
Totalitarianism cannot direct toward a particular political tendency, the left and right parties can be totalitarian. There is no substantial difference between Marxist and fascist totalitarianism. It must be considered that ignoring the consistency is a threat to

democracy, because assuming a lack of articulation between social relations leads into a social explosion. Against totalitarianism which bears the everlasting articulation by the authoritarian style, this assumption ignores the articulations which give the common meanings and identities to the social agents (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). Therefore, between two extreme logic as one of them focuses on a complete identity while the other emphasizes the especial differences. Democracy must include the recognition of the multiplicity of social demands associated with the necessity of their articulation. However, this articulation reproduces constantly and there is no point of final balance. Therefore, the policy in the thought of Laclau and Mouffe is assumed as a space for playing as well playing is never equal with zero, because the rules and the actors are never completely perfect and clear. This play has a name called hegemony (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014).

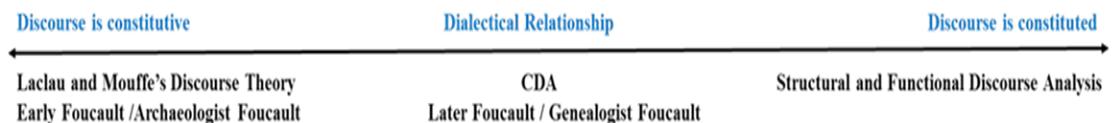
### 2.12.3.4 Comparison and summing-up in the form of conceptual model

(a) In the previous sections of this chapter, the process of transformation in discourse analysis was discussed in the field of linguistics and political philosophy.

Now in order to present a comprehensive picture of previously discussed discursive approaches, a comparison can be made among them based upon the two fundamental criteria, role of discourse in the construction of the world and analytical focus of discourse analysis approaches which they are shown as the two following models (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002):



**Figure 2.4:** Analytical focus on discourse analysis approaches

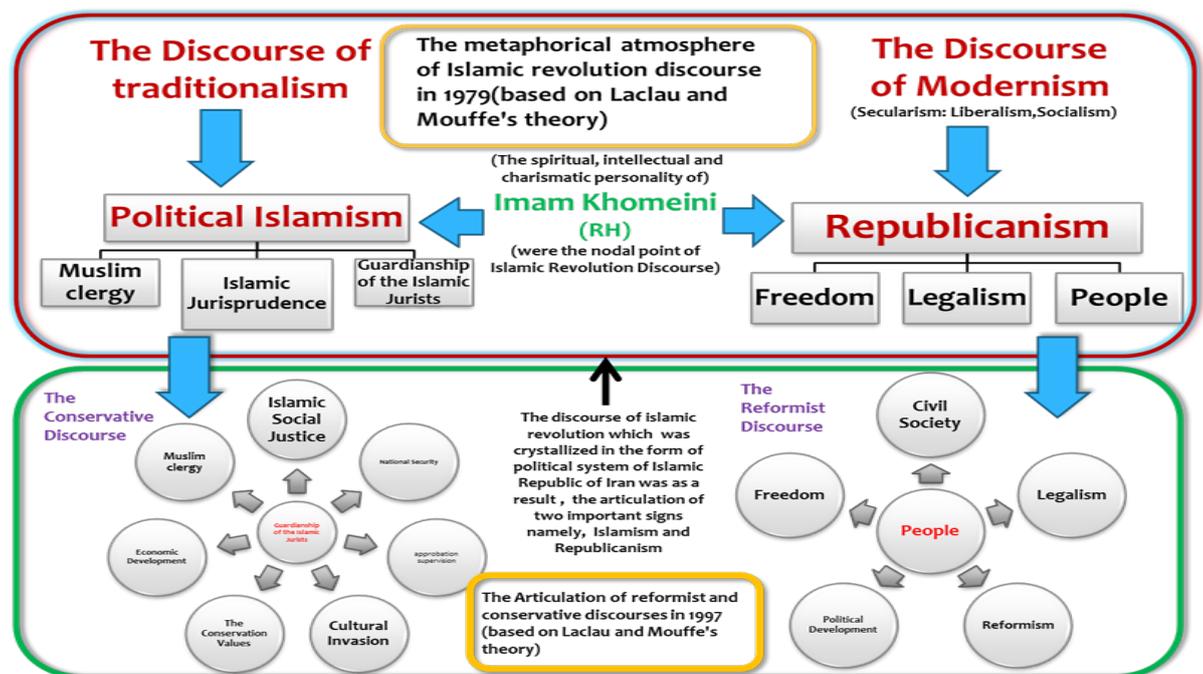


**Figure 2.5:** The role of discourse in the constitution of the world

Laclau and Mouffe's theory is fundamentally considered as a macro social theory since it has taken an abstract view towards discourse. In contrast, there is a lack of macro

social explanations for structural and functional approaches in this model. They deal with micro analysis in language in limited conditions. Meanwhile, critical discourse analysis and Foucault's Genealogy are taken a moderate approach. In the above figure the concept of discourse becomes more abstract as you move from right to the left. It should be pointed out that Foucault's Archaeology and Laclau and Mouffe's theory are both macro abstract theories.

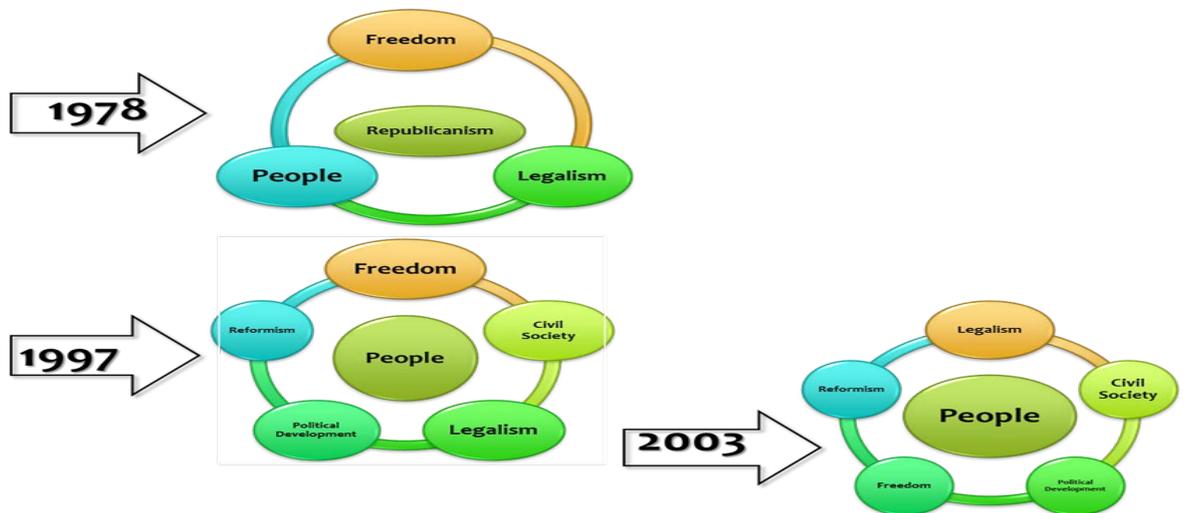
(b)The following three models are a brief outcome of analysing discursive situation in Iran -which has already been discussed in this chapter- through Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory:



**Figure 2.6:** The metaphorical atmosphere of Islamic revolution discourse in 1979 and the articulation of the Iranian Reformism Discourse and the Iranian Islamic Principlism Discourse in 1997 (based on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory)



**Figure 2.7:** The transformation model of semantic system in the Iranian Islamic Principlism Discourse (1978-2005) based on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, (The political faction close to *Resalat* newspaper)



**Figure 2.8:** The transformation model of semantic system in the Iranian reformism discourse (1978-2003), based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, (The political faction close to the *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper)

### **2.12.3.5 The critiques of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory**

Although the discourse theory is a new theory, to date it has been a subject of critics. The most important criticisms over this theory are the philosophical ones which are gathered around two concepts, namely Idealism and Relativism. It is said that the discourse theory is Idealist. Idealism is from some aspects opposite Realism. If Idealism means bringing down the reality to our own perceptions and views (David Howarth, 1998), then Realism means a reality exists independently from our views and perceptions (David Howarth, 1998). The discourse theory is not idealistic because it does not deny the existence of the reality outside the mind. Extra-discursive realities will form an independent territory of phenomena which there is no doubt about their existence. These extra-discursive phenomena not only they mean nothing on their own but they get only their meaning through discourses which from their point of views we look at them. We will only be able to understand these realities by the frameworks that have been provided by discourses for us.

The second critique that has been attributed to the discourse theory is considered as Relativism. The discourse theory is Anti-foundationalism. It believes that our knowledge is conditional. Anti-foundationalism is opposite the view of Foundationalism where knowledge might be based on a firm meta-theoretical basis. It is conditional beyond territory of the human behaviors. Does it mean that the discourse theory is Relativist and gives the same importance to different beliefs?

It seems the given answer is negative, because the identity of phenomena is dependent on specific discourses. It does not mean that we cannot make any judgement about the accuracy or inaccuracy of propositions which they have been approved in specific discourses. The discourse theory shows that judgement about the moral and empirical

claims should have a common discourse, namely a common set of meanings and assumptions which by them could make this type of decisions.

Therefore, the discourse theory is not completely Relativist but it presupposes the existence of a joint discourse for all kind of dialogues and understanding. It is obvious that the dialog is impossible without having such common grounds. If we accept this common ground then the correct and incorrect propositions get their own meanings from that common ground and accuracy and inaccuracy is dependent on the coherence, strength and the degree of convincing claims which is being stated in that joint discourse.

### **2.13 The theoretical framework of research**

The main theory of the research is Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. Thus, the entire structure of the study has been formed based on the above-mentioned theory. It is necessary to point out that this theory has been selected since it has adequate theoretical coordination with fundamental concepts of the research such as power, sign, meaning, hegemony, manipulation, media representation, subject and identity. Also, it is capable of establishing an effective relationship among them.

## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data selection and justification for the use of "*Etemad-e Melli*" and "*Resalat*" from 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 until 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009. It also shows how data were collected, sampled and analysed.

### 3.2 Research method used in this thesis

It should be noted that the main theory used in this research is based on Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory. Since the theory is a political social one at a macro level and is basically rooted in political social philosophy with also being outside the linguistic field, therefore it lacks the required linguistic instruments to analyse the text. To make up for this shortfall, it has been attempted here to utilise some of the Fairclough and van Dijk's concepts and analytical linguistic instruments. It should be pointed out that the basis of this combination is still the Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory.

It should be mentioned that when this abstract semiotic macro theory is used, in order to link it to various micro experimental fields of signs, including linguistics, movies, painting, etc, appropriate micro experimental tools from the same field are always required in which the linking process can be realised.

### **3.2.1 A brief explanation on main approaches in discourse analysis**

#### **Introduction**

This section aims briefly to explain main approaches in Discourse analysis. In the field of Discourse analysis focus has mainly been on the concepts such as power, discourse and language. A range of views try to explain the relations between the above concepts.

The study will be carried out in line with this, on the researches and views of those whose thoughts and works have gradually provided the path towards the current discussions, about the socio-political roles of language and it eventually leads to the formation of various discourse analysis approaches. In general, the roots of these new approaches could be investigated in two main approaches towards language and discourse.

The first approach fundamentally is rooted in Structural linguistics and Functional linguistics and on this basis discourse is considered as the language above the sentence and language in use. Therefore, it is considered smaller than language. In this approach, the attention won't be paid to the Ideology or Power.

In contrast, the second approach which is peaked in Michel Foucault's works is based on the post structural view towards language. An approach, which on that basis the meanings are produced by socio-cultural conditions and are appeared in the language. According to the second approach, this is the discourse that determines the usage of language. On this basis, discourses are the subjective systems which exploit language in order to gain power. As a result, the discourse is an inclusive system which is above the language and determines it.

Initiating from the first approach, which in the form of prevalent discourse analysis in Linguistics and mostly was formed in the 70's, under the influence of Foucault and et al. in 1979 was established Critical linguistics which later was known as critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis also utilised the concepts of Ideology and Power in order to achieve a better explanation for the language use and distance from a pure description.

In the field of political philosophy, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe also combined Foucault's concept of discourse with the other fellows' views in order to form their own discourse theory. They presented a Post-structural theory by combining Saussure, Derrida, Lacan, Gramsci, Althusser and others' point of views which on that basis all social phenomena will be formed under the effect of discursive processes.

In the coming sections, in brief after the study of the two Structural and Functional approaches towards language and discourse, introduction of critical discourse analysis and Foucault's view, finally an attempt will be made to study both Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

### **3.2.1.1 Looking into the discourse from the Linguistics perspective**

Although Discourse analysis is a broad term which covers a numerous fields, however a clear definition is yet to be found (Stubbs, 1983 ). Perhaps one of the reasons could be that our understanding of discourse is based up on the researches carried out on a collection of scientific subjects which in fact are so different from each other. The collection, not only includes the subjects such as linguistics, sociology, philosophy and anthropology(van Dijk, 1985) which the understanding patterns and the methods of discourse analysis have originally been expanded in them but also includes some subjects that utilise these patterns and methods to solve the existing problems in their

own specific academic fields and they have often developed them such as communication (Craig & Tracy, 1983) and social-psychology (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Schiffrin (1994) talked about two paradigms in linguistics which they offer different assumptions about the nature of language and purposes of linguistics.

In brief the patterns are as follow:

Structural and functional linguistics, in addition to their differences, they provide different definitions for the discourse. The definition driven from the structural pattern considers the discourse as sentences while the discourse is considered as language use by the definition taken from functional pattern (Schiffrin, 1994).

**(a) Discourse from the perspective of Structural Linguistics (Discourse: Language higher than Sentence)**

This particular approach started with Zellig Sabbetai Harris (1952) He was an American linguist and his field of work was structural linguistics and discourse analysis.

He used the term of discourse analysis for the analysis of the text higher than the level of sentence (Schiffrin, 1994). In this type of view, the study of units lower than sentence is the task of grammar and the study of units higher than sentence is the task of discourse analysis (Schiffrin, 1994).

**(b) Discourse from the perspective of Functional Linguistics (Discourse: Language in Use (Fasold, 1990))**

After him, another group of linguists with the attention to the defects of his work tried in the framework of the functional linguistics with a focus on context offered a more inclusive analysis. In this type of view, the linguist focuses on the roles of language and believes that the form of language depends on them (Schiffrin, 1994).

It is necessary to mention in the first view, which has roots in structural and functional linguistics, the discourse is subset of the language also this view, does not pay attention to the power and ideology.

**(c) Discourse from the perspective of Critical Analysts (Discourse: Social Action of Language)**

Finally, some of linguists at the University Of East Anglia (UEA) influenced by Foucault and Michel Pêcheux in the 1970's got this result that the concept of context in the functional discourse analysis is also insufficient. They formed the critical linguistics in 1979 that later was named the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA for better explanation of the practical forms of language used the concepts of power and ideology and they linked the context of language use with the larger contexts of social and cultural (Pennycook, 1999).

**Some of the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis**

Generally, it can be stated that critical discourse analysis approaches have the following common features (Aghagolzadeh, 2006):

(a) The power and dominance relations are a discursive practice.

- (b) Critical discourse analysis tries to study social problems.
- (c) Discourse has an Ideological role, discourse is formed by ideology.
- (d) Culture and society are formed by a discourse.
- (e) Discourse analysis is an interpretive and explanatory issue.
- (f) Critical discourse analysis is a type of ideological analysis of text.
- (g) Language does not have a neutral function; all texts have motivation and ideological load.

### **The most important purposes of Critical Discourse Analysis**

As you would know, discourse analysis is a method to study texts, media, cultures, sciences, politics and society. In this method, researcher tries to show the relationship among author, text and reader. The researcher also identifies which social, cultural, political factors and etc have been effective in creating a discourse. As a result, the analyst goes beyond the context of text (form and structure) and enters the situational context of the text (ideological conditions and dimensions) and then will analyse it. In fact, the method of discourse analysis tries to reveal the hidden meanings in author's mind.

Now with regarding to the above, perhaps some of the most important discourse analysis aims are known as follow:

- (a) Showing the relationship among author, text and reader.
- (b) Clarifying the depth and complex structure in creating text.

(c) Showing the relationship between the context of text (internal linguistic factors such as linguistic units, related immediate environment and the whole linguistic system) situational context (external linguistic factors such as social, cultural, political, communicational, historical and cognitive factors) and discourse.

(d) Revealing the specific situations and conditions which are involved in creating discourse.

(e) Showing the instability in meaning, meanings change constantly and never get completed or understood fully.

(f) Revealing the relationship between text and ideology.

From the beginning discourse analysis has tried to show that no text, discourse or writing are neutral but they depend on a special situation. This issue might be unconsciousness or unintentionally (Blake & Haroldsen, 1999).

### **The usages of Critical Discourse Analysis**

The Postmodern discourse analysis role is the utilising of critical thoughts in both social situations and hidden (or explicit) policies which are dominant over the society (world interpretation, the system of beliefs...). Discourse analysis could be applied to any fields, problems or situations. Since discourse analysis is fundamentally an interpretive and structural reading therefore it does not follow any specific structured guidance (in fact there are not any specific and precise guidelines for it). The purpose of discourse analysis is not associated with collecting precise results. This method is only helpful to expand our perspectives to the extent that would able us to access others point of views

as well as better understanding of our own agenda and shortcomings. More precisely, discourse analysis clarifies what is behind the actions.

Discourse analysis and the reliable critical thought could lead into great changes in customs, institutions, occupations or the society as a totality.

### **Some limitations of Critical Discourse Analysis**

One of the limitations of discourse analysis can be the method of its application. Unfortunately, it is often observed that researchers in applying discourse analysis are facing two main forms of frustration, unfamiliarity with the method and inability in applying the method.

#### **Firstly, unfamiliarity with discourse analysis method**

On one hand the lack of adequate knowledge in distinction between the methods of discourse analysis can be the first serious frustration which threatens the researchers while they are applying discourse analysis and on the other hand, utilising the method of content analysis instead of discourse analysis.

#### **Secondly, inability to apply discourse analysis method**

Some unappealing traditions in academic circles have caused a number of methodological defects in researchers' work. For example, researchers' tendency in utilising statistical analysis and deployed tables in researches, tend to pave the ground for researchers to think about the invalidity of methods such as discourse analysis since they lack statistical and numerical data such as the quantitative methods.

From the critical discourse analysis perspective, the formal linguistics or noncritical discourse analysis are facing some challenges. For instance, dominant formal linguistics is a non-historical theory (synchronic) whereas critical linguistics is completely a historical theory (diachronic) in both macro and micro levels.

The formal linguistics theory has not offered any explanation about the individual who has utilised the language as a person, who is the product of society and history and consistently aiming to create the power. While in the critical discourse analysis theory, the individual who utilises the language is an active figure and agent who carrying the social structures. Therefore, the person is linked with various powers and creates different texts. Hence, he/she always will be within the linguistic fluctuations (Aghagolzadeh, 2006).

### **Critical Discourse Analysis from the Critics' perspective**

The critics consider the following limitations about critical discourse analysis:

- (a) Critical discourse analysis approach does not carry adequate weight in terms of theoretical and methodological principles.
- (b) Offering multiple definitions for some key jargons and different usage of some concepts with fundamental role in the approach.
- (c) Applying ambiguous terms in theoretical principles of the approach such as Ideology, Mores, and Worldview.
- (d) The lack of human's will as an effective factor in production and understanding of the text.

(e) Believing in all the texts have direction or Ideological load.

(f) Generalising the important subjects in macro level (Ideology) to the insignificant and less important subjects which results in suspicious and negative image of linguistics.

(g) Also, two main claims have been presented about the philosophical assumptions of discourse theory:

Firstly, it is claimed that this approach has an Idealistic tendency. Secondly, this approach has tendency to Relativism (Aghagolzadeh, 2006).

**Three subsets of Critical Discourse Analysis (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000) :**

**Firstly, Ruth Wodak's Approach (Discourse Sociolinguistics)**

The discourse sociolinguistics is an approach that follows Ruth Wodak and her associates at Vienna University. This approach is based on the Bernstein's traditions in the sociology of language, and the Frankfurt school perspectives, especially Jürgen Habermas (Wodak, 1995). Discourse sociolinguistics is a kind of sociology of language. It is not only clearly related to the study of text in context but also considers both factors equally important. It is an approach that could detect and describe the hidden mechanisms which play a role in creating hidden discursive disorders in specific contexts. They inevitably will affect on the making connection (Wodak, 1996).

In conclusion, Wodak's interpretation of the three concepts of discourse, power and ideology is in line with the common interpretation from these concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis. Nevertheless, Wodak's historical discursive approach is distinguished from other approaches due to, applying all accessible information for analysing and utilising Hermeneutic method for interpretation.

## **Secondly, Norman Fairclough's Approach (The Function of Language in Social Life)**

Norman Fairclough is a professor of language in social life at Lancaster University, England. He in compare with the other analysts in critical discourse has founded the most coherent, comprehensive and popular theory(Soltani, 2008). For that reasons, here, more attention will be paid to his theory. Fairclough has called his approach as critical study in language. He states his propose as below:

The more applicable purpose is to increase awareness toward language and power, in particular in relation to, how the language plays a role in dominance of someone over others. By considering my attention to ideology, this means that we should help people to understand to what extent their language is based on common sense assumptions and how these assumptions have ideologically been shaped by power relations.

Fairclough knows ideology as semantic structures which are involved in production, reproduction and changing the unequal power relations. Thus, meaning has a significant role in understanding ideology because meaning is in the hand of power (Fairclough, 1995b). Therefore, it is through meaning that Ideology gets connected with discourse and language which are the tools for creating meaning.

### **The method of CDA based upon Faircloughian approach**

For each type of analysis, based upon Fairclough's framework, two aspects must be considered, Communicative event and Order of discourse.

### **(a) Communicative Event**

A communicative event is a type of language use (Fairclough, 1995b), for instance, an editorial. Based on this theory, each type of language use has three aspects: text, discursive process and social practice (Soltani, 2008).

### **(b) The orders of discourse**

According to Fairclough (1995b), “[O]rders of discourse can be seen as one domain of potential cultural hegemony, with dominant groups struggling to assert and maintain particular structuring within and between them” (p. 56).

The orders of discourse have close affinity to the configuration of discursive types in a specific social institution or field (Fairclough, 1995b) such as the order of discourse in media. Inside the order of discourse there are specific discursive practices (an organised collection of discursive practices which are related to a specific social field) which based up on these practices, text and speech are produced, consumed and interpreted (Fairclough, 1998).

Discursive types themselves consist of discourses and genres. It is worth reminding that in general, Fairclough uses the term 'discourse' in three types (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Firstly, discourse refers to language use as social practice. Secondly, discourse is pointing out to the type of language employed in specific fields for instance, political discourse. Finally, discourse is referring to a manner of speech which gives meaning to our experiences from a specific point of view, for example Reformism and Islamic Principlism. A genre is a specific language use which is responsible for shaping a part of specific social practice, for example propaganda is a genre.

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis also involves in three layers of description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001). In all three levels, we are dealing with analysis however the nature of analysis in each stage is different from the other one. Based on, Fairclough's three-dimensional model in Critical discourse analysis, Text, Discourse practice and Social practice are defined as follow (Fairclough, 2001):

**(a) Text**

Texts are social spaces which two fundamental social process happen simultaneously within them: cognition, representation of the world and social interaction (Fairclough, 1995a).

**Text analysis**

According to Fairclough(1995b)text analysis (description)includes language analysis in terms of words, grammar, phonetic system and cohesion above the sentence level. Language analysis includes the lexical, grammatical and semantic features.

**(b) Discursive practice**

Discursive practice comes in line between text and social practice. With the help from discourse practice, People benefit from language in text production and text consumption. In that way a text shapes social practice and also being shaped by it (Fairclough, 1992). On that basis the aspect of Discourse practice shows that the producers and consumers of texts, in each discursive event, use the available social sources which form "the order of discourse(Fairclough, 1995a).The analysis of discursive practice is called interpretation.

## **Intertextuality**

The concept of Intertextuality is one of the important concepts in the field of Discursive practice. Intertextuality shows historicity of the texts. A text won't be understood on its own or without relying on the other texts, because we cannot avoid using the phrases and vocabularies which have been used by others. Therefore, Intertextuality shows that all communicative events are in relation to the previous ones and they will benefit from them.

### **(c) Social practice**

According to Fairclough (1995b) the analysis of this aspect of a discursive practice is happening through analysis of economic, political and cultural aspects of a communicative event. Based up on Fairclough's framework of his model, the analysis of social practice will never happen separately from the analysis of text and discursive practice. Thus, there are tight relations between these three aspects and during the analysis the relation should be considered(Soltani, 2008).The analysis of social practice is called Explanation.

## **Summary**

1. According to Fairclough, discourse consists of three dimensions, text, discursive practice and social practice. Therefore, these three dimensions should be considered in any communicative event.
2. Fairclough's three-dimensional model is an analytical framework for experimental research about communications and society, so any type of discourse analysis of communicative events should cover the above three dimensions.

Thus, discourse analysis should focus on the following aspects:

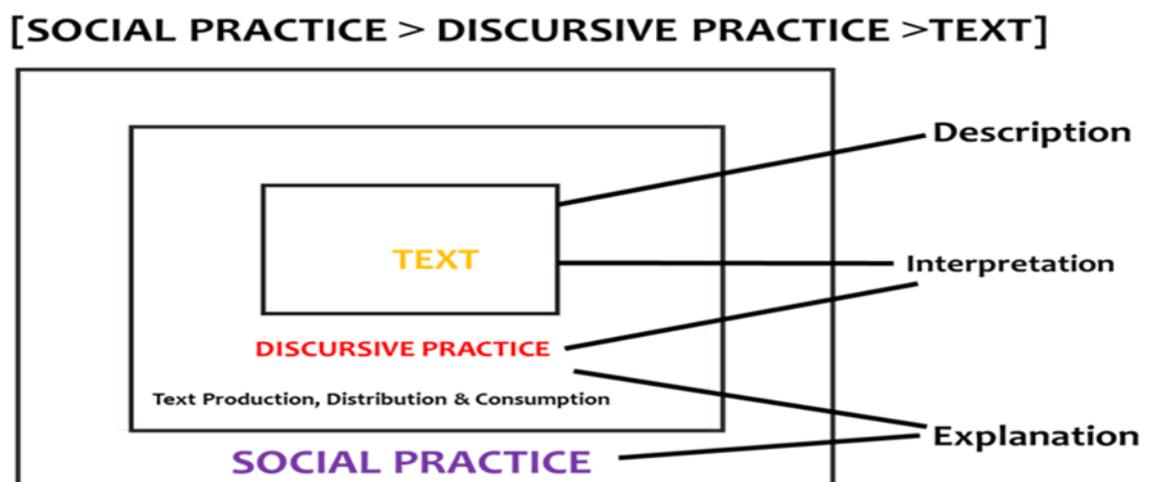
- (a) Analysis at the stage of Description, deals with linguistic properties of the text (text).
- (b) Analysis at the stage of Interpretation, deals with related process in production and consumption of text (discursive practice).
- (c) Analysis at the stage of Explanation deals with broader social practice which the communicative event belongs to it (social practice).

### **Some assumptions of Fairclough's approach**

Following a brief introduction about Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, perhaps it would be time to pay attention to the assumptions of this approach which are formed by the outcome of principles in text analysing, Hermeneutics, Semiotics, Critical theory, Deconstructionism, modern Psychoanalysis and Michel Foucault's views. The most important of these assumptions are as follow:

- (a) One single discourse or text is being seen differently by various people. It means that different people have different interpretations from one single text.
- (b) Reading (understanding and interpretation from a text) is constantly a misreading (misunderstanding of a text).
- (c) We should consider a holistic view towards a text to understand the meaning of it and this meaning is not necessarily within the text.
- (d) There is no neutral or impartial text. Texts have ideological loads.

- (e) The truth is always in danger. The truth is hidden in each discourse but no discourse carries the whole truth.
- (f) The syntax of a text is also meaningful as the syntax has a social and ideological meaning.
- (g) The meaning is driven from the text, as much as it is being affected by the social and cultural background and context. The meaning and message of a text is laid within its writings.
- (h) Each text is produced in a specific circumstances and situations. Therefore it always is a reflection of its own producer.
- (i) Each text is connected to a source of power (not necessarily political one).
- (j) Discourse has various levels and dimensions, thus there will not be only one discursive level or one type of discourse (Fairclough, 2008).



**Figure 3.1:** Fairclough's Three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis

### **Explanations:**

**This model consists of:**

- ✓ **Three interrelated processes of analysis,**  
Which are associated with
  - ✓ **Three interrelated dimensions of discourse:**
    - **The object of analysis, (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).**
    - **The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing / speaking / designing and reading / listening / viewing) by human subjects.**
    - **The sociohistorical conditions which govern these processes.**
- Each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis.**
- i. **The three processes of analysis are:**
    - ✚ **Text Analysis (Description).**
    - ✚ **Processing Analysis (Interpretation).**
    - ✚ **Social Analysis (Explanation).**

### **Thirdly, van Dijk's Approach (Socio-Cognitive Approach)**

Teun Andrianus van Dijk is one of the leading, prominent figures for study and research in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In his preliminary works about racism and ethnic prejudice, he concluded that the analysis of the subjects which are used by people in daily talks indicates what is in their mind. He believes that whatever is in their mind shows their mental and personal images of them towards the subjects. From van Dijk's point of view, the way we talk generally about the others shows a positive self-presentation about ourselves and a negative other-presentation towards others.

He believes CDA is a multidisciplinary field(van Dijk, 2001) and he names his method sociocognitive discourse analysis. Based upon his opinion, due to the problems and complexity of the real world and the people's needs, CDA must have a historical, cultural, socioeconomic, philosophical and logical approach(van Dijk, 2002).

### **The triangle of Discourse, Cognition and Society**

van Dijk believes that there is not a direct relationship between social structures and discourse structures. They always get connected to each other by personal and social

cognition. Cognition is the missing link in many CDA studies. For that reason, he comes up with the triangle of society, cognition and discourse. While he pays a lot of attention to the cognition, van Dijk believes since discourse has fundamentally a linguistic nature then, a merely linguistic base also is necessary for CDA.

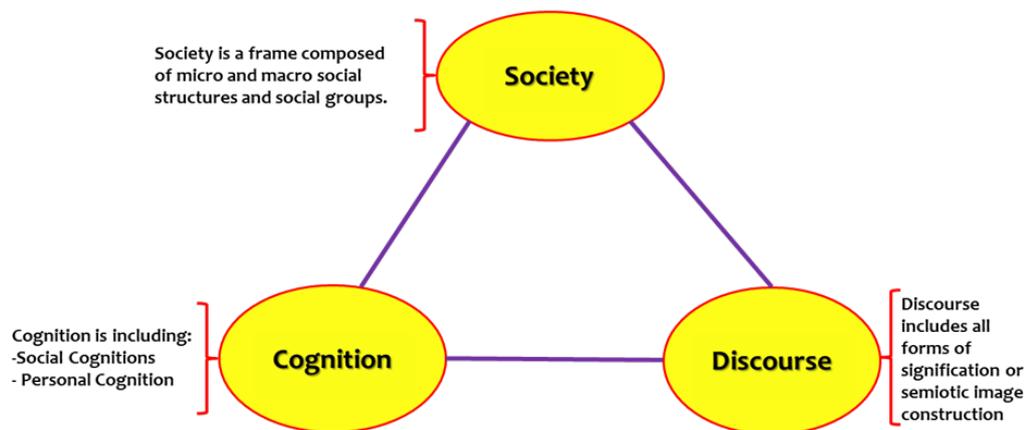
In van Dijk's triangle, discourse is known as any type of semiotic implication, such as conversational interaction, written text and body language(van Dijk, 2001). Therefore his view towards discourse is language in its social and situational context which is different from Laclau, Mouffe and also Foucault's approaches towards discourse. However based on his opinion, cognition is considered as both personal and social ones, it means, beliefs, aims evaluations, feelings and other mental structures, representations or processes related to the discourse and interaction, all happens within cognition field (van Dijk, 2001). Finally, society includes both situational face to face interaction and local microstructures and also it covers political, economic,cultural macrostructures (van Dijk, 2001).

### **Ideology and Power**

van Dijk, in the framework of his sociocognitive approach has paid special attention to the concept of Ideology. He believes that Ideologies are shared collective representations. They are common between the members of a group and they are situated in the field of social cognition(van Dijk, 1998). Then his definition from Ideology is a neutral one which could be either positive or negative. If an Ideology is negative then it turns to a mechanism of giving the legitimacy to the dominant system and if an Ideology is a positive one then it will give legitimacy to the resistant movement against the dominant system(van Dijk, 1998).

It should be pointed out from his point of view, Ideology is the basis of social practice. One of the social practices which highly influenced by Ideology is language use and discourse. However, language use and discourse both have somehow effect on obtaining, learning and changing Ideology. van Dijk believes power has the ability to control. It means the members of one group can control the other group members.

Such a control could be applied in action and cognition. It means the others freedom of action is being restricted by a powerful group and also their influence over their minds. Therefore beside the imposing force in order to control people's actions, there is a new and more effective power which is cognitive power. The cognitive power applies Persuasion, Dissimulation and Consensus approaches in discourse, over the beliefs and mind of others and as a result the dominance will be reproduced in the discourse(van Dijk, 2002).



**Figure 3.2:** The three core concepts society, cognition and discourse form a triangle in the van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

❖ **Four key concepts of this approach:**

✚ **Discourse**

- Discourse includes all forms of **signification or semiotic image construction**.
- Discourse is produced by the **social cognition**.
- Discourse controls and shapes **social practices**, and vice versa.
- Discourses express opinions, wishes, identities, social relations etc.

## **Cognition**

**The cognition includes:**

### ➤ **Social Cognitions:**

Social groups share internal social cognitions (or **systems of mental representations of group members**), including:

- ✓ Socio-culturally shared knowledge (e.g. language).
- ✓ Beliefs, opinions, identity and social attitudes related to a social. group or an institution.

### ➤ **Personal Cognition:**

The personal cognition represents experiences (or **mental models**), of one particular individual.

## **Society**

The society is a frame or environment, composed of micro and macro social structures and social groups.

## **Ideology**

Ideologies are **mental structures**, which state **the social cognitions and attitudes of social groups**. Members within social groups get such ideologies in processes of **socialization**. Ideologies are reproduced and distributed through **discourses**.

