The Ideology of Iranian National Television in News Presentation: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective

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Media in general and news in particular constitute indispensable parts of modern life. TV news which contains visual elements in addition to the verbal aspects was used as the corpus of this study. In fact, this research culled out the ideologies of Iranian national television in presenting different issues. To be more precise, three internationally-significant pieces of news reports were chosen: one positive to "Us", one hostile to "Others", and one neutral. Then, these news reports were analyzed in detail and their lexical items, grammatical structures, and rhetorical figures were compared to find out about the differences. The results of the study showed that these three reports were presented to the audience via totally different strategies and ideologically-laden words were used to convey positive and negative meanings. In addition, the visual elements (angles, gaze, and distance) corroborated the findings of the verbal sections. The findings of this study show that lexical and grammatical choices are made purposefully in the media. So, it can be said that the results of this research contribute to the fields of linguistics, semiotics, and media.

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One of the fields where the study of communication and discourse overlaps is the analysis of news. News is a discourse genre and might be defined as information about recent events occurring outside the immediate purview of the audience (Montgomery, 2007). With the emergence of multimodal analysis of discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), the analysis of pictures and images in the news, whether still or moving, became popular (see Caple & Knox, 2012; Bednarek & Caple, 2012).

News in television with its specific format and a different kind of narrative has always been at the centre of attention (see Montgomery, 2007). Television news, contrary to newspaper news narratives, is much more coherent and "evanescent" (Crisell, 1994, p. 86) simultaneously. Television news is still mainly distributed via news bulletin programs through 24-hour news channels, which are gradually stepping into the arena and winning public acceptance. News bulletin programs have fixed timing and duration in the program schedule but can be a little flexible in accordance with the scale of significance of events on a single day. The programs have some core elements called *news items* which, in turn, exhibit a specific structure. The necessary details of a news item are rendered by the *presenter* in a studio setting. These details might be elaborated in a pre-recorded or live *news report* from a *reporter*. News items might also apply an *interview* with a reporter in the field or in the studio (Montgomery, 2007)

The content or "discourse" of the news has been studied extensively by linguists and other experts of media for a long time. The focus of most scholars has been on the "ideological" nature of news and how issues and events are represented in news (Hodge & Kress, 1979; Trew, 1979; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995). The 'representation' of events is usually in favor of the powerful groups and hence stipulates the introduction of ideology and bias in the media. "Ideology" and its proposal dates back to Marx, but scholars of media discourse took the concept and applied it to their own studies. As a matter of fact, ideology is a very eluding concept and a multidisciplinary approach to it should integrate ideology as a form of social cognition, a role of discourse in its expression and reproduction, and its functions in society such as reproduction of

social groups and group relations (van Dijk, 2009). Moreover, ideologies are not necessarily negative because they might be shared by either 'bad groups' or 'good groups' (van Dijk, 2004).

Bad groups (Them) and good groups (Us) are shown discursively via the representation of "ingroup" and "outgroup" polarization obvious in van Dijk's (van Dijk, 2004) socio-cognitive and Wodak's (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) discourse-historical approaches. They have focused on discursive qualities of prejudiced and ideological discourse and relations of "in" and "out" groups through various contexts and different minorities including asylum seekers, immigrants, and minorities in Austria and the Netherlands (see van Dijk, 1992; Wodak, 2001). Wodak and van Dijk (Wodak & van Dijk, 2000) introduced a set of big and important categories and believed that a study of the kind should be based on two major dimensions: global structures (macro-level) and local structures (micro-level):

Global structures and strategies
. topics (macro propositions);
. positive self presentation and negative other presentation;
. legitimation.
Local structures and moves
. actor descriptions (Us vs Them; categorization, descriptions, attributes);
. rhetorical devices – metaphors, hyperboles, euphemisms;
. indirectness, implicitness, presuppositions;
. argumentation (topoi, fallacies, counterfactuals, causal attributes).

The categories and examples of ideological discourse analysis mentioned above were originally developed for "racist" discourse but are not limited to racist or anti-racist social ideologies, or to socialist or conservative political ideologies. In fact, the categories and elements also apply to pacifist, militarist, and religious ideologies and their discourses; neither are they limited to ideological discourse analysis of ingroup vs. outgroup presentation via verbal texts. This polarization can be represented via visual elements as well.