## **van Dijkian Categories (Variables)**

Since some van Dijkian and Faircloughian categories are used together in the research instrument, so it would be necessary to define them. The thirteen van Dijkian categories which are used to analyse critically the editorials in the research are as follow (Naghíbulsadat, 2012):

### **(V1) The rhetoric**

The arguments were used for showing a specific opinion or subject. [An argument is an attempt to persuade someone of something, by giving reasons for accepting a particular conclusion as evident]

### **(V2) The local meanings**

Local meanings are the result of the selection made by writers in their mental models of events or their more general, socially shared beliefs. If topics as semantic macrostructures control local meanings, negative topics organise negative local meanings, from words to complex descriptions of situations, events, actions, and people.

Parts of the local meanings are as follows:

The structures of propositions, sentences and pseudo-sentences, The relations between propositions, Significations, The Presupposition, Indirect quotations, Allusions, Vagueness, Implications (Presuppositions are subjective assumptions which we think are certain, and they affect on our judgments and our definition and conceptualisation toward reality.)

The hidden information and meanings are not being stated clearly but they have the implicit meanings. Words, phrases, propositions, sentences and clauses of a text may refer to concepts and propositions that we can understand via social recognition or social and background knowledge. In some cases, unmentionables of a text in discourse analysis are obtained through their implication meanings which have ideological meanings.

These meanings are prominent in the discussions in which the authors consider themselves and their group as positive and the opponent group as a negative and slight group and also, they consider their thoughts and their ideas as the positive ones without any faults but the ideas of opponent groups are negative and incorrect ones. Some salient points to remember:

- CDA research is often interested in the study of ideologically biased discourses, and the ways these polarise the representation of us (in-groups) and them (out-groups), both at the level of global and local meaning analysis. We often witness an overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, in which our good things and their bad things are emphasised, and our bad things and their good things are de-emphasised. Especially the interest in CDA research is the study of many forms of implicit or indirect meanings.

### **(V3) The polarisation**

In discourse analysis, when a discussion is considered in the macro-level and refers to a theoretical framework of a research, the ideological polarisation of a text becomes important; US-THEM, Self-Other, Ingroup-Outgroup etc. are examples which show themselves in an ideological war of a text such as focusing on our good characteristics and deeds or focusing on their bad characteristics and deeds.

### **(V4) The global coherence**

Global coherence is defined by the titles of paragraphs, larger parts of a text or the speeches of the entire text and it is a complement for local coherence of a text in discourse analysis. Robert De Beaugrande and Wolfgang U. Dressler (1981) defined coherence as a continuity of senses and the mutual access and relevance within a configuration of concepts and relations.

### **(V5) The surface structures**

Meanings are stated in various forms. One of them is surface structures, which include concrete words, clauses, structure of sentences, syntax categories, order of words, intonation of speech, graphical structures and the organisation of macro-structures in the common different forms like narration, dialogue, and news reports. Surface structures are a formal tool in the ideological field. They may play a role in the headlines, leads and news reports and or in titles, sentences or the forms of speech and or the opinionative meanings which they are not supposed to be emphasised.

## **(V6) The Metaphor**

A metaphor is a method for transferring the meanings. Here, the relationship between phenomena is defined through comparison. One of the most common forms of metaphors is simile in which a comparison between phenomena is defined and leads to speech similarity. Metaphor is the characteristic of a poem.

- Altered signification devices

Devices of altered signification shift the meaning of words.

(a) Metaphor directly says something as something else.

(b) Simile is a more gentle form of metaphor which tends to use "as" or "like" to compare something to something else.

## **(V7) The Irony**

Subjects which have ironical function refer to diverse phenomena (signifier) but through another signifier, we know that the signifier, in fact, signifies a different thing.

## **(V8) The Hyperbole (Exaggeration)**

Making prominent the weakness points, faults, problems of others and exaggerating the successes, positive activities and developments of ourselves.

## **(V9) The Euphemism**

Behaviors, ideas, institutions, groups or relations are described by expressions which require and demand a positive evaluation.

### **(V10) The Mitigation and Displacement**

Considering the others opinions and actions as trivial, and humiliating them; or using the words and concepts which have negative meanings instead of the words and concepts which have positive meanings.

### **(V11) The Interest**

Our positive or negative ideas and thoughts towards others' works and opinions and also ourselves, depend on our interests. For example, considering the views of the opponent groups does not indicate that they are dangerous, but we should consider them as competitors who threaten our interests.

### **(V12) The Perspective**

Each text is stated from a specific perspective such as reformists, fundamentalisms, liberalisms etc. in a text which can indicate the author's viewpoint.

### **(V13) The Unmentionables**

Negative subjects or information about us are not stated completely or if mentioned in some cases, they will be trivial and inconsiderable and it is said because of the conditions. Positive activities and the causes of violent behaviors of them remained as hidden points.

In the end, it seems that the mentioning of the following two points is useful. First of all, over here the sequence of mentioning van Dijk's categories (from V1 to V13) is similar to the research instrument. Secondly, here the letter "V" is an abbreviation for the

word of “van Dijk’s section” which has been used with the same meaning in the research instrument (the second level of the data collection tool, part A).

### **3.2.1.2 Look into the discourse from the Political Philosophy perspective**

#### (a) Foucault and Discourse

For more details, please refer to “(d) Foucault, Michel” in “2.12.2.4 Roots in Philosophy”.

#### (b) Laclau and Mouffe’s Discourse Theory

For more details, please refer to “2.12.3 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse theory”

## **3.3 Research plan**

### **3.3.1 Some fundamental specifications of the research**

#### **3.3.1.1 Theoretical paradigm of research**

This is a qualitative research mainly based on three paradigms:

(a) The social constructive-interpretive paradigm which is focused on the hermeneutical-dialectical logic in terms of methodology.

(b) The critical paradigm which is focused on the dialectical-conversational logic in terms of methodology. This paradigm insists on the challenge with ideology and critique of the false consciousness.

(c) The postmodern paradigm which is focused on the conversational, ironic and de-constructive methods. This paradigm believes in the centrality of discourse in social affairs, definition of anything as the text.

The paradigmatic foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis is a combination of the philosophical principles of the above-mentioned paradigms. The most central aspects of the research in CDA are language, the critical issue, discourse and power.

Some characteristics which result from the above-mentioned part are as follows:

(a) This is a field study with emphasis on subjectivism, multi-realities, discovery, narrative analysis and contextualism.

(b) The research language is the language of concepts, expressions, narrations and categories.

(c) The researcher task is mainly double hermeneutics and providing a conceptual and interpretative report.

(d) The data-gathering procedure is the unobtrusive and non-reactive measures.

(e) The form of produced data is mainly the narrative data.

(f) The data analysis is based on the analytical induction and abductive reasoning modes.

(g) The type of sampling is purposive sampling, emphasising the principle of data saturation and the general purpose of sampling is making a sample for answering to the research questions, also the trustworthiness criterion is for evaluation of research quality.

### **3.3.1.2 Theoretical framework of research**

The conceptual framework of the current research is Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

### **3.3.2 The process of the research execution**

As described in the first above-mentioned part and the results of it in the second part, this research is a study to seek answers to the research questions. The main research question focus on the propaganda techniques which were used for consolidation of meanings of the leading floating signifiers in a competition between two main discourses in Iran; namely (as has been termed) the Iranian Islamic Principlist discourse (represented by the *Resalat*) and (as has been termed) the Iranian Reformist discourse (represented by the *Etemad-e Melli*).

In order to answer this question, we have chosen a theoretical framework for the research which can support our study namely Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. This theory does not have enough analytical and applicable instruments for textual analysis because of its broad and abstract vision. As a result, we used some linguistic tools from Fairclough and van Dijk's approaches for getting better result (refer to parts F and V of the data collection tool).

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory which is our guide in the research, discourses are competing against each other over gaining semantic hegemony and the mechanism of the process is, if a specific signified approaches a signifier as a result a consensus is reached in the society over a specific meaning for it then the mentioned signifier had become hegemonic. Consequently when the signifiers of a discourse become hegemonic then the whole discourse will reach a semantic hegemony.

Now, with reference to this introduction in order to achieve the objective of research the following process will have to be followed, first of all the discursive atmosphere of the society should be studied and following that a focus should be made on the understanding of the two discourses in the research. The study of the common propaganda techniques in the intended society are considered as essentials of doing research in this stage. The method of documentary studies are mainly used in this part of study. In the next stage, an appropriate instrument should be devised in order to gathering the findings from the editorials.

Afterwards, sampling should be carried out in the field of research. In the current study, the size of field is 105 editorials, six of them are selected based on theoretical saturation method as the informant size of research. The next step is the extraction of data from the selected editorials which is carried out by the mentioned tool, finally the findings have to be construed based on the research theory in order to answer the research questions.

### **3.3.3 Why newspaper, *Etemad-e Melli* and *Resalat*, editorial section and this period of time?**

In order to obtain the purposes of this research according to the Iran's specific political and social conditions, I have chosen these several approaches. Firstly, I chose newspapers because in Iran, according to the law, there is no private radio and television and the public radio and television must not enter the election campaigns in favor or against any candidate or group and should be completely impartial. This matter itself causes the greater importance of the press role in propaganda and election campaigns. Secondly, from the available newspapers, I have chosen the "*Etemad-e Melli*" and "*Resalat*" because, the two newspapers are two of the most important and effective political publications. Each of them is representative of an active and important political current in the political arena of Iran. Thirdly, among the available subjects in each

newspaper I have chosen its editorial because the discorsal representations ordinarily express the viewpoints, opinions, conditions, advantages or other specialties of the groups. Since one of the main function of editorials is persuasive expression of opinions and viewpoints, therefore, for consideration of discorsal assumptions of each political group and also study of the persuasive techniques which were used by them, the best choice should be the editorials. Fourthly, I selected the research period from 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 to 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009 because based on the Iran's social and political circumstances and experiences of previous elections, the mentioned period was the climax of election campaigns and thus is more suitable for our study.

### **3.4 The field (field of research)**

All of the published editorials in the *Resalat* and *Etemad-e Melli* from Saturday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 to Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009 in Iran are the field of this research (namely one hundred and five editorials).

The numbers are divided into Day-Month as follows:

(a) The number of editorials of *Resalat*,

-In Farvardin<sup>11</sup> (from Saturday, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2009 to Monday 20<sup>th</sup> April 2009): 14 editorials.

-In Ordibehesht<sup>12</sup> (from Tuesday, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2009 to Thursday, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2009): 26 editorials.

---

11 Farvardin (Persian: فروردین, Persian pronunciation: [færvær'di:n]) is the first month of the Solar Hijri calendar, the official calendar of Iran. Farvardin has thirty-one days. It is the first month of the spring season (Bahar), and is followed by Ordibehesht.

-In Khordad<sup>13</sup> (from Friday, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2009 to Sunday, 21<sup>st</sup> June 2009): 14 editorials.

The total number from Saturday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 to Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009: 54 editorials.

(b)The number of editorials of *Etemad-e Melli*,

-In Farvardin (from Saturday, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2009 to Monday, 20<sup>th</sup> April 2009): 13 editorials.

-In Ordibehesht (from Tuesday, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2009 to Thursday, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2009): 22 editorials.

-In Khordad (from Friday, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2009 to Sunday, 21<sup>st</sup> June 2009): 16 editorials.

The total number from Saturday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 to Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009: 51 editorials.

It is worth mentioning that, normally, each newspaper has one editorial in a day. Normally, these two newspapers are not published on Fridays. Both the newspapers of *Etemad-e Melli* and *Resalat* are considered as the national newspapers which are published in the capital with a nationwide distribution. The element in this research is the editorial. The tenth presidential election in Iran was held on Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2009.

### **3.5 Analysis unit**

Editorial and memorandum

---

12 Ordibehesht (Persian: اردیبهشت, Persian pronunciation: [ordi:be'heft]) is the second month of the Solar Hijri calendar, the official calendar of Iran. Ordibehesht has 31 days. Ordibehesht is the second month of the spring season (Bahar), and is followed by Khordad.

13 Khordad (Persian: خرداد, Persian pronunciation: [xor'do:d]) is the third month of the Iranian calendar. Khordad has thirty-one days. Khordad is the third month of the spring season (Bahar). It is followed by Tir.

### **3.6 The Informants (or Gatekeepers) size**

In this research regarding to the selected method and the approach of the research, the informant size of study with using the method of theoretical saturation has been selected six cases from the analysis unit. Three editorials belong to *Resalat*, and three editorials belong to *Etemad-e Melli*.

#### **Specifications of the selected informants (separately)**

##### **(a) *Resalat* (newspaper)**

-*Resalat* - Date: Thursday, 9<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: Analyzing Obama's message and our position (manifesto) - 542 words.

-*Resalat* - Date: Thursday, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government - 781 words.

-*Resalat* - Date: Saturday, 25<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: Assessments of 4 years performance - 713 words.

-Total word count for these three editorials: 2,036 words.

##### **(b) *Etemad-e Melli* (newspaper)**

-*Etemad-e Melli* - Date: Saturday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: The difference between Obama's and Bush's Message - 1,237 words.

-*Etemad-e Melli* - Date: Monday, 6<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: A place beyond politics - 811 words.

*-Etemad-e Melli* - Date: Wednesday, 15<sup>th</sup> April 2009 - Title: Parliament and preferred method of running country - 520 words.

-Total word count for these three editorials: 2,568 words.

Overall, there has been a total of 4,604 words in these six editorials.

### **3.7 The informant selection method**

The following method have been used in order to select an appropriate informant regarding to the methodology and theory of the current research.

Initially, at the stage of main strategy is chosen the Non-probability Sampling (Holliday, 2002; Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013).

Following the first stage, the Purposive and Criterion Based Sampling Method (Judge Sampling) (Berg & Lune, 2011; Mason, 2002; Patton, 2001) has been chosen from the branches of the non-probability sampling. Then, the following techniques are applied from the main branches above (the Purposive and Criterion Based Sampling Method).

1. Sampling Using Multiple Purposive Techniques (R. Johnson & Christensen, 2010).

This is first main sampling technique in this research.

2. Sequential Sampling (Charles & Tashakkori, 2009)

From the main branch above:

2.1 Theoretical Sampling or reactive sampling (based on the role of gradual selection and theoretical saturation) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008 ). This is second main sampling technique in this research.

3. Sampling to Achieve Representativeness or Comparability (Charles & Tashakkori, 2009). From the above main branch, have been selected the two techniques of the Extreme or Deviant Case Sampling (Information-Rich) (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Robson, 2011) and also the Intensity Sampling (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996).

Furthermore from the branch of Sampling Special and Unique Cases (Charles & Tashakkori, 2009) have been selected the two techniques of Critical Case Sampling (Patton, 2001) and Sampling Politically Important Cases (Gall et al., 1996).

With regard to the dominant paradigm in the research which is the interpretivist or constructivist paradigm, the mentioned process briefly could be summarised in three steps, main strategy of non-probability sampling, the two main techniques of the purposive and criterion-based sampling and the mixed purposive sampling.

### **Some important points regarding to sampling in qualitative studies**

#### **(a) The final purposes of sampling**

The final purposes of sampling in the relevant studies are transferability, analytic generalization and extrapolation.

##### **1. Transferability**

It deals with the possibility of generalising the results in other similar societies.

##### **2. Theoretical generalisation or analytic generalization**

In this sort of studies we usually deal with theoretical inference (logical inference, analytical inference).

The theoretical inference means that an analyst will consider some results about the fundamental relations between two or more features based on a set of theoretical propositions. Based on theoretical inference, theoretical generalisation (analytical generalisation) is the generalisation method in such studies in which the pre-designed theory often has been used as a pattern in order to compare this kind of study results with each other.

Briefly, we could mention the theoretical generalisation is an alternative to statistical generalisation and the logic of "from sample to society" gives its position to "the case of result to theory or model". It is obvious that the validity of theoretical generalisation depends on the strength of the used theoretical arguments in the study rather than the representativeness of cases.

### **3. Extrapolation**

This is unlike generalisability which reveals that the person has gone beyond the limited data for thinking about other applications of them. Extrapolations are the balanced speculations about the potential applicability of results for other situations under the same conditions.

#### **(b) Purpose of the Sampling Process**

It is achieving the understanding and introspective cognition and the perception of the patterns and meaning system.

#### **(c) Logic of Sampling**

In this type of studies, the logic of selection samples is the selected samples must provide the maximum amount of information for responding to the research questions.

#### **(d) Time of Sampling**

In qualitative research, this could be prior to the study, during the study, or both.

#### **(e) Naturalistic Generalization**

The type of generalisation in the qualitative studies is naturalistic generalisation. It is emphasised on the unique, always variable events. This kind of generalisability has relative comparability only with quite similar situations because based on its assumptions; events are unique and constantly changing.

Finally, it is worth reminding that in this type of researches we are after theorising and conceptualisation rather than generalisation. The idea is to focus on the quality of theoretical analysis based upon accurate research on one or few cases. In addition, some similar studies discussed how theory could create or examine with using inductive or deductive arguments. On this basis, we could say a study becomes important, when the resulted data of a case combines with a theory.

### **3.8 Data gathering procedure**

The dominant paradigm in this study is a combination of philosophical principles in the two paradigms of interpretivist-constructivist and critical. Also, based on the methodology of this research, the critical discourse analysis has been tried to collect narrative data from the textual fields in the direction of responding to the questions of the research (problem-oriented research with the exploratory purposes).

Since the method of collecting data in the current study is based on non-intrusive measures, first of all, a designed instruction with fifty two categories is carried out after preliminary studies. In the next step, the use of this collection instrument of data was

referred to the produced content by media (sampled editorials) and according to the instruction and with reference to categories and subcategories, the extraction of data was done.

Then the collected information have been presented in chapter four of the thesis after being reviewed and corrected with the method of analytical textual reports in a form of six separated reports, but with the same order (description of data). In the end with the help of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, the mentioned information (obtained documents from the instruments of text analysis) is finally analysed in chapter five of the thesis and presented in the form of conceptual interpretive reports.

### **3.9 Descriptions of the research variables**

For more clarity in the response to the some questions of research such as the major research question or in the ensuring rigor and goodness section, perhaps it should be useful to pay attention briefly to the research variables.

#### **(a) Independent variable**

The Editorial

Features of the Editorial is known as a variable in the research, Independent as its role, Discrete Quantitative type and Nominal as its scale.

#### **(b) Dependent variables**

##### **1. The leading floating signifier**

Features of the Leading Floating Signifiers is known as a variable in the research, Dependent as its role, Qualitative type and Nominal as its scale.

## 2. The propaganda technique

Features of the Propaganda Technique is known as a variable in the research, Dependent as its role, Qualitative type and Nominal as its scale.

### **3.10 Ensuring rigor and goodness**

The scientific rigor in qualitative research involves all activities that increase the probability of valid data (Traynor, Roberts, & Priest, 2006). A potential problem in accessing to scientific rigor (in qualitative research) is the researcher's bias. The researcher's bias arises from the selectively data gathering and recording or interpretation, they are based on researcher's personal perspective (R. B. Johnson, 1997). With attention to the final purpose of scientific rigor, which is precise explanation of the participants' experiences (Speziale & Carpenter, 2011). Scientific rigor gives to the readers the possibility of tracking of the researcher's thought line during data analysis.

In this research with attention to the selected qualitative research method (Critical Discourse Analysis), the evaluation of its qualification is mainly focused on the trustworthiness criterion and among the methods proposed by methodologists and experts in this field; Guba and Lincoln's trustworthiness criterion (Speziale & Carpenter, 2011) was selected.

#### **Egon Gotthold Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln: Trustworthiness Criterion**

Guba and Lincoln (1985 ) believe that the trustworthiness criterion involves four separate but related criteria consisting of :

1. Credibility, this relates to the rate believing to the research findings. In a credible research, data is consonant and correlated and not disjointed or inconsistent.

### **Belcher's Strategies to Enhance the Credibility of Results**

In this case, Belcher (1991 ) has brought out specific strategies for increasing the credibility of qualitative results, they are as follows:

(a) Prolonged Engagement, one of the best ways of making rigor is prolonged engagement and immersion in subject matter.

(b) Persistent Observation

(c) Triangulation (Combination and Integration)

Denzin and Lincoln identified four different but interrelated types of triangulation (Denzin, 1989) & (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) :

- Data Triangulation, it is defined as using multiple data sources in investigation on a subject matter (Lee, 2000).

- Investigator Triangulation, it is defined as using more than one researcher for data collecting, analysis or interpreting (Kimchi, Polivka, & Stevenson 1991).

- Theoretical Triangulation, it is defined as the use of multiple theoretical perspectives to the data analysis and interpretation (Denzin, 1989).

- Methodological Triangulation, in this type of triangulation is used from more than one method to gather data in order to check the compatibility and adjustment of produced findings.

There are two types of methodological triangulation which consist of, Inter-Method Triangulation and Intra-Method Triangulation.

(d) Employing rigorous methods of doing fieldwork (Mitchell, 1993 )

(e) Researcher Credibility, this term relates to the researcher's education, experience, status etc.

(f) Philosophical belief in fundamental principles of qualitative research such as:

Purposive Sampling or Criterion-based Sampling, Inductive Analysis, Naturalism, Holism, Qualitative Methods (Patton, 2001).

2. Dependability, it is the ability of recognizing a place which the data of specific research has come from there. The main way of getting dependability is the auditing test.

3. Confirm ability, it is referred to the qualitative objectivity of a qualitative naturalistic report (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

Confirm ability is completed with standardization the methods also recording all ideas and executive decisions related to the design as far as possible and gives an answer to this question that: does the researcher give enough details to us that we can evaluate the data collecting and analyzing (Brewer, 1998) & (Shank, 2005).

4. Transformability, it is referred to a degree, that on that degree, the result of a qualitative research can transfer to another different area and is used for an unlike population (Swinton & Mowatt, 2006).

The first tool for making transformability is a suitable describing for providing all relative details with the research process or the thick description. In this relation, Stommel (2004) writes, the thick description is a comprehensive description of the participants' identity, reported experiences by them and researcher's observations among the study, for providing all-inclusive data about the case of study. By this information, the researchers can study that these findings can use in different population or place or no.

- Inference Adequacy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 ) & (Eisner, 1997), this criterion is the separation a part of the raw data and reanalysis them for quality assessment of the inferences and results.

- Authenticity Criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1989): a precise research quality should have five types of authenticity such as Fairness, Ontological Authenticity, Educative Authenticity, Catalytic Authenticity and Tactical Authenticity.

At the end of this section, some practical methods of quality assessment in such research are presented as cited from Krathwohl(1998). He holds that these questions should be replied to for assessment of the quality of research.

(a) Are explanations concerning a relationship between the variables theoretically acceptable?

(b) Have the conceptual frameworks of the study (such as the research questions) been translated into the plan elements (such as the research sampling)?

(c) Has a series of results been generated and are these the very expected ones?

(d) Were the results in accordance with the previous findings in the literature?

(e) Were the inferences and interpretations in accordance with the obtained data analysis?

(f) Are the inferences in various sections of the research coordinated?

### **3.11 The level of analysing information**

The research method used in this study is a type of evaluation methods and explanatory studies. The outcome of this research is presented with a practical and strategical approach. The type of work in this research is theoretical and practical. The level of analysis in the current research is macro level. On the other hand, the social factors and variables have been discussed in this study.

### **3.12 Data collection tool**

In the current research with the attention to the main purpose of the research namely answering to the research questions and also the methodology of research (CDA), after a prerequisite study, an instrument was designed with fifty two categories in four sections in order to collect data from textual fields. In the eleven categories of the section one in research instrument, the attention has been paid to the general characteristics of editorials (part G). The focus in the categories of section two (part F) has been on the discourse analysis of the editorials based on a free adaptation of Fairclough's view. This section consists of the main three parts such as description of text which has eight sub-categories, interpretation and opinions with two sub-categories and the last is the stage of explanation includes two sub-categories. In section three with thirteen categories (part V) has been dealt with analysing of the dominant discourse over the editorials based on some van Dijkian variables. Finally, the section four (part P) includes sixteen propaganda techniques.

### **3.13 The used research method in brief**

Critical discourse analysis is considered as theory and methodology of this research. It should be noted that the main theory used in this research is Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory. Since the theory is a political social one at a macro level and is basically rooted in political social philosophy, outside the linguistic field, therefore it lacks the required linguistic instruments to analyse the text. To make up for this shortfall, it has been attempted here to utilize some of the Fairclough and van Dijk's concepts and analytical linguistic instruments. It should be pointed out that the basis of this combination is still Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory.

Research stages:

#### (a) The documentary studies

In the current stage the attention will be paid to some areas such as:

The field of discursivity in Iran (in relation to the research subject), the order of political discursivity in Iran (in relation to the research subject) and the key signifiers (the nodal points and leading signifiers) .

#### (b) The analysis of communicative events

With the information that are obtained from the first stage now we focus on text analysis, and we will try to describe the lingual structures based on Fairclough and van Dijk's linguistic analysis instruments. Furthermore, we search the propaganda techniques which probably have been used in the editorials in order to compete for defining of the disputed leading floating signifiers.

(c) The interpretation of information

Based on the theoretical framework of research, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

## CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF DATA

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, it is attempted to explain the method of data analysis through an example even though the relevant descriptions also are given in the section 5.2 Perhaps it would be useful if a brief explanation is given in advance.

Regarding the current theoretical framework of the research, in order to carry out discourse analysis with the intention of responding to the research questions, two methods have been utilised, initially a “general-particular” and then “particular-general” movements. It is worth noting, in “deduction”, the starting point initiates from political-social macro analysis which is based upon Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory and in the end, the linguistic micro findings are extracted from the under studying texts (see section 4.2). At the “induction” stage, the obtained results from analysing the texts (see section 4.2) have been used to address the research questions with reference to Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory (see section 5.2).

Based on the above explanation it can be stated that some studies in the recent research have been carried out initially based on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory within Iranian contemporary political-social field which some of their obtained results have been presented in the Chapter two of the thesis (for instance, reference can be made to the sections 2.2, 2.3 or 2.4). Perhaps at this stage it is important to point out that a large part of the discussed subjects about the studies of discourseology in Iran which have been presented in the Chapter two (for instance, 2.4 and 2.5) are not based on Laclau and Mouffe’s theory, even though they have been useful to identify the dominant discursive atmosphere in Iran.

The outcome of the above-mentioned studies -with reference to Laclau and Mouffe's theory-leads to identify the characteristics of the two most important existent discourses in Iran's political-social sphere which for instance some abstracts of them are given in the figures 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8.

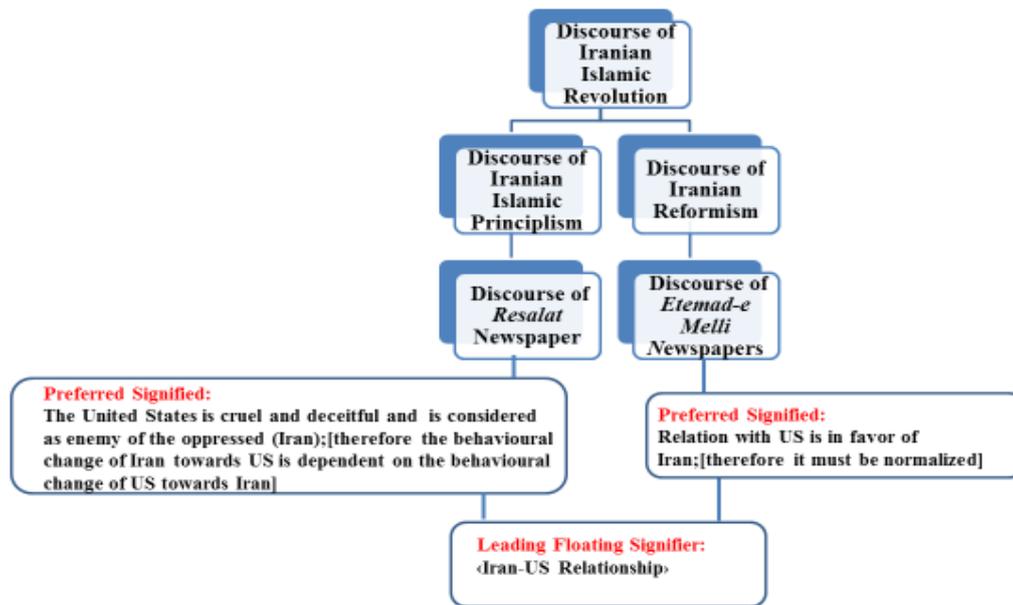
Now, the next stage is to design an instrument to collect the required data from the editorials in order to address the questions related to the research (refer to sections 3.13 and 3.14). This tool practically is connecting the contents of editorials to Laclau and Mouffe's abstract macro view (refer to section 2.9) via figures 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8.

At the next stage the extraction of data from the texts has been carried out based on the definitions of categories in the research instrument and by comparing them with the editorials. The obtained results can be seen in section 4.2.

Finally with the help from the information in section 4.2 and based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory (refer to 2.9 and also 5.2) all the research questions will be answered in section 5.2.2.

#### **4.1.1 Explanation of the analysis method**

To present the method of analysis, editorials No.1 and 2 are more appropriate (see section 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2). In the following, these measures have been taken (the complementary explanations are given in section 5.2).



22

**Figure 4.1:** The conceptual model of findings analysis based on Laclau and Mouffe’s Discourse Theory related to editorials number one and two

(a) The editorials must be read in depth through Laclau and Mouffe’s point of view and also particularly with the emphasis on the information given in figures 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8, in order to obtain the disputable leading floating signifier which is known as Iran-US relationship and is common in both editorials.

(b) In each editorials, the suggested signified for the mentioned leading floating signifier is a desirable signified which has harmony with the dominant discourse in that editorial which meanwhile has been foregrounded within the relevant editorial while this mentioned signified has been backgrounded in the rival discourse. It should be pointed out that the way of finding these two signified to a great extent is similar to the part (a).

(c) Up to here, we have dealt with the two editorials which are competing against each other in order to attribute two different signifieds over a disputable leading floating signifier, also they probably use propaganda techniques during the process.

All the above are inferred from Laclau and Mouffe's theory. At this stage of the analysis, it is time for referring to the extracted findings from the editorials so based on them a study will be carried out to understand whether they would confirm the same model. It is worth mentioning that, the emphasis will only be on the important analytical factors here. All subcategories of parts 6, 7, 8 and 11 in the first report (4.2.1) under section G are extremely considered as discorsal categories and are affected by the dominant discourse in the relevant editorial. In other words, with reference to them, we would be able to have a better understanding about the dominant discourse over the editorial. Some of their most important are Title, Subject, Theme, Conclusion, and Purpose...

As a result, with regard to the theory, it is expected that all the above, somehow to be in line with foregrounding the desired signified of the Reformist discourse for the disputable leading floating signifier. Now, the same results will be achieved if we refer to them. In the second report (4.2.2) the same process has exactly been repeated for the desired signified in the "Principlist discourse" which it is the competition for attributing two different signifieds to a singular signifier.

In section F, the attention is paid to the categories which are inferred from Fairclough's theory. Part 1 of this section is entirely discorsal and it strongly is affected by the dominant discourse in the editorial. It is worth mentioning, in general some categories such as: Selection, Judgement, Comparison, Evaluation, Valuation, Interests, Expectations, Classification, Prioritisation, Interpretation, Analysis, Summarise ... They are all discorsal and present the dominant discourse of the text. The logic behind is that all these categories are taking place with direct reference to the discourse. In a text, all the above categories are usually in line with each other and emphasising on the desired signified of the dominant discourse in that text.

We will reach this fact by comparing the categories within the two reports. Under the part (b) of the section F, the above subject has been repeated but with different categories. The Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical approach has exactly shown and followed in section 5, 6 of part C. In the second level (section A) we are dealing with van Dijk's categories (from V1 to V13). All the mentioned categories from different angles try to clarify the position of the dominant discourse of the editorials and logically these categories follow the rule of existent categories in part F of the first level in the worksheet categories.

In the end, part P is dealing with the techniques which have probably been used by editor-in chief, in order to persuade the audiences in the direction of accepting the attribution of the favourite signified in his or her discourse over the disputed floating signifier in the text. All of them are in common in both editorials, only signifieds are different.

In brief, it can be concluded that the emphasis in this worksheet has been on discursual categories (except section P). These categories due to their own discursual features reveal a specific point of view-favourite signified- which is belonging to the dominant discourse of the editorial for a specific issue i.e. the disputable leading floating signifier in the editorial. Now we would be able to respond the research questions with applying the findings which are obtained from the worksheets along with the help from Laclau and Mouffe's theory. At the end of this part might be useful noting a point.

#### **4.1.2 Why has Laclau and Mouffe's theory been selected?**

Perhaps this question arises that what would be the advantage of the current study-based upon the Laclau and Mouffe's theory-compare to the other studies based on the tradition of critical discourse studies? The response to this question is that although there are

significant common points between the approaches of Fairclough and van Dijk's with Laclau and Mouffe's (for instance, their commitment to the principles of social constructionism theory) but there are also distinct differences between them as will be explained below:

**(a) Lack of distinction between discursive and non-discursive phenomena in**

**Laclau and Mouffe's approach (more coherence)**

There is a distinction between discursive and non-discursive phenomena in Fairclough and van Dijk's approaches whereas we could not differentiate between discursive and non-discursive phenomena in Laclau and Mouffe's approach. This is a relative advantage for the Laclau and Mouffe's theory comparing to the other critical discourse theories since, first of all, the distinction between the above-mentioned is practically almost impossible. Secondly, this distinction is leading to more complexity and ambiguity as we would need to utilise more theories to explain a social phenomenon. In Laclau and Mouffe's theory, all the social phenomena including discursive and non-discursive can be explain only by one theory. As a result, the outcome of the research will be a coherent explanation for the subject.

**(b) Discourse is a comprehensive semiotic system and language is only a part of it**

**in Laclau and Mouffe's approach (comprehensiveness)**

Discourse in Fairclough and van Dijk's theories is defined in a way that always refers to the function of language. As a result, in deed the purpose of critical discourse analysis is the study of the ideological functions of language. On the other hand based upon the Laclau and Mouffe's theory although discourse is a semiotic system which has a structure similar to the system of signs in language, with a greater range than language, determines the usage of language. In this sphere not only our language and manners of

speech shape in a specific way but also all deeds, behaviours and thoughts are formed within it.

Consequently, the objective of the discourse analysis based on this theory is the analysis of all social phenomena including language. This comprehensiveness is one of the advantages of this theory in this field, compare to the other theories.

**(c) Replacing the concept of Ideology with Discourse in Laclau and Mouffe's approach (nonbias)**

In critical discourse analysis in general and in Fairclough's approach in specific, since an analyst aims to reveal, the facts in language, focus is made on ideological mechanism which is leading to conceal the truth in language. The analyst aims to eliminate them. This case contains a presupposition i.e. his or her view is non-ideological, whereas the others point of view is not and consequently distorting the reality.

In general, many researchers' studies tend to support one ideology and dismissing the other ideologies. However, in Laclau and Mouffe's theory by eliminating the concept of Ideology and instead emphasising on the concept of discourse, the discussion will only be focus on different discourses in society. The discourses are not necessarily right or wrong but are continuously in competition with each other.

Such cases, has led to the Laclau and Mouffe's approach -in the tradition of critical discourse analysis-to gain relative advantage in comparison with the other approaches in this field. As a result, it appears that this theory is more comprehensive, efficient and coherent. This theory which is a post-structuralist theory has required ability to explain the process of emergence, continuity and decline of a discourse also it is capable of

investigating the interaction between them. Logically, a research which is based on that will contain a more expressive explanation from the social phenomena.

#### **4.2 Presentation of the findings**

In this part, the extracted information from six editorials by research instrument (please refer to part 3.13) is presented in the form of six reports. It should be noted that mostly the style of presenting information will follow the research instrument format.

**4.2.1 First report (extracted data from the editorial of *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper published in 04/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1. Number of Editorial:** 1

**2. Publication Date:** 04/04/2009

**3. Day (of Week):** Saturday

**4. Name of Newspapers:** *Etemad-e Melli*

**5. Author of Editorial:** Srg-h Barsqyan

**6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**-Editorial Title:** Differences between Obama and Bush's Messagess

**-Editorial Subject:** The relationship between Iran and America

**-Editorial Theme:** Obama's Nowruz (New Year) message is very important and different from that of former American presidents

**- Sections of the editorial:**

**A. Introduction:**

From;

Nowruz message (Happy New Year) by President of the United States was not an unprecedented action...

To;

...The Bush state also remained faithful to this tradition and for many years the President was responsible for sending happy New Year message to its conductors.

**B: Text:**

From;

Three parameters of time, distribution, tone, and audiences of the Obama's New Year message should be considered in the response...

To;

...With such view, if Iran cooperates with America on the subject of Afghanistan, this issue in addition to reasons such as concerns and common interests of the two countries will be resulted from the position of Iran and its responsibilities.

**C: Conclusion:**

From;

For this reason, Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States...

To;

... and no doubt is remained for its importance.

**The editor concluded that;**

- Obama's Nowruz message can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States.
- The messages are important because they show a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran
- The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost
- Concerning unmatched place of presidency in America, no doubt is remained for its importance.

**7. The Purpose of this Editorial**

- Describing the opinion of the newspaper on Obama's Nowruz message (an important and different message that should be paid attention to)
- Analysing Obama's message
- Preparing audiences to position against the relationship with America (normalization of the relation between Tehran and Washington)

**8. The Message Context**

- Time of message release

Obama's Nowruz message was released while process of reviewing the United States policy towards Iran was not final and was not led to the diplomatic decision.

- The process of message release

Obama's Nowruz message release reinforces abovementioned assumption

- Different audiences of the message

The third parameter introduces the audience of the message which is the most important aspect and difference between Obama's message and previous messages.

**9. The Factional Affiliation:** Reformist (Iranian Reformism)/Revisionist

**10. Links or Similarities:** No

**11. Type of Editorial:** Editorials of argument and persuasion

**-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

Nowruz message (Happy New Year) by President of the United States was not an unprecedented action. Happy New Year tradition was started in states of Bill Clinton (the Democrat) and George W. Bush (the Republican) and *changed into a more serious form (Claim)*. Madeleine Albright, foreign minister of Clinton State, started her famous speech on March 1999 in the Forum of America and Iran about accepting responsibility for mistakes by the United States in the overthrow of Mosaddegh and pressures of Shah's period with reference to start of Persian New Year and spring and expressed hope that Iran and America could plant seeds of *better relations (A signifier which has different signified in various discourses -Polysemy, Ambiguity)* for harvest in future years and in Sizdah Be-dar of year 1999 she said that she knotted grass in memory of

Iranian friends. The Bush state also remained faithful to this tradition and for many years the President was responsible for sending happy New Year message to *its conductors (This means that all persons, including rulers and common people, also all people that have this ceremony such as the people of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan,... - Has contradiction with the next contents )*.

So why is message of Barack Obama important when it is the repetition of former process? Three parameters of time, distribution, tone, and audiences of the Obama's New Year message should be considered in the response. Obama's Nowruz message was released while *process of reviewing the United States policies towards Iran was not final and was not led to the diplomatic decision(Claim - Without offering a valid reason) and diplomats(General and vague word) know that new approach of Obama's state including a combination of small steps (Claim - Without offering a valid reason) for establishing contact between the two countries (Compatible with the discursive positions of the newspaper) and for sending a letter to Iranian leader.( Claim - Even if the issue of sending letter is correct, but we do not know anything about the content of it, because it is confidential) Accordingly, (Skewed resulting) Obama's Nowruz message can (Claim) show the framework of that possible (Contradiction with the above-mentioned, - Why probable?- In the above has mentioned that, has been sent) letter or he can replace the media messages with letters in current period(Biased guessing) and at the moment he can totally cancel the issue of sending letter or in a certain time period, he can suspend it due to reasons such as presidential elections in Iran (Biased guessing) or lack of access to consultants and close people to Iranian leadership. (Guessing, Why the lack of access?) The style of releasing Obama's message strengthens the above-mentioned assumption. The message was released in a video form with Persian subtitle so that Obama's message is included in form of "open diplomacy" or "public diplomacy" that was earlier used by Washington in the*

*relationship with Moscow and Peking, (These information do not prove anything) a message to public audiences in a good event with friendly nature(In the discourse of competitor can be interpreted, with a deceitful nature; generally in the discourse of competitor, this message can be interpreted as a hypocritical message).* In this message, Iranian people and their leaders have been addressed. This is a one to one letter however with a common subject (the relations between Iran and America and some issues about Iranian people) in addition to acknowledgement of diplomacy. *(What change has occurred?- The messages of previous presidents of US have had the same characteristics)* The third parameter introduces the audiences of the message which is the most important aspect and difference between Obama's message and previous messages. *Unlike* Nowruz messages in Clinton and *Bush's states*, Obama did not *only* congratulate Nowruz to Iranian people who live in America and Iranians. *(Contradiction with the above-mentioned, before have been mentioned, the Bush administration congratulate Nowruz to the organizers of it, not only to America Iranians or people of Iran)*

Bush's Nowruz messages based on his literature about Iran believed in drawing line between Iranian people and their leaders and even specifically he addressed and separated youths and women from other Iranian people. *(Claim, without offering valid reason- contradiction with previous contents)*

In Nowruz message of year 2008, Bush called Iranians as proud people but frankly he said: we disagree with Islamic republic of Iran. Like recent years, Bush tried to make America a friend of Iranians and a supporter of their freedom and progress and he related problems of Iranian people to policies and decisions of Iranian government and said: America has also problem with policies of Iranian government.

But as Obama himself said plainly, "Iranian people and their leaders were audiences of Obama's Nowruz message. Obama also seriously pointed to the disagreements between America and leaders of Iran, but he never considered it for separation of government and nation of Iran (*In the discourse of competitor can interpret, because have noticed that they are united together*) rather he pointed to commitment of United States for placing Islamic republic of Iran *in its true position*(*What is the true position of Iran? and which discourse determine it?*) in the international community and it carries at least two important messages. Firstly, the new U.S. government officially addresses legal ruling regime of Iran (*of course this is not the first time, for instance during the Reagan presidency also has been happened this event*) which could be (*Skewed resulting*) the end of *Iranian officials' expectation* (*Claim- General and vague expression- Who said that Iranian authorities have been expected this? -Suggestion*) from America to respect the ruling regime in Iran. (*Claim, Addressing namely respecting?*)

In Washington after years of debate over how to deal with the legal regime governing in Iran and even the approval of funds for overthrowing the regime, finally *the president of America offers Iran a proposal of cooperation* (*Is addressing the suggestion of collaboration? basically this expression suddenly appear, without precedent*) and *this is the best reason*(*Skewed argument*) for *change of American policy* (*Claim, without offering valid reason*) from the goal of "changing Iranian regime" into "changing behavior of Iranian regime".(*The alternative interpretation in the competitor discourse can be like this; the Iran transformation strategy, which through the change of Iran's behavior in the beganing, ultimately can change the regime completely*)

Secondly, what Obama refers to, is *the position* (*General and vague*) of the Islamic Republic of Iran, not merely the geopolitical position of Iran, neither the Iranian people with a history of ancient civilization.

Although Obama again pointed to the connection of Iran with *the terrorism* (*The term is vague and interpretable in different ways*) or the use of *weapons* (*Reduced, because the debate is over prohibited weapons*), Iranian authorities have known that as the repetition of playing the same old music, (*The position of Iran!, a country which support terrorism and seeks weapons of mass destruction?*) in this message it has been said that *"the right of* (*Ambiguous - has different meanings in different discourses - Who should give this right to Iran?*) *Standing in a true position* (*What is it? and which discourse defines it ?*) *in the international community"* (*Controversial, whether only US and its allies are the international community, or for example the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, whose number is 120*) is accompanied with *"real responsibilities"*. (*What is it? and which discourse defines it? - In the discourse of competitor can interpret; dissolving in the global system which leads by US, or the neoliberal globalization project*) This tone is *novel* (*Claim, inconsistent with the above contents*) in spoken literature of *Iran and America* (*or America with Iran, here primacy and recency has meaning*), a tone regardless of threats to Iran or from Iran, a recommendation for withdrawal and blame of the government.

Conversely, (*Claim, inconsistent with the above contents*) it is a tone in which *the responsibilities* (*or rights!*) of a power has been recognized (*or imposed, which must accept the rules of the game till is located in its own rightful place*) and has been got help from it (?). In practice, the request of Obama for cooperation with Iran in issues of Afghanistan also represents something like the same approach in order to interact with Iran from area of its responsibilities (*General and vague - Which discourse defines these responsibilities?*) not tasks (*What is difference between task and responsibility?*) and even political transaction. With such view, if Iran cooperates with America on the subject of Afghanistan, this issue in addition to reasons such as *concerns and common interests* (*General and vague*) of the two countries will be resulted from *the position*

*(General and vague) of Islamic Republic of Iran and the responsibility which this position makes for it. (General and vague) for this reason, (The argument is disputable) Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States or according to the White House spokesman it is the first step from many steps to encourage Tehran to begin dialogue (no cooperation or recognition of the Iran's regime - and basically whether the dialogue is in the interest of Iran or America) with Washington because Obama said that no immediate reactions can be expected from this type of messages and he diligently tries to resolve bilateral disputes. The messages are important because they show a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran, (Claim - competitor discourse can claim which this is the part of carrot from the policy of carrot and stick.) but the focus on messages and policies of President of America can represents macro approach of United States? (Request to focus on the messages and policies of the U.S. President, but according to the author's reading from them.) (Here the writer criticizes the competitor discourse and claims his discourse is closer to reality) In Iran, the political issue is that there is no proper understanding (Claim) from the real (What is the real?) position of President of America in governance structure of the United States. In other words, reducing the role of president to governmental broker and giving too much importance to political lobbies and advisory circles (The competitor discourse can ask, is not this the actual position of US president?) will remove the golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington. (Is the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington golden opportunity? - Indicates the discursive positions of this wing). In accordance with the absolute presidential system, President of United States is responsible for either "The head of state" (he has traditional qualification to introduce the United States inside and outside the country and the right of sending message from America) or "The head of government "(he has general qualification for official*

announcement and law enforcement over the country and ...). (*The claim of competitor discourse could be this; these are merely on paper and in the reality happen something else*) In this case, the president has a great power (*on paper or in practice- Image-making*) without division of power between two roles and personalities of head of state and head of government, although the right of veto and decisions of Congress should also be added. This unique position has turned the message and policies of *the president of US* (*In the competitor discourse can be understood; or the outcome of capital flow*) to macro approaches of the United States and no doubt is remained for its importance.

### **First level: (Analysis of Discourse of Editorial) or (F)**

#### **(a) Description of Text:**

##### **1- Events: Message**

Obama's Nowruz message, the USA president,

##### **1-1 Results of Events: Difference**

The difference between his message and that of former American presidents

##### **1-2 Effective Events (The Real Events):**

The time, process of release, tone and audiences of the message

Refers to:

The importance of the message is based on three parameters of time, process of release, tone and audiences of Nowruz message of Obama.

### **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

- Message time

Obama's Nowruz message was released while process of reviewing the United States policy towards Iran was not final and was not led to the diplomatic decision.

- Message's tone and release process

- Message's release process

The message was released in a video form with Persian subtitle so that Obama's message is included in form of "open diplomacy" or "public diplomacy", a message with public audience with a good and friendly nature

-Message's tone

This tone is exquisite in oral literature of Iran and America, a tone regardless of threats for Iran or behaving Iran as a threat, recommendation for withdrawal and blame. Conversely, it is a tone in which the responsibilities of a power have been recognized and applied

-Message's audiences

As Obama himself said plainly, "Iranian people and their leaders were audiences of Obama's Nowruz message.

Unlike Nowruz messages in Clinton and Bush's states, Obama did not only congratulate Nowruz to Iranian people who live in America and Iranians.

### **- History of the Effective Events:**

Refers to:

<This approach was earlier used by Washington in the relationship with Moscow and Peking. >

### **- Background of the Effective Events:**

Refers to:

< Obama's Nowruz message was released while:

- Process of reviewing the United States policy towards Iran was not final and was not led to the diplomatic decision and diplomats knew that new approach of Obama's state included integration of small steps for establishing contact between two countries and sending a letter to the leader of Iran.

- The messages are important because they show a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran

- According to the White House spokesman it is the first step from many steps to encourage Tehran to begin dialogue with Washington

- In practice, the request of Obama for cooperation with Iran in issues of Afghanistan also represents something like the same approach.

- The USA president is very powerful according to absolute presidential system.

This unique position has changed the message and policies of president of America to macro approaches of the United States and no doubt is remained for its importance. >

### **1-2-2- Principal Events:**

Message audiences

The third parameter introduces the audience of the message which is the most important aspect and difference between Obama's message and previous messages

### **2- Results:**

- Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States.

-The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost.

### **(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

### **3-Expectations:**

Normalization of the relationship between Tehran and Washington

The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost.

### **4-Evaluation:**

Obama's message is different.

Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States.

**(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

Approximately from the beginning of Qajar dynasty until now, in the political and social atmosphere of Iran, Islamism and Modernism are always two basic antagonistic forces and driving social changes. The society of Iran has a basic social gap between these two Ideologies.

In the final analysis, the researcher believes that the political and social changes in Iran arise from conflict between Islamism and Materialism.

But it is essential to remember that in practice often we see social groups which have discourses with a mixture of the elements of two mentioned-above discourses, for instance the discourse of *Etemad-e Melli* Newspaper is one of them.

These signs of tendency to the West are the result of those elements which have received from the discourse of modernism and were articulated with other signs in this discourse.

With attention to these ideological common elements naturally, they can find some mutual economic and social interests.

For providing these benefits they need to relationship between the two countries.

To create this association they need to the supporting of public opinion for normalization of relations between the two countries.

In this editorial, we can see the persuasion action for providing this purpose by image-making.

### **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation**

The relation with America is in favor of Iran.

### **6-The Social practice based on The Discursive Practice**

Negotiating with America in order to normalization of the relationships

## **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

#### **1- Rhetoric:**

##### 1. Opinion or Subjects:

◁The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost. ▷

##### 2. Arguments:

a. Barack Obama's Nowruz message is important.

b. Obama's message is different.

c. This message can be the end of expectation of Iranian officials for America to respect the regime ruling Iran.

d. Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States

e. The USA president is very powerful

f. The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost.

## **2- Local Meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse.

In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, the relationship between Iran and America) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to difference between Obama's and Bush's Message

As a result, this editorial has:

- A theme (namely, Obama's Nowruz message is very important and different from that of former American presidents)

- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of Iran-US relations. In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.

-Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence (referential coherence).

-Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

Presuppositions: < the relationship with America is suitable >

**3-Polarization (meaning):** Not available

**4-Global Coherence:**

-The Theme of Editorial: Refers to: <Obama's Nowruz message is very important and different from that of former American presidents>

-The Subject of Editorial: Relationship with America

**5- Surface Structures:**

Refers to, < In Iran, the political issue is that there is no proper understanding from the real position of President of America in governance structure of the United States. In other words, reducing the role of president to governmental broker and giving too much importance to political lobbies and advisory circles will remove the golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington. >

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical Device):**

Refers to:

<- Iran and America could plant seeds of new and better relations for harvest in future years.

- New approach of Obama's state included integration of small steps for establishing contact between two countries.

- A piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran. >

### **7-Irony:**

Refers to:

<- And in Sizdah Bedar of year 1999 she said that she knotted grass in memory of Iranian friends.

- Drawing line between Iranian people and their leaders

- It was the repetition of likewise old music for Iranian authorities. >

### **8- Hyperbole:** Not available

**9-Euphemism:** Obama's Nowruz message has been described with positive phrases:

- A message that is undoubtedly important

- A media message that can be replaced with letter writing.

- A step towards making relation between two countries

- A message with good and friendly nature

- A message that respects Iranian regime

- A message that includes proposal of cooperation with legal regimen governing on Iran

- With a novel tone in oral literature of Iran and America a tone without threats for Iran or behaving Iran as a threat, recommendation for withdrawal and blame. Conversely, it is a tone in which the responsibilities of a power have been recognized and applied
- A message that can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States
- A message that shows a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran
- A message that represents macro approach of United States

Conclusion:

Overall, the editor tried to show a positive and different picture of Obama's Nowruz message (compared to previous messages).

### **10-Mitigation and Displacement:**

Underestimation of importance of the opponent's discourse interpretation is seen in the issue of America.

- In Iran, the political issue is that there is no proper understanding from the real position of President of America in governance structure of the United States. In other words, reducing the role of president to governmental broker and giving too much importance to political lobbies and advisory circles will remove the golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington.

### **11-Interests:**

In this editorial, the positive picture represented by Obama's message is agreed with discourse position of *Etemad-e Melli* party i.e. making relationship with America.

### **12- Perspective:**

From the perspective of dominant discourse on:

1. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper, Reformist
2. *Resalat* newspaper, Revisionist

**13- Unmentionables:** Not available

## **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

### **1-Background Technique:**

- Nowruz message (happy New Year) of the President of United States was not an unprecedented action.

Happy New Year tradition was started in states of Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and George W. Bush, the Republican, and changed into a more serious form....

- Madeleine Albright, foreign minister of Clinton's State, started her famous speech on March 1999 in the Forum of America and Iran ....

- Obama unlike Nowruz messages in Clinton and Bush's states...

- Bush's Nowruz messages based on his literature about Iran...

- Bush in Nowruz message of year 2008...

But audiences of Obama's Nowruz message as Obama himself said plainly...

- In Washington after years of debate over how to deal with the legal regime governing on Iran and even the approval of funds for overthrow of it, finally...

**2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** Not available

**3-The Agenda-Setting:**

It has been used because, this editorial directed public thoughts towards normalization of the relation between Tehran and Washington.

For example,

- Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States.

- The messages are important because they show a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran.

- The golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington should not be lost.

**4- Schismatism:**

From view of opponent's discourse, i.e. Principlists, the message of this editorial can be schismatic, this message tries to create disagreement among people by altering the reality and will act based on American advantages by weakening national union.

**5-The Reversal Tactic:** Not available

**6- Ridicule:** Not available

**7-To Release a part of Truth:**

In this editorial, the open-ended question is:

If we accept that Obama's message is different from that of former presidents, what reason(s) has made Obama to send a different message? For example,

- Why did USA presidents propose cooperation to Islamic republic of Iran?
- Why did America respect Iranian regimen?
- Why has the change policy of Iranian regimen in USA been changed after thirty years?
- Why has the tone of USA president towards Iran changed into a tone without threats for Iran or behaving Iran as a threat, recommendation for withdrawal and blame, a tone in which the responsibilities of a power have been recognized and applied?

And this is the part of reality that has not been described in this message.

**8-Censorship:** Not available

Explanation:

Generally, Principlist discourse does not want to normalize the relation between Iran and USA (component of fighting against arrogance in discourse of Principlists) and naturally they are reluctant to discuss about such an idea. As a result, opponent wing wants to weaken the discourse by outlining such ideas.

**9-Wittingly Distortion:** The answer is yes.

**10- Pretension instead of Truth:** Not available

**11 -The Technique of Message Repetition:** Not available

**12. The Technique of Rumour:** Not available

**13- To Sort the Message:**

It has been used. Generally, the editor, based on goal of the editorial which is in agreement with benefits of discourse in the publication, chooses among materials that relate directly and indirectly to the subject and presents results in direction of editorial goal (inspiring a certain picture in direction of stabilization of an appropriate meaning of this discourse for the challenging floating signifier in minds of audiences)

**14- To Highlight Message:** It has been done.

**15- Sensationalism:** It has not been used.

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News):** It has not been used.

**4.2.2 Second report (extracted data from the the editorial of *Resalat* newspaper published in 09/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1. Number of Editorial:** 2

**2. Publication Date:** Thursday, 9th of April 2009 (09/04/2009)

**3. Day (of Week):** Thursday

**4. Name of Newspapers:** *Resalat*

**5. Author of Editorial:** Amir Mohebbiyan

**6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**1. Editorial Title:** Analysis of Obama's message and our positions

**2. Editorial Subject:** Analysis and position (manifesto)

**3. Editorial Theme:**

Refers to:

<- He considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is one of important tests of revolution

- Tendency of America for negotiation
  
- The leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US
  
- , if US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.
  
- Summary
  
- Process of interaction with US is important
  
- America is unreliable
  
- At first America should prove its good will

#### **4- Sections of the editorial:**

##### **A. Introduction:**

From;

Our supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic...

To;

He considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is one of important tests of revolution.

##### **B: Text:**

From;

Evaluation of the leader about US behavior up to now...

To;

...not changing in literature

**C: Conclusion:**

From;

He recommends US to have real changes...

To;

They should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.

The editor concluded that;

if US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.

**7. The Purpose of this Editorial:**

1- Analysis of the message of Iran's leader

Refers to:

<In Nowruz celebration in 2009, the supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic evaluated bases of Iran-US issue in Imam Reza (PBUH) Holy Shrine...>

2- Describing and analyzing leadership positions towards the issue of Iran and America and how to interact with America, position of Obama' state towards Iran, Obama's Nowruz greeting message and offer of solution.

Refers to:

<- Special evaluation of the leader about Iran-US issue up to now can be divided into

- The leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US current position...

- According to him, US bilateral behavior can be proved by his Nowruz congratulation to Iranians...

- He recommends US to have real changes.... Then the leader suggested some rational solutions to execute such change and finally...>

3- Describing the view of newspaper towards the issue of Iran and America, and how to interact with America, and induction of this matter which the position of newspaper in this case is same as the position of leadership.

4- Preparing and directing audiences to position towards the issue of America

Refers to:

<- Evaluation of the leader from the issue of Iran and US up to now...

-The leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US current position...

- He proved unreality of US change policy...

- He recommends US to have real change...

- The leader suggested some rational solutions to execute such change... >

### **8. The Message Context:**

1- Tendency of America for negotiate with Iran

2- Obama's Nowruz greeting message to Iranian nation

3- Leadership speeches as the highest position in Islamic Republic of Iran in Nowruz 2009 in holly shrine of Imam Reza and he considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue

4- Importance of the issue of Iran and America and interaction with America which is one of important tests of Islamic Revolution of Iran.

### **9. The Factional Affiliation:**

Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism/Conservative)

### **10. Links or Similarities: Yes**

Refers to: <In next article, initial and necessary steps US should take for changing the situation about Iran-US relation will be explained according to the supreme leader's opinion>

### **11. Type of Editorial: Editorials of argument and persuasion**

## **-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

*Analyzing (ideologically loaded word) Obama's message (mutual knowledge) and our position (manifesto) (ideologically loaded word).*

In Nowruz celebration in 2009, our *supreme (Connotation)* leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic *evaluated (ideologically loaded word)* bases of "Iran-US issue" in Imam Reza <sup>(PBUH)</sup> Holy Shrine. He considered *precisely (ideologically loaded word, emphasize, importance, the word of editorialist)* some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is *one of important tests of revolution (local meanings, presupposition, ) Evaluation (ideological word, local meanings)* of the leader about US behavior *up to now (Background Technique) special (ideologically loaded word, emphasize, importance, the word of editorialist)* evaluation of the leader about Iran-US issue up to now can be divided into 3 subjects (*ideological act, categorization*):

1. Political behavior of US and its politicians toward Iran [*and no Iran toward US, The order of words has ideological impact- To Release a part of Truth: the part of behavior of Iran toward US has not been mentioned, ideological impacts, granularity, local meanings ideological polarization, image-making, persuasion- Unmentionables*]

2. Security behavior of US toward Iran [*and no Iran toward US, The order of words has ideological impact- To Release a part of Truth: the part of behavior of Iran toward US has not been mentioned, ideological impacts, granularity, local meanings ideological polarization, image-making, persuasion Unmentionables -*]

3. Economic behavior of US toward Iran [*and no Iran toward US, The order of words has ideological impact- To Release a part of Trut: the part of behavior of Iran toward*

*US has not been mentioned, ideological impacts, granularity, local meanings, ideological polarization, image-making, persuasion- Unmentionables]*

In area of political behavior, *sullen (Mitigation -treatment and perception)* behavior toward Islamic Republic of Iran *since (Background Technique)* the revolution [*Unmentionables, and To Release a part of Truth: has not been mentioned the treatment of Iran toward US*] *due to (place of Ideology) the independence (belief, US can understand in different way) [Implication, This imply that Iran is oppressed and rightful and US is ruthless and colonialist.]*

and therefore removal of US *benefits(Displacement -negative connotation)* from Iran, *[implication, US is colonialist and acquisitive]* US presidents' *misbehavior (Mitigation-ambiguity)* toward the Islamic Republic system (*Background Technique-Implication, Iran is oppressed- and To Release a part of Truth :has not been mentioned the behavior of Iran toward US*) and *insult (Mitigation -general and interpretable)* of US presidents to Iranians and authorities (*To Release a part of Truth*) were mentioned as *main points (level of description and granularity- ideological impact)* by our *supreme(Connotation)\_leader.[Polarisation:Iran(good)-US (bad)]*

In area of security behavior, our leader mentioned US *stimulation (Displacement-general and interpretable)* and of opponents and aiding *secessionist (Displacement -interpretable)* and *terroristic(Displacement-interpretable)* activities in Iran (*Background Technique-To Release a part of Truth*), *supporting (general and ambiguity) criminal acts of terrorists (Displacement)* like Saddam [*implication, US state terrorism*] in *imposed (Displacement -interpretable)* war against Iran (*Background Technique*), shooting Iran's airplane in Persian Gulf sky, (*Background Technique*) (*implication, deliberate act*) *sedition (Mitigation-interpretable)* in the region security

*(To Release a part of Truth-Background Technique), sending weapons to the region against (interpretable) Iran(Background Technique-To Release a part of Truth), unlimited (Displacement-interpretable) support of the Zionist regime(Background Technique),(Displacement-lexical) and threatening (Displacement) Iran (Background Technique).*

In area of economic behavior, our leader mentioned *seizure (Displacement)* of Iran's properties and more than 30 years of *boycott(Displacement)* by US (*Background Technique*), (*implication: These seizure and boycott were illegal and immoral.*) that the boycott reversely led Iran to become conscious, self-dependant and to reach this current point, science and development (*Background Technique*), (*connotation, The ideological component of Islamic Revolution of Iran: The best choices for Muslims are self-reliance, independence and Islamic unity.*)[*Polarisation: Iran(good)-US(bad)*]The leader *evaluation (ideological word)* of current position of Obama government

The *supreme (imply the writer's tendency)* leader of the revolution in this *important (has ideological role- has been attributed by editorialist)* speech about US tendency to negotiate with Iran expressed something which is *classified (ideological component)* as follows:

First *interpretation (ideological component)* about current *stance (ideological component)* of Obama's government:

At first the leader is *suspicious about trustfulness (Mitigation-intention-reading, ideological domain- Unmentionables)* of US current position and expressed it idiomatically as "*a hand stretched with velvet cover and cast iron nature.(indirectness-Irony, US is deceitful and hypocritical.)*

According to him, US *dual behaviour (Mitigation)* can be proved by his Nowruz congratulation to Iranians in addition to sentencing Iran for supporting terrorism and attempting to gain nuclear weapons. On the other hand, he proved unreality of US change policy with the following points: (*ideological behaviour, selection has been occurred*)

-Not releasing Iran's properties\_(*imply that these properties have been taken by force-implication -interpretable*)

-Not removing *outrageous (Mitigation-interpretable)* boycotts

Not stopping *insult and propagation (Displacement-interpretable)* against people and authorities. Not stopping *unlimited (Displacement-interpretable)* support of *the Zionist regime (Displacement-lexical)*. *Not changing (interpretable) in literature (general and ambiguous)*

The leader's *position (ideologic word)* about US tendency for negotiation:

He recommends US to have *true (local meanings) change*, and *believes that true change is a necessity and a divine tradition;(group knowledge- the component of islamic revolution discourse of Iran)* also *global hate (Mitigation) against US (general and ambiguous-ideological effect)* which has *a lot of evidences (have not been mentioned-ideological effect)* makes this change a *rational (ideological word) necessity (ideological word)* for them.

Then the leader suggested some *rational (this is an ascription from the editor and has ideological effect.)* solutions to execute such change and finally *conditioned (ideological domain)* the behavior change of Iran toward US on their behavior change.

In fact, *if* US really intend to negotiate along with a *right purpose (Mitigation-ideological effect)*, *at first they must (ideological effect)* prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.

In next article, initial and necessary steps US *must (ideological effect)* take for changing the situation about Iran-US relation will be explained according to the *supreme(connotation)* leader's opinions.

### **First Level, Analysis of Discourse of Editorial or (F)**

#### **(a) Description of Text:**

##### **1- Events:**

Analysis and explanation of leadership message

Refers to:

⟨The supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic evaluated bases of "Iran-US issue" in Imam Reza (PBUH) Holy Shrine... ⟩

He considered some key points in this case.

Expressing leadership positions

Refers to:

⟨ -Special evaluation of the leader about US behavior up to now ...

-Primary perception from current position of Obama's state ...

-Leadership position of Iran towards tendency of America for negotiation ...>

### **1-1 Results of Events:**

Real change of American behavior is necessary

Refers to:

< He recommends US to have real changes, and believes that real change is a necessity and a divine tradition. Also global hate against US makes this change logical and rational for them .... finally conditioned the behavior change of Iran toward US on their behavior change. >

### **1-2 Effective Events (The Real Events):**

1- Speech of Iranian leader

Refers to:

< The supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic evaluated bases of "Iran-US issue" in Imam Reza (PBUH) Holy Shrine... >

2- Current positions of Obama

Refers to:

<The supreme leader expressed speeches on tendency of America for negotiation .... by his Nowruz congratulation to Iranians... >

## **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

### **- History of the Effective Events:**

Behavior of America with Iran up to now

Refers to:

< -Special evaluation of the leader about Iran-US issue up to now can be divided into three subjects:

1. Political behavior of US and its politicians toward Iran
2. Security behavior of US toward Iran
3. Economic behavior of US toward Iran ... >

### **- Context of the Effective Events:**

- US tendency for negotiation with Iran

- Obama's Nowruz congratulation to Iranians

- Unreality of US change policy

Refers to:

< The supreme leader expressed speeches on tendency of America for negotiation that are classified as follows: primary interpretation from current position of Obama's state... Obama's Nowruz congratulation to Iranians ... unreality of US change policy... >

### **1-2-2 Principal Events:**

Current positions of Obama's state about Iran

Refers to:

< The supreme leader expressed speeches on tendency of America for negotiation ....

Obama's Nowruz congratulation to Iranians... >

### **2- Results:**

Refers to:

< 1- The leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US current position...

2- US bilateral behavior can be proved by Obama's Nowruz congratulation to Iranians...

3- He recommends US to have real changes...

4- Then the leader suggested some rational solutions to execute such change and finally conditioned the behavior change of Iran toward US on their behavior change... >

### **(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

### **3- Expectations:**

Refers to:

<1- Iran's leader recommends US to have real changes

2- if US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, firstly they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said. >

#### **4- Evaluation:**

Refers to:

<1- The supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic evaluated bases of "Iran-US issue" in Imam Reza <sup>(PBUH)</sup> Holy Shrine

2- He considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is one of important tests of revolution

3- Special evaluation of the leader about Iran-US issue up to now can be divided into three subjects

4- Primary perception from current position of Obama's state...

5- And believes that real change is a necessity and a divine tradition

6- Also global hate against US makes this change logical and rational for them. >

#### **(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

##### **1- A quick look on the place of editorial in *Resalat* newspaper**

*Resalat* Newspaper has emphasised on the editorial since its establishment. In three last decades, remarkable characters were responsible for editorials in *Resalat* newspaper. This newspaper has won in editorial in different journal festivals. Since media are not neutral agents and each medium is established for a special requirement and produces

messages depended on its norms, media are either ideologic or political. Understanding the discourse governing on editorials has a direct relation with values and ideology of a newspaper. It is believed that studying the editorial of a newspaper includes three parts:

A- Description of controversial structures

(For instance, in this editorial, the relation between Iran and America)

B- Explaining values and attitudes

(For instance, in this editorial, fighting against arrogance and insist on principles and non-compatibility)

C- Studying rhetorical features and style

Editorials of *Resalat* newspaper are one of media in which politic ideologic view is governed on. Governmental concerns and political attachment of *Resalat* newspaper in a political party so called fundamentalism have increased political parts of editorials of this newspaper. A type of dualism and emphasis on the difference between us and them (political opponent) are seen in editorials of this newspaper. In most of domestic subjects, *Resalat* defines its place in the event. It is while that it represents ideology of foreign policy of Islamic republic (such as this editorial). In discourse structures of editorials of *Resalat* newspaper, highlighting, image processing, euphemism and reduction and in word application, dualism are evident. The tone of *Resalat* editorials is not lumpen. According to this newspaper, parties play (fundamentalist- reformist) is not white and black or right against wrong. *Resalat* newspaper can never be classified as agray one. Sometimes, this newspaper tries to explain our good and bad behavior by its ideologic approaches.