Visual representation of 'Outgroups' and 'Ingroups'

Words provide the facts and explanations while images provide interpretations and ideologically colored concepts not so explicitly but by suggestion and connotation. Interpreting meaning by images can be done with due attention to the three flowing factors, according to van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2001): 1) distance (size of frames of shots) 2) contact (offer and demand), and 3) point of view

van Leeuwen (2008) offered somehow similar strategies to relate the viewer to the depicted people. The three important factors are distance, angle, and gaze. Closer distance shows more friendly relationship while the subject in far distance shows less intimacy. In the case of the vertical angle, this relation will be a sort of symbolic power. A high angle makes the subject look small and insignificant and a low angle gives the subject superiority and power. At eye level, there is a relation of symbolic equality. On the other hand, the horizontal angel shows the relation of involvement with or detachment from the represented participant (see Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The third element summarizing the relationship between the viewer and the depicted people is 'gaze' or 'contact'. In Kress and van Leeuwen's terms (2006), when the participant is looking at the camera, they want to enter a kind of relationship with the audience and if not looking, it suggests that the relationship is not intended.

In fact, these strategies of visual representation together with in-depth analyses of news reports in the Iranian national TV are delineated to find out about the ideology of news presentation in this huge organization in Iran.

Literature Review

This section intends to contextualize this research in the studies conducted so far and especially recently in the Middle East due to its significant status with reference to the notions of ideology and bias in the print and broadcast media in representing events and issues. The significant events portrayed in the Iranian national television, important as the national and widespread

medium of communication, are mentioned. The research reviews the latest ones first.

The Iranian televised presidential debates have been investigated by Alavini and Jalilifar (2013) and Jalilifar and Alavinia (2012) to identify the "hedges" and "boosters" the winner (Mr. Ahmadinejad) used in the debates. They concluded that the frequencies and the functional model with which the winner used the hedges and boosters changed from one debate to another. Even though this study does not use CDA as the approach but it gives thorough analyses of presidential debates. The significance of this study rests on the analysis of a new genre in Iran, "presidential debates".

However, the issue of representation has always been at the forefront by critical discourse analysts. Rasti and Sahragard (2012) analysed the very controversial issue of Iran's nuclear activity in The Economist to find out any possible biased representation of the issue. They showed that this magazine shows a very dark picture of Iran to win the approval of international community to impose more sanctions against the country. This time, Rasti and Sahragard applied Wodak's discourse historical approach which is defined within CDA in their research.

The representation of issues and events are very popular throughout the world. In a series of studies conducted in Lancaster University, Khosravinik (2010, 2009) investigated the representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants during the Balkan conflict and the British general election as reflected in British newspapers. He made use of a selection of CDA methodologies by mainly drawing on analytical categories proposed by Wodak's discourse historical approach to CDA (Wodak, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), macro-strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (van Dijk, 1992, 1996; Wodak & van Dijk, 2000) and the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996) while examining relevant metaphors and genre specific categories of newspaper discourse. His study showed that while there were major similarities in micro-linguistic categories used in representations of these groups in these two periods (e.g. the metaphors), the communicated

messages are different and the macro-structural contexts behind the processes of interpretation of these discourses play a crucial role in transferring certain meanings. He also showed that although newspapers have different strategies in their representations due to their political stances, they all mainly contribute to a similar construction of these people. Therefore, it can be concluded that all these newspapers have the same opinions about refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrant even though they try not to reveal it.

In a kind of new approach to CDA, Gavriely-Nuri (2010) examined political peace discourses via a Cultural approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CCDA). The study applied the CCDA to Israel's political peace discourse, and the results of the analysis revealed that the use of the term in this discourse had some functions: focus on the positive self-image of Israeli speaker as a peace-seeker together with denouncing the rivals and justification of bad and violent actions such as military violence as a part of the peace discourse.

In another CDA-based approach to the analysis of print media and unraveling the ideological nature of news in print media, Behnam and Khodadust (2010) showed how lexical features of repetition and synonymy as well as the structural and thematic feature of passivization, nominalization and predicted theme were utilized by discourse producers to impose their desired ideologies to the viewers with regard to the events of September 11, 2001.

In one of the few studies with attention on semiotic resources, Bertrand (2009) discussed racial issues with respect to semiotic resources. Bertrand examined exchanges that occurred within the context of a video-taped focus group of white males. To analyze the data, Fairclough (2003), van Dijk's (1992) frameworks together with Goodwin and Goodwin's (2001) approach for semiotic resources were used. This composite methodology allows for added insight and helps to show positive self and in-group presentation and negative other and out-group presentation if conducted correctly. The analysis of the data showed the ways the participants relied on place names to index race and framed the differences in school quality relative to their positionality. The

Goodwin's approach indicated that men used a range of semiotic resources to float their efforts to present themselves positively and others negatively.

Lindgren (2009) analyzed racist news discourse by applying some notions from Fairclough (2001, 2003) and van Dijk (1993). The textual analysis through a closer reading of headlines revealed a polarization between scared, implicitly Swedish victims and immigrant-outsider perpetrators. The writer finally discussed the little importance of race and color compared with the mere 'otherness' of the muggers or robbers. Also, the Swedish youth robber was seen as a scapegoat, as a symbolic tool in a capitalist society. However, the authors of the present paper believe that the comparisons made between Sweden and the UK are inaccurate because Sweden is not a capitalist country in the sense that the UK is.