Generally, *Resalat* editorials can be classified into three subjects:

A- Dealing with events and occasions

(Including in this editorial)

B- Evaluation of status and analysis of actions and reactions

(Including in this editorial)

C- Specifying positions in form of expectations, suggestions, recommendations and warmings

(Including in this editorial)

Of course, specifying positions is highlighted in editorials of *Resalat* compared to other newspapers. It may be due to value of editors of this newspaper. In addition to journalists, they are politicians, members of important parties of the state, members of parliament

## **2- View of Iranian Islamic Principlists on the relation between Iran and America**

A- Principlists discourse believes that:

Principles and basics of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran, focus on fighting against global arrogance and resistance against global domination (hegemony). They expressed their disagreement by relying in Imam Khomeini's teachings and principles of Islamic revolution. They believe that oppression and oppressor (one of its instances is America) are not included in framework of policies and even strategies of the regimen and they can be defined in framework of fundamentals. The party that wants to decorate

and purify the face of arrogance is either unaware from enmity and infidelity of domination regimen towards innocent Muslims or it has a divisive approach towards Islamic nations.

B- They believe that reformists try to change beliefs of people towards western hegemonic regimen and to cover American corruptions. In spite of all western oppressions against Muslims, this party tries to change public thoughts towards the hegemonic regimen.

Fundamentalists believe that reformists seek several strategies in media of the country including:

- Trying to normalize the relation between Tehran and Washington

Political and media literature of reformists tries to direct public thoughts towards the west. They have done several efforts to make behaviors and actions of western authorities positive by using their media and tactics such as highlighting in order to change view of people. Even some leaders of this party want to increase the relation with America and they believe that boycotts and limitations are due to enmity with America and they want to change foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran.

- Reformists censor hostile positions of western leaders against Muslims to reach their goals in media

- They want to inspire a positive view on western community and values in their media

## **-Summary**

In this editorial, the editor based on leader's speech, expressed positions of the newspaper about Obama's message.

1- He evaluated the relation between Iran and America and concluded that history of American behavior with Iran implied on its enmity with Iran in all socio-economic and security areas.

2- He was suspicious about truthfulness of current position of American state.

3- He believes that real change of American behavior is necessary for change of Iranian behavior towards America.

## **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:**

-One of important tests of Islamic revolution is how to interact with The United States.

- The United States is cruel and is considered as enemy of the oppressed (Iran).

-Tricks of America should not be ignored.

- Fundamentally must be focused on because, the divine tradition will result in the real change of current position and the victory of oppressed over oppressor.

## **6-The Social practice based on the Discursive Practice:**

If US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.

## **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

#### **1- Rhetoric:**

##### 1. Opinion or Subjects:

Real change of American behavior is necessary for change of Iranian behavior towards America

##### 2. Arguments:

a. One of important tests of Islamic revolution is the issue of Iran and US and how to interact with America

b. History of American behavior with Iran implied on its enmity with Iran in all socio-economic and security areas.

c. Truthfulness of current positions of US government is suspicious because there is no sign of reality of change policy in US government

d. If US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said (i.e. the real change)

#### **2- Local meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse.

In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely posturing) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to Obama's message.

In result, this editorial has

- A theme (Vide < finally conditioned the behavior change of Iran toward US on their behavior change. >)
- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of Iran-US relations.

In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.
- Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence.

Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

### **3-Polarization (meaning):**

- In-group (self/us): <Iran>
- Out-group (others/them): <US>

### **4-Global Coherence:**

- (a) The Theme of Editorial:

Refers to: <- He considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is one of important tests of revolution

- Tendency of America for negotiation

- The leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US

- If US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, they should prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said. >

(b) The Subject of Editorial: <analysis and position>

#### **5- Surface Structures:**

<Within the text of editorial have been explained >

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device):** There is no item.

**7-Irony:** Refers to: <a hand stretched with velvet cover and cast iron nature>

**8-Hyperbole:** There is no item.

**9-Euphemism:** There is no item.

**10-Mitigation and Displacement:** <Within the text of editorial have been explained >

**11-Interests:** Our attitudes are defined based on our group knowledge about the world, and this knowledge is based on our ideological comprehension of the world, and our comprehension is based on our perspective, which based on we look at the phenomena, and this is defined in our social representations; thereupon our interests and favorites are

recognised in our ideology, and also our allies and rivalries are those people which are located with us in the same horizon and have a similar semantic memory.

In this editorial we can see the result of two different types of definition from the world, and the result of this difference is mistrust and hostility.

**12- Perspective:** From the perspective of dominant discourse on:

1. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper, Conservative

2. *Resalat* newspaper, Principlist

**13- Unmentionables:** <Within the text of editorial have been explained>

## **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

**1-Background Technique:** <Within the text of editorial have been explained>

**2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** There is no item.

**3-The Agenda-Setting:** There is no item.

**4- Schismatism:** There is no item.

**5-The Reversal Tactic:** There is no item.

**6- Ridicule:** There is no item.

**7-To Release a part of Truth:** <Within the text of editorial have been explained>

**8-Censorship:** There is no item.

**9-Wittingly Distortion:** There is no item.

**10- Pretension instead of Truth:** There is no item.

**11-The Technique of Message Repetition:** There is no item.

**12. The Technique of Rumour:** There is no item.

**13- To Sort the Message:** This rule has been applied.

**14- To Highlight Message:** It has been occurred.

**15- Sensationalism:** There is no item.

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News):** There is no item.

**4.2.3 Third report (extracted data from the the editorial of *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper published in 06/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1. Number of Editorial:** 3

**2. Publication Date:** 6<sup>th</sup> of April 2009 (06/04/2009)

**3. Day (of Week):** Monday

**4. Name of Newspapers:** *Etemad-e Melli*

**5. Author of Editorial:** Nameless

**6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**1. Editorial Title:** <A place beyond politics >

**2. Editorial Subject:** The guardianship of the Islamic jurist or Wilayat al-Faqih

**3. Editorial Theme:** The elected binding guardianship of the Islamic jurist

**4- Editorial Message:** Impartiality of the leadership in the election

**5- Sections of the Editorial:**

**A. Introduction:**

-From; <The revolution leader's remarks have been considerable among the ...>

-To; <... the method of selecting a leader and its supervision through indirect election and by individuals, has taken away all the worries that has been created by unsupervised accumulation of power. >

### **B. Text:**

-From; < Because of this powerful and high position ...>

-To; <... In that they consider their government as the leader's choice or of his absolute support or it is pretended in the public that this previously selected government and the pre elected governments are only a political show justifying Islamic republic credibility>

### **C. Conclusion:**

-From; <The transparency in the leader's statements removed any ambiguities ...>

-To; <... eminent action of the supreme leader's forthright and wisdom in running the country. >

-The editor concludes that; <Each government which gain the majority of public votes will receive the support of the leadership. >

## **7. The Purpose of this Editorial:**

(a) Expressing the viewpoint of the discourse which is behind the editorial in relation with the issue of guardianship of Islamic jurist.

(b) Expressing and instilling the idea of the leadership will be impartial in forthcoming election which is the right decision.

Some have always tried to abuse the high position of leadership in favour of themselves or their own party.

(c) Expressing and instilling which also the ninth government should avoid taking advantage from the leadership position.

#### **8. The Message Context:**

(a) Approaching to the important tenth presidential election of Iran.

(b) The authority and influential position of leadership in social political system in Iran.

(c) The possibility of taking advantage from the leadership position in tenth presidential election by rival discourse.

#### **9. The Factional Affiliation:** Reformist (Iranian reformism)/Revisionist

#### **10. Links or Similarities:** No

#### **11. Type of Editorial:** Editorials of argument and persuasion

#### **-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

*A place (It means the leadership position) beyond politics (Here the word of politics is defined based on Iranian reformism discourse which is in contrast to the definition of politics in the Iranian Islamic principlism discourse.)*

The revolution leader's remarks have been considerable among the Razavi pilgrims in holy city of Mashhad at the beginning of the New Year based on solar calendar. The position of power in Iran's society is high. *No other value (Justice is the axis value in principlism discourse and the power is only an instrument in order to achieve the goal.) in the sphere of politics will be equal with the concept of power neither in practice nor in theory.* The structure of power provides tools and the facilities for dominion which in compare with the other official and political institutions of power cannot compete with that. After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, since institution of power has been turned into a *theocratic system (The rival discourse does not accept this concept towards the Islamic Republic of Iran and considering it one-sided and wrong.-westernised and related to the Middle Ages era - negative ideological impact.)* has been found the ability of double synergy. The supreme leader in the Islamic Republic of Iran has both *national legitimacy(The acceptance in the rival discourse is based on people's votes rather than legitimacy - In discursivity the terminology of legitimacy is considered very important.)* and also *the support of religion (In contradiction to the interpretation of rival discourse ,regarding the basis for legitimacy in Wilayat al -Faqih - the word allegiance rather than legitimacy has been used and it is very important in terms of discursivity.)*.Since this established institution is the highest ranking decision-making body in the country, from the political and administrative perspective is considered above other forces and governmental institutions. Since it relies on the element of religion and *part of its legitimacy (In the rival discourse the whole legitimacy of Wilayat al-Faqih is appointed by Allah - the word "part of" has been used here and it is very important in terms of discursivity)* is derived from the heart of the theory of Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih) which has emerged from a comprehensive interpretation from the heart of Shia'sharia laws. This phenomenon has been achieved additional strength. That is why the power in Iran is not comparable to

the similar cases before the revolution and also the other political systems. Although the discussion in this editorial is not on the sources of legitimacy and its emerged effect however, it is not pointless to mention this fact that constitution has predicted variant approaches and methods either directly or indirectly until accumulated power does not cause corruption and destruction. *Assembly of Experts of the Leadership and the specialized committees have been formed on this basis (It is in contradiction to the interpretation of rival discourse from constitution). Supposedly they are functioning effectively (This discourse believes the supervision over the leader's works based on its reading from constitution has not been done) without any fuss. On the other hand the method of election (In the rival discourse the word "distinction" rather than "election" is considered as the appropriate discursive word for here.) The leadership and monitoring over it (There are different perceptions from one single legislation - The interpretation of Principlism discourse regarding to the clauses 108 , 109 of constitution is that Assembly of experts have no duty about monitoring the leader's performance except the leader's characteristics .) through indirect election and by individuals, (The emphasis is on the ideal values of this discourse and also the source of its legitimacy.)* has taken away all the worries that has been created by unsupervised accumulation of power. Because of this powerful and high position, there has been significant number of incidents and events in which groups, parties and political activist even governments and the other institutions have tried implicitly or explicitly to ascribe their action and decision to the leadership. Even there have been figures who their entrance and departure to the political arena are related to the leader's will and desire. The first generation of revolution remember very well the story of Abolhassan Banisadr's meeting with Imam Khomeini (Allah rest his soul) in city of Qom and afterwards the announcement of his nomination among correspondents. *The Iranian society's perception (Generality and ambiguity) of the discussion was that apparently*

Abolhassan Banisadr had become candidate for presidency following agreement and approval by Imam Khomeini. *The issue was denied later on (Baseless claim).* In the past and recent years, there have been also statesmen who tried to attribute their weakness and inability to the superior authorities and conceal themselves behind them. *In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership.* They have even benefited from these tricks in the process of presenting ministers to the parliament that sometimes were faced reaction from the leadership's headquarter. As it was stated by supreme leader, his general policy has been in support of authorized governments *(rather than the leader's impartiality in respect to different discourses).* However more support was provided to the 9th government *(Admit)* due to pressures *(Ambiguity), poor performance (Claim) or other hidden reasons (Perhaps since the prospect of leadership has been closer to the 9th government.).* It is obvious *(Ambiguity- Claim),* reason for the support, attributing direct policies and the 9th government performance is not president's aim towards the leadership. *It is clear (Ambiguity- Claim)* the 9th government officials were keen on participating in election in such a psychological atmosphere. In that they consider their government as the leader's choice or of his absolute support or *it is pretended in the public that this previously selected government and the pre elected governments are only a political show justifying Islamic republic credibility (Claim -Lack of evidence).* The transparency in the leader's statements removed *all these ambiguities (First of all the existence of the ambiguities need to be proved.)* and *the society understood (Generality-Ambiguity- speaking on behalf of the whole society)* the leadership position is above these speculations and rumours. *Any governments which has the majority of support (Authenticity is related to people's vote rather than justice), it benefits from leader's support and protection (The emphasis is on the nodal point and values of Iranian reformist discourse and also on backgrounding the values of the opponent*

*discourse such as justice.*). *The policy that has endured over last years (Claim) both in excellency Hashemi and president Khatemi's governments as well as 9th government. Now with the declaration of neutrality of leadership (Claim), and also the other institutions, the vibrant society full of hope and exhilaration (Is it the vibrant and exhilaration of the society dependent on the neutrality of leadership?) looking towards the candidate's planning and activities. Until such a time that they are able to analyse the candidates' claim, backgrounds, plans of action and their manifesto to run the country in a calm, competitive and healthy electoral atmosphere to select the most appropriate candidate in line with worthy, eminent action of the supreme leader's forthright and wisdom in running the country (The editor try to convince the audiences over the leadership's claimed neutrality.).*

### **First level: (Analysis of Discourse of Editorial) or (F)**

#### **(a) Description of Text:**

##### **1- Events:**

(a) The expression and instilling of some discursive political positions of Iranian reformist discourse.

(b) Warning and instilling some who take advantage of leadership position.

(c) Expression and instilling of neutrality of the leadership in the election.

##### **1-1 Results of Events:**

(a) (In case of success) undermining the reading of rival discourse from the political signs.

(b) (In case of success) defacing the appearance of rival discourse and consequently weakening its political position in public opinion.

(c) (In case of success) undermining the rival discourse and strengthening our own discourse.

### **1-2 Effective Events (The Real Events):**

(a) Instilling the leadership's neutrality position in the election.

(b) Instilling the misuse of some 9<sup>th</sup> government officials from leadership position.

#### **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

**- History of the Effective Events:** Refers to,

- < Any governments which has the majority of support, it benefits from leader's support and protection. The policy that has endured over last years both in excellency Hashemi and president Khatemi's governments as well as 9th government. >

- <The first generation of revolution remember very well the story of Abolhassan Banisadr's meeting with Imam khomeini (Allah rest his soul) in city of Qom and afterwards the announcement of his nomination among correspondents. The Iranian society's perception of the discussion was that apparently Abolhassan Banisadr had become candidate for presidency following agreement and approval by Imam Khomeini. The issue was denied later on. >

- <In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership. They have even benefited from

these tricks in the process of presenting ministers to the parliament that sometimes were faced reaction from the leadership's headquarter. >

### **- Background of the Effective Events:**

Refers to,

-<The position of power in Iran's society is high. No other value in the sphere of politics will be equal with the concept of power neither in practice nor in theory. The structure of power provides tools and the facilities for dominion which in compare with the other official and political institutions of power cannot compete with that.>

- <After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, since institution of power has been turned into a theocratic system has been found the ability of double synergy. The supreme leader in the Islamic Republic of Iran has both national legitimacy and also the support of religion. Since this established institution is the highest ranking decision-making body in the country, from the political and administrative perspective is considered above other forces and governmental institutions. Since it relies on the element of religion and part of its legitimacy is derived from the heart of the theory of Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih) which has emerged from a comprehensive interpretation from the heart of Shia'sharia laws. This phenomenon has been achieved additional strength. That is why the power in Iran is not comparable to the similar cases before the revolution and also the other political systems.>

### **1-2-2 Principal Events:**

- The impartiality of the leadership Refers to:

<Now with the supreme leader's declaration of neutrality>

## **2- Results:**

- The criterion is the people's vote Refers to:

< Any governments which has the majority of support, it benefits from leader's support and protection. The policy that has endured over last years...>

## **(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

## **3. Expectations:**

The public supervision of leadership via election is necessary to prevent corruption.

## **4. Evaluation:** Refers to,

-<The revolution leader's remarks have been considerable>

-<The position of power in Iran's society is high. No other value in the sphere of politics will be equal with the concept of power neither in practice nor in theory. The structure of power provides tools and the facilities for dominion which in compare with the other official and political institutions of power cannot compete with that.>

- The supervision of the assembly of experts of the leadership and their specialized committees, there are to prevent any corruption and destruction caused by any absolute and integrated power. Apparently, this has been functioned effectively so far.

-<the method of selecting a leader and its supervision through indirect election and by individuals, has taken away all the worries that has been created by unsupervised accumulation of power. >

-< In the past and recent years, there have been also statesmen who tried to attribute their weakness and inability to the superior authorities and conceal themselves behind them. >

-<In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership. >

-< .. due to pressure, poor performance or other hidden reasons, It is obvious, ... It is clear ... it is pretended in the public that this.... >

-<eminent action of the supreme leader's forthright and wisdom in running the country. >

### **(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

(a) Firstly,

-Definition of Legitimacy

Legitimacy isa rational justification of imposing both domination and obedience(Ardashir Larijani, 1997).

In summary, two main points of view in Iran could be found in relation to the source of dominion legitimacy:

1. Field of non-religious thought

In terms of legitimacy of dominion, they are the supporters of "Public Will" theory.

This theory believes the legitimacy of a position which has come to the power is based on the majority of the votes(Heydariyan, 2002).

They are often the supporters of systems such as Western Democracy and they believe the concept of legitimacy is equivalent to the majority of votes.

## 2. Field of Islamic thought

In this field of thought we have a spectrum of ideas which could be briefly considered them within the two main poles of True Reformists and True Principlists.

### 2.1 True Principlists (Tabesh & Mohseni Dare Bidi, 2011)

#### -The Designation Theory

They believe in Designation theory.

They know only Allah as the essential source of legitimacy and nobody else has the right to rule over the people unless they are given the right by Allah.

Based on this theory the legitimacy of Wilayat al-Faqih does not depend on the vote of people and it is related to Allah will. Therefore in all aspects leadership has been appointed by Allah to a person (Wali al-Faqih.) who should be Fiqh (Islamic jurist), competent and righteous (Wilayat al-Faqih).

Then he was permitted by Allah to guide the society and everybody is expected to be obedient of him.

#### -The Distinction Theory

Wilayat al-Faqih forms the central axis of contemporary politics thought In Iran.

This theory is pointing out that a group of Islamic jurists are responsible for

distinguishing a leader based on the conditions and components which are mentioned in reliable Islamic texts.

A person who is closest to these conditions is being chosen by them.

In fact, this is the same duty of assembly of experts of the leadership.

-The Acceptance Rule

This subject has been considered as people's vote and in Islamic culture is interpreted as Bay'ah (Allegiance).

The people's vote is only considered necessary for the establishment of a government and its continuity not as a source of legitimacy for State or selection of the Wali al-Faqih.

## 2.2 True Reformist (Darabi, 2009)

Their most important views in the field of Wilayat al-Faqih and legitimacy are as follow:

-The legitimacy of Wilayat al-Faqih relies on the constitution.

-The authority of Wilayat al-Faqih is limited to the constitution.

- Wilayat al-Faqih is considered as to be elective.

-Appointed the proxyship or advocacy for Faqih.

-The constitution is a referral point for all affairs.

(b) Secondly,

1. The discourse behind the editorial (as it is best known) is considered as the <Iranian Reformist discourse>.

2. The signifier of <Wilayat al-Faqih is the leading floating signifier> which is a subject of struggle in this editorial.

3. The signifier of <Absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist or Velayat-e Motlagh-e Faqih> is considered as the nodal point of <Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse> (as it is best known).

4. The signifier of <people (with its materialistic definition) > is the nodal point of < Iranian Reformist discourse>.

5. In this communicative event, the nodal point of <people (with its materialistic definition) > is attempting to deconstruct the nodal point of rival discourse which is known as <Absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist>.

6. Therefore the struggle in this editorial is over the attribution of the desired signified in Iranian Reformist discourse namely <the elected binding guardianship of the Islamic Jurist > (this signified has been foregrounded) to the nodal point of the rival discourse( Iranian Islamic principlism discourse ) namely < the absolute appointive guardianship of Islamic Jurist>.

In this way the desired signified of the Iranian Islamic principlism (namely <absolute appointive guardianship legitimizing state>) for the floating signifier of guardianship of the Islamic jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih) has been backgrounded.

## **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:**

(a) The leadership in Iran takes its legitimacy partly from public and partly from religion.

(b) The public supervision via election over leadership is necessary to avoid corruption.

(c)The leadership takes neutral position in the election which is the right course of action.

## **6-The Social Practice based on the Discursive Practice:**

Refers to, <Any governments which has the majority of support, it benefits from leader's support and protection. The policy that has endured over last years... >

### **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

#### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

##### **1- Rhetoric:**

###### **1. Opinion or Subjects:**

The editor believes:

(a)The leadership takes neutral position in the election which is the right course of action. The leadership will support the government which is elected by the public.

(b) Some of the 9<sup>th</sup> government officials try to take advantage of the leadership position.

###### **2. Arguments:**

-Major premise: Vide,

<- The position of power in Iran's society is high...

- After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, since institution of power has been turned into a theocratic system has been found the ability of double synergy.

- As it was stated by supreme leader, his general policy has been in support of authorized governments.>

-Minor premise:

Vide, <-Because of this powerful and high position, there has been significant number of incidents and events in which groups, parties and political activist even governments and the other institutions have tried implicitly or explicitly to ascribe their action and decision to the leadership.

- In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership. >

-Conclusion:

Vide, <- Now with the supreme leader's declaration of neutrality...

- Any government which has the majority of support, it benefits from leader's support and protection. The policy that has endured over last years... >

## **2- Local meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse.

In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, Guardianship of the Islamic jurist or Wilayat al-Faqih) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to,

A place beyond politics

In result, this editorial has

- A theme (namely, the elected binding guardianship of the Islamic jurist)
- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of Guardianship of the Islamic jurist

In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.
- Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence (referential coherence).
- Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

### **3-Polarization (meaning):**

- In-group (self/us): <Reformists>
- Out-group (others/them): <Principlists>

#### **4-Global Coherence:**

##### 1. The Theme of Editorial:

The elected binding guardianship of the Islamic jurist

Refers to, <- After the establishment of the Islamic republic ... theocratic system ... national legitimacy and also the support of religion. Since this... part of its legitimacy is derived from...

- Assembly of Experts of the Leadership and the specialized committees were formed on this basis. They are functioning effectively without any fuss. On the other hand the method of selecting a leader and its supervision through indirect election and by individuals, has taken away all the worries that has been created by unsupervised accumulation of power.>

##### 2. The Subject of Editorial: The guardianship of the Islamic jurist

**5- Surface Structures:** Within the text of editorial have explained.

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device):** There is no important case.

**7-Irony:** Refers to, <In the past and recent years, there have been also statesmen who tried to attribute their weakness and inability to the superior authorities and conceal themselves behind them. >

**8- Hyperbole:** There is no important case.

**9-Euphemism:** There is no important case.

**10-Mitigation and Displacement:** Refers to, <However more support was provided to the 9th government due to pressures, poor performance or other hidden reasons. >

**11-Interests:**

**12- Perspective: From the perspective of dominant discourse on:**

1. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper, Reformist

2. *Resalat* newspaper, Revisionist

**13- Unmentionables:** Within the text of editorial have explained.

## **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

**1-Background Technique:** This rule has been applied. Refers to,

< - Even there have been figures who their entrance and departure to the political arena are related to the leader's will and desire. The first generation of revolution remember very well the story of Abolhassan Banisadr's meeting with Imam khomeini (God rest his soul) in city of Qom and afterwards the announcement of his nomination among correspondents. The Iranian society's perception of the discussion was that apparently Abolhassan Banisadr had become candidate for presidency following agreement and approval by Imam Khomeini. The issue that was denied later on.

- In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership. They have even benefited from these tricks in the process of presenting ministers to the parliament that sometimes were faced reaction from the leadership's headquarter. >

**2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** No

**3-The Agenda-Setting:** This rule has been applied.

**4- Schismatism:** No

**5-The Reversal Tactic:** This rule has been applied. Refers to, < -As it was stated by supreme leader, his general policy has been in support of authorized governments.

-Now with the supreme leader's declaration of neutrality>

**6- Ridicule:** No

**7-To Release a part of Truth:** No

**8-Censorship:** No

**9-Wittingly Distortion:** No

**10- Pretension instead of Truth:** No

**11 -The Technique of Message Repetition:**No

**12. The Technique of Rumour:** No

**13- To Sort the Message:** This rule has been applied.

**14- To Highlight Message:** No

**15- Sensationalism:** No

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News):** No

**4.2.4 Fourth report (extracted data from the the editorial of *Resalat* newspaper published in 16/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1. Number of Editorial:** 4

**2. Publication Date:** 16th of April 2009 (16/04/2009)

**3. Day (of Week):** Thursday

**4. Name of Newspapers:** *Resalat*

**5. Author of Editorial:** Saleh Eskandari

**6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**1. Editorial Title:** Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government

**2. Editorial Subject:** Discursive Opposition

**3. Editorial Theme:** There is the discursive opposition between the ideal pattern of Islamic state and ideal pattern of modern state.

**4- Editorial Message:** We ought to stand up for the discourse of Islamic revolution and the pattern of Islamic state which has been arisen from it, due to:

1. The modern state is anti-normative and anti-value.

2. The modern state pattern is an imported political pattern, which is not match with our culture.

3. The modern state pattern is in contrast with the Islamic state pattern.

4. We are in the halfway of our movement to the Islamic society, then we must resist more.

## **5. Sections of the Editorial:**

**A. Introduction:** From; <President Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's visit among eager people of Kerman... > to; < ... And... >

**B. Text:** From; <From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election... > to; <... the formation of such ideal model of the first government is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society. >

**C. Conclusion:** From; <During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic...>

to; <...Furthermore it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

**-The Editor Concludes that;** However the 9th government has been not able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State, but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable and we should elect it in the next election again.

## **7. The Purpose of this Editorial:**

1. Situation analysis of the tenth presidential election:

Vide, < Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009...>

2. Answering to some questions related to tenth election:

Vide, < -Where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election?

-The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran?

- On what basis, will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? >

3. Announcing the viewpoint of newspaper about them:

Vide, < From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government...>

4. Try to get public opinion and preparing and pushing people towards a specific purpose:

Vide, < - The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions....

- Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case.

- It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions... >

5. Positioning in favour of a specific nomination:

Vide, < - During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders...

-... but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

**8. The Message Context:** The presidential election and discursive competition

**9. The Factional Affiliation:** Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism)/Conservative

**10. Links or Similarities:** No

**11. Type of Editorial:** Editorials of argument and persuasion

**-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

*Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government*

*[The oppositional logic (Polarity - Certainty)]*

-President Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's visit among *eager (The ideologically charged word)* people of Kerman:

In my previous trips, I mentioned some properties and *duties (Ideologically charged word)* of Islamic government such as extending unity and improving solidarity under the shade of the word of Tawhid, spreading justice, standing up for the national pride,

promoting the culture of servicing the nation, the encouragement of good behavior, respecting brotherhood, promoting of kindness and affection in the society, and organizing the public efforts for establishing an ideal society. Also, defending the oppressed, resistance to oppressors, protecting national resources and people public treasures are *the duties (Ideologically charged word)* of the Islamic government.

-Engineer Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh in Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz:

Iranians *especially the youths (Propaganda charged word)* will not *tolerate backward (Propaganda charged word)* Iran which in that is inflation and unemployment which led to vast immigration. We demand a *modern (Ideological charged word- A main signifier in discourse of Iranian Reformism)* and free Iran.

Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009, with more clarification in election atmosphere among public opinion, this key question has been emerged in *many analysts' mind (Vague -Claim)*, where is the competitive pulse of the 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election? The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran? On what basis, will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? And from the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government.

The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed *images (The negatively charged word)* after Renaissance which is *prescribed (The negatively charged word)* in today world as a *global pattern (The negatively charged word)* by *westerners (The ideologically charged word)*. *The without masking (Propaganda charged word)* sample of this political model

due to *its nature (Essentialism)* that is *anti-normative and anti-value (The controversial extension)* often faces in *most countries* with social reactions(*Claim*).

Nevertheless, *some western-oriented elites (Negatively charged word)* in *the third world countries* try to introduce a model of the modern state *without (Negatively charged word)* its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life. Of course, some analysts believe that *imported (Negatively charged word)* imagination of modern state pattern *never accepts publically (Claim)*.

*The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case (Claim)*.

Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution *might be acceptable (Negatively charged word)* approach *but in Islamic revolution discourse, (Inconsistent with previous view)* exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice.

In fact, the Islamic government is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution. From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the Islamic government model is one of the Iranian Muslim, nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society".

Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.

Islamic revolution in the Iranian Islamic movement was the first place which led to formation of Islamic system. Formation of Islamic government from the beginning of the Islamic revolution was presented as one of the main goals of Iranian Islamic movement. As it was stated, the formation of such ideal model of the first government

is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society. During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders and most of positioning and implementation plans before and after the election was formed based on this slogan. *It is typically believed that only (Claim)* a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

Retrieving identified values and Islamic standardization of government practice has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse. Seeking justice and opposing arrogance as the main axis of Islamic revolution were warmly received once again and etc. Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side. Tendency to Mahdism, justice-oriented, democracy, modest life style, arrogance opposing, believing and honoring the identity and national pride, loyalty to the revolution discourse, being brave in decision making in order to big problem solving, standing up to corruption, being close and in touch with people and etc. These are all just parts of signs which have formed under the master signifier of Islamic State.

Of course, what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government.

## **First level, Analysis of Discourse of Editorial or (F)**

### **(a) Description of Text:**

#### **1- Events:**

##### **(a) The discursive analysis of tenth presidential election**

Vide, < Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009, with more clarification in election atmosphere among public opinion, this key question has been emerged in many analysts' mind, where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election? The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran? On what basis will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? and ...

From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government. >

##### **(b) Declaration of newspaper position**

Vide, < Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. >

##### **(c) Trying to attract audiences**

Vide, <- The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners.

- The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions.

- Nevertheless, some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life.

Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically.

The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case.

Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution, might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice.

- It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side. >

### **1-1 Results of Events:**

Vide, < from the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government...>

Vide, < - During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders...

-... but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

Vide, < - The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions....

- Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case.

- It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions... >

## **1-2 The Effective Events (The Real Events): Election and discursive competition**

### **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

#### **- History of the Effective Events:**

Vide < -The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners.

- Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution....

- ...but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice. >

### **- Context of the Effective Events:**

Vide <- Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009,

- This key question has been emerged in many analysts' mind, where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election? The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran? On what basis will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? >

### **1-2-2 Principal Events:**

- Discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government

- Vide < From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government...>

### **2- Results:**

Vide < -During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders...

- It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- ...has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse.

-... but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

#### **(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

#### **3-Expectations:**

- Selecting the ninth administration for once again

Vide < but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. > and <- the Islamic government is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution.

From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the Islamic government model is one of the Iranian Muslim nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society".

Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.>

**4-Evaluation:** The ninth administration has had some shortcomings.

Vide < Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State> and <- The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions.

- Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically.

- Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice.

-It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions... >

### **(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

The dominant discourse in this editorial is Iranian Islamic Principlism. This discourse belongs to that part of Iran's society which is called Iranian Principlists. In brief Iranian Principlists are those who believe in bases and values of the Islamic revolution of Iran according to the Imam Khomeini's definition of it. This discourse stands up for the component of Iranian political Islam and in tenth presidential election supported from Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. This discourse reinforces the social structures which are belonging to Islamic part of Iran's society and vice versa.

## **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:**

### 1. Meaning of Modern State in the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism

Vide <-The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of Modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners.

-The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions.

-Nevertheless some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical bases, just as a method of having a better political life.

- Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case.

- Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice.

-Iranians especially the youths will not tolerate backward Iran which in that is inflation and unemployment which led to vast immigration.

We demand a modern and free Iran. >

### 2. Meaning of Islamic State in the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism

Vide <-In fact, the Islamic State is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution.

From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the IslamicState model is one of the Iranian Muslim nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society". Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.

- Islamic revolution in the Iranian Islamic movement was the first place which led to formation of Islamic system. Formation of Islamic government from the beginning of the Islamic revolution was presented as one of the main goals of Iranian Islamic movement. As it was stated, the formation of such ideal model of the first government is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society.

- Tendency to Mahdism, justice-oriented, democracy, modest life style, arrogance opposing, believing and honoring the identity and national pride, loyalty to the revolution discourse, being brave in decision making in order to big problem solving, standing up to corruption, being close and in touch with people and etc.

These are all just parts of signs which have formed under the master signifier of Islamic State.

- I mentioned some properties and duties of Islamic government such as extending unity and improving solidarity under the shade of the word of Tawhid, spreading justice, standing up for the national pride, promoting the culture of servicing the nation, the encouragement of good behavior, respecting brotherhood, promoting of kindness and affection in the society, and organizing the public efforts for establishing an ideal society.

Also defending the oppressed, resistance to oppressors, protecting national resources and people public treasures are the duties of the Islamic government. >

3. Viewpoint of the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism regarding to the upcoming election and the performance of the 9th government

Vide <- It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Retrieving identified values and Islamic standardization of government practice has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse.

- Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side.

- Of course, what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

#### **6-The Social practice based on The Discursive Practice:**

-We must vote for the current government in the upcoming election once again

Vide < - It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

- Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable.

Furthermore it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

## **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

#### **1- Rhetoric:**

##### 1. Opinion or Subjects:

The editor believes:

(a) We must select the Islamic state

(b) The ninth administration is closer than others to the Islamic State's pattern then, we should select it again.

##### 2. Arguments:

- Major premise:

(a) In the next election, the main competition will be between two choices of Islamic state pattern and Modern state pattern.

Vide < - where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election?

- From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government.

(b) The Modern state is not desirable for us because...

Vide < - The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners.

The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions.

Nevertheless, some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life. Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case. Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution it might be acceptable approach >

(c) The Islamic state is desirable for us because...

Vide < - but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice.

In fact, the Islamic government is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution.

From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the Islamic government model is one of the Iranian Muslim nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society".

Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.

Islamic revolution in the Iranian Islamic movement was the first place which led to formation of Islamic system. Formation of Islamic government from the beginning of the Islamic revolution was presented as one of the main goals of Iranian Islamic movement. As it was stated, the formation of such ideal model of the first government is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society. >

- Minor premise:

(d) The ninth administration is closer than others to the Islamic State's pattern,

Vide < - During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders and most of positioning and implementation plans before and after the election was formed based on this slogan.

It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause.

Retrieving identified values and Islamic standardization of government practice has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse.

Seeking justice and opposing arrogance as the main axis of Islamic revolution were warmly received once again and etc.

Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side. >

Conclusion: Therefor, we ought to select it again.

Vide < - Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government. >

## **2- Local meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse.

In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, Discursive Opposition) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to "Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government."

In result, this editorial has

- A theme, <There is the discursive opposition between the ideal pattern of Islamic state and ideal pattern of modern state. >
- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of Iran's domestic political arena

In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.
- Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence (referential coherence).
- Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

### **3-Polarization (meaning):**

- In-group and Modern (self/us):

◁ Islam → Islamic Government → Mahmoud Ahmadinejad ▷

- Out-group (others/them):

◁ Secularism → Modern Government → Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh ▷

### **4-Global Coherence:**

1. The Theme of Editorial: ◁There is the discursive opposition between the ideal pattern of Islamic state and ideal pattern of modern state.▷

2. The Subject of Editorial: ◁ Discursive Opposition ▷

**5- Surface Structures:** Vide ◁1. Some properties and duties of Islamic government such as extending unity and improving solidarity under the shade of the word of Tawhid, spreading justice, standing up for the national pride, promoting the culture of servicing the nation, the encouragement of good behavior, respecting brotherhood, promoting of kindness and affection in the society, and organizing the public efforts for establishing an ideal society. Also, defending the oppressed, resistance to oppressors,

protecting national resources and people public treasures are the duties of the Islamic government.

2. We demand a modern and free Iran.

3. From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government.

4. Which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners.

5. The without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions.

Nevertheless, some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life. Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case. Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution it might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice. In fact, the Islamic government is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution. From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the Islamic government model is one of the Iranian Muslim nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society". Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.

Islamic revolution in the Iranian Islamic movement was the first place which led to formation of Islamic system. Formation of Islamic government from the beginning of the Islamic revolution was presented as one of the main goals of Iranian Islamic movement. As it was stated, the formation of such ideal model of the first government is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society.

6. It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause. Retrieving identified values and Islamic standardization of government practice has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse. Seeking justice and opposing arrogance as the main axise of Islamic revolution were warmly received once again and etc. Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side. Tendency to Mahdism, justice-oriented, democracy, modest life style, arrogance opposing, believing and honoring the identity and national pride, loyalty to the revolution discourse, being brave in decision making in order to big problem solving, standing up to corruption, being close and in touch with people and etc. These are all just parts of signs which have formed under the master signifier of Islamic State. Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government.>

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device):** There is not available any important case.

**7-Irony:** There is not available any important case.

**8- Hyperbole:** Vide <The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case. >

**9-Euphemism:** There is not available.

**10-Mitigation and Displacement:** Vide <The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners. Without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions. Nevertheless, some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life. Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case. Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution it might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice. >

**11-Interests:** Vide <It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause. >

**12- Perspective:** From the perspective of dominant discourse on:

1. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper, Iranian Conservatism / the Iranian right wing

2. *Resalat* newspaper, Iranian Islamic Principlism

**13- Unmentionables: Not available:** There is not available any important case.

## **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

### **1-Background Technique:**

This technique has been used.

Vide <1. President Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's visit among eager people of Kerman ...

2. Engineer Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh in Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz...

3. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case.

4. Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution it might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice. >

**2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** This technique has not been used.

### **3-The Agenda-Setting:**

This technique has been used. Vide <1. Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009, with more clarification in election atmosphere among public opinion, this key question has been emerged in many analysts' mind, where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election? The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran? On what basis will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? and ...

2. From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government. >

**4- Schismatism:** This technique has not been used.

**5- The Reversal Tactic:** This technique has not been used.

**6- Ridicule:** This technique has not been used.

**7- To Release a part of Truth:** This technique has not been used.

**8- Censorship:** This technique has not been used.

**9-Wittingly Distortion:** This technique has not been used.

**10- Pretension instead of Truth:** This technique has not been used.

**11- The Technique of Message Repetition:** This technique has not been used.

**12. The Technique of Rumour:** This technique has not been used.

**13- To Sort the Message:** This technique has not been used.

**14- To Highlight Message:** This technique has not been used.

**15- Sensationalism:** This technique has not been used.

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News):** This technique has not been used.

**4.2.5 Fifth report (extracted data from the the editorial of *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper published in 15/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1. Number of Editorial:** 5

**2. Publication Date:** 15th of April 2009 (15/04/2009)

**3. Day (of Week):** Wednesday

**4. Name of Newspapers:** *Etemad-e Melli*

**5. Author of Editorial:** Nameless

**6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**1. Editorial Title:** < Parliament and preferred method of running country >

**2. Editorial Subject:** Law

**3. Editorial Theme:**

(a) Law-centric and law-abiding

Law is the basis of running a society and social order.

(b) law-believing and law-oriented

Rules must be observed by all.

#### **4- Editorial Message**

Law-believing and Law-oriented

#### **5- Sections of the Editorial:**

##### **A. Introduction:**

-From; < In human society the philosophy of state formation... >

-To; <... The constitution as a firm covenant for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society. >

##### **B. Text:**

-From; <On this bases the president and the members of parliament ... >

-To; <... due to implementing duties which is put upon them by the legislation require issuing circulars and guidelines. >

##### **C. Conclusion:**

-From; <Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law... >

-To; < ... are duty bound to submit a copy of these approvals to the speakers of the house and also to his repertory committee to be fully scrutinized. >

-The editor concludes that; < Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law, cabinet resolution, executive regulations and the circulars are necessary to run the society but it is obvious that not all of them are the same degree of importance and in the hierarchy of the legislation the constitution is above all of them. Credibility and validity of other rules and regulations are subject to them not their contradiction to the constitution. >

**7. The Purpose of this Editorial:**

- (a) The explanation of some discursive positions of the reformist discourse.
- (b) An attempt to foreground the desired signifies in reformist discourse for some struggled floating signifiers
- (c) An attempt to background the considered signified in rival discourse for the mentioned floating signifiers.
- (d) An attempt to convince the audiences.

**8. The Message Context:** Approaching to the presidential election and its discursive struggles.

**9. The Factional Affiliation:** Reformist (Iranian reformism)/Revisionist

**10. Links or Similarities:** Yes

**11. Type of Editorial:** Editorials of argument and persuasion

## **-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

In human society, the philosophy of state formation is the provision of a peaceful life for citizens, stabilizing order, security and preventing chaos (In the rival discourse, the philosophy of a state formation in human society is the provision of justice, liberty and human progress).

In the modern world, *(It is an Ideological term and a controversial term from rival discourse point of view)* the ruling parties come to power on behalf of citizens *(An ideological words and a controversial terms from the rival discourse point of view)* and base upon their will and point of views *(An ideological words and a controversial terms from the rival discourse point of view)* and in order to prevent concentration of power in individual's hand *(The rival discourse is of the belief that there won't be any problem if the individual is a wise spiritual scholar, fair person and pious)* which leads to dictatorship and despotism, the separation of powers in the constitution *(The rival discourse is of the belief that all these powers are the executive arms of that wise spiritual, just person and consequently following his commands )* has been identified. The constitution *(By the rival discourse, this role is considered only for Quran and the word of infallible and the wise spiritual, fair and pious person is considered as the only commentator)* as a firm covenant *(This role is considered only for Quran by the rival discourse)* for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society.

On this bases the president and the members of parliament who have the key role in running the country, *(In the rival discourse, the most significant key role in running the country is Wilayat al-Faqih)* swear allegiance prior to assuming their duties to defend the constitution and its principals *(and of course Islam which has not been mentioned here )* in order to recognize them as the base of social order *(In the rival discourse, the*

*base of social system is only Islam and the other rules should be explained according to Islam*). President's responsibility based up on the article 113 of the constitution is to implement the constitution and also the presumed role of Guardian council's responsibility according to the article 99 which is to avoid any contradiction between laws passed by parliament and Islamic jurisprudence. *(Not adapting them which according to the rival discourse is considered as weakness)*. In the same line, it is evident that the constitution has made adequate provisions for the essential generalities about the structure of power and the right of citizens that must be observed by ruling authorities. Furthermore to regulate relations between various institutions which have roles in running the society and also to regulate relation of each institutions with citizens and guiding the country on the path of development, *(Development is considered as an ideological key word-In the rival discourse ,the society needs balanced, stabilized growth and progress in all aspects and not the development )* and a multilateral balanced and sustainable access to a comprehensive growth on a base of collaboration of different institutions and enact appropriate legislation and regulations. These are all considered as the role of parliament *(In the rival discourse, the duty of parliament is formulating the essential executive instructions for implementing the Islamic law)* that must be composed by the representatives of the nation.

Implementation of approved legislation in parliament by government, various executive organizations and judiciary authorities in turn require administrative regulations which their provision is the duty of the cabinet and the relevant ministries.

In addition the cabinet, each ministers and its executive organizations due to implementing duties which is put up on them by the legislation require issuing circulars and guidelines.

Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law, cabinet resolution, executive regulations and the circulars are necessary to run the society but it is obvious that not all of them are the same degree of importance and in the hierarchy of the legislation the constitution (*In the rival discourse only Islam is considered as the constitutional law and they interpret the constitution based on Islam*) is above all of them. Credibility and validity of other rules and regulations are subject to them not their contradiction to (*In rival discourse they are not acceptable if they are in contradiction with Islam*) the constitution.

At the next stage the state regulations, directives circulars and guidelines that are initiated by cabinet or ministers or other executive agencies are only valid if they do not contradict the legislations approved by parliament subject to the full scrutiny and approval of the speaker of the house. For their implementation the cabinet and ministries are duty bound to submit a copy of these approvals to the speakers of the house and also to his repertory committee to be fully scrutinized.

### **First level: (Analysis of Discourse of Editorial) or (F)**

#### **(a) Description of Text:**

##### **1- Events:**

An explanation for some discursive positions, the dominant discourse over the editorial.

##### **1-1 Results of Events:**

###### **(a) Law-abiding and Law-centric**

Law is the basis of running a society and social order.

(b) Law-believing and Law-oriented

Rules must be observed by all.

### **1-2 The Effective Events (The Real Events):**

The explanation of some point of views of reformed discourse

Refers to, <In human society the philosophy of state formation is the provision of a peaceful life for citizens, stabilizing order, security and preventing chaos.

In the modern world, the ruling parties come to power on behalf of citizens and base upon their will and point of views>

#### **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

##### **- History of the Effective Events:**

Modenite discourse

The type of views in Modenite discourse in aspects such as authority, citizenship, vote, representation...

##### **- Context of the Effective Events:**

The Iranian constitution is based on a combination of Revolutionary Islamic political principals together with democratic republican principals.

#### **1-2-2 Principal Events:**

Refers to:

(a) <The constitution as a firm covenant for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society. >

(b) <the president and the members of parliament who have the key role in running the country, swear allegiance prior to assuming their duties to defend the constitution and its principals in order to recognize them as the base of social order. >

(c) <in the hierarchy of the legislation the constitution is above all of them. Credibility and validity of other rules and regulations are subject to them not their contradiction to the constitution. >

## **2- Results:**

The definition of law and its role in the society based upon the reformist discourse.

### **(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

## **3. Expectations:**

Law-oriented

Refers to:

(a) <In human society, the philosophy of state formation is the provision of a peaceful life for citizens, stabilizing order, security and preventing chaos. >

(b) <the president and the members of parliament who have the key role in running the country, swear allegiance prior to assuming their duties to defend the constitution>

#### **4. Evaluation:**

Law-abiding and Law-centric

Refers to:

(a) <The constitution as a firm covenant for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society. >

(b) <the constitution and its principals in order to recognize them as the base of social order. >

(c) < Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law, cabinet resolution, executive regulations and the circulars are necessary to run the society >

#### **(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

Firstly,

(a) Law:

Law on the basis of the constitutional law is propositions that determine human behavior in social life...therefore law is a specific relations and general principals which is legitimized by a source of power and social legitimacy. There has been determined some duties, rights and responsibilities for those who live in that domain of power and they, all are obliged to follow the rules otherwise they will face the consequences of their disobedience (Jafari Langroudi, 2009).

(b) Types of Law (Haghpanah, 1998) :

Legislation and lawmaking have different divisions.

The best known of them are:

1. The laws which are man –made.
2. The divine law

Secondly,

(a) The reformism discourse

The desired signified of Iranian reformism discourse for the leading floating signifier of law is willing to the law which is driven from human rationality and it is based on materialistic anthropocentrism which is determined by people's will. (In brief, the man-made law)

(b) Principlism discourse

The desired signified of Iranian Islamic principlism discourse for the leading floating signifier of law is the law that a Mujtahid deduce base on Ijtihad (It is utilizing the reason to resolve the daily affairs based on Sharia) from the Islamic main sources (namely, Quran, Sunnah, Reason and Ijma)

(In brief, the divine law)

## **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:**

Law-believing and Law-oriented

## **6-The Social practice based on the Discursive Practice:**

Law-centric and Law-abiding

### **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

#### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

##### **1- Rhetoric:**

1. Opinion; the editor believes:

Vide,

< -In human society, the philosophy of state formation is the provision of a peaceful life for citizens, stabilizing order, security and preventing chaos.

In the modern world, the ruling parties come to power on behalf of citizens and base upon their will and point of views and in order to prevent concentration of power in individual's hand which leads to dictatorship and despotism, the separation of powers in the constitution has been identified.

The constitution as a firm covenant for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society.

- Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law, cabinet resolution, executive regulations and the circulars are necessary to run the society

- in the hierarchy of the legislation the constitution is above all of them. Credibility and validity of other rules and regulations are subject to them not their contradiction to the constitution. >

2. Arguments: Vide <- On this bases the president and the members of parliament who have the key role in running the country, swear allegiance prior to assuming their duties to defend the constitution and its principals in order to recognize them as the base of social order. President's responsibility based up on the article 113 of the constitution is to implement the constitution

- and also the presumed role of Guardian council's responsibility according to the article 99 which is to avoid any contradiction between laws passed by parliament and Islamic jurisprudence, is in the same line.

- It is evident that the constitution has made adequate provisions...>

## **2- Local Meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse.

In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, law) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to

< Parliament and preferred method of running country >

In result, this editorial has

- A theme

(- Law-centric and Law-abiding

- Law-believing and Law-oriented)

- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of < Law >

In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.

- Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence (referential coherence).

- Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

### **3-Polarization (meaning):**

- In-group (self/us): < Reformists >

- Out-group (others/them): < Principlists >

### **4-Global Coherence:**

1. The Theme of Editorial: (-Law-centric and Law-abiding

- Law-believing and Law-oriented)

2. The Subject of Editorial: Law

**5- Surface Structures:** Within the text of editorial have been explained.

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device):**

There is no important case.

**7- Irony:** There is no important case.

**8- Hyperbole:** There is no important case.

**9- Euphemism:** There is no important case.

**10- Mitigation and Displacement:** There is no important case.

**11- Interests:**

**12- Perspective:**

From the perspective of dominant discourse on:

1. Etemad-e Melli newspaper, Reformist

2. Resalat newspaper, Revisionist

**13- Unmentionables:** Within the text of editorial have explained.

## **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

**1- Background Technique:** No

**2- Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** No

**3- The Agenda-Setting: Yes**

**4- Schismatism: No**

**5-The Reversal Tactic: No**

**6- Ridicule: No**

**7-To Release a part of Truth: No**

**8-Censorship: No**

**9-Wittingly Distortion: No**

**10- Pretension instead of Truth: No**

**11- The Technique of Message Repetition:No**

**12- The Technique of Rumour: No**

**13- To Sort the Message: Yes**

**14- To Highlight Message: No**

**15- Sensationalism: No**

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News): No**

**4.2.6 Sixth report (extracted data from the the editorial of *Resalat* newspaper published in 25/04/2009)**

**Categories:**

**- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)**

**1- Number of Editorial:** 6

**2- Publication Date:** 25<sup>th</sup> of April 2009 (25/04/2009)

**3- Day (of Week):** Saturday

**4- Name of Newspapers:** *Resalat*

**5- Author of Editorial:** Mohammad Kazem Anbarlooyi

**6- Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:**

**- Main topics of the editorial are:**

**1- Editorial Title:** < Assessments of 4 years performance >

**2- Editorial Subject:** The desired candidate in the 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election.

**3- Editorial Theme:** Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the desired candidate in the 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election.

**4- Editorial Message:** The essentiality of following Imam Khomeini's discourse

**5- Sections of the Editorial:**

### **A. Introduction:**

-From; < the 10th presidential election is of a great importance... >

-To; <... will be the opportunity to have a glance at the others compositions. >

### **B. Text:**

-From; < Four years ago, these days Iranian supreme leader meanwhile... >

-To; < ... He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings. >

### **C. Conclusion:**

-From; <Some may accuse us of exaggeration... >

-To; <... or 100 but with those who have clear consciences and are fair in judgment. >

-The editor concludes that; < the government has performed well and deserve a high score.>

**7- The Purpose of this Editorial:** Persuasion and instilling of the audiences to vote for Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election.

**8- The Message Context:** Approaching to the 10<sup>th</sup> presidential election and its discourse campaign.

**9- The Factional Affiliation:** Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism) /Conservative

**10- Links or Similarities:** Yes

## **11- Type of Editorial:** Editorials of argument and persuasion

### **-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E):**

*Assessment (Assessment is a main discorsal concept) of 4 years performance*

The 10th presidential election is of *a great importance (Opinion-It is a main discorsal concept)* both domestically and also due to regional and international development.

*During an election, it is as if there are 2 bells ringing 1. Dictation lesson 2.*

*Composition lesson*

Those who were empowered for 4 years period have to present their dictation to people in order to get a mark for their performance and those who were not in power start writing a composition and asking the nation to give them a score and avoid giving an acceptable mark to the opponent's dictation.

Naturally if dictation score is higher than that of composition, *the religious political state man (a discorsal expression)* who is in power is allowed by people 4 more years otherwise they will relinquish the power to opponents. Iranian turn up at the polling stations on the 12 of Jun in a presidential election in order to give a pass mark with their vote to either dictation or composition of political and religious state men. In this article we aim to review the 4 years performance of the 9th government and also its "dictation". Perhaps in the future will be the opportunity to have a glance at the others compositions. *Four years ago, these days (Background Technique)* Iranian supreme *(Ideologically charged word)* leader meanwhile reminding *the importance (Ideologically charged word)* of presidential election, *stated the required competences and capabilities for the fittest candidate (It is discursive)*. The nation in a tough competition elected a candidate from 8 political and religious candidates in the country

*who was least expected to win according to the reliable polls (It has implication). He managed successfully to defeat other contenders both from the Principlist front as well as the Second Khordad wing. It appeared to be as a new phenomenon (Ideologically charged word) in the Iranian political arena. (Propaganda charged item) Those characteristics of the best candidate as summarized by the supreme leader in his different speeches are briefly (It is discursive) as follow:*

*«President has to believe in the revolution values, regime (Ideological component) and also trust the people's power. (Two of main components of the Principlist discourse) »(Judgment is a main discursive action)Honestly speaking, it appears that president, Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in his presidential tenure did not cross the framework of the revolutionary values, Imam Khomeini, Islam and regime values. He also never hesitate a moment in trusting nation and their abilities also he improved the discourse of serving (Discursive keyword), progress (Discursive keyword) and justice (Discursive keyword). His dazzling success internationally (Claim, Image-Making) and his defense of revolution values has amazed the eyes of the world (Claim, Image-Making). His international reputation across the world particularly in the Islamic world has made Iranian to be proud of him (Claim, Instilling). He stood firmly against the US bullying and Zionist regime (Ideologically charged expression) drunken foul behavior (Discoursal expressions). In the diplomatic battle he always came out as a triumph admitted by enemy of revolution and regime (Claim). Indeed he was the true executive of the dominion policies and also the supreme leader in the foreign policies. (Claim) He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings, (Instilling, Image-Making) Some may accuse us of exaggeration. However there is no evidence to state otherwise. Our response is that the supreme leader is the best judge to approve our claim (emphasize on the position of the absolute guardianship of Islamic jurist) since the president must according to article 1-110 of the constitution to*

implement the supreme leader's policies. The supreme leader states: «The government slogan and general discourse is in line with both *Imam Khomeini's discourse and revolution discourse. It is of a great value and must not be ignored by any one.*» He also emphasized the duties of 9th government include: *Imam's ideology* and opposing those who are after destroying *the revolutionary values. (emphasis on some main components of the Principlist discourse)*

The supreme leader pointed out in his meeting with the cabinet Saturday, August 23, 2008)

*Dr. Ahmadinejad's display of his competences (Image-Making in line with the discourse of editorial)* during his visit to Colombia University as well as more recently during a meeting in Geneva *has clearly demonstrated the nation intelligence to have elected him as a president (ideologically charged expression)*. Of course, this is not to say that the government performance is not immune to any criticism.

It is merely to state *the government has performed well and deserve a high score. (Judgment is a main discursal concept)* We are not dealing with those who in judgment believe in zero or 100 but with those who have clear conscious and are fair in judgment. In the next issue and *other characteristics of ideal president (A main discursal action) according to the supreme leader (Emphasize on the absolute guardianship of Islamic jurist that is the nodal point of Principlist discourse)*.

We will investigate the 9th government *evaluation (Evaluation is a main discursal concept)* of performance.

## **First Level: (Analysis of Discourse of Editorial) or (F)**

### **(a) Description of Text:**

#### **1- Events:**

- (a) The 10th presidential campaign
- (b) The assessment of the 9th government performance over 4 years of governing
- (c) The supreme leader's comment about the required competences of the fittest candidate for presidency
- (d) The editorial judgment regarding fittest candidate of 10th presidential election
- (e) Attempt to persuade and instil the readers to vote for the preferred candidate of dominant discourse on newspaper
- (f) Emphasizing on the absolute guardianship of the Islamic jurist
- (g) Emphasizing on Imam Khomeini's discourse

#### **1-1 Results of Events:**

Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was recommended as the fittest candidate in the crucial 10th presidential election by the supreme leader since he was following Imam Khomeini's line even though some of his activities were subject to criticism.

#### **1-2 The Effective Events (The Real Events):**

- (a) Presidential campaign

(b) The supreme leader's comments about the characteristics of the fittest candidate

(c) The newspaper commentary about the fittest candidate

(d) An attempt to persuade and instil the readers to vote for Dr. Ahmadinejad

### **1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:**

#### **- History of the Effective Events:**

Since the formation of Principlism discourse, the main emphasis has been on the concepts such as the absolute guardianship of the Islamic jurist, self-confidence, independency (from the West and East), seeking justice and also following Imam Khomeini's point of views.

#### **- Context of the Effective Events:**

Approaching the 10th presidential election and its campaign

### **1-2-2 Principal Events:**

-The leadership's view regarding the 9th government performance

Refers to: <The supreme leader states: The government slogan and general discourse is in line with both Imam Khomeini's discourse and revolution discourse. It is of a great value and must not be ignored by anyone. He also emphasized the duties of 9th government include: Imam's ideology and opposing those who are after destroying the revolutionary values. >

## **2- Result:**

- Overall the 9th government has performed well and deserves another 4 years of governing

Refers to: < the government has performed well and deserves a high score. >

## **(b) Interpretations and Opinions:**

## **3. Expectations:**

Refers to: < President has to believe in revolution values, regime and also trust people's power. >

## **4. Evaluation:**

Refers to: < (a) Honestly speaking, it appears that president Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in his presidential tenure did not cross the framework of the revolutionary values, Imam Khomeini, Islam and regime values. He also never hesitates a moment in trusting nation and their abilities also he improved the discourse of serving, progress and justice.

(b) The government has performed well and deserve a high score >

## **(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

### **The definition of leadership from principlism :**

Everyone and every movement that believe in revolution principals and stand for it and also showing affectionate towards it are considered as parts of Principleism.

(Tajerian, 2009) Bearing in mind returning to the Islamic Revolution discourse and Imam Khomeini's political views are both the main requirements of the Principlism discourse. (Ghazanfari, 2009) Also since Imam Khomeini as the revolution leader presented the Islamic governance plan based upon the theory of Wilayat al-Faqih, therefore it can be said that the nodal point of Principlism discourse is the absolute guardianship of the Islamic jurist [Wilayat al-Faqih al-Mutlaqah] and the semantic system in this discourse is formed by the influence of this sign.

#### **5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:**

A person who follows Wilayat al-Faqih must be selected.

#### **6-The Social Practice based on The Discursive Practice:**

You should vote for Ahmadinejad.

### **Second Level, Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

#### **A. van Dijk's Categories (Variables) or (V)**

##### **1- Rhetoric:**

##### **1. Opinion or Subjects:**

The editor believes: Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the desired (fittest) candidate in the 10th presidential election.

##### **2. Arguments:**

-Major Premise: Vide,

<Those characteristics of the best candidate as summarized by the supreme leader in his different speeches are briefly as follow:

President has to believe in the revolution values, regime and also trust the people's power. >

-Minor Premise: Vide,

<The supreme leader states: <<The government slogan and general discourse is in line with both Imam Khomeini's discourse and revolution discourse.

It is of a great value and must not be ignored by anyone.>>

He also emphasized the duties of 9th government include:

Imam's ideology is opposing those who are after destroying the values of revolution. >

-Conclusion: Vide,

< (a) Honestly speaking, it appears that president, Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in his presidential tenure did not cross the framework of the revolutionary values, Imam Khomeini, Islam and regime values. He also never hesitate a moment in trusting nation and their abilities also he improved the discourse of serving, progress and justice.

(b) The government has performed well and deserves a high score.>

## **2- Local Meanings:**

This editorial is considered as a discourse. In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, the desired candidate in the 10th presidential

election.) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to assessments of 4 years performance. In result, this editorial has;

- A theme, (Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the desired candidate in the 10th presidential election.)
- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his semantic mental model of the desired candidate in the 10th presidential election.

In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.

This discourse is coherent because;

- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.
- Has a mental model thereupon has local coherence (referential coherence).
- Additional details have been explained within the text of editorial.

### **3-Polarization (meaning):**

- In-group (self/us): <Principlists>
- Out-group (others/them): <Revisionists>

### **4-Global Coherence:**

1. The Theme of Editorial: Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the desired candidate in the 10th presidential election.

2. The Subject of Editorial: The desired candidate in the 10th presidential election.

**5- Surface Structures:**

**6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device):** Refers to,

< (a) During an election, it is as if there are 2 bells ringing 1. Dictation lesson 2. Composition lesson...

(b) Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour

(c) He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings. >

**7-Irony:** There is no important case.

**8- Hyperbole:** Refers to,

< (a) His dazzling success internationally and his defense of revolution values has amazed the eyes of the world. His international reputation across the world particularly in the Islamic world has made Iranian to be proud of him.

He stood firmly against the US bullying and Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour.

In the diplomatic battle he always came out as a triumph admitted by enemy of revolution and regime.

(b) He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings.

(c) Dr. Ahmadinejad's display of his competences during his visit to Colombia University as well as more recently during a meeting in Geneva ›

**9-Euphemism:** Refers to,

‹ (a) His dazzling success internationally and his defense of revolution values has amazed the eyes of the world. His international reputation across the world particularly in the Islamic world has made Iranian to be proud of him.

He stood firmly against the US bullying and Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour.

In the diplomatic battle he always came out as a triumph admitted by enemy of revolution and regime.

(b) He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings.

(c) Dr. Ahmadinejad's display of his competences during his visit to Colombia University as well as more recently during a meeting in Geneva ›

**10-Mitigation and Displacement:** Refers to,

‹ the US bullying and Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour.›

**11-Interests:**

**12- Perspective:**

From the perspective of dominant discourse on:

1. *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper, Conservative

2. *Resalat* newspaper, Principlist

**13- Unmentionables:** Refers to,

< (a) Of course this is not to say that the government performance is not immune to any criticism.

(b) The US bullying and Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour. >

### **B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)**

**1-Background Technique:** Yes

Refers to, < Four years ago, these days Iranian supreme leader meanwhile reminding the importance of presidential election, stated the required competences and capabilities for the fittest candidate. >

**2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie):** No

**3-The Agenda-Setting:** Yes

**4- Schismatism:** No

**5-The Reversal Tactic:** No

**6- Ridicule:** No

**7-To Release a part of Truth:** No

**8-Censorship:** No

**9-Wittingly Distortion: No**

**10- Pretension instead of Truth: No**

**11 -The Technique of Message Repetition:No**

**12. The Technique of Rumour: No**

**13- To Sort the Message: Yes**

**14- To Highlight Message: Yes**

**15- Sensationalism: No**

**16- To Artificially Prioritize for News (To Create High Priority for News): No**

### 4.3 The conclusions of the six editorials

#### 4.3.1 The conclusion of the editorial number one

(a) One of the main struggles between two discourses on foreign relations is the relationship with USA.

(b) Type of the message is persuasive.

(c) Image processing has been used in the message.

(d) The editorial has highlighted the view of *Etemad-e Melli* discourse on relation with America. The message represented the reality by using highlighting and marginalizing and tried to produce meaning and consensus in direction of discourse of the newspaper. It should be noted that discourse governance is based on its acceptance via most of people and legality of a discourse depends on its ability for stabilization of the meaning in the mind of people as subjects.

Based on the findings, the leading floating signifier in this editorial is: <Iran-US relationship>.

And,

Favorite signified in this editorial is:

<Relation with US is in favor of Iran;[therefore it must be normalized]>

**- Abstract:**

<Iran-US relationship> is the leading floating signifier

The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

⟨1-Background Technique, 3-The Agenda-Setting, 7- To Release a part of Truth, 9- Wittingly Distortion, 13- To Sort the Message, 14- To Highlight Message ⟩

For the signified,

⟨Relation with US is in favor of Iran; [therefore it must be normalized] ⟩

#### **4.3.2 The conclusion of the editorial number two**

(a) One of the main signifiers of semantic system of Principlism discourse in the area of foreign policy is confrontation with global dominance system.

This discourse emphasizes on signifiers such as justice and spirituality.

Also, it avoids from the Western's imposed and mimic development patterns.

Some strategies adopted in the area of foreign policy by this discourse are as follows:

-Deconstruction towards the international order and system

-The policy of looking at East

-Reinforcement of Islamic activates and regional collaboration

-The use of symbolism

-Attention to the Non-Aligned Movement

- Support of the liberation movements, the oppressed and Muslims...

(b) This text is based on:

- The Principlism discourse, and has tried to present a specific definition of the reality which is leading a specific policy for social action.
- It has also emphasised on the nodal point of this discourse namely Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists. (Foregrounding mechanism)
- The text has presented a specific image of American statesmen's behaviour towards Islamic Revolution of Iran by the discursive production of meaning.
- The text has tried to attach a specific signified- which is match with the coherence of semantic system of this discourse-by highlighting a perception, and in this way has been prevent from the semantic slip of this floating signifier, therefore has been fixed it in the integrated semantic system of Principlism discourse.

In the other side the discourse of reformism also in this discursive struggle try to present a different signified for the floating signifier of Iran-US relationship- we can see it in the editorial of *Etemad-e Melli* Newspaper-which this signified also is compatible with the meaning system of this discourse.

Each one from these two discourses which can in this competition attach its own specific signified to this main floating signifier (Iran-US relationship), and as a result creating consensus in the collective subjectivity of society over a specific meaning for this floating signifier, that discourse will be able to make a hegemonic situation for this main signifier to its advantage therefore wins this competition.

I would like to point out when a sign become hegemonic, it means that its meaning widely has been accepted by public opinion, and actually has been made a kind of closure in the meaning of the sign although temporary.

Based on the findings, the leading floating signifier in this editorial is <Iran-US relationship>.

**-Abstract:**

<Iran-US relationship> is the leading floating signifier

The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

<1-Background Technique, 7- To Release a part of Truth, 13- To Sort the Message, 14- To Highlight Message>

For the signified,

<The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as enemy of the oppressed (Iran);[therefore the behavioural change of Iran towards US is dependent on the behavioural change of US towards Iran]>

**4.3.3 The conclusion of the editorial number three**

1. The discourse behind the editorial (as it is best known) is considered as the <Iranian Reformist discourse>.

2. The signifier of <Wilayat al-Faqih is the leading floating signifier> which is a subject of struggle in this editorial.

3. The signifier of <Absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist or Velayat-e Motlagh-e Faqih> is considered as the nodal point of <Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse> (as it is best known).

4. The signifier of <people (with its materialistic definition) > is the nodal point of < Iranian Reformist discourse>.

5. In this communicative event, the nodal point of <people (with its materialistic definition) > is attempting to deconstruct the nodal point of rival discourse which is known as <Absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist>.

6. Therefore the struggle in this editorial is over the attribution of the desired signified in Iranian Reformist discourse namely <the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih> (this signified has been foregrounded) to the nodal point of the rival discourse (Iranian Islamic principlism discourse) namely < the absolute appointive guardianship of Islamic Jurist>.

In this way the desired signified of the Iranian Islamic principlism (namely < absolute appointive guardianship legitimizing state>) for the floating signifier of guardianship of the Islamic jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih) has been backgrounded.

**- Abstract:**

<Wilayat al-Faqih> is the leading floating signifier

-The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

<1-Background Technique, 3-The Agenda-Setting, 5-The Reversal Tactic, 13- To Sort the Message>

For the signified,

⟨The elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih⟩

#### **4.3.4 The conclusion of the editorial number four**

1. Generated discourse of this communicative event is Iranian Islamic Principlism.
2. This editorial deals with the active social political gap namely Islam and Secularism in the Iran's social formation.
3. The emphasized floating signifier is government in this text.
4. In the area of domestic policy, two rival discourses namely Principlism and Reformism in a discursive competition try to attribute their own desirable signified to this main floating signifier (government).  
  
It should be noted that the word "government" itself has a general meaning, and its detailed meaning is specified when it is located in each of these two discourses and as a result is articulated in different ways and in different networks of signs.
5. In this editorial on one hand has been tried to foreground the signified of Islamic government for floating signifier of government and on the other hand has been tried to background the signified of modern government for it and thereby deconstructing the discourse of reformism.
6. If the discourse of Principlism can relatively stabilize the meaning of some main floating signifiers such as government, freedom, people... around its nodal point namely Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists this discourse will be able to win the election.

**- Abstract:**

⟨The Government⟩ is the leading floating signifier

The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

⟨1-Background Technique, 3-The Agenda-Setting⟩

For the signified,

⟨Islamic government⟩

**4.3.5 The conclusion of the editorial number five**

1. The discourse behind the editorial (as it is best known) is considered as the ⟨Iranian Reformist discourse⟩.

2. The signifier of ⟨ Law is the leading floating signifier⟩ which is a subject of struggle in this editorial.

3. The signifier of ⟨Absolute guardianship of Islamic Jurist or Velayat-e Motlagh-e Faqih⟩ is considered as the nodal point of ⟨Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse⟩ (as it is best known).

4. The signifier of ⟨people (with its materialistic definition)⟩ is the nodal point of ⟨Iranian Reformist discourse⟩.

5. Therefore the struggle in this communicative event, is over the attribution of the desired signified in ⟨Iranian Reformist discourse⟩ namely ⟨the man-made law⟩ (this signified has been foregrounded) to the leading floating signifier of ⟨the Law⟩.

In this way the desired signified of the Iranian Islamic principlism discourse (namely <the divine law>) for the floating signifier of <the law > has been backgrounded.