Hakam (2009) helped to explore how ideology was reproduced and resisted in the English-language Arab press. The choice of lexical items by Arab newspaper was also discussed via concordancing programs. The researcher investigated discourse to find salient examples of 'Us' versus 'Them' paradigm. Some linguistic features were examined in the search for ideological aspects of discourse; modality, naming and description, collocational incongruity, presupposition, and signals of affiliation. The data for the study (news reports, editorials, news analyses) came from websites of 19 English language Arab newspapers representing 12 different countries. The results of the research showed that the set of word frequencies and collocations taken from major European news agencies about Arab communities differed significantly from that of Arab-generated or Arab-modified samples.

Deghat (2009) applied some of the most agreed upon guidelines of CDA to analyze the tape scripts of 2008 presidential campaign speeches of democratic candidates (i.e. Hillary Clinton and Barrack Obama) in terms of the discursive structures in the text which carry and enforce certain ideologies. She made use of Hodge and Kress's (1979) framework and compared and contrasted the transcribed texts of fifty tape scripts with respect to

gender and race of the candidates. She concluded that although the effect of race and gender were evident in Clinton and Obama's speeches, both nominees did not want to inject race or gender in this presidential campaign and in this regard had strived to win the whole American voters. However, Hodge and Kress's framework with its very few components and aspects might be insufficient to encompass all aspects of the nominees' discourses.

Abbasi (2009) inspected Iranian TV advertisements from a CDA perspective in order to find the discursive structures together with the hidden ideologies related to the gender of the person in the advertisement. In addition, the effect of colors in attracting the viewers' attention was taken into account. As a matter of fact, Abbasi tried out a somehow multi-modal analysis of the ads. To achieve this end, 25 TV ads were chosen. The findings of the study showed that Iranian TV ads are not in line with the changes in the society. These ads consciously or unconsciously bombard the viewers with some gender-specific images and propagate some norms in the society based on which men possess more intellectual ability and hence are more capable of doing reasoning works. She actually did a comprehensive work with regard to the TV ads to date.

One of the comprehensive studies carried out in Iran related to the macro-strategies mentioned above was Rahimi and Sahragard's (2007). They analyzed some Persian and English texts to find the ideologically laden words of the texts and their ideological effect of the whole texts. They gave particular attention to euphemization and derogation. They resorted to van Dijk's (2004) theoretical framework. The materials used included the emails on the life, achievements and death of the Late Pope and articles from the economist magazine, Tehran Times, Iran News, Persian radio program entitled "The analysis of Foreign Radios" and the critiques on the movie Shokaran (Hemlock). The analysis of the data proved that the categorization of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is an effective tool in the hand of the writers. The writers try to affect the reader's social memories for presenting themselves as favorable and the others as inferior. Moreover, the results confirmed that all the writers,

irrespective of their level of education appealed to the power of semantic component of the language in arguing for or against an ideology. The study proved that the negative and positive meanings, connotations, and the effects on the audience are dramatically influential in the production of one's arguments.

As it is obvious in the studies so far, the research restricts the literature to very close studies of Us and Them presentation which are mostly focused in the Middle East or conducted by Iranian scholars. An interested reader can consult Leary (2009) for the politics of representation in Venzuela and Mihelj, Bajt, and Pankov (2009) for TV news presentation in Yugoslavia. In addition, there is a handful of research with regard to the verbal presentation of events and issues in various contexts (see Barbe, 2008; Baruh & Popescu, 2008; Rodriguez, 2008; Lean, 2008; Kj r & Palsbro, 2008 to name a few). Behnam and Moshtaghi (2008) also conducted a comparative analysis of how the issue of Iran's nuclear activity was represented in the newspapers of Iran and Britain. A large number of research studies have been conducted which address the concepts of Us and Them within CDA framework.

Despite all the research conducted in this area, van Dijk (2009) believes that there is still lack of work exploring the details of the relationships between discourse and ideology. Moreover, the studies done in the Middle East in general and in Iran in particular have focused on the texts taken from newspapers, websites, or other textual corpora. Iranian national and state supported television has not been the subject of scrutiny so far.

Method

Materials

The materials used in this study were three pieces of news report broadcasts in the national television of Iran. They were chosen from the same channel (Channel 1), which is the oldest TV channel in Iran and was founded in 1350 (1971). The channel is not a 24-hour news channel like BBC, CNN or many other world-wide news channels, but it broadcasts bulletin news programs

occasionally during a day. However, one of the most important and popular ones called mid-day news program is aired at 2 pm every day. Time duration of this news programs is about 30 minutes with some flexibility in accordance with the number and importance of the news going to be covered.