**- Abstract:**

<The Law> is the leading floating signifier.

The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

<3-The Agenda-Setting, 13- To Sort the Message>

For the signified,

<Man-made law>

**4.3.6 The conclusion of the editorial number six**

(a) In the editorial, the leading floating signifier is <the desirable candidate>.

(b) <Following Imam Khomeini's discourse> is <the desired signified in the principlism discourse> for the mentioned floating signifier.

(c) The dominant logic of the editorial is:

Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the desirable candidate of this discourse in the 10th presidential election, since the absolute guardianship of the Islamic jurist [Wilayat al-Faqih al-Mutlaqah] has approved him as Imam Khomeini's discourse followers.

**- Abstract:**

⟨The desirable candidate⟩ is the leading floating signifier.

The propaganda techniques which have been used in this editorial are:

⟨1-Background Technique, 3-The Agenda-Setting, 13- To Sort the Message, 14- To Highlight Message⟩

For the signified,

⟨Following Imam Khomeini's discourse⟩

## **CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Following chapter 4, in this chapter, the findings given in chapter 4 will be utilised in order to address the research questions.

It is worth pointing out that the findings analysis will be presented in two parts. Part 5.2.1 deals with general rules that are used in the all six analyses which are given in five sections and also some applied abbreviations are given in section six. In second part (i.e. 5.2.2) almost six editorials are analysed individually based upon the same rules (i.e. 5.2.2.1-5.2.2.6).

Finally, the subjects such as Summary of findings, Implications of study, Limitations will be presented which are the essential parts of the chapter.

### **5.2 Analysis of findings based on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory**

#### **5.2.1 General principles for the analysis of all six editorials**

##### **1. The main discursive gap in the Iranian society (context of the research)**

Almost from the beginning of Qajar dynasty until now, Islamism and Modernism have been two fundamental antagonistic forces and driving social changes in the political and social atmosphere of Iran. There has been a fundamental social gap between these two discourses in the society of Iran. In the final analysis, it is thought that the political and social changes in Iran arise from the conflict between Islamic and materialistic discourses and this is the context of the research. However, it is necessary to mention that in practice, we often see the social groups with a mixed elements of the two above-

mentioned discourses, for instance the discourse of *Etemad-e Melli Newspaper* is one of them.

In the current thesis, the main two discourses in Iran political system have been studied. Each of these has its own interpretation from the realities and based on this discursive understanding tries to reach a specific goal for Iranian society.

2. Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory which is the theory in this research, the struggle between discourses will happen over the attribution of their own favourite signifieds to the disputed signifiers. It is important to point out all the articulated signs in a discourse do not have the same importance and they are divided into different kinds. The most important of them is "nodal point". The nodal point is a unique sign which the other signs are integrated around it. This signifier charges the other signifiers and keeping them within its own semantic gravity field, for example "the absolute guardianship of Islamic jurist" could perhaps be considered as the nodal point in the Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse.

Also, the signifier of "people"-with modernistic definition of it- is considered as a nodal point for Iranian Reformism discourse, because the entire semantic system of these discourses is based on the concept of these two signifiers. The other signifiers which are gathered around nodal point is called "Moment" by Laclau and Mouffe (e.g. Legalism and Islamic social justice). A moment before being articulated in a discourse is in the field of discursivity and is called "Element". Sometimes a moment or a nodal point are considered as a floating signifier. A floating signifier is a kind of signifier which is floating its signified. The different political groups compete with each other over the attribution of their own favourite signified to it. The hegemony of a discourse is related to the semantic integration of all signifiers around its nodal point. If a discourse

succeeds with relying on its own nodal point closes its own intended signifieds to the disputed floating signifiers and as a result fixes its own favorite semantic system over the mentality of the society although temporally, it would be able to attract the public satisfaction, and as a result could be said this discourse has become hegemonic.

However, if the rival discourse with the help from diverse mechanisms (e.g. Propaganda techniques) could be able to deconstruct this semantic system and deconstruct the formed semantic structure among public mentality then that discourse loses its own hegemonic position. Therefore, the success of political groups is dependent on their own ability in terms of producing meaning and this is the bigger picture which is behind the findings in the current research.

Laclau and Mouffe give the authenticity to the political and discursive process. From Laclau and Mouffe's point of view these political articulations are responsible for the way we are thinking and behaving. From their point of view, politics has a general meaning and it turns into the situation that we continuously make the society in a specific method which the other methods are being rejected. Actually, based on their view, politics is arranging the society in a specific way that the other possible methods are being negated. In this way, the different discourses might start competing over organising the society in their own specific way (and this is the connection between discourses and the socio political dynamics of society). Based on the discourse theory, the entire social changes are the outcome of semantic struggles between discourses. The discourses, all the time try to protect their own meaning and at the same time try to reject the meaning of the other discourses. The importance of meaning in the discourse theory is for the reason that only by semantic hegemony over the mind of the subjects is that the appearance of power seems normal and in accordance with common sense, for this reason it would not be criticised.

The semantic dominance over public opinion is the best and most effective way for exercising power. The discourses with semantic mechanism are always competing with each other in order to control the public opinion and the social changes follow the semantic struggles.

3. It should be considered that the discourse analysis is actually the analysis of meaning since the formation of meaning is the best mechanism for exercising power over the mind of subjects, so for this reason the analysis of text is also essential. However, the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is an abstract and macro theory and does not have enough micro linguistic analytical instruments for precise explanation of semantic struggles between discourses. As a result, Fairclough and van Dijk's analytical approaches have been used in this study to analyse the editorials, because they have suitable instruments for our purposes.

4. The discursive analysis has been carried out with using foregrounding and backgrounding approaches in this research. Foregrounding and backgrounding are the joint dominant mechanisms over all behaviors of political discourses. Foregrounding and back-grounding are ways for the maintaining and continuity of power. In this way, the power not only creates the meaning but also eliminates and negates the enemies and others with applying discipline tools and conformity.

With the help from this mechanism, the power beyond a discourse with influencing over the minds of subjects will start to create consensus and defining signs in their own specific way. In fact, it will attach a specific signified to a nodal point of a discourse and as a result will make it hegemonic and simultaneously with deconstruction of the nodal point of a rival discourse, separate its signified from its signifier and try to break its

hegemony. Foregrounding and backgrounds with creating consensus present the image of power in a natural and obvious way and conceal it from the views.

5. The purpose of this research is answering to the research questions. This goal could be achieved based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory in the way that Laclau and Mouffe's abstract and macro theory being connected with a micro symbolic field through some discursal categories which they work as our tools (for instance all these categories, Indicative Abstract, Events, Expectations, Evaluation, Global Coherence, Hyperbole ...) In the end, the extracted data by using these categories with utilizing Laclau and Mouffe's theory are used to answer the questions and this is a response to the possible question, "Why the findings matter?"

The research questions are being described as follow:

(a) What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

In order to answer the above-mentioned question should be considered:

1. Which discourse has created this editorial?
2. What is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?
3. It should be found out what attitude or perception is being foregrounded or backgrounded in the intended editorial?

4. What propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favourite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

(b) In connection with the following question,

-What are the peculiarities of conducted campaign? (Referring to the editorials of the mentioned period)

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the purpose of a campaign could be two things:

Firstly, the meaning of a sign is consolidated in favour of a specific discourse thereby the sign is become hegemonic and as a result it could form the subjectivity of subjects in its desirable style. Secondly, with deconstructing the signs of rival discourse breaking its hegemony by way of weakening the relationships between signifiers and signifieds of its hegemonised signs and finally marginalise it.

Thereupon we could say in brief, campaign is for the attribution of meaning to the disputed floating signifier and the aim of campaign is consolidation of meaning. The tools of campaign are the instruments of backgrounding-foregrounding for creating and changing the meaning of floating signifiers and the ultimate goal of a campaign is representing of reality in desirable way of winning discourse.

(c) In connection with the following question,

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, the general form of analysis could be as follow. The peculiarity of the made political image in the editorial is in the line with help to attribute the favourite signified of the discourse to the disputed floating signifier and as a result of this made political image, this specific signified has been foregrounding. Also in this situation, the attempt has undermined the relation of the suggested signified by rival discourse with this floating signifier (The signified of rival discourse has been backgrounding).

(d) In connection with the following question,

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, the general form of analysis could be as follow. With regard to the current order among the signifiers of this editorial and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian reformist discourse or Iranian Islamic Principlist discourse could be inferred that this editorial is related to one of them.

## **6. Abbreviations:**

Henceforth, these abbreviations will be used as our references to the parts of worksheets.

(a) G- The part of General characteristics of the editorial, e.g. the category number five in this part (5-Author of Editorial) will be shown with this format G5.

(b) E- The part of The Editorial with some Explanations on it, e.g. E1

(c) F- The part of First level :( Analysis of Discourse of Editorial), e.g. the category number one in this part (1- Events) will be shown with this format F1

(d) V-The part of A. van Dijk's Categories(Variables), e.g. the category number two in this part (2- Local meanings) will be shown with this format V2

(e) P-The part of B. Types of Propaganda Technique, e.g. the category number one in this part (1-Background Technique) will be shown with this format P1

### **5.2.2 Separate analysis of the editorials**

(a) With respect to the above, an attempt will be made to interpret the information of the worksheets of number one and two.

#### **-The Editorial Number One**

Name of Newspaper: *Etemad-e Melli*

Editorial Title: Difference between Obama's and Bush's Messages

Publication Date: Saturday, 04/04/2009

Author of Editorial: Srg·h Barsqyan

#### **-The editorial number two**

Name of Newspaper: *Resalat*

Editorial Title: Analysing Obama's message and our position (manifesto)

Publication Date: Thursday, 09/04/2009

Author of Editorial: Amir Mohebbiyan (Ph.D)

**Analysis:**

**Introductory Explanation:**

These two editorials have been selected because they both deal with the same leading floating signifier (Iran-US relationship). Therefore, it would be possible to use the comparison method. It is worth mentioning an efficient way of understanding the nature of a text will be the comparison of that text with the other ones. The comparison approach is based on this point of structuralism in which a statement or a text always obtains its own meaning because it is different from other things that have been said or possibly might have been stated. In this line, these two editorials have been selected in order to recognise the different ways of representation the Iran-US relationship and each other based on the two dominant discourses in these newspapers.

Overall, this method could show that how different discourses could represent the world in different ways. Discourses challenge each other by producing meanings, identities and different groups.

### 5.2.2.1 The editorial number one (*Etemad-e Melli* newspaper)

#### **First Question (the major research question):**

What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

Answer:

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G9

Result:

Reformist (Iranian Reformism) /Revisionist

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

Answer:

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation

4. These categories:

G9 and G6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12,

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is <Iran-US relationship>.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

4.1 Directly:

G9, 11

Also, F2, 3, 5, 6

And, V1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12

4.2 Indirectly:

G6, 7, 8

Also, F1, 1-1, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 4

And, V4, 6, 7, 9

**Result:**

This signified < the relation with US is in favour of Iran; [therefore it must be normalised] >

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favorite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P1, 3, 7, 9, 13, 14

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number one (*Etemad-e Melli*-04/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; ‹Background Technique, The Agenda-Setting, To Release a part of Truth, Wittingly Distortion, To Sort the Message, To Highlight Message› have been used for attributing signified of the relation with US is in favour of Iran, to the floating signifier of Iran-US relationship, therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

4.1 Directly:

G9, 11

Also, F2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12

Also, P3, 9, 13, 14

4.2 Indirectly:

G6, 7, 8

Also, F1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2

Also, V4, 6, 7

Also, P1, 7

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, and with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number one and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian reformism discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G6, 7, 8, 9, 11

Also, F1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12

And, P1, 2, 7, 9, 13, 14

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute <the relation with US is in favour of Iran> to the <Iran-US relationship> and as a result of this made political image, <the relation with US is in favour of Iran; [therefore it must be normalised] >has

been foregrounding. Also in this situation, the attempt has undermined the relation of <the United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed > with <Iran-US relationship> (<the United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed > has been backgrounding).

**Fourth Question:**

- What are the peculiarities of the conduct campaign? (Referring the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding to the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign has concentrated on the attribution of the signified "the relation with US is in favour of Iran;[therefore it must be normalised]"(refer to above mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier "Iran-US relationship"(refer to above mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian Reformism has created an persuasive editorial (categoric G11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely the relation with US is in favor of Iran foreground(refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background(categories V5,10) and in

this made political image has used some propaganda techniques(categories P1, 3, 7, 9, 13, 14).

**Fifth Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political culture of Iranian society?

It could be mentioned briefly that

**(a) The main features of the patrimonial political culture(Zonis, 1971)**

-Suspicious people together

-The authoritarian personality

-Suspicion of the government

-Inclusive fear, pessimism and distrust

-The feelings of inadequacy

-Political passivity

-Silent Protest

-Opportunism

-Obedience

-The negative individualism

**(b) The main features of the political culture of modernism (Zonis, 1971)**

-Egoism

-Opportunism

-Pugnacity

-Money Worship

-Flattery

-Pessimism

-Distrust

-Multiple personality

-Feeling of insecurity

-Oligarchy

-The people abuse each other

-The irresponsibility

**(c) The main feature of political culture in Iran after the Islamic Revolution (1979)**

According to Gabriel Almond's point of view each political system operates within a specific pattern for political action, which it could be called political culture. (Ranjbar, 2009a) Almond and Verba (1963) believe in three types of political culture such as,

Parochial, Subject, Participant. Since none of these three types of political cultures does not exist purely, Almond and Powell refer to a combination of these three types of political culture. The mixed types of political cultures are Subject-participant, Parochial-participant, Parochial- subject (Ghavam, 1994)

With regard to this introduction and based on the carried out researches in connection with Iranian political culture after the Islamic revelation, the type of political culture in Iran is considered as the type of subject-participant political culture (Razzaghi, 1996a) (Esfandiari, 2015), (Ranjbar, 2009b). For more details, should be referred to this part of thesis, <2.3 The Main Political Discourses in Contemporary Iranian Society>.

### **5.2.2.2 The editorial number two (*Resalat* newspaper)**

Editorial Title: Analysing Obama's message and our position (manifesto)

Publication Date: Thursday, 9<sup>th</sup> of April 2009 (09/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Amir Mohebbiyan (Ph.D)

#### **-First Question (the major research question):**

What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

#### **Answer:**

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G 9

#### **Result:**

Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism)/Conservative

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation
4. These categories:

G 9 and G 6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is <Iran-US relationship>.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13

**Result:**

This signified ‹The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed›

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favorite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P 1, 7, 13, 14

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number two (*Resalat* -09/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; <Background Technique, To Release a part of Truth, To Sort the Message, To Highlight Message > have been used for attributing signified of <The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed>, to the leading floating signifier of <Iran-US relationship> therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**-Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 8, 9

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13

Also, P 7, 13, 14

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number two and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian Islamic Principlist discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 8, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12

And, P1, 7, 13, 14

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute ‹The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed› to the ‹Iran-US relationship› and as a result of this made political image, ‹The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed› has been foregrounding. Also in this situation the attempt has undermined the relation of ‹Relation with US is in favour of Iran; [therefore it must be normalised]› with ‹Iran-US relationship› (‹Relation with US is in favour of Iran;[therefore it must be normalised]›has been backgrounding).

**Fourth Question:**

- What are the peculiarities of conducted campaign? (Referring the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding to the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign has concentrated on attribution of the signified "The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed" (refer to above mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier "Iran-US relationship"(refer to above mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism has created an persuasive editorial (categorie G11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely, <The United States is cruel and deceitful and is considered as an enemy of the oppressed> foreground (refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background (categories V 5, 7,10) and in this made political image has used some propaganda techniques(categories P 1, 7, 13, 14).

### **5.2.2.3 The editorial number three (*Etemad-e Melli* newspaper)**

Editorial Title: A place beyond politics

Publication Date: Monday- 6th of April 2009 (06/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Nameless

#### **-First Question (the major research question):**

What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

#### **Answer:**

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G 9

#### **Result:**

Reformist (Iranian Reformism) /Revisionist

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation
4. These categories:

G 9 and G 6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 7

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is < Wilayat al-Faqih >.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12

**Result:**

This signified <the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih>

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favorite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P 1, 3, 5, 13

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number three (*Etemad-e Melli*- 06/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; <Background, The Agenda-Setting, The Reversal Tactic, To Sort The Message> have been used for attributing signified of <the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih>, to the floating signifier of <Wilayat al-Faqih>, therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**-Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasizing on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13

Also, P 3, 5, 13

**Result:**

It could be said that based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number three and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian reformism/Revisionist discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G6, 7, 8, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13

And, P1, 3, 5, 13

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute < the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih >to the <Wilayat al-Faqih> and as a result of this made political image, <the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih >has been foregrounding. Also in this situation, the attempt has undermined the relation of < absolute appointive guardianship legitimising state> with <Wilayat al-Faqih> (<absolute appointive guardianship legitimising state> has been backgrounding).

**Fourth Question:**

- What are the peculiarities of the conducted campaign? (Referring to the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign has concentrated on attribution of the signified "the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih" (refer to above-mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier " Wilayat al-Faqih"(refer to above-mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian Reformism has created an persuasive editorial (categoric G11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely, the elected binding Wilayat al-Faqih foreground (refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background (categories V5, 10) and in this made political image has used some propaganda techniques(categories P 1, 3, 5, 13).

#### **5.2.2.4 The editorial number four (*Resalat* newspaper)**

Editorial Title: Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government

Publication Date: Thursday, 16th of April 2009 (16/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Saleh Eskandari

#### **First Question (the major research question):**

What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

#### **Answer:**

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G 9

#### **Result:**

Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism) /Conservative

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation
4. These categories:

G 9 and G 6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is <Government>.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12

**Result:**

This signified ‹Islamic government ›

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favorite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P 1, 3

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number four (*Resalat* - 16/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; <Background Technique and The Agenda-Setting> have been used for attributing the signified of <Islamic government>, to the leading floating signifier of <Government>, therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12

Also, P 1, 3

**Result:**

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory It could be said that, with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number four and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 8, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12

And, P 1, 3

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute the ‹Islamic government› to the ‹Government› and as a result of this made political image, the ‹Islamic government ›has been foregrounding. Also in this situation the attempt has undermined the relation of the ‹Modern government› with the ‹Government› (the ‹Modern government› has been backgrounding).

**Fourth Question:**

- What are the peculiarities of conducted campaign? (Referring the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding to the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign has concentrated on the attribution of the signified " Islamic government" (refer to above mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier " Government "(refer to above mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism has created an persuasive editorial (category

G11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely, the Islamic government foreground (refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background (categories V 5, 8, 10) and in this made political image has used some propaganda techniques (categories P 1, 3).

### **5.2.2.5 The editorial number five (*Etemad-e Melli* newspaper)**

Editorial Title: Parliament and preferred method of running country

Publication Date: Wednesday 15<sup>15</sup> of April 2009 (15/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Nameless

#### **First Question (the major research question):**

What are the propaganda techniques used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

#### **Answer:**

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G 9

#### **Result:**

Reformist (Iranian Reformism)/Revisionist

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation
4. These categories:

G 9 and G 6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F 1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is <the Law >.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 7, 8, 9, 11

And, F 1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2

And, V 1, 5, 12, 13

Also, F 3, 13

**Result:**

This signified ‹Man-made law›

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favorite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P 3, 13

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number five (*Etemad-e Melli*- 15/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; <The Agenda-Setting, To Sort the Message> have been used for attributing signified of <Man-made law>, to the floating signifier of <the law >, therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 7, 8, 9

Also, F 1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13

Also, P 3, 13

**Result:**

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, it could be said that with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number five and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian reformism/Revisionist discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G 7, 8, 9, 11

Also, F1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2

Also, V1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13

And, P3, 13

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute <Man-made law>, to the <Law> and as a result of this made political image, <Man-made law> has been foregrounding. Also in this situation the attempt has undermined the relation of <the divine law> with <the law> (<the divine law> has been backgrounding).

**Fourth Question:**

- What are the peculiarities of conducted campaign? (Referring the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding to the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign has concentrated on attribution of the signified "Man-made law"(refer to above-mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier "law"(refer to above mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian

Reformism/ Revisionist has created an persuasive editorial (categoric G 11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely, Man-made law foreground (refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background (categories V 5) and in this made political image has used some propaganda techniques(categories P3, 13 ).

### **5.2.2.6 The editorial number six (*Resalat* newspaper)**

Editorial Title: Assessments of 4 years performance

Publication Date: Saturday, 25th of April 2009 (25/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Mohammad Kazem Anbarlooyi

#### **First Question (the major research question):**

What propaganda techniques are used for consolidation of the meaning of the leading floating signifiers in the editorials of these two newspapers during the mentioned period?

#### **Answer:**

Firstly, which discourse has created this editorial?

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Rule of interrogation and
3. This category G9

#### **Result:**

Iranian Islamic Principlism /Conservative

Secondly, what is the disputed leading floating signifier in this editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation
4. These categories:

G 9 and G6, 7, 8, 11

Also, F1, 1-1, 1-2, 1-2-1, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12

**Result:**

The leading floating signifier in this editorial is <the desirable candidate>.

Thirdly, which signified is being foregrounded for attributing to the leading floating signifiers by the editorial?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

4. These categories:

G 6, 7, 8, 9, 11

And, F 1, 1-2, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

And, V1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12

Also, P 3, 13, 14

**Result:**

This signified ‹Following Imam Khomeini's discourse›

Fourthly, what propaganda techniques have been used by the dominant discourse in the editorial in order to attribute its own favourite signified towards the disputed leading floating signifier?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and

2. Synthetic logic and

3. Rule of interrogation and

**Result:**

4. These categories:

P1, 3, 13, 14

**Final answer to the first question:**

In the editorial number six (*Resalat*- 25/04/2009) from these propaganda techniques; <Background Technique, The Agenda-Setting, To Sort the Message, To Highlight Message> have been used for attributing signified of <Following Imam Khomeini's discourse>, to the floating signifier of <the desirable candidate>, therefore the struggle is over defining of this floating signifier in a specific way.

**Second Question:**

-What political discourse is represented by each of the two publications? (By emphasising on the peculiarities of the editorials of these two newspapers)

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G6, 7, 9, 11

Also, F 1, 1-2, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12

Also, P 3, 13, 14

**Result:**

Based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory it could be said that, with regard to the current order among the signifiers of editorial number six and its similarity with the arrangement of signifiers in the Iranian Islamic Principlism /Conservative discourse, could be inferred that this editorial is related to that discourse.

**Third Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of the political images created by the editorials of these two newspapers?

**Answer:**

Based on:

1. Analytical logic and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation and
4. These categories:

G6, 7, 8, 9

Also, F 1, 1-2, 1-2-2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Also, V 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 12

And, P 3, 13, 14

**Result:**

It could be said that, based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory the peculiarity of the made political image in this editorial is in the line with help to attribute ‹Following Imam Khomeini's discourse› to the ‹desirable candidate› and as a result of this made political image, ‹Following Imam Khomeini's discourse› has been foregrounding.

**Fourth Question:**

-What are the peculiarities of conducted campaign? (Referring the editorials of the mentioned period)

**Answer:**

1. With regarding to the explanations of part (b) and
2. Synthetic logic and
3. Rule of interrogation

**Result:**

The conducted campaign is concentrated on attribution of the signified "Following Imam Khomeini's discourse"(refer to above mentioned categories) to the leading floating signifier "the desirable candidate "(refer to above mentioned categories) and for acquiring the result the discourse of Iranian Islamic Principlism /Conservative has created an persuasive editorial (categorie G11) and in it with using the mechanism of foregrounding-backgrounding has made its own favourite signified namely, "Following Imam Khomeini's discourse" foreground(refer to above mentioned categories) and the view point of rival discourse background(categories V10) and in this made political image has used some propaganda techniques(categories P1, 3, 13, 14 ).

### **5.3 Summary of findings**

All the summaries of the findings in part 4.3 has pointed out that, they all follow the same rule which is « in entire editorials, the findings indicate that on one hand, the desired signified of dominant discourse in the editorial has been foregrounded so by this way it is attempted to attribute it to the disputable leading floating signifier in the editorial. On the other hand, the desired signified for the leading floating signifier in the rival discourse has been backgrounded ».

This extracted axis rule from the findings is on one hand, in line with Laclau and Mouffe's theory and on the other hand, it emphasises on the idea relating to the way of manifesting existent hidden power of discourse in the press texts through the bilateral mechanisms of foregrounding and backgrounding.

### **5.4 Implications of study**

In this regard, the followings should be addressed:

(a) The first important point to be mentioned here is to note that this research is a basic one. The main purpose of this type of research is in principle to clarify the nature of phenomena, relationships between variables, principles and laws and to construct or test theories. The study belongs to the field of political communications and concerns issues such as the creating meaning, cognition and humans' understanding. And an editorial has been utilised in the research not because the text is an editorial but only because an editorial is an appropriate text -among all of the many appropriate texts- to the purpose of research, namely to adapt and test Laclau and Mouffe's macro theory to objective facts and not because this text is an editorial. Based on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, the research mainly seeks to study the internal and external mechanisms

governing discourse and for this purpose, it investigates the way in which meaning is created in discourse fights for obtaining hegemony by inducting some objective evidence in an experimental study. Therefore this is the major share of this research in relation to the science, although other marginal issues along the same lines can probably be enumerated as well, such as:

**(b) Adding the mechanisms of analysing text to Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory**

With regarding to the research findings, perhaps we could say, on one hand, adding Fairclough and van Dijk's some micro categories and views to Laclau and Mouffe's theory in order to get a more accurate analysis of texts in the editorials and on the other hand, applying propaganda techniques to Laclau and Mouffe's theory, has lead this theory to become more efficient in terms of better understanding about the campaigns of discourses.

**(c) The press-its political functions**

Regarding the findings of research, should be pointed out that discourses via dominating over the subjects' subjectivity (e.g. editors-in-chief) try to impose their power over the press texts by using mechanisms such as foregrounding and backgrounding and also some propaganda techniques by this way, they try to expand their own semantic systems.

**(d) The study of Iranian Islamic Principlism and Iranian Reformism discourses and the style of interaction between them**

In addition to a brief study of Iranian Islamic Principlism and Iranian Reformism discourses, the other implication of the research is about the results which have been

gained from studying the semantic struggles between these two discourses and also their methods of campaign during the 10th presidential election in Iran, which they are approved by analysing some of the editorials.

### **5.5 Limitations**

The difficulty of access or impassibility to obtain some documents was one of the limitations during the process of the research. For instance, I was willing to study one more main Iranian political wing (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi-e Iran or Executives of Construction of Iran) in order to give more comprehensivity to the research. Since the press organ of the wing under the name of newspaper Kargozaran was closed down by Iranian court, I was not able to access this newspaper.

### **5.6 Recommendations for future research**

Regarding to existent theoretical territory, findings and limitations, the following suggestions and directions in research could be presented in order to provide some platforms for new researches.

(a) It is suggested that research should be done in a bigger scale or with more variety in discourses for instance it is recommended to study the discourse of Executive of Construction of Iran. It will provide more efficient information for the method of applying the above-mentioned variables.

(b) It is suggested that some researches should be done in future discursive studies based on the method of longitudinal investigation so it provides the possibility of comparing the results in various times.

(c) It is suggested that a similar research to be carried out in the other political semiotic fields, for instance caricatures and political movies with utilising the semiotic theory of Laclau.

(d) As it was mentioned in discourse analysis, the texts are polarised. Also, it is claimed that polarity of the texts is due to the polarity of the creators' mind. On the other hands, these polarised texts are influencing their own readers' mind and polarising them.

(e) Now it could be pointed out that with some changes in van Dijk's pattern in order to get closer to the theory of current research, a suitable framework can be presented for the psychological analysis of the subjects' subjectivity. It will help to study the method of influencing the editorial over their audiences' mind.

(f) It is concluded that in the current research the focus was on how editorials were created and in the suggestion we get the ability of studying how the editorials affect on the audiences' mind.

(g) Regarding the outcomes, it is suggested that the relevant authorities should take necessary measurements in order to promote media literacy among people for preventing them from the unreal political image-making.

(h) Finally it is also suggested for the further research in future, Patti Lather's (1993) Postmodern criteria validation will be used since it seems that there is more coherence in terms of paradigm with such types of research.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

The research has been carried out in order to study the discursive struggles of the two newspapers of *Resalat* and *Etemad-e Melli* editorials.

With the help from the findings of the chapter 4 and their analysis in the chapter 5, it is concluded that, during the study, in the editorials of *Resalat* newspaper, the applied propaganda techniques "Background Technique (three times), To Release a part of Truth (once), To Sort the Message (twice), To Highlight Message (twice), The Agenda-Setting (twice)" have been used in order to consolidate the meanings of the disputed leading floating signifiers in the editorials.

Also, the applied propaganda techniques "Background technique(twice), The Agenda-Setting (three times), To Release a part of Truth(once), Wittingly Distinction (once), To Sort the Message (three times), To Highlight Message(once), The Reversal Tactic(once)" have been used in the editorials of *Etemad-e Melli* in order to consolidate the meanings of the disputed leading floating signifiers in the editorials.

As a result, it can be concluded that:

**(a) *Resalat* newspaper**

In total, *Resalt* newspaper has utilised 5 types of propaganda techniques within its editorials. These techniques have been used totally 10 times. Backgrounding is the most used technique in the *Resalat* newspaper.

**(b) *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper**

In total, 7 types of propaganda techniques have been used by *Etemad-e Melli* within its editorials. These techniques have been totally used 12 times. The two techniques of Agenda- Setting and Sort the Message are considered as the most used techniques in this newspaper.

In the end, it is clear that *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper is ahead of *Resalat*, in terms of diversity and number of used propaganda techniques.

Also with regard to the discorsal components which are extracted from the text by the research instrument and comparing them with the characteristics of the existing socio-political discourses in Iran it is concluded that the dominant discourse over *Resalat* newspaper is the Iranian Islamic Principlism discourse whereas, the dominant discourse in *Etemad-e Melli* newspaper is the Iranian Reformism discourse.

On the other hand, the results show that the peculiarity of the made political image in the editorials is in the line with help to attribute the desired signified of the dominant discourse in the editorial to the disputable leading floating signifier in the editorial. Applying the mechanisms of foregrounding, backgrounding and also the propaganda techniques have been used in the image-making. With regarding to Laclau and Mouffe's theory and using the research findings, it is inferred that the conducted campaigns in the editorials have concentrated on the attribution of the desired signified of the dominant discourse in the editorial to the disputable leading floating signifier of the editorial. It is worth mentioning that the made image in the editorials is in line with the carried out campaigns in the texts.

Finally, based upon the carried out studies in the field of political culture in contemporary Iranian society, it is claimed that:

(a) The main features of the patrimonial political culture are:

"Suspicious people together, The authoritarian personality, Suspicion of the government, Inclusive fear, Pessimism and distrust, The feeling of in adequacy- Political passivity, Silent protest, Opportunism, Obedience, The negative individualism"

(b)The main features of the political culture of modernism are:

"Egoism, Opportunism, Pugnacity, Money worship, Flattery, Pessimism, Distrust, Multiple Personality, Feeling of insecurity, Oligarchy, the people abuse each other, The irresponsibility"

(c) Based on the carried out researches in connection with Iranian political culture after the Islamic revolution, the type of political culture in Iran is considered as the type of subject-participant political culture.

## REFERENCES

- Abazari, Y. (1998). *Sociological Reason*. Tehran: Tarh-e No
- Aghagolzadeh, F. (2006). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Development of Discourse Analysis in Linguistics* (Vol. 1). Tehran: Cultural and Science Publishing Institute.
- Aghili, S. V., & Jafari, A. (2012). The role of Internet in political development. *Media Studies*, 7(4), 9-17.
- Ahmadi, B. (1993). *Structure and Interpretation of Text*. Tehran: Nashr-e Markaz.
- Ahmadi, B. (2001). *Dilemma of Modernity*. Tehran: NashreMarkaz.
- Ahmadvand, S. (1995a). Monarchy and the Growth of Participatory Political Culture in Iran. *Rahbord (The Center for Strategic Research Quarterly)*(6), 58.
- Ahmadvand, S. (1995b). Monarchy and the Growth of Participatory Political Culture in Iran. *Rahbord (The Center for Strategic Research Quarterly)*(6), 54.
- Al Ghafour, S. M.-T. (1996). The Role of Culture in the Contemporary Iranian Political Structure. *NAQD VA NAZAR, The Quarterly Journal of Philosophy and Theology*(3 and 4), 127.
- Alavi, P. (2007). *Political Communications : (Communications, Development and Political Participation)* (Second ed.). Tehran: The Institute of Publication of Oloom Novin.
- Alem, A. (1995). Understanding Political Culture. *The Journal of Foreign Policy*(3 and 4).
- Allport, G. W., & Postman, L. J. (1993). *The Psychology of Rumor* (S. Dabestani, Trans.). Tehran: Sorosh, The Research Center of IRIB.
- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, an Analytic Study*: Princeton University Press.
- Althusser, L. P. (1984). *Essays on Ideology* (B. Brewster & G. Lock, Trans.). London: Verso.
- Amraei, H. (2009). *Engineering Politics*. Tehran: Shoka
- Ardashir Larijani, M.-J. (1997). *Critique of Religiousness and Modernism (Articles Collection)*. Tehran: Ettela'at Institute
- Asadi, A. (1992). *Public opinion and communication*. Tehran: Soroush.
- Bahmani, M. M. (2012). Media's Propaganda Techniques and Tactics. Retrieved from <http://www.bahmany.net>
- Barrett, M. (1991). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bashirieh, H. (2001). *Obstacles of Political Development in Iran*. Tehran: Gam-e no.