Three specific pieces of news reports which are all of great international significance were chosen for the analysis. One of the reports was about Israel's raid to Gaza freedom flotilla which occurred in the last days of May 2010. The other news report examined was about the heated debate of Iran's nuclear fuel exchange and the country's relationship with Brazil. The last news report was also dealing with Iran's nuclear issue but with the intervention of Austria and the IAEA's Chief, Amano.

The mentioned reports were believed to have three different orientations: one is hostile to an external 'other', one is positive to an internal 'Us', and one is neutral. The researcher also checked it with some scholars in the field and they all confirmed the orientations of the three reports.

Procedures

The three internationally-significant news reports which are believed to have three different ideological orientations were video-recorded. Then, the video-recorded news reports were transcribed carefully to facilitate the analysis of the verbal texts. The choice of words, syntactic structures, and rhetorical figures were examined in detail and the possible alternatives were also taken into account. In addition, the visual dimension was not neglected and the images and videos shown were checked to see whether they imposed the same ideologically-colored concepts. The images and pictures of the corresponding news reports were chosen for visual analysis and other aspects accompanying the reports such as sound, music, and even the intonation of the news readers were not taken into consideration.

Analytical Framework

To achieve this end and to analyse the visual pictures of the reports, different terms and techniques mentioned in different

books and also in the introduction section of this study under the subtitle of "visual representation of outgroups and ingroups" were used (For more information, see Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2008). For the verbal dimension of the reports, which is very central and much more important in this study, the categories of ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2006) were used. This analytical framework has been used for the analysis of prejudiced ideologies in discourse in which all discourse levels, such as those of global and local meaning, lexicon, syntax, sound structures, formats, rhetorical structures and interactional structures, that is, by 'Forms', 'Meanings' and 'Actions' are considered:

Ÿ **CONTEXT**
Ÿ **TEXT, DICOURSE, CONVERSATION**:
    MEANING
        Ÿ **Topics**
      Ÿ **Local Meanings and coherence**
       Ÿ**Lexicon**
     FORM
     Ÿ **Syntax**
     Ÿ **Format (schema, superstructure: overall form)**
     Ÿ **Rhetorical structures**
    ACTION
      Ÿ **Speech acts, Communicative acts, and interaction**

Data analysis and Discussion

For the sake of time and space, the significant parts of each news report will be analysed. In fact, a detailed analysis of each word and phrase is beyond the scope of a journal article.

For the negative news about "Them", the topic is about Israel's raid to Gaza freedom flotilla (see Appendix 1). The topic shows very negative things about Israelis, raid to freedom and it is hence topicalized. The term "Gaza freedom flotilla" has positive effects on the viewer and adds to the negative side of Israelis. The

speakers in this argument are representative of their countries and governments. So, instead of their actual names their countries are referred to all the time.

> 1. The Security Council held a lengthy meeting for examining the attack of the Zionists to the Gaza freedom flotilla and finally without accusing Israel, asked for only some investigation about the issue.

The negative agency of the Zionists has been emphasized in the sentence. Otherwise, "the Zionists" could have been eliminated from the sentence. Moreover, at the local level of meaning, the raid has been manifested explicitly and precisely. The expression "without accusing Israel" presupposes that the reporter expected the Israelis to be sentenced or accused by the Security Council. The very existence of the word "Zionists" or "the Zionist regime", which abound in the report, carry negative ideological attitude toward Israelis. The neutral terms Israel and Israelis are used by media which are in favor of Israeli or indifferent. The "lengthy" meeting of the Security Council with its no practical results implies the futility of the discussion and adds to the negative attitude towards Them.

> 2. In this statement which does not make the Zionist regime do anything, without considering the obvious crimes committed, asks for a research on this issue.

In the first part of the sentence, the weak nature of the statement is emphasized and topicalized to draw the attention of the audience. The report again emphasizes that it is a statement and Iran expected a resolution or something tougher. The sentence also focuses on the "obvious crime" of the Zionist regime which is a negative term for Them. The Persian equivalent of "crime", /jenàyat/ is very ideological and shows the worst things about the agent. The juxtaposition of "obvious crime" and the follow-up activity, "a research" tries to conclude negative things about the Security Council. In fact, it is a fallacy to show that the reaction to that violent action is insufficient and is in favor of the Zionists. To back it up, some vague pictures and videos of violence and

beatings are shown which must be related to the Zionists' attacks to the ships.

In addition, the visual representation of Israel's representative shows a long shot and an oblique angle implying far distance and detachment (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Figure 1. Israel's representative in the Security Council

As Figure 1 shows, the representative of Israel in the Security Council is giving a speech. Of course, in these cases, we hear a Persian interpreter's voice speaking instead of the Israel's representative. In fact, the actual words of his are not heard. Hence, it is believed that the Persian interpreter reflects exactly what the Israeli is saying.

> 3. We saw a barbaric act. Most of the helpers returned to their country wearing a shroud and the hand of Israel is always bloody.

A very negative term is chosen for Israel's act, a barbaric act; it is usually used in case of savagery. Appearance of this expression at the very beginning of the sentence shows the importance of it for negative portrayal of Israel. Moreover, the idiom "wearing a shroud" is a literal translation from the Persian ideological term "/kæfæn pu:sh/" meaning ready to die or ready for

martyrdom, which is ideological and very laudable among Muslims. It is believed that most helpers were ready for martyrdom. In fact, it presupposes that being killed in the hand of Israeli troops is martyrdom. The other expression in the sentence, "hand of Israel is always bloody", shows Israel's permanent guilt and crime, and the impossibility to wash it away is shown very beautifully via this metaphor.

   4. The reason for this attack is that the international community has been witnessing a human crisis in Gaza for years and does nothing. The passengers of the ships were from different countries and different religions. They were a sample of the UN. A raid to these ships is similar to a raid to the UN.

This part starts with implicit criticism of international community at the local level of meaning. It continues with a sort of syllogism that concludes bad things about Israel. Israel is shown hostile to the UN as an authority. A proposal of different countries and different religions implies hostility of Israel toward all nations and all religions which are sacred for many people.

   5. Lebanese Head of Security Council described the attack of the Zionist regime as a kind of piracy and declared that Israelis know nothing but the law of jungle.

This sentence uses the fallacy of mentioning authorities to negatively portray the outgroups, here, the Head of Security Council. He also assigns two negative terms to Israelis; that is, "piracy" and "law of jungle". This authority receives the most prominence and is topicalized in the previous sentence.

   6. The three-year blockage of Gaza strip should be revoked and a specific committee for investigating the issue, punishing the causes, and compensating for the loss should be formed and the detainees should be immediately released.

There is a number game strategy together with a modal auxiliary (should) showing modality at the both first and the second parts of the sentence. In addition, this modality has been

repeated three times. Also, the manifestation of meaning is implicit both in the case of the outgroups (punishing the causes) and the ingroups (compensating for the loss, releasing the detainees).

The report now turns on to the Palestine's representative directly and broadcasts his speeches (the interpreter's).

7. Ismail Haniyeh, the legitimate Prime Minister of Palestine emphasized that the Security Council should make a practical move and any moves less than this is of no worth for the Palestinians. The assistant of the General Secretary of the UN asked for the end of Gaza blockage.

Ismail Haniyeh is accompanied by a positive lexical item, "legitimate". It also has a positive agency in this active sentence. At the local level of meaning, the modality shows positive things about him. Another authority presented supporting Palestinians.

It is worth mentioning that the report is full of ideologically negative lexical items for Israel and Israelis, and they are explicitly mentioned in all phrases and sentences as the agents of the wrongdoings. Moreover, their comments and ideas are reflected vaguely and their supporters are totally excluded in the report. The authorities and politicians mentioned are all against Israel or the Zionist regime and they are occasionally criticizing this regime and its act. The comments made by the representatives of England and France are not covered at all, while they are both criticized. In addition, the victimized countries and nationalities (whose people were on the ships) are not mentioned at all because they are not the focus of the report; however, Israel and the U.S. as the agents of the negative acts have been referred to all the time.

The topic of the second report is about the trip of Brazil's Foreign Minister to Iran to negotiate over different issues (see Appendix B). The issues proposed range from business transactions between the two countries to Iran's nuclear issue. The reporter starts the news report with saying:

1. Iran and Brazil are determined to expedite their cooperation.

So, this piece of news emphasizes the positive agency of Iran and Brazil in an active sentence. The countries are mentioned explicitly and are presented as the first dominant categories in the news report. There are also two positive lexical items showing good relations between the countries, i.e. "determined" and "cooperation". Moreover, both terms denote mutual relationships to the highest extent possible. In addition, the latter category is a kind of interaction strategy implying good things about Brazil.

After this very brief introduction, the Foreign Ministers of two countries directly address the camera and the present reporters. They are shown behind the same kind of desk with equal power to the audience. In another shot, they are hugging each other, a sign of close ties. The flags of two countries are salient in both shots.

Figure 2. Mr. Mottaki is shown holding the floor speaking

As it is obvious in Figure 2 above, both foreign ministers of two countries are shown with equal power (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

2. Brazil with its high status in the Security Council can be a mainstay for the promotion of the status of this

Council in logical and fair decision-making about
various international topics.