- Bashiriyeh, H. (1999). *Political Sociology: The Role of Social Forces in Political Life*. Tehran: Nay Publications.
- Bashiriyeh, H. (2003). *An introduction to political sociology of Iran: the period of Islamic republic*. Tehran: Negah-e Moaser.
- Beaugrande, R. d., & Dressler, W. U. (1981). *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London: Longman.
- Belcher, J. (1991 ). Understanding the Process of Social Drift among the Homeless: A Qualitative Analysis. In E. A. Sherman & W. J. Reid (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Social Work*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* Pearson.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1996). *Social Construction of Reality: Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (F. Majidi, Trans.). Tehran: Elmi Farhangi.
- Blake, R. H., & Haroldsen, E. O. (1999). *A Taxonomy of Concepts in Communication* (M. Vahedi, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush.
- Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29.
- Bochenski, J.-M. (2000). *Contemporary European Philosophy* (S. a.-D. Khorasani, Trans.). Tehran: Elmi-Farhangi
- Brewer, J. D. (1998). *Ethnography, Understanding Social Research*. London: Open University Press.
- Butler, J., Laclau, E., & Žižek, S. (2000). *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (1 ed.). London Verso.
- Charles, T., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*: SAGE
- Chilcote, R. (1998). *Theories of Comparative Politics, The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered* (V. Bozorgi & A. Tayyeb, Trans.). Tehran: Rasa Cultural Services Institute.
- Cohen, B. C. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*: Princeton University Press.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008 ). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Third ed.). London: SAGE
- Craig, R. T., & Tracy, K. (1983). *Conversational coherence: form, structure, and strategy*. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE
- Darabi, A. (2009). *Jariyanshenasi-ye Siyasi dar Iran [Political Currents in Contemporary Iran]* (4th ed.). Tehran: Sazman-e Entesharat va Pazhuheshgah-e Farhang va Andisheh-ye Eslami.

- de Saussure, F. (1999). *Course in General Linguistics* (K. Safavi, Trans. 1 ed.). Tehran: Hermes Press.
- De Vos, P. (2003). Discourse Theory and the Study of Ideological (Trans-)formations: Analysing Social Democratic Revisionism. *PRAGMATICS, Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*.
- Denzin, N. (1989). *The research act: a theoretical introduction to sociological methods* (3rd ed.): Prentice Hall.
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dreyfus, H., Heidegger, M., Nietzsche, F. W., Gadamer, H.-G., Ricoeur, P., Eco, U., & Foucault, P.-M. (1997). *Modern Hermeneutics: Choice of Essays* (B. Ahmadi, M. Mohajer, & M. Nabavi, Trans.). Tehran: Nashre Markaz.
- Dreyfus, H., & Rabinow, P. (2003). *Michel foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (H. Bashiriye, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e Ney.
- Eftekhari, A. (1999). Variable face of Homeland Security: An examination of the internal security relationship with political competition in the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 19-53.
- Eftekhari, A. (2001a). Media Political Stability *Collection of Articles about Media and Political Stability* (pp. 84). Tehran: Center for Strategic Research.
- Eftekhari, A. (2001b). Media Political Stability *Collection of Articles about Media and Political Stability* (pp. 71). Tehran: Center for Strategic Research.
- Ehsani, A. (2007). *Political Culture of the People, Comparative Study of Political Culture of the People before and after the Islamic Revolution of Iran* (Z. Naserpour Ed.). Qom: Zolal-e Kowsar.
- Eisner, E. W. (1997). *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice* (2nd ed.): Pearson.
- Erlandson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B., & Allen, S. (1993). *Doing Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods* London: Sage.
- Esbati, B. (2010). *Introduction to Promotional Methods*. Tehran: Nashre Saghi.
- Esfandiari, S. (2015). Study of Iranian Political Culture: with emphasis on its sociological foundations. Haraznews <http://haraznews.com>
- Esmailzadeh, A. (2005). Jacques Derrida Metaphysics of Presence. *Shargh*. Retrieved from <http://www.sharghdaily.ir>
- Esslin, M. J. (1996). *The World of Drama, The Semiology of Dramatic Elements in Cinema, Television and Theater* (M. Shahba, Trans.). Tehran: Farabi Cinematic Foundation (FCF).
- Evans, D. (2007). *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (M. Parsa & M. Rafi, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e Gam-e Nou.

- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. London: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). Political discourse in the media: an analytical framework. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2008). *Critical Discourse Analysis* (F. Shayesteh Piran, S. Bahrampour, R. Zolghadr, R. Karimian, & P. Izadi, Trans. Second ed.). Tehran: The Department of Media Studies and Development, The Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.
- Fallahi, A. (2006). The Psychological Operation Against Islamic Republic of Iran. *The Psychological Operation Quarterly*(13).
- Fann, K. T. (2007). *Wittgenstein's Conception of Philosophy* (K. Gharegozli, Trans. 2 ed. Vol. 1). Tehran: Nashr-e Markaz.
- Fkvhy, N. (2003). *Thoughts and Theories on Anthropology* (2 ed. Vol. 1). Tehran: Nashr-e Ney.
- Forghani, M. M. (2003). Transformation of the Discourse of Political Development in Iran (from the Constitutional Revolution to Khatami). *Media Quarterly*(54), 18.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1999). *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison* (n. Sarkhosh & a. Jahandideh, Trans. First ed.). Tehran: Nashre Ney.
- Foucault, M. (2005). *The History of Sexuality, The Will to Knowledge* (n. Sarkhosh & a. Jahandideh, Trans. Vol. 1). Tehran: Nashre Ney.
- Fuller, G. (2011). *Ghebleye Alam , Jeopolitike Iran* (A. Mokhber, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e Markaz.
- Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., & Gall, J. P. (1996). *Educational Research: an introduction*: Longman.
- Ghandi, H. (2004). *Article Writing for Press* (3rd ed.). Tehran: Allame Tabataba'ee University (Tehran)
- Ghasemi, M. A. (2004). The Identity in the Post-modern Space ,The Study of the Votes of Chantal Mouffe in Identity. *Strategic Studies Quarterly, Iran*.
- Ghavam, A.-A. (1994). *Comparative Politics*. Tehran: SAMT Publications.
- Ghazanfari, A. (2009). Election and Competition of Discourses. Retrieved from <http://www.farsnews.com/>

- Golabi, J. (2011). From Economics to Politics and Culture. emrooznameh Retrieved 2017/05/07 <http://www.emrooznameh.com/>
- GoogleBooks. (2001). About the author. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com>
- Grisham, J. R. (2000). *Hayek's Political Philosophy* (K. Deyhimi, Trans.). Tehran: Tarhe-No.
- Haghighat, S. S. (2007). *Methodology of Political Science* (1 ed.). Qom: Mofid University.
- Haghpahan, R. (1998). The Position of Law and Legal Positivism in the Quran. *Andisheh Howzeh*(14).
- Hall, S. (2000). Racist ideologies and the media. In P. Marris & S. Thornham (Eds.), *Media studies: A reader* (2 ed.). New York: New York University Press.
- Harris, Z. S. (1952). Discourse Analysis. *Language*, 28(1), 1-30.
- Heidegger, M. (1988). *Being and Time* (J. M. E. Robinson, Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Heidegger, M. (1996). *The Question Concerning Technology* (M. R. Asadi, Trans.). Tehran: Islamic Research Institute for Culture and Thought.
- Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2002). *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Heydariyan, M. (2002). *Democracy, Crucial Challenge of Iran* Tehran: Fasle Sabz.
- Holliday, A. (2002). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE
- Holsti, K. J. (1993). Propaganda and its Role in the Foreign Policy (H. Hosseini, Trans.) *Proceedings of the Conference on Psychological warfare (1)*. Tehran: University of Imam Hossein Press.
- Hosseini Zadeh, S. M. A. (2005). Discourse Theory and Political Analysis. *Political Science Quarterly*, 28
- Hosseini Zadeh, S. M. A. (2010). *The Political Islam in Iran*. Qom-Iran: Mofid University.
- Howarth, D. (1998). Theory of Discourse *Political Science Quarterly*(2).
- Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Howarth, D., & Howarth, D. R. (2000). *Discourse: Concepts in the social sciences*. London: Open University Press.
- Howarth, D., Norval, A., & Stavrakakis, Y. (2000). *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies and Social Change*: Manchester University Press.
- Howzeh, P.-e. (2009). Iranian Political Culture; Behaviors and Attitudes (Part I). *Pegah-e Howzeh Magazine*(260).

- Hutto, D. D. (2006). *Wittgenstein and the End of Philosophy: Neither Theory nor Therapy* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jafari Langroudi, M. J. (2009). *Terminology of Law*. Tehran: Ganje Danesh publications.
- Johnson, R., & Christensen, L. (2010). *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches* (4 ed.). United States: Sage.
- Johnson, R. B. (1997). Examining the Validity Structure of Qualitative Research. *Education, 118*.
- Joneydi, R. (2010). *Psychological Operation Techniques and Confrontation Methodology*. Mashhad: Behnashr (The Astan Quds Razavi ).
- Jørgensen, M., & Philips, L. ( 2002). *Discourse Analysis As theory & method* (Vol. ). London: Sage
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE.
- Kadivar, M. (2002). *The School of Lacan: Psychoanalysis in Twenty-First Century*. Tehran: Entesharate Ettelaat.
- Kalantari, A. (2012). *Discourse from three perspectives Linguistic, philosophical and sociological* (1 ed. Vol. 1). Tehran: Jameeshenasan.
- Kaviani, M. (2001). The Propaganda and Psychological Warfare. *The Journal of Hawzah and University*(Twenty-Nine).
- Khaleghi dameghani, A. (2006). *The Power,language,Everyday Life in Contemporary Philosophical-Political Discourse* (2 ed.). Tehran: Gam-E-No
- Kimchi, J., Polivka, B., & Stevenson , J. S. (1991). Triangulation: Operational Definitions. *Nursing Research Journal, 40* (6).
- Krathwohl, D. R. (1998). *Methods of Educational and Social Science Research: An Integrated Approach* (2 ed.): Waveland Press.
- Laclau, E. (1990). *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (1 ed.). London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. (1996). *Emancipation* London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. (1996 ). *Emancipation(s)*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. (2012). *Politics and ideology in Marxist theory: capitalism, fascism, populism*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. (Ed.) (1994). *The Making of Political Identities*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Second ed.). London and New York Verso.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2014). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (M. Rezaei, Trans.). Tehran Nashr-e Sales.
- Lasswell, H. D. (2004). *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society* (G. R. Azari, Trans.). Tehran: Khojasteh Publication.
- Lather, P. (1993). Fertile Obsession: Validity after Poststructuralism. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34(4), 673-693.
- Lee, R. M. (2000). *Unobtrusive methods in social research: Understanding social research*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969). *Mythologiques, The Raw and the Cooked* (Vol. One): University of Chicago Press.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985 ). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1989). *Fourth Generation Evaluation*: SAGE.
- Liotard, J.-F. (1996). *Phenomenology* (A. Rashidian, Trans.). Tehran: Nashre Nei.
- Macdonell, D. (2001). *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction* (H. A. Nozari, Trans.). Tehran: Farhang-e-Gofteman.
- Magee, B. E. (1993). *The Great Philosophers: An Introduction to Western Philosophy* (E. Foladvand, Trans.). Tehran: Kharazmi
- Mahdavi Kani, M.-R. (1999a, 17/04/1999). *Shoma*
- Mahdavi Kani, M.-R. (1999b, 26/10/1999). *Sobh-e Emrooz*.
- Mahdavi Kani, M.-R. (2000, 04/01/2000). *Resalat*
- Martin, J. (Ed.) (2001). *Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers* (26th ed.): Routledge.
- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching* (2 ed.). London: Sage.
- Mavence, H. (2000). *An Introduction to Wittgenstein's Tractatus* (S. Alavinia, Trans.). Tehran: Tarh-e No
- Mehdizadeh, S. M. (2008). *Media and Representation*. Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, The Media Study and Development Office Publications.
- Mehdizadeh, S. M. (2010). *Media Theories: Common Thoughts and Critical Views*. Tehran: Hamshahri.
- Metz, C. (1997). *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema* (R. Safarian, Trans.). Tehran: The Cultural, Artistic and Scientific Center of Veterans.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*: SAGE.

- Mills, C. W. (2004). *The Power Elite*. Tehran: Farhange maktoob.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Discourse: New Critical Idiom* (F. Mohammadi, Trans.). Zanjan: Nashr-e Hezareh Sevom.
- Mitchell, R. (1993 ). *Secrecy and Fieldwork*. London: SAGE.
- Moradi, H., Mohammadi, Y., Baseri, A., Hobbi, M.-B., & Elyasi, M. H. (2010). *Psychological Operations and Media*. Tehran: Nashre Saghi.
- Mortaji, H. (1999). *Political Factions in Iran* (3rd ed.). Tehran: Entesharat-e Naqsho Negar.
- Mossalanejad, A. (2007). *Political Culture in Iran*. Tehran: Publication of Farhang-e Saba
- Movallali, K. (2005). *Foundations of Psychoanalysis: Freud- Lacan*. Tehran Nashr-e Nei.
- Naghiebulsadat, S. R. (2012). *Communication Research Methods*. Tehran: Nashr-e Elm.
- Nash, K. (2008). *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics and Power* (M. T. Delafrouz, Trans.). Tehran: Entesharate Kavir.
- Nasr, S. (2007). *Psychological Warfare* (M. Haqiqat Kashani, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush Press.
- O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., & Fiske, J. (1983). *Key Concepts in Communication* (M. H. Raeiszadeh, Trans. First edition ed.). Tehran: Fasleno.
- Patton, M. Q. (2001). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. London SAGE
- Paya, A. (1996). The position of the concept of truth in Foucault's votes. *Name-ye Farhang (Letter of Culture) Quarterly*, 23, 55.
- Payne, M. (2001). *Lacan, Derrida and Kristeva* (P. Yazdanjo, Trans.). Tehran: nashr-e-markaz.
- Payne, M. (2011). *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory: From the Enlightenment to postmodernity* (P. Yazdanjoo, Trans. Fourth ed.). Tehran: nashr-e-markaz.
- Pears, D. (2000). *Wittgenstein* (N. Zangoiy, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush Publication.
- Pêcheux, M. (1982). *Language, Semantics and Ideology* (H. Nagpal, Trans.). London: Macmillan.
- Pennycook, A. (1999). The Discourses of Incommensurable. *Political Science Quarterly*(4).
- Pishkhani, M. (1999). Jacques Derrida's Theory of Deconstruction. *The journal of Snowman (The Journal of Cultural Cinema, Literature and Art)*.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: SAGE

- Poursafir, H. (2008). *The Status of Justice Concept in Principlist Discourse by emphasizing on the Ninth Presidential Election*. (Master's thesis), Shiraz University.
- Pratkanis, A., & Aronson, E. (2000). *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion* (K. Seyed-Emami & M. S. Abbasi, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush.
- Qawam, A. (1996). Political culture in the opinions of scholars. *NAQD VA NAZAR, The Quarterly Journal of Philosophy and Theology*(3 and 4), 12.
- Ranjbar, M. (2009a). Iranian Political Culture, Behaviors and Attitudes (1). *Pegah-e Hozeh*(260).
- Ranjbar, M. (2009b). Iranian Political Culture, Behaviors and Attitudes (2). *Pegah-e Hozeh*(261).
- Razzaghi, S. (1996a). Components of our political culture. *NAQD VA NAZAR, The Quarterly Journal of Philosophy and Theology*(3 and 4).
- Razzaghi, S. (1996b). Components of our political culture. *NAQD VA NAZAR, The Quarterly Journal of Philosophy and Theology*(3 and 4), 211 and 212.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (2 ed.): SAGE
- Robson, C. (2011). *Real World Research* (3 ed.): Wiley.
- Rosta, A., & Khooyeh, A. (2008). *Techniques and Tactics of the Propaganda* (1 ed.). Tehran: Citeh.
- Rush, M. (2002). *Politics and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology* (M. Sabouri, Trans.). Tehran, Iran SAMT Publications.
- Sabilan Ardestani, H. (2008). *Propaganda (with Emphasis on the Propaganda Techniques)*. Tehran: Mehraban Nasher.
- Sadat Hoseini, M. (2003). The World ,Meaning and Signs. *Cinema Review Magazine*.
- Salomon, N. (2006). *New Age of Persuasion, Proceedings Public Opinion and Media Dominance* (H. Hazegh, Trans.). Tehran: Faragoft.
- Sarabi, S. (2005). *The Management of Crisis and Media*. Retrieved from Tehran:
- Sariolghalam, M. (1998). Tribal Foundations of the Iranian Political Culture. *Political & Economic Ettela'at*(135 and 136), 37 and 38.
- Sayyid, B. S. (2000). *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (G. Jamshidi & M. Anbari, Trans.). Tehran: The University of Tehran Press (UTP).
- Schiffirin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*: Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.

- Seddiqi, M. (2007). *The Influence of Religious Political Culture on Political Behavior in the Age of Absence*. Paper presented at the The 3th edition of the International Conference on Mahdism Doctrine, Qom. [www.mahdaviat-conference.com](http://www.mahdaviat-conference.com)
- Seifpour, R. (2010). The functions of BBC Persian in the Soft War against Iran. Fars News Agency Retrieved 11/08/2015 <http://www.farsnews.com>
- Shabani, R. (1995). *Foundations of Social History of Iran*. Tehran: Ghomes.
- Shank, G. D. (2005). *Qualitative Research: A Personal Skills Approach* (2 ed.): Pearson.
- Shokrkah, Y. (2005 ). *News* (Eighth ed.). Tehran: TheMinistry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, Media Studies & Research Center
- Smith, A. (1990). *The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World* (F. Shirani, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush.
- Smith, A. (1998). *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*: Taylor & Francis.
- Sojudi, F. (2009). *Structuralism, Post- Structuralism and Literary Studies* (2 ed.). Tehran: Soureh-Mehr Publishing Institute.
- Soltani, S. A. A. (2008). *Power, Discourse and Language: Mechanisms of Power in Islamic Republic of Iran*. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney.
- Soltanifar, M. (2016). Psychological warfare Tactics (Research Paper). hawzah.net, from Hawzah <http://www.hawzah.net/fa/Magazine>
- Soltanifar, M., & Hashemi, S. (2003). *News Coverage* (1 ed.). Tehran: Nashre Simaye Shargh.
- Sotoudeh, H. (1995). *The Introduction to Social Psychology* (2 ed.). Tehran: Avaye-no.
- Speziale, H. S., & Carpenter, D. R. (2011). *Qualitative Research Nursing: Advancing the Humanistic Imperative Nursing Research*.
- Sterols, V. (2004). *Analytic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* (F. Fatemi, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e-markaz.
- Stommel, M., & Wills, C. E. (2004). *Clinical Research: Concepts and Principles for Advanced Practice Nurses*. Philadelphia: lippincott Williams and wilkins.
- Stubbs, M. (1983 ). *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Suri, J. (2006). The Role of New Communicative Technology in Psychological Operation. *The Psychological Operation Quarterly*(12).
- Swinton, J., & Mowatt, H. (2006). *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SCM Press.
- Tabesh, R., & Mohseni Dare Bidi, J. (2011). *The Foundations of the Legitimacy of the Islamic Republic*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Document Center.

- Tajerian, A. (2009). The indices of Principlism in the supreme leader's statements. Retrieved from <http://www.farsnews.com>
- Tajik, M. R. (2000). *Secure Society in Khatami's Discourse*. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney.
- Tanhaei, H. A. (2004). *An Introduction to the Schools and Theories of Sociology* (3 ed.). Mashhad: Nashr-e Marandiz.
- ThoughtClub. (2013). Jacques Derrida. <http://www.bashgah.net>
- Toffler, A. (1987). *The Third Wave* (S. Kharazmi, Trans.). Tehran: Nashre No.
- Traynor, M., Roberts, P., & Priest, H. (2006). Reliability and validity in research. *Journal Nursing Standard*.
- Vaezi, A. (2001). *An Introduction to Hermeneutics*. Tehran: Islamic Research Institute for Culture and Thought.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1985). Introduction: Discourse analysis as a new cross-discipline. *Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Disciplines of Discourse, 1*.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1987). *Communicating racism: ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1991a). *Racism and the Press* (1 ed.). London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1991b). The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse. In K. B. Jensen & N. Jankowski (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Methodology for Mass Communication Research* (pp. 108). London Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1992). Racism and argumentation: "Race Riot" Rhetoric in Tabloid Editorials. Retrieved from <http://www.discourses.org>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. London: Sage Publications.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1996). *Opinions and Ideologies in Editorials*. Paper presented at the The 4th International Symposium of Critical Discourse Analysis, Language, Social Life and Critical Thought, Athens. <http://www.discourses.org/>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Critical Discourse Analysis, 2*.
- Vogel, E. F. (1992). *Japan as Number 1* (S. Kharazmi & A. Asadi, Trans. J. Arjomand Ed.). Tehran: Farhang.
- Wittgenstein, L. J. J. (1992). *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus: Logical-Philosophical Treatise* (M.-S. Adib-Soltani, Trans. 2 ed.). Tehran: Amirkabir.
- Wittgenstein, L. J. J. (2001). *Philosophical Investigations* (F. Fatemi, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e-markaz.

- Wodak, R. (1995). Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. *Handbook of Pragmatics: Manual*.
- Wodak, R. (1996). *Disorders of Discourse*: Longman.
- Zandieh, A. (2007). *Religion and Religious Belief on Wittgenstein's Thought*. Tehran: Negahe- Moaser Press.
- Zeimaran, M. (1999). *Michel Foucault, Knowledge and Power*. Tehran: Hermes.
- Zeimaran, M. (2007). *Jacques Derrida and the Metaphysics of Presence* (1 ed.). Tehran: Hermes
- Zonis, M. (1971). *The political elite of Iran; Princeton studies on the Near East*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## **APPENDIX: A**

### **ALL THE SIX EDITORIALS**

#### **1. The Editorial Number One**

(The number of words in this editorial: 1237 words)

Editorial Title: The difference between Obama's and Bush's Message

Publication Date: Saturday, 4th of April 2009 (04/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Serge Barsegyan

Nowruz message (happy New Year) of the President of United States was not an unprecedented action. Happy New Year tradition was started in states of Bill Clinton (the Democrat) and George W. Bush (the Republican) and changed into a more serious form. Madeleine Albright, foreign minister of Clinton State, started her famous speech on March 1999 in the Forum of America and Iran about accepting responsibility for mistakes by the United States in the overthrow of Mosaddegh and pressures of Shah's period with reference to start of Persian New Year and spring and expressed hope that Iran and America could plant seeds of better relations for harvest in future years and in Sizdah Be-dar of year 1999 she said that she knotted grass in memory of Iranian friends. The Bush state also remained faithful to this tradition and for many years the President was responsible for sending happy New Year message to conductors.

So why is message of Barack Obama important when it is the repetition of former process?

Three parameters of time, distribution, tone, and audiences of the Obama's New Year message should be considered in the response. Obama's Nowruz message was released while process of reviewing the United States policies towards Iran was not final and was not led to the diplomatic decision and diplomats know that new approach of Obama's state including a combination of small steps for establishing contact between the two countries and for sending a letter to Iranian leader. Accordingly, Obama's Nowruz message can show the framework of that possible letter or he can replace the media messages with letters in current period and at the moment he can totally cancel the issue of sending letter or in a certain time period, he can suspend it due to reasons such as presidential elections in Iran or lack of access to consultants and close people to Iranian leadership. The style of releasing Obama's message strengthens the above-mentioned assumption. The message was released in a video form with Persian subtitle so that Obama's message is included in form of "open diplomacy" or "public diplomacy" that was earlier used by Washington in the relationship with Moscow and Peking, a message to public audiences in a good event with friendly nature. In this message, Iranian people and their leaders have been addressed. This is a one to one letter however with a common subject (the relations between Iran and America and some issues about Iranian people) in addition to acknowledgement of diplomacy. The third parameter introduces the audiences of the message which is the most important aspect and difference between Obama's message and previous messages. Unlike Nowruz messages in Clinton and Bush's states, Obama did not only congratulate Nowruz to Iranian people who live in America and Iranians. Bush's Nowruz messages based on his literature about Iran believed in drawing line between Iranian people and their leaders and even specifically he addressed and separated youths and women from other Iranian people. In Nowruz message of year 2008, Bush called Iranians as proud people but frankly he said: we disagree with Islamic republic of Iran. Like recent years, Bush tried to make America a

friend of Iranians and a supporter of their freedom and progress and he related problems of Iranian people to policies and decisions of Iranian government and said: America has also problem with policies of Iranian government.

But as Obama himself said plainly, "Iranian people and their leaders were audiences of Obama's Nowruz message. Obama also seriously pointed to the disagreements between America and leaders of Iran, but he never considered it for separation of government and nation of Iran rather he pointed to commitment of United States for placing Islamic republic of Iran in its true position in the international community and it carries at least two important messages. Firstly, the new U.S. government officially addresses legal ruling regime of Iran which could be the end of Iranian officials' expectation from America to respect the ruling regime in Iran.

In Washington after years of debate over how to deal with the legal regime governing in Iran and even the approval of funds for overthrowing the regime, finally the president of America offers Iran a proposal of cooperation and this is the best reason for change of American policy from the goal of "changing Iranian regime" into "changing behavior of Iranian regime". Secondly, what Obama refers to, is the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran, not merely the geopolitical position of Iran, neither the Iranian people with a history of ancient civilization.

Although Obama again pointed to the connection of Iran with the terrorism or the use of weapons, Iranian authorities have known that as the repetition of playing the same old music, in this message it has been said that "the right of standing in a true position in the international community" is accompanied with "real responsibilities". This tone is novel in spoken literature of Iran and America, a tone regardless of threats to Iran or from Iran, a recommendation for withdrawal and blame of the government.

Conversely, it is a tone in which the responsibilities of a power have been recognized and applied. In practice, the request of Obama for cooperation with Iran in issues of Afghanistan also represents something like the same approach in order to interact with Iran from area of his responsibilities not tasks and even political transaction. With such view, if Iran cooperates with America on the subject of Afghanistan, this issue in addition to reasons such as concerns and common interests of the two countries will be resulted from the position of Iran and its responsibilities. For this reason, Nowruz message of Obama can be seen as a new chapter in the relation between Iran and the United States or according to the White House spokesman it is the first step from many steps to encourage Tehran to begin dialogue with Washington because Obama said that no immediate reactions can be expected from this type of messages and he diligently tries to resolve bilateral disputes. The messages are important because they show a piece of the puzzle of America's new diplomacy towards Iran, but the focus on messages and policies of President of America can represents macro approach of United States. In Iran, the political issue is that there is no proper understanding from the real position of President of America in governance structure of the United States. In other words, reducing the role of president to governmental broker and giving too much importance to political lobbies and advisory circles will remove the golden opportunities in the normalization of relations between Tehran and Washington. In accordance with the absolute presidential system, President of United States is responsible for either "The head of state" (he has traditional qualification to introduce the United States inside and outside the country and the right of sending message from America) or "The head of government "(he has general qualification for official announcement and law enforcement over the country and ...). In this case, the president has a great power without division of power between two roles and personalities of head of state and head of government, although the right of veto and decisions of Congress should also be

added. This unmatched position has changed the message and policies of president of America to macro approaches of the United States and no doubt is remained for its importance.

## **2. The Editorial Number Two**

(The number of words in this editorial: 542 words)

Editorial Title: Analyzing Obama's message and our position (manifesto)

Publication Date: Thursday, 9th of April 2009 (09/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Amir Mohebbiyan (Ph.D)

In Nowruz celebration in 2009, our supreme leader as the highest position in the Islamic Republic evaluated bases of "Iran-US issue" in Imam Reza (PBUH) Holy Shrine. He considered some key points in relation to the case that Iran-US issue and their interaction is one of important tests of revolution.

Evaluation of the leader about US behavior up to now

Special evaluation of the leader about Iran-US issue up to now can be divided into 3 subjects:

1. Political behavior of US and its politicians toward Iran
2. Security behavior of US toward Iran
3. Economic behavior of US toward Iran

In area of political behavior, sullen behavior toward Islamic Republic of Iran since the revolution due to the independence and therefore removal of US benefits from Iran, US presidents' misbehavior toward the Islamic Republic system and insult of US presidents to Iranians and authorities were mentioned as main points by our supreme leader.

In area of security behavior, our leader mentioned US persuasion of opponents and aiding secessionist and terroristic activities in Iran, supporting criminal acts of terrorists like Saddam in imposed war against Iran, shooting Iran's airplane in Persian Gulf sky, anarchy in the region security, sending weapons to the region against Iran, unlimited support of the Zionist regime and threatening Iran.

In area of economic behavior, our leader mentioned seizure of Iran's properties and more than 30 years of boycott by US that the boycott reversely led Iran to become conscious, self-dependant and to reach this current point, science and development.

The leader evaluation of current position of Obama government

The supreme leader of the revolution in the very speech about US tendency to negotiate with Iran expressed something which is classified as follows:

First interpretation about current position of Obama's government: at first the leader is suspicious about trustfulness of US current position and expressed it idiomatically as "a hand stretched with velvet cover and cast iron Nowruz nature". According to him, US bilateral behavior can be proved by his congratulation to Iranians in addition to sentencing Iran for supporting terrorism and attempting to gain nuclear weapons. On the other hand, he proved unreality of US change policy with the following points:

1. Not releasing Iran's properties
2. Not removing outrageous boycotts
3. Not stopping insult and propagation against people and authorities
4. Not stopping unlimited support of the Zionist regime

## 5. Not changing in literature

The leader's position about US tendency for negotiation:

He recommends US to have true change, and believes that true change is a necessity and a divine tradition; also global hate against US which has a lot of evidences makes this change a rational necessity for them.

Then the leader suggested some rational solutions to execute such change and finally conditioned the behavior change of Iran toward US on their behavior change. In fact, if US really intend to negotiate along with a right purpose, at first they must prove some changes in their behavior based on what the leader said.

In next article, initial and necessary steps US must take for changing the situation about Iran-US relation will be explained according to the supreme leader's opinions.

### **3. The Editorial Number Three**

(The number of words in this editorial: 811 words)

Editorial Title: A place beyond politics

Publication Date: Monday- 6th of April 2009 (06/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Nameless

The revolution leader's remarks have been considerable among the Razavi pilgrims in holy city of Mashhad at the beginning of the New Year based on solar calendar.

The position of power in Iran's society is high. No other value in the sphere of politics will be equal with the concept of power neither in practice nor in theory. The structure of power provides tools and the facilities for dominion which in compare with the other official and political institutions of power cannot compete with that.

After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, since institution of power has been turned into a theocratic system, the ability of double synergy has been found.

The supreme leader in the Islamic Republic of Iran has both national legitimacy and also the support of religion. Since this established institution is the highest ranking decision-making body in the country, from the political and administrative perspective is considered above other forces and governmental institutions. Since it relies on the element of religion and part of its legitimacy is derived from the heart of the theory of Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih) which has emerged from a comprehensive interpretation from the heart of Shia'sharia laws. This phenomenon has

been achieved additional strength. That is why the power in Iran is not comparable to the similar cases before the revolution and also the other political systems.

The discussion in this editorial is not on the sources of legitimacy and their emerged effects. However, it is not pointless to mention this fact that constitution has predicted variant approaches and methods either directly or indirectly until accumulated power does not cause corruption and destruction.

The Assembly of Experts of the Leadership and the specialized committees were formed on this basis. Supposedly they are functioning effectively without any fuss. On the other hand, the method of electing the leadership and monitoring over it through indirect election by individuals, has taken away all the worries created by unsupervised accumulation of power.

Because of this powerful and high position, there has been significant number of incidents and events in which groups, parties and political activist even governments and the other institutions have tried implicitly or explicitly to ascribe their action and decision to the leadership.

Even there have been figures who their entrance and departure to the political arena are related to the leader's will and desire.

The first generation of revolution remember very well the story of Abolhassan Banisadr's meeting with Imam Khomeini (Allah rest his soul) in city of Qom and afterwards the announcement of his nomination among correspondents. The Iranian society's perception of the discussion was that apparently Abolhassan Banisadr had become candidate for presidency following agreement and approval by Imam Khomeini. The issue was denied later on.

In the past and recent years, there have been also statesmen who tried to attribute their weakness and inability to the superior authorities and conceal themselves behind them.

In the past, for various reason some officials of the ninth government had tried to relate their action directly or indirectly to the leadership. They have even benefited from these tricks in the process of presenting ministers to the parliament that sometimes were faced reaction from the leadership's headquarter.

As it was stated by supreme leader, his general policy has been in support of authorized governments. However more support was provided to the 9th government due to pressures poor performance or other hidden reasons. It is obvious, reason for the support, attributing direct policies and the 9th government performance is not president's aim towards the leadership. It is clear the 9th government officials were keen on participating in election in such a psychological atmosphere. In that they consider their government as the leader's choice or of his absolute support or it is pretended in the public that this previously selected government and the pre-elected governments are only a political show justifying Islamic republic credibility.

The transparency in the leader's statements removed all these ambiguities and the society understood the leadership position is above these speculation and rumours.

Any government which has the majority of support benefits from leader's support and protection. The policy that has endured over last years both in Hashemi and president Khatemi's governments as well as 9th government.

Now with the declaration of neutrality of leadership, and also the other institutions, the vibrant society full of hope and exhilaration looking towards the candidate's planning and activities. Until such a time that they are able to analyse the candidates' claim,

backgrounds, plans of action and their manifesto to run the country in a calm, competitive and healthy electoral atmosphere to select the most appropriate candidate in line with worthy, eminent action of the supreme leader's forthright and wisdom in running the country.

#### **4. The Editorial Number Four**

(The number of words in this editorial: 781 words)

Editorial Title: Discursive Opposition of Islamic and Modern Government

Publication Date: Thursday, 16th of April 2009 (16/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Saleh Eskandari

-President Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's visit among eager people of Kerman:

In my previous trips, I mentioned some properties and duties of Islamic government such as extending unity and improving solidarity under the shade of the word of Tawhid, spreading justice, standing up for the national pride, promoting the culture of servicing the nation, the encouragement of good behavior, respecting brotherhood, promoting of kindness and affection in the society, and organizing the public efforts for establishing an ideal society. Also defending the oppressed, resistance to oppressors, protecting national resources and people public treasures are the duties of the Islamic government.

-Engineer Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh in Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz:

Iranians especially the youths will not tolerate backward Iran which in that is inflation and unemployment which led to vast immigration. We demand a modern and free Iran.

Less than 60 days left till the most important political event of Iran in 2009, with more clarification in election atmosphere among public opinion, this key question has been emerged in many analysts' mind, where is the competitive pulse of the 10th presidential election? The circulation of power rotates in which orbit in this election in Iran?

On what basis, will form the infrastructure of functional and structural patterns in political competition? and ...

From the writer's point of view, the logical analysis of discursive geometry in 10th presidential election indicates a discursive opposition between two ideal patterns, the modern government and the Islamic government. The modern government is political superstructure of the epistemology of modernism in combination with all philosophical developed images after Renaissance which is prescribed in today world as a global pattern by westerners. Without masking sample of this political model due to its nature that is anti-normative and anti-value often faces in most countries with social reactions. Nevertheless, some western-oriented elites in the third world countries try to introduce a model of the modern state without its cognitive and philosophical basis, just as a method of having a better political life. Of course, some analysts believe that imported imagination of modern state pattern never accepts publically. The defeat experience of the second of khordad front in several previous elections is highlighting the case. Equality, freedom, western justice and fairness theses and....although for French revolution it might be acceptable approach but in Islamic revolution discourse, exists a perfect sample like Imam Ali's justice. In fact, the Islamic government is the start of special distribution of values, positions, norms and political skills based on criteria and slogans of the Islamic revolution. From the wise revolutionary leader's point of view, the Islamic government model is one of the Iranian Muslim nation's platform to reach toward "Islamic Society". Such society will be prelude for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi.