This sentence starts with positive agency of Brazil, which is modified in a very positive way. "Brazil with its high status in the Security Council" gives very detailed and positive information about this country. Moreover, all positive lexical items and phrases "mainstay", "promotion of the status of this Council", "logical", and "fair" are accompanied by Brazil. In fact, it is argued that Brazil is the element which gives this important and international authority, namely the Security Council value and price. The two words 'logical' and 'fair' come only with Brazil while other terms such as hasty, illogical, and one-sided for decision-making are common when there are countries like the U.S., England, and western countries in general.

In addition, in those cases the structures of the sentences would have been totally different as observed in the first news report. For example, the sentences of the first report start with a negative noun phrase, "the opposition of the U.S.", or outgroup countries are shown against the majority and the Security Council as in "the U.S. did not let the Security Council" and "the U.S. tries to weaken other members". In fact, negative things about the outgroups have become prominent in the news report. Now, back to this report:

3. Also about the important nuclear option on the table, fuel exchange, we had a very good conversation.

Mention has also been made of the controversial issue of nuclear fuel exchange. While the report usually proposes negative concepts and words such as "making excuses" and "confrontational atmosphere" in case of western countries (England, France, Germany, and …) and the U.S., there are also such totally positive concepts as "conversation" and "interaction".

4. The Excellency Amorim during today and yesterday made a number of appointments in Tehran. This evening with the Excellency, Mr. President, he will make his most important appointment.

The title for high dignitaries of states, "the Excellency", (in Persian /jenabe aghaye/ the most respectful way of addressing) is used for Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs. This title is not used for other dignitaries of other governments at all. The report usually do not use the title "Mr." or "Sir" for the President of the U.S., the British Prime Minister, the President of France, and the dignitaries of states from Germany. Linguistically speaking, the verbs and the pronouns are always in the plural form, which is indicative of respect for a country and its politicians (tu vs. vous distinction). This distinction does not exist in English language even though important in Persian. Furthermore, Amorim is used as the agent of all the appointments and as the one who will meet a number of state people. This speech act ("make appointments") presupposes good things about this man. It is also believed that the most important appointment of his is with "the Excellency Mr. President" referring to Mr. Ahmadinejad.

Having finished broadcasting Mr. Mottaki's comments on Iran and Brazil, the report turns to Mr. Amorin in order to reflect his ideas and views toward the issue. The commentator starts speaking on behalf of Brazilian Prime Minister.

> 5. Brazil's Prime Minister said: Brazil supports Iran's nuclear rights. Celso Amorim said that these behaviors should lead to mutual reliability and be flexible.

This sentence again starts with positive agency of Brazil and its Prime Minister. Brazil and Iran are both explicitly mentioned in the sentence and shows Brazil's support for Iran with regard to a very controversial issue. The term "nuclear rights" is a very positive lexical item and is compared with *nuclear energy*, which is usually used by neutral media and *nuclear weapons* usually used by American and western media and *peaceful nuclear energy*, which is so prevalent in Iranian national media. Amorim mentioned two other positive lexical items and phrases for Iran and its interaction with other countries: "mutual reliability" and "flexible". It is implied that Iran has done its part and now it is the others' turn to respond positively. It is manifested very well through the modal auxiliary "should". The words "mutual" and "flexible" are self-sufficient.

6. He considered uranium exchange important for mutual reliability. He also added that the trip of Brazil's President is not influenced by the pressure of any country and we decide based on our own profit.

The expression "mutual reliability" is again repeated, which emphasizes good things about Us. The word "uranium" in the report can be both constructive and destructive. In this report, the word does not carry any negative aspect. However, the U.S. and Western media usually use it with "enriched uranium", which is so dangerous and used for nuclear bombs. They also focus on the ability of Iran for enriching the uranium to the point of making nuclear bombs. They always present numbers and percentages and countdowns for reaching atomic bombs and nuclear bombs by Iran.

The third news report examined in detail is about Mr. Mottaki's trip to Vienna, Austria to visit the dignitaries of the country together with Amano, IAEA's Chief (see Appendix C). The focus of the report is on the nuclear issue of Iran and the nuclear fuel exchange with the group 5+1 in Vienna. Austria is among the European countries which are not portrayed negatively by Iranian state TV. The news with regard to this country and a number of other countries mostly in Africa and Asia are usually positive or neutral. However, it should be mentioned that the number of reports covering these countries is little and not significant . International authorities such as IAEA's Chief and General Secretary of the UN are portrayed neutrally or positively. An example is the Head of the Security Council in the report of Israel's raid to Gaza flotilla who is shown disapproving Israel's act.

1. Manouchehr Mottaki, the Minister of Foreign affairs went to Vienna to develop the mutual and international diplomatic relations and discuss the relations between the two countries with Austrian dignitaries and talk about the nuclear issue. Austria is one of the non-permanent members of the Security Council.

The sentence starts with positive agency of Mr. Mottaki and the hope for developing the relations between the two countries. Nothing has been mentioned of the current relations between the countries and their views toward each other. The report only mentions the purpose of Mr. Mottaki, the Minister of Iran for this trip, and Austria and its dignitaries are presented vaguely and roughly. "Austrian dignitaries" is not dominant in the sentence and they are not shown either positively or negatively. The lexical term "relation" is substituted for "cooperation" used previously for Brazil. In addition, "talking" about the nuclear issue is not modified by negative adjectives such as "lengthy", and "tiring", nor is it accompanied by positive terms like "nuclear right". The last sentence describes the status of Austria in the Security Council so neutrally. There is neither "fair" and "logical" as in the previous report for Brazil nor "opposition against Iran" and "making excuses" or any other negative terms for the U.S. to negatively influence the Security Council against Iran.

> 2. Mottaki, in addition to Austrian dignitaries, visited with IAEA's Chief.

Mottaki is again the agent of the sentence and the goal is IAEA's Chief. Since the position is more important than his actual identity, his name is not mentioned explicitly. The verb "visit" refers to the action between these two dignitaries. It is not as positive as "consult" mentioned for Mr. Mottaki and Amorim. In addition, "Austrian dignitaries" is only used in the report and there is no reference to any actual names or any specific dignitary state like Mr. Amorim, the Foreign Minister of Brazil.

The videos and pictures shown only focus on Amano, IAEA's Chief, and the shots of Austrian politicians are not covered at all. There are a few shots showing interaction and equal power for Mr. Mottaki and IEAE's Chief. In a shot, they are sitting on the same couch and the camera shows them frontally with the salience of flowers and the flags of Iran and IAEA (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Mr. Mottaki and Amano sitting on one couch

Mr. Mottaki and Amano are both shown sittting on a couch with smile on their face with the salience of Iran's and IAEA's flags (Figure 4).

> 3. Mottaki in this visit emphasized again that the option of fuel exchange is on the table and this option can be a good capacity for mutual reliability between the parties.

This sentence first emphasizes the positive agency of Iran and its good will for fuel exchange. Then, it proposes a suggestion by Iran and it is manifested by the modal auxiliary "can" in the sentence. Besides, the vague term "the parties" is used and the countries are not mentioned explicitly in the report. The pros and cons are not necessary here, which facilitates the job of Mr. Mottaki to speak neutrally with no orientation so far.

> 4. Mottaki told Amano that it is the IAEA and the other parties' responsibility to provide the fuel of Tehran's reactor which is necessary for the production of more than 850 thousand patients.

The structure of the cleft sentence (it is the IAEA and ...) makes IAEA and the other parties prominent in the sentence because they are topicalized. In fact, they are made responsible for

providing the "fuel" of Tehran's reactor. The word "fuel" is alone and without nuclear; so it tries to be as neutral as possible. Moreover, the later sentence emphasizing the huge number of patients in Iran (a number game strategy) adds to the responsibility of IAEA and other parties. There is again no orientation for Us and Them, but the use of modality and modal auxiliaries are significant (It is the IAEA and the other parties' responsibility).

5. The Foreign Minister grumbled the equivocal behaviors of western countries in executing their commitments and said that as we have announced occasionally we are ready to cooperate with IAEA for fuel exchange.

The word "grumble" is a mild term in line with the neutral tone of the report. Otherwise, harsher terms such as "criticize" as in the case of Turkey criticizing the Zionist regime over its criminal act of raiding Gaza flotilla could have been used. Another term which can be substituted with harsher ones is "equivocal" which is not as negative as *one-sided*. The problem mentioned is "executing their commitments", a very polite way of objection. Otherwise, the terms *sabotage* or *hampering* could have been used in case of harsh criticism.

The last part of the sentence with the adverb "occasionally" emphasizes the positive intentions of Us. The sentence ends with interaction strategy of cooperation which is positive for Iran. However, it implies that Iran will not cooperate and exchange fuel with western countries but with IAEA. The word "fuel" again is used alone to avoid any negative connotation in case of accompaniment with nuclear.

As examined in detail above, the terms used in the last report are not usually ideologically-laden and the structures avoid negative agency of outgroups. However, the positive agency of Iran is emphasized to some degree.

Conclusion

This study belongs to the multidisciplinary field of politics, linguistics, semiotics, and media. It examines the discourse of politics and political actors in the media, here the national

television of Iran. The paper investigated three specific pieces of news reports all dealing with the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran to notice the ideology behind its representation. The visual dimension of TV and its ideology-imposing view is also touched in this paper. National television of Iran, a state supported organization, shows the ideology behind the representation of 'Us' and 'Them'. The analysis provides evidence that the choice of words, grammatical structures and even rhetorical structures is done purposefully and is in line with the policy of the government.