Islamic revolution in the Iranian Islamic movement was the first place which led to formation of Islamic system. Formation of Islamic government from the beginning of the Islamic revolution was presented as one of the main goals of Iranian Islamic

movement. As it was stated, the formation of such ideal model of the first government is believed as a prelude for formation of Islamic society. During the 9th presidential campaign, slogan of Islamic government formation become highlighted by one of the contenders and most of positioning and implementation plans before and after the election was formed based on this slogan. It is typically believed that only a revolutionary management pattern will be able to keep the revolution away and protect it from deviations. The existing reason of Islamic revolution is its very surviving cause. Retrieving identified values and Islamic standardization of government practice has moved the current elected government discourse closer to the Islamic revolution discourse. Seeking justice, and opposing arrogance as the main axis of Islamic revolution were warmly received once again. Nowadays such discourse has drawn the public attentions whilst the modern government concept is on the opposite side. Tendency to Mahdism, justice-oriented, democracy, modest life style, arrogance opposing, believing and honoring the identity and national pride, loyalty to the revolution discourse, being brave in decision making in order to big problem solving, standing up to corruption, being close and in touch with people and etc. These are all just parts of signs which have formed under the master signifier of Islamic State. Of course what mentioned above do not mean that the 9th government has been able completely achieve all essential indexes of ideal type of Islamic State but merely expressing such slogans and moving forward in this path is admirable. Furthermore, it will form a remarkable political identity for this government.

## **5. The Editorial Number Five**

(The number of words in this editorial: 520 words)

Editorial Title: Parliament and preferred method of running country

Publication Date: Wednesday-15th of April 2009 (15/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Nameless

In human society the philosophy of state formation is the provision of a peaceful life for citizens, stabilizing order, security and preventing chaos.

In the modern world, the ruling parties come to power on behalf of citizens and base upon their will and point of views and in order to prevent concentration of power in individual's hand which leads to dictatorship and despotism, the separation of powers in the constitution has been identified.

The constitution as a firm covenant for citizens and government must be the basis of ruling the society. On this bases the president and the members of parliament who have the key role in running the country, swear allegiance prior to assuming their duties to defend the constitution and its principals in order to recognize them as the base of social order.

President's responsibility based up on the article 113 of the constitution is to implement the constitution and also the presumed role of Guardian council's responsibility according to the article 99 which is to avoid any contradiction between laws passed by parliament and Islamic jurisprudence. In the same line, it is evident that the constitution has made adequate provisions for the essential generalities about the structure of power

and the right of citizens that must be observed by ruling authorities. Furthermore, to regulate relations between various institutions which have roles in running the society and also to regulate relation of each institutions with citizens and guiding the country on the path of development, and a multilateral balanced and sustainable access to a comprehensive growth on a base of collaboration of different institutions and enact appropriate legislation and regulations. These are all considered as the role of parliament that must be composed by the representatives of the nation.

Implementation of approved legislation in parliament by government, various executive organizations and judiciary authorities in turn require administrative regulations which their provision is the duty of the cabinet and the relevant ministries.

In addition the cabinet, each ministry and its executive organizations due to implementing duties which is put up on them by the legislation require issuing circulars and guidelines. Although in their entirety the above rule and regulations of the constitution, ordinary law, cabinet resolution, executive regulations and the circulars are necessary to run the society but it is obvious that not all of them are the same degree of importance and in the hierarchy of the legislation the constitution is above all of them. Credibility and validity of other rules and regulations are subject to them not their contradiction to the constitution.

At the next stage the state regulations, directives circulars and guidelines that are initiated by cabinet or ministers or other executive agencies are only valid if they do not contradict the legislations approved by parliament subject to the full scrutiny and approval of the speaker of the house. For their implementation the cabinet and ministries are duty bound to submit a copy of these approvals to the speakers of the house and also to his repertory committee to be fully scrutinized.

## **6. The Editorial Number Six**

(The number of words in this editorial: 713 words)

Editorial Title: Assessments of 4 years performance

Publication Date: Saturday, 25th of April 2009 (25/04/2009)

Author of Editorial: Mohammad Kazem Anbarlooyi

The 10th presidential election is of a great importance both domestically and also due to regional and international development.

During an election, it is as if there are 2 bells ringing 1. Dictation lesson 2. Composition lesson

Those who were empowered for 4 years period have to present their dictation to people in order to get a mark for their performance and those who were not in power start writing a composition and asking the nation to give them a score and avoid giving an acceptable mark to the opponent's dictation.

Naturally if dictation score is higher than that of composition, the religious political state man who is in power is allowed by people 4 more years otherwise they will relinquish the power to opponents.

Iranian turn up at the polling stations on the 12 of Jun in a presidential election in order to give a pass mark with their vote to either dictation or composition of political and religious state men.

In this article we aim to review the 4 years performance of the 9th government and also its "dictation". Perhaps in the future will be the opportunity to have a glance at the others compositions.

Four years ago, these days Iranian supreme leader meanwhile reminding the importance of presidential election, stated the required competences and capabilities for the fittest candidate.

The nation in a tough competition elected a candidate from 8 political and religious candidates in the country who was least expected to win according to the reliable polls. He managed successfully to defeat other contenders both from the Principlist front as well as the Second Khordad wing. It approved to be as a new phenomenon in the Iranian political arena.

Those characteristics of the best candidate as summarized by the supreme leader in his different speeches are briefly as follow:

President has to believe in the revolution values, regime and also trust the people's power.

Honestly speaking, it appears that President Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in his presidential tenure did not cross the framework of the revolutionary values, Imam Khomeini, Islam and regime values. He also never hesitates a moment in trusting nation and their abilities also he improved the discourse of serving, progress and justice.

His dazzling success internationally and his defense of revolution values has amazed the eyes of the world. His international reputation across the world particularly in the Islamic world has made Iranian to be proud of him.

He stood firmly against the US bullying and Zionist regime drunken foul behaviour.

In the diplomatic battle, he always came out as a triumph admitted by enemy of revolution and regime.

Indeed, he was the true executive of the dominion policies and also the supreme leader in the foreign policies.

He carried with pride the flag of dignity for Iranian nation in international gatherings.

Some may accuse us of exaggeration.

However there is no evidence to state otherwise. Our response is that the supreme leader is the best judge to approve our claim since the president must according to article 1-110 of the constitution to implement the supreme leader's policies.

The supreme leader states: "The government slogan and general discourse is in line with both Imam Khomeini's discourse and revolution discourse.

It is of a great value and must not be ignored by any one. He also emphasized the duties of 9th government include: Imam's ideology and opposing those who are after destroying the revolutionary values.

The supreme leader pointed out in his meeting with the cabinet (Saturday, August 23, 2008)

Dr. Ahmadinejad's display of his competences during his visit to Colombia university as well as more recently during a meeting in Geneva has clearly demonstrated the nation intelligence to have elected him as a president. Of course, this is not to say that the

government performance is not immune to any criticism. It is merely to state the government has performed well and deserve a high score.

We are not dealing with those who in judgment believe in zero or 100 but with those who have clear consciences and are fair in judgment.

In the next issue, we will investigate the 9th government evaluation of performance and other characteristics of ideal president according to the supreme leader.

## APPENDIX: B

### SOME COMPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ABOUT PART SIXTH IN CHAPTER TWO

#### (a) Description of Procedure

The following steps have been proceeded in order to providing this section:

- Firstly, these keywords were selected:

◁ Newspapers + Political Campaign + Propaganda + Critical Discourse Analysis +  
Political Election ▷

- Secondly, a search was carried out in the following websites based upon the above  
selected words.

(1) Name: Scirus. URL: [www.scirus.com/srsapp/advanced/index.jsp?q1=](http://www.scirus.com/srsapp/advanced/index.jsp?q1=)

(2) Name: DSpace@MIT. URL: <http://dspace.mit.edu/advanced-search>

(3) Name: The Texas A&M University. URL: <http://repository.tamu.edu/advanced-search>

(4) Name: Open Thesis. URL: <http://www.openthesis.org/advancedSearch.html>

(5) Name: Open Access Theses and Dissertations. URL: <http://oatd.org/>

(6) Name: The Texas A& M University. URL: <http://repository.tamu.edu/advanced-search>

(7) Name: VTLS.

URL: <http://www.vtls.com/search/node/Theses%20and%20Dissertations>

- Thirdly, the theses and dissertations have been chosen as the field of current search.

- Fourthly, the search was carried out on Monday, 27th January 2014 and Tuesday, 28th January 2014.

- Fifthly, at this stage the following researches were selected as they had been in some aspects closest to the current research.

1. Cultivating modernities: the Society for National Heritage, political propaganda and public architecture in twentieth-century Iran.

2. The causes of religious wars: holy nations, sacred spaces, and religious revolutions

3. Construction of history: Mohammad-Reza Shah revivalism, nationalism, and monumental architecture of Tehran, 1951-1979.

4. Ballot box and tinder box: can electoral engineering save multiethnic democracy?

5. An Analysis of the Rhetoric toward Latinos in the Presidential Campaigns of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, 1992-2000.

6. The Media Spectacle of Terrorism and Response-Able Literature.

7. The Black Press as a Political Institution: How the Chicago Defender Portrayed Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama's Historical Presidential Campaigns.

8. Legitimation, hegemony and the media, a Gramscian account of the rise of the New Right in the United States and Canada.
9. Ugly war, pretty package [electronic resource]: how the Cable News Network and the Fox News Channel made the 2003 invasion of Iraq high concept /.
10. Beyond deadlines and head counts: A rhetorical analysis of headlines and photojournalism in the 2004 presidential election coverage of The (Raleigh) News & Observer.
11. Political practice a hermeneutic-phenomenological inquiry.
12. The Rhetoric of Pravda Editorials: A Diachronic Study of a Political Genre.
13. Officialising Language: A Discourse Study of Language Politics in the United States.
14. Nietzsche's plan for political organization and its formation in political theory.
15. The discourse of war in a time of peace: representations of American military operations in the 1990s.
16. Islam and democracy: an analysis of presentations in the U.S. prestige press from 1985-2005.
17. Constructions of the Islamic peril in English-language Canadian print media, discourses on power and violence.
18. A visual and textual analysis of transnational identity formation and representation.

19. The construction and negotiation of meaning in Scottish political discourse: a case study of the 2003 Scottish Parliament elections.
20. A Discourse-Proceduralist Case for Election and Media Reform after Citizens United.
21. Framing the 2004 Presidential Election: the role of media, political discussion, and opinion leaders.
22. Hip hop ain't dead, it's sittin' in the White House: A critical discourse analysis of hip hop's cultural, social, and political influence on American society.
23. Media Coverage of the 2003 Parliamentary Election in the Republic of Georgia.
24. Political ideologies and identity in British newspaper discourse.
25. Islamists in the headlines: critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers.
26. Democratic deliberation on social network sites: a study of digital deliberative discourse in the 2012 election.
27. The Power of Discourse: Silencing Dissent through Debate about... Dissent.
28. Towards a neoliberal citizenship regime: A post-Marxist discourse analysis.
29. Anders G. Crossfire of fear: propaganda in the US war on terrorism.
30. The battle of hearts and minds: an analysis of the Iraq War discourse in politics and newspapers.

31. Discourses in the News.

32. Explicating the central role of news media use in the process of political participation: toward establishing an integrative structural model of news media effects on political participation.

33. Essays on political competition.

34. Political Parties and Electoral Campaigns: Voter Mobilization Strategies in Argentine Provinces.

35. The Effects of Elite Decision Making.

- Finally, these four cases among the above have been selected as they are more similar to the current study.

(a) < ISLAMISTS IN THE HEADLINES: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPTIAN  
NEWSPAPERS >

(b) < THE BATTLE OF HEARTS AND MINDS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IRAQ  
WAR DISCOURSE IN POLITICS AND NEWSPAPERS >

(c) < THE CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION OF MEANING IN SCOTTISH  
POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2003 SCOTTISH PARLIAM  
ENT ELECTIONS >

(d) < DISCOURSES IN THE NEWS: THE CASE OF OCCUPY WALL STREET IN  
THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE NEW YORK POST >

**APPENDIX: C**

**THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT**

The Worksheet for Recording the Data of Editorials

in

The Method of Critical Discourse Analysis

(Based on a reading of van Dijk and Fairclough's approaches)

- General Characteristics of the Editorial or (G)

1. Number of Editorial:	2. Publication Date: 2009 April / May /... June /...	3. Day (of Week): <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday <input type="checkbox"/> Sunday <input type="checkbox"/> Monday <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday <input type="checkbox"/> Wednesday <input type="checkbox"/> Thursday <input type="checkbox"/> Friday	Media: Two newspapers the <i>Resalat</i> and <i>Etemad-e Melli</i>
4 Name of Newspaper (the order of discourse): <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Resalat</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Etemad-e Melli</i>			5. Author of Editorial:

<p>6. Indicative Abstract of the Editorial:</p> <p>- Main topics of the editorial are:</p> <p>1. Editorial Title:</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>2. Editorial Subject:</p> <p>[Explanation: The subject includes events and phenomena that create the editorial and picture the theme.]</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>3. Editorial Theme:</p> <p>[Explanation: Theme is resulted from perception and personal experience of editor based on his/her discourse from the subject]</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>4- Editorial Message:</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>5- Sections of the Editorial:</p> <p>[Explanation: The editorial normally is written as an inverse pyramid including introduction, text, and conclusion.]</p>	<p>7. The Purpose of this Editorial:</p>	<p>8. The Message Context:</p> <p>[The social or political conditions that have formed to the editorial]</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>	<p>9. The Factional Affiliation:</p> <p>(as has been termed)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Principlist (Iranian Islamic Principlism) / Conservative</p> <p>(as has been termed)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Reformist (Iranian reformism) / Revisionist</p>
--	--	---	---

A. Introduction:

[Explanation: In this section, the editor makes audiences familiar with the subject and prepares their minds for reading the material.

He also reminds a selection of previous events related to the subject or explains part of the event which is more attractive and important for the reader.]

- From;

< >

-To;

< >

B: Text:

[Explanation: In this section, the editor(s) describes his/her information, documents and arguments about the subject and reinforces the main idea of the editorial]

-From;

< >

-To;

< >

<p>C: Conclusion:</p> <p>[Explanation: In this section, the main idea and specific view of the editorial will be reviewed. The editor(s) asks the audience to help him/her complete his/her view and reach persuasion about the subject. In this section, the editor normally proves his/her view by reminding arguments related to the part of text.]</p> <p>-From;</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>-To;</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>-The editor concludes that;</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>			
<p>10. Links or Similarities:</p> <p>(Whether this material is continuous as a source of news)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>Refers to:</p>	<p>11. Type of Editorial:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Editorials of argument and persuasion</p> <p>[Take a firm stand on a problem or condition. They attempt to persuade the reader to think the same way. This editorial often proposes a solution or advises taking some definite</p>		

	<p>action]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Editorials of information and interpretation</p> <p>[Attempt to explain the meaning or significance of a situation or news event. There is a wide variety of editorials in this category, ranging from those which provide background information to those which identify issues]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Editorial of tribute, appreciation or commendation</p> <p>[Praise a person or an activity]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Editorial of entertainment</p> <p>[(a). The short humorous treatment</p> <p>(b). A slightly satirical treatment of a serious subject]</p>		

--	--	--	--

**- Text of Editorial:**



**-The Editorial with some Explanations on it or (E)**

**-First Level, Analysis of Discourse of Editorial or (F)**

[Some explanations:

This is a free adaptation from the Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis.

In his three-dimensional model, Fairclough distinguishes between discursive practice,

social practice and text as three levels that can be analytically separated.

#### 1. Practice:

Practice, pattern(noun) :f frequently repeated or customary action; habitual performance; a customary way of operation or behavior

#### 2. Discourse:

Fairclough applies the concept of discourse in three different ways:

(a) < Language use as social practice >

(b) < The kind of language used within a specific field, such as political or scientific discourse >

(c) < A way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective for example, an Islamic conservative and rightist discourse, a Islamic social democracy discourse ... >

Discourse contributes to the construction of:

(a) Social identities;

(b) Social relations;

(c) Systems of knowledge and meaning.

#### 3. Discursive Practice:

The discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts. Analysis of discursive practice focuses on how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts.

#### 4. Social Practice:

The social practice which involves the communicative events. In the level of social practice we study whether the discursive practice reproduces or, instead, restructures the existing order of discourse and about what consequences this has for the broader social practice.

#### 5. Genre:

[A genre is a particular usage of language which participates in, and constitutes, part of a particular social practice, for example, an editorial genre or a propaganda genre]

**(a) Description of Text:**

1- Events:

< >

1-1 Results of Events:

< >

.....

1-2 The Effective Events (The Real Events):

< >

1-2-1 Explanation of the Effective Events:

- History of the Effective Events:

< >

- Context of the Effective Events:

< >

1-2-2 Principal Events:

< >

2- Results:

< >

**(b) Interpretations and Opinions: (Analysis of Process)**

3. Expectations:

Refers to: < >

4. Evaluation:

Refers to: < >

**(c)The Stage of Explanation (or the Hypertext):**

Studying the effect of editorial discourse on cultural, economic and political structures and effect of these structures on editorial discourse

/ Emphasis on the Analyst's Argument

[Description:

This editorial is an example of language application and is considered as a communicative event. In this stage, we will study the role of discourse produced by the editorial in social structure i.e. studying the effect of editorial discourse on cultural, economic, and political structures and effect of these structures on editorial discourse. It should be noted that discourse seeker can find key points from the text of editorial by studying the role of current discourse in the editorial but the texts are not able to affect directly the structure and play such role by their discourses. In this stage, it is assumed that discourse available in the text (that is seen as the text of editorial) is a social behavior in general structure of the society and it affects social structure like other social behaviors (effects that can lead in protection, reinforcement and change of structures) and it is also affected by social structure.]

< >

5-The Discursive Practice based on the Explanation:

< >

6-The Social practice based on The Discursive Practice:

< >

- Second Level :

**Other Approaches and Categories for Analysis:**

**A. Van Dijk's Categories(Variables) or (V)**

● Four key concepts of Van Dijk's approach:

1. Discourse

- Discourse includes all forms of signification or semiotic image construction.

- Discourse is produced by the social cognition.

-Discourse controls and shapes social practices, and vice versa.

-Discourses express opinions, wishes, identities, social relations...

2. Cognition

The cognition is including:

A. Social Cognitions:

Social groups share internal social cognitions (or systems of mental representations of group members), including:

(a) Socio-culturally shared knowledge (e.g. language)

(b) Beliefs, opinions, identity and social attitudes related to a social group or an

institution

### B. Personal Cognition:

The personal cognition represents experiences (or mental models), of one particular individual.

### 3. Society

The society is a frame or environment, composed of micro and macro social structures and social groups.

### 4. Ideology

Ideologies are mental structures, which state the social cognitions and attitudes of social groups. Members within social groups get such ideologies in processes of socialization. Ideologies are reproduced and distributed through discourses.

#### 1- Rhetoric

Definition: The arguments were used for showing a specific opinion or subject.

[An argument is an attempt to persuade someone of something, by giving reasons for accepting a particular conclusion as evident]

#### 1. Opinion or Subjects:

The editor believes:

(a)...

(b)...

#### 2. Arguments:

-Major Premise:

Vide

⟨⟩

-Minor Premise:

Vide

⟨⟩

-Conclusion:

Vide

	◊

<p>2- Local Meanings</p> <p>[(a) Local meanings are a function of the selection made by speakers/writers in their mental models of events or their more general knowledge and ideologies.</p> <p>They are the kind of information that (under the overall control of global topics) most directly influences the mental models, and hence the opinions and attitudes of recipients.</p> <p>Together with the topics, these meanings are best recalled and reproduced by recipients, and hence may have the most obvious social consequences. Local meanings may be controlled by context models.</p> <p>(b) Local meanings are some cases such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The meaning of words (or Lexical)</li> <li>- The structures and nature of propositions</li> <li>- Coherence and other relations between propositions, such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Implications</li> <li>➤ Presuppositions</li> <li>➤ Levels of description</li> <li>➤ Degrees of</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>This editorial is considered as a discourse.</p> <p>In this mutual knowledge, the editorialist has dealt with a macro proposition (namely, ..... ) which has been presented in a communicative event based on the mental model of editorialist in relation to.....</p> <p>In result, this editorial has</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A theme (vide, &lt;..... . &gt;)</li> <li>- A selection pattern which has been made by editorialist in his episodic memory and based on his mental model of.....</li> </ul> <p>In other words, we can see his attitude about this issue in this text.</p> <p>This discourse is coherent because;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Has a topic thereupon has global coherent.</li> <li>-Has a mental model thereupon</li> </ul>
---	--

<p>granularity</p> <p>And so on.]</p> <p>{Explanations:</p> <p>(a) Mental model explains the relationships formed between a set of variables.</p> <p>(b) Semantic Mental Models as «the subjective representations of the events and situations observed, participated in or referred to by discourse. »</p> <p>(c) Knowledge and its organization:</p> <p>«Shared, sociocultural beliefs that are certified by the criteria or standards of a community. »</p> <p>(d) Ideology as «the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups»</p> <p>(e) Attitudes as «the socially shared, ideologically based opinions (normative beliefs) about specific social issues having given rise to debate or struggle»}</p>	<p>has local coherence (referential coherence).</p>
<p>3-Polarisation (meaning)</p> <p>[In discourse analysis, when a discussion is considered in the macro-level and refers to a theoretical framework of a research, the ideological</p>	<p>-Ingroup (Self/Us):</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p> <p>-Outgroup (Others/Them):</p>

<p>polarisation of a text becomes important; Us / Them, Self / Other, Ingroup / Outgroup etc. are examples which show themselves in an ideological war of a text such as focusing on our good characteristics and deeds or focusing on their bad characteristics and deeds.]</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>4-Global Coherence</p> <p>[-The speeches of the entire text that get by some macro roles such as selection and abstraction, and other operations that decrease the complex information.</p> <p>-Global coherence imposes by &lt; a theme, topic, gist, result, or point, &gt;all theoretically reconstructed as macrostructures.]</p> <p>[Coherence is a continuity of senses and the mutual access and relevance within a configuration of concepts and relations]</p>	<p>1. The Theme of Editorial:</p> <p>[Comment: Content is resulted from personal experience of the editor based on his discourse and the subject]</p> <p>Refers to:</p> <p>2. The Subject of Editorial:</p> <p>[Comment: the subject includes events that create the editorial and picture contents]</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>5- Surface Structures:</p> <p>[The surface structures of discourse refer to the variable forms of expression at the level of phonological and graphical realization of underlying syntactic, semantic, pragmatic or other abstract discourse</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

structures.]	
<p>6- Metaphor (Rhetorical device)</p> <p>[Metaphor, figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities as distinguished from simile, an explicit comparison signaled by the words “like” or “as.”</p> <p>The distinction is not simple.      &lt;The metaphor makes a qualitative leap from a reasonable, perhaps prosaic comparison to an identification or fusion of two objects, to make one new entity partaking of the characteristics of both.      &gt;Many critics &lt;the making of metaphors as a system of thought antedating or bypassing logic&gt;. A metaphor is a figure of speech that &lt;describes a subject by asserting that it is, on some point of comparison, the same as another otherwise unrelated object. Metaphor is a type of analogy and is closely related to other rhetorical figures of speech that achieve their effects via association</p> <p>[Association: Association in psychology refers to a connection between conceptual entities or mental states that results from the similarity between those states or their proximity in space or time.], comparison or resemblance including allegory hyperbole and simile. In simpler terms, &lt;a metaphor compares two</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>

objects or things without using the words "like" or "as". >

One of the most prominent examples of a metaphor in English literature is the All the world's a stage monologue from As You Like It:

This quote is a metaphor because the world is not literally a stage. ]

By figuratively asserting that the world is a stage, Shakespeare uses the points of comparison between the world and a stage to convey an understanding about the mechanics of the world and the lives of the people within it.

[Analogy: Analogy is a cognitive process of transferring information or meaning from a particular subject to another particular subject, and a linguistic expression corresponding to such a process. >

In a narrower sense, analogy is an inference or an argument from one particular to another particular, as opposed to

-Deduction

-Induction

and

-Abduction, where at least one of the premises or the conclusion is general. The

word analogy can also refer to the relation between the source and the target themselves, which is often, though not necessarily, a similarity, as in the biological notion of analogy.

Analogy plays a significant role in problem solving such as, decision making, perception, memory, creativity, emotion, explanation and communication. It lies behind basic tasks such as the identification of places, objects and people, for example, in face perception and facial recognition systems. It has been argued that analogy is "the core of cognition". Specific analogical language comprises exemplification comparisons, metaphors, similes, allegories, and parables but not metonymy. Phrases like and so on, and the like, as if, and the very word like also rely on an analogical understanding by the receiver of a message including them.

Analogy is important not only in ordinary language and common sense but also in science, philosophy and the humanities. The concepts of association, comparison, correspondence, mathematical and morphological homology, homomorphism, iconicity, isomorphism, metaphor, resemblance, and similarity are closely related to analogy. In cognitive linguistics, the notion of conceptual metaphor may be equivalent to that of

<p>analogy.]</p>	
<p>7-Irony (Rhetorical device)</p> <p>[The other method for transferring of meaning is irony.</p> <p>Irony, in its broadest sense, is a rhetorical device, literary technique, or event characterized by &lt;&lt;an incongruity or Contrast between reality and appearance. &gt;&gt;</p> <p>The term may be further defined into several categories, among which are:</p> <p>1. Verbal irony:</p> <p>Arises from a sophisticated or resigned awareness of &lt;contrast between what is and what ought to be&gt; and expresses a controlled pathos without sentimentality. It is a form of indirection that avoids overt praise or censure, as in the casual irony of the statement “That was a smart thing to do!” (Meaning “very foolish”).</p> <p>2. Dramatic irony:</p> <p>&lt;depends on the structure of a work rather than its use of words. &gt; In plays it is often created by the audience’s awareness of a fate in store for the characters that they themselves are unaware of.</p> <p>3. Situational irony:</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>

<p>Occurs when &lt;the final outcome is contradictory to what was expected &gt;. Verbal, dramatic, and situational irony are often used &lt;for emphasis in the assertion of a truth.&gt; The ironic form of simile used in sarcasm and some forms of litotes emphasize one's meaning by &lt;the deliberate use of language which states the opposite of the truth&gt; - or &lt;drastically and obviously understates a factual connection. &gt;]</p>	
<p>8- Hyperbole</p> <p>(Rhetorical device)</p> <p>[Making prominent the weakness points, faults, problems of others and exaggerating the successes, positive activities and developments of ourselves.]</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>9-Euphemism</p> <p>[Behaviors, ideas, institutions, groups or relations are described by expressions which require and demand a positive</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>

evaluation.]	
<p>10-Mitigation and Displacement</p> <p>[Means, considering the opinions and actions of others as trivial, and humiliating them; or using the words and concepts which have negative meanings instead of the words and concepts which have positive meanings.]</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>11-Interests</p> <p>[Our positive or negative ideas and thoughts towards others' actions and opinions and also ourselves, depend on our interests and favorites.]</p>	
<p>12- Perspective</p> <p>[Each text is stated from a specific perspective such as reformists, fundamentalisms, liberalisms etc. in a text which can indicate the author's viewpoint.]</p>	<p>From the perspective of dominant discourse on:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Etemad-e Melli</i> newspaper,</li> <li>2. <i>Resalat</i> newspaper,</li> </ol>
<p>13- Unmentionables</p> <p>[Negative subjects or information about Us are not stated completely or if mentioned in some cases, they will be trivial and inconsiderable and it is said</p>	<p>Refers to,</p> <p>&lt; &gt;</p>

<p>because of the conditions. Positive activities and the causes of violent behaviors of Them remained as hidden points.]</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>B. Types of Propaganda Technique or (P)</b></p> <p>-Definition of propaganda technique (or propaganda device):</p> <p>In this study, the concept of propaganda technique (or propaganda device), has defined as &lt;an argument structure or style&gt;.</p> <p>-Definition of floating signifiers (Laclau, 1990):</p> <p>Floating signifiers are&lt; the signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way&gt;.</p> <p>[W]e will call</p> <p>The articulation is any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice.</p> <p>The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call discourse.</p> <p>The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call moments.</p> <p>By contrast, we will call element any difference that is not discursively articulated.</p> <p>(Laclau &amp; Mouffe, 2001)</p>	
<p>1-Background Technique</p> <p>[Relying on past events and their relevance to current events to induce the desired purpose in the target audience.in the other words, this is one of the most common techniques in the news' media. In this way, the journalist by focusing on the past events tries to form public opinion and by relating the past subjects to a</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

current event, transfers their message to the readers.]	
2-Big-Lie Tactic (or Absolute Lie)  [The lie is so big that, nobody can think and dare to deny it.]	< >
3-The Agenda-Setting  [To decide what subjects other people should discuss and deal with.]	< >
4- Schismatism  [A division among the members of a group that occurs because they disagree on something.]	< >
5-The Reversal Tactic  ( A tactic from the group of Spinning The Message)  [This tactic simply reverse the content of message.]	< >
6- Ridicule( and mocking)  [To laugh at and make jokes about (someone or something) in a cruel or harsh way, to make fun of (someone or something)]	< >

<p>7- To Release a part of Truth</p> <p>[Sometimes a news, a word or accident is being expressed which in terms of its source and content is a systematic and well-organized series, and if some part of it are related and some part of it are not related, will be diverted the result and direction of its message. This method is one of the most common ways in the press which usually they state some parts of news or vice versa they do not say some parts of it, which it is proportional to the position of the political parties which they tend to them.]</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>8-Censorship</p> <p>[The policy of restricting the public expression of ideas, opinions, conceptions and impulses which have or are believed to have the capacity to undermine the governing authority or the social and moral order which that authority considers itself bound to protect.]</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>9-Wittingly Distortion</p> <p>[It is the desirable result or purpose of a process which uses the especial tools (semantic, technical, psychological, behavioral, etc.) in order to persuade, control and misled the other purpose.</p> <p>This purpose can be real and concrete (an individual, government or a practice), or</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

<p>mental (mentality, imaginations, etc.).</p> <p>Based on this technique, Media reflects some of the news or released messages and deletes or distorts some of them, so that some changes will happen in their content and meaning of news and in the opinions of audiences.]</p>	
<p>10- Pretension instead of Truth</p> <p>[A method which base on an important message spread in the community, till following that, a specific group or person is forced to respond to it.]</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>11- The Technique of Message Repetition</p> <p>[This type of propaganda deals with a jingle or word that is repeated over and over again, thus getting it stuck in someone's head.]</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>
<p>12. The Technique of Rumour</p> <p>[Definition of Rumour (or Rumor):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Talk or opinion widely disseminated with no discernible source.</li> <li>2. A statement or report current without known</li> </ol>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

<p>authority for its truth.</p> <p>Rumour refers to an especial doubtful proposition (or subject) without criteria reassuring for examination which usually is being transferred from one person to the other orally.</p> <p>Each rumour involves this meaning that some part of a fact is being transferred.</p> <p>Two main conditions are necessary for a rumour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The subject of a rumour must be attractive for the speakers and listeners.</li> <li>- The real events must be covered with a type of ambiguity. This ambiguity can be inculcated by the lack of accurate news or by emotional commotions that forces a person to do not want or do not accept the facts or real points in the presented news.]</li> </ul>	
<p>13- To Sort the Message</p> <p>[Daily thousand news are transferred to the media that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Each medium based on its policy is able to transfer a small part of them to its audiences.</li> </ul> <p>It is natural that all media are not able to release all news and it is not necessary too. Therefore, the media try to sort and choose some news by applying some certain policies. The media use two</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

<p>strategies for choosing the news. Firstly, based on news-centered policies, they use hard news (general and net news that are in opposition of soft news and they are outlined with interpretations and analyses) and the hard news are divided based on their importance and requirement of their specific audiences</p> <p>Secondly, macro policies of the media are defined, then a piece of new is chosen and prioritized in direction of its policy. This type of news is more applicable in governmental media and the news is sorted as a specific mission. In order to change content of a message, a piece of new is formulated in a way that some important points are chosen and other points are omitted and in news terms, they will be modified and summarized. This phenomenon is done mostly in summarizing speeches of leaders and political characters and western radios, news agencies and journals have a long history in this regard and this is the commonest way of journalism in western world.]</p>	
<p>14- To Highlight Message</p> <p>[Another method of media is to extract a message among other messages and underestimates importance of other news. It is highlighting against underestimation</p> <p>Highlighting has different</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

forms and each of them is used in media by a certain method.

News highlight in newspapers is done by techniques of paging, size of title, use of pictures, designs, and place of news in each page.

In radio, this is done by prioritizing for reading the news, the time allocated to the news, change of tone of broadcaster.

In TV, news highlight is done by prioritizing for reading the news, using news summary, the time allocated to the news, using pictures, slides and films, it is mostly applicable in newspapers.

The media can underestimate the value of a piece of news and highlight some news that covers other news. Big and large headlines in newspapers throughout the world use this technique.

The main headlines of each newspaper are the most important opinion of that newspaper on the subject. It has been used to highlight weaknesses, news related to socio-economic problems and it is a tool for political wars in media.]

15- Sensationalism  
  
[Sensationalism is the use of exciting or shocking stories or language at the expense of accuracy, in order to provoke

< >

<p>public interest or excitement.</p> <p>Sensationalism is a type of editorial bias in mass media in which events and topics in news stories and pieces are over-hyped to increase viewership or readership numbers.</p> <p>Some new gropes try to become a piece of news by some measures such as sensationalism.]</p>	
<p>16- To Artificially Prioritize for News To Create High Priority for a News)</p> <p>[Another form of press methods is the emphasis on rapid and every moment transfer of messages and increase of its quantity. The purpose of this method is the creation of a type of brainstorm for the audience towards the subject, and making a type of audience's news isolation towards other news sources through creates this confidence in the audience, and wants to inculcate this case that, this press able to transfer the information to the audiences as soon as possible.</p> <p>This technique also is used for less ponder on news. On the other also, the news media by accelerating to reporting accidents and incidents try with using</p>	<p>&lt; &gt;</p>

of the created opportunity, get many of their aims (that, until now, were not provided).]

**Conclusion:**