The analysis can be done with other frameworks such as that of van Leeuwen (1996) or Reisigl and Wodak (2001) to see whether it yields the same results. Moreover, a contrastive work between Iranian media and the west's media with regard to a specific issue can be very illuminating in finding the hidden ideologies of the news organizations.

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Appendices

Appendix A

An example of negative news about "Them"

شورای امنیت جلسه ای طولانی برای بررسی حمله صهیونیست ها به کاروان آزادی غزه برگزار کرد و در نهایت بدون محکوم کردن اسرائیل فقط خواستار تحقیق در این باره شد. (۱)

در این بیانیه که رژیم صهیونیستی را مجبور به چیزی نمی کند بدون در نظر گرفتن جنایات آشکاری که شده، خواستار تحقیقی در این باره شده است. (۲)

شاهد یک اقدام وحشیانه بودیم. بسیاری از کمک رسانان با کفن به وطن خودشان باز گشتند و دست اسرائیل آغشته به خون باقی خواهد ماند. (۳)

دلیل این حمله اینه که سازمان بین الملل سالها شاهد فاجعه انسانی در غزه است و هیچ اقدامی نمیکند. سرنشینان کاروان آزادی افرادی از کشورهای مختلف و از دین های مختلف بودند. آنها نمونه ای از سازمان ملل بودند. حمله به کاروان آزادی حمله به سازمان ملله. (۴)

رییس لبنانی شورای امنیت نیز حمله رژیم صهیونیستی را نوعی راهزنی دریایی توصیف و اعلام کرد که مقامات اسراییلی هیچ چیز جز قانون جنگل نمیدانند. (۵)

محاصره سه ساله نوار غزه باید لغو شود و کمیته ای ویژه برای بررسی این موضوع و مجازات مسببان و خسارت آسیب دیدگان تشکیل شود و بازداشت شدگان باید فوری آزاد شوند. (۶)

اسماعیل حنیه نخست وزیر قانونی فلسطین تاکید کرد: شورای امنیت باید در جهت پایان محاصره غزه اقدام عملی اتخاذ کند و هر اقدامی کمتر از این برای مردم فلسطین هیچ ارزشی ندارد. دستیار دبیر کل سازمان ملل هم خواستار پایان محاصره غزه شد. (۷

Appendix B

An example of positive news about "Us"

ایران و برزیل مصممند تا سرعت همکاریهایشون را افزایش بدهند. (۱)

برزیل با توجه به جایگاه مهمش در شورای امنیت می تواند نقطه اتکایی برای ارتقای جایگاه این شورا در تصمیم سازی های منطقی و عادلانه در موضوعات مختلف بین المللی باشد. (۲)

همچنین پیرامون موضوع روی میز در بحث هسته ای یعنی تبادل سوخت تبادل نظرهای خیلی خوبی را داشتیم. (۳)

جناب آقای آموریم ظرف دیروز و امروز ملاقات هایی رو در تهران انجام دادند. بعد از ظهر امروز با جناب آقای رییس جمهور ملاقات اصلی و مهمشون رو خواهند داشت. (۴)

وزیر امور خارجه برزیل نیز گفت: برزیل از حق هسته ای ایران حمایت میکند. سلسو آموریم گفت: این رفتار ها باید در جهت اعتماد سازی و دارای انعطاف باشند. (۵)

وی مبادله اورانیوم را در جهت اعتمادسازی دو طرفه مهم دانست. او افزود سفر رییس جمهور برزیل تحت فشار هیچ کشوری قرار نمیگیرد و ما بر اساس منافع خودمان تصمیم می گیریم. (۶)

Appendix C

An example of "neutral" news

منوچهر متکی، وزیر امور خارجه برای توسعه روابط دیپلماتیک دوجانبه و بین المللی به وین رفته تا با مقامات اتریشی درباره روابط دو کشور و مسائل هسته ای گفتگو کند. اتریش یکی از اعضای غیر دائم شورای امنیت است. (۱)

متکی علاوه بر مقامات اتریشی، با مدیر کل آژانس انرژی اتمی مذاکره کرد. (۲)

متکی در این دیدار بار دیگر تاکید کرده پیشنهاد مبادله سوخت روی میز است و این پیشنهاد میتواند ظرفیت خوبی برای اعتماد سازی بین همه طرفها باشه. (۳)

متکی به آمانو گفت که این مسولیت آژانس و طرفهای دیگر است که سوخت راکتور تهران را که برای تولید داروی بیش از ۸۵۰ هزار بیمار مورد نیاز است تامین کند. (۴)

وزیر خارجه از رفتار های دوگانه کشور های غربی در عمل به تعهداتشون هم گله کرده و گفته همانطور که بار ها اعلام کردیم برای مبادله سوخت آماده همکاری با آژانسیم. (۵)