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آمریکایی و رژیم صهیونیستی: رویکردی کلامی انتقادی

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مهر ماه ۱۳۹۱



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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1-1- On the Iranian nuclear issue**

According to the Website of Iran's Atomic Energy (<http://www.aeoi.org.ir>), Iran's nuclear program was launched in the 1950s with the help of the United States and some Western countries. After the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution, it was stopped because the international cooperation was cut off. Then, Iran restarted its program in order to access the peaceful nuclear energy for science, medicine, electricity, agriculture, and industry. As the Western countries have accelerated their limitations, Iran's major goal is to create a self-sufficient country.

Since the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution, the United States broke diplomatic relations with Iran and there have been a great deal of tension and hostility between them (Simbar, 2010). The same occurred in Iran-Israel relations after the 1979 Revolution because the revolutionary Iran avoided recognizing Israel's entity by referring to it as 'the Zionist regime' or 'the Jerusalem-occupying regime' in an attempt to protect Palestinian's right in order to return to their homes. Since Iran's Revolution, the United States and Israel have started punitive economic and political sanctions against it either directly or through Arab countries in order to put pressure on it (CSMonitor, 2010). As Simbar (2010) has noted, the United States and the West are in fear of Iran's power in the region that may lead to the departure of the United States from the Middle East; therefore, the US has consistently sought to isolate Iran both by imposing sanctions and various kinds of political and economic pressures on Iran especially on its nuclear program. According to Ahadi (2009), since 2003 the concerns about Iran's nuclear program have risen so that the Arab countries

and the United States have mostly criticized the program and have made their most efforts to stop it.

Iran has repeatedly announced that its nuclear program is fully peaceful, Ahadi has said, the West insists to show that Iran is pursuing to build nuclear weapons. The main justification of Iran is that it needs nuclear energy as substitution energy. Ahadi then has quoted Ali Larijani, the former Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, as arguing that before the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution, Iran and the United States had aimed to produce 20000 megawatts of electricity using nuclear plants, and at that time Iran's resources of oil and gas was much more than now but no one stopped Iran.

Moreover, Iran considers the stopping of uranium enrichment non-negotiable, but the limitation on the degree of enrichment, the number of centrifuges and the sign of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) are among negotiable issues (Hadian, 2010). Hadian has indicated that Iran dismisses the utility of nuclear weapons for many reasons some of which are as follows: (1) the risk of the nuclear race in the region; (2) the high cost of production and keeping the nuclear weapons; (3) internal oppositions; (4) the prohibition of accessing weapons of mass destruction in Islam and (5) Iran's obligation to NPT. In fact, some of Iran's major aims to pursue the peaceful nuclear program, as Hadian has mentioned, are as follows: (1) the progression of Iran's power and status in the world and national pride inside the country; (2) the scientific progress; (3) having a political power in the region and in the world.

Israel and the United States insist that Iran is developing nuclear weapons and have created doubt over its aim in public opinions, but they have not been successful in providing any acceptable evidence for the world and international community (Ahadi, 2009). They have made their best efforts to shift the public opinion in favor of themselves

in different ways. For example, the West media have made the world's public opinion to consider Iran's nuclear program as threatening by referring to it as 'Acquiring Nuclear Weapons', 'Iran Nuclear Crisis,' and 'Iran Nuclear Dilemma' to refer to Iran's nuclear program. The propaganda campaign against Iran's nuclear program has been so effective that the concern for Iran's programs is widespread among the public opinion to the effect that the Pew Global Attitudes Survey (2012) has showed that majority of people in the world consider Iran's nuclear program as developing nuclear weapons and also majority of opponents support international economic sanctions against a nuclear-armed Iran. In other words, the powerful anti-Iran propaganda in the world has been so great that even the wonderful advancements of Iran in peaceful nuclear activities and satellite technology are introduced as a kind of threat for world so that instead of improving Iran's picture in the world, they have increased the dominance of anti-Iran attitude in the world public (Ahadi, 2009).

However, there is no doubt that many Iranians support their government in its quest to produce nuclear electricity and even the sanctions which are aimed to cleave Iranian people from the Islamic Republic are doomed to failure. The United States and Israel insistently attempt to deprive Iran of its inalienable right to pursue its peaceful nuclear program in various ways like mounting a propaganda campaign against its program that emphasizes on its being a nuclear threat to the whole world and imposing strict sanctions against it. As Simbar (2010) has indicated, the sanction policy has led to a negative portrayal of the United States in Iranian peoples' minds because Iran's government and its people aim to be entirely independent of other countries

The killing of five Iranian nuclear scientists during 2010 and 2011 can be considered one of the last resorts in the attempt to stop Iran's nuclear program by Israel and the United States. On January 12, 2010, Iranian elementary particle physicist Massoud Ali-

Mohammadi was assassinated when a motorcycle parked near his car exploded. On November 29, 2010, two prominent physicists were targeted by hitmen on motorcycles, who attached bombs to their cars and detonated them from a distance. Professor Majid Shahriari was killed and Professor Fereidoun Abbasi was injured in the two separate attacks. On 23 July 2011, Darioush Rezaeinejad was shot dead in eastern Tehran. And, on 11 January 2012, Mostafa Ahmadi Roshan and his driver were killed by a bomb attached to their car from a motorcycle.

The terrorist group that was financed and trained by Mossad was arrested by Iran's Intelligence Ministry and their confessions were broadcasted on Iran's television. The Iranian government reacted to the bombings that assassinated its nuclear scientists, calling them 'inhuman terrorist acts'. For instance, the Iranian leader condemned the assassination event in one of his speeches on 14 January 2012, calling the attack on the last nuclear scientist the 'despicable and vicious crime (...) spearheaded by the United States and Zionism [that] have reached an impasse in the face of the determined, faithful, and developing nation of Islamic Iran.' In fact, the United States and Israel have not been successful in separating Iran's government from its people on the nuclear issue through their efforts like sanctions and killing its nuclear scientists.

## **1-2 - Statement of the problem**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis that chiefly studies the relationship between language, power and ideology and explains how relations of power are exercised through discourse. According to Van Dijk (1993: 252), 'CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.' Hence, its major aim is to understand the nature of social power and dominance as the members of more powerful groups and institutions access to

control over public discourse. Van Dijk also (1998:357) indicates that although the first major form of power is controlling discourse, its other form involves controlling people's minds. In fact, action is indirectly controlled by influencing people's minds, e.g., their knowledge or opinions.

As power is exercised through language, news structures are also linked with the social cognitions of journalists as group members in ideological institutions such as the media. Too, Van Dijk (1988:28) has pointed to the journalists' active function in representing and reproducing news events in adopting a socially and ideologically controlled set of constructive strategies. Therefore, we cannot limit our study to pure textual or content analysis, but to the socio-political relations.

In addition to unveiling the ideologies in the newspapers under study, the present research will investigate the construction of nationalism. Anderson (1991: 6) defines the nation as 'an imagined political community' which implies that the nation exists in the minds of those who make it up. Billig (1995: 70) states that national symbols and our daily habits reproduce the 'continual acts of imagination' which create the concept of nation, and this is what he calls 'banal nationalism'. He explains nationalism as a form of ideology that makes nations appear natural. As an important social and linguistic site, newspapers have played a particularly important role in imagining the nation and creating nationalism (Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995). Therefore, this study examines how meanings of national identities and ideologies are constructed in newspaper discourse.

As a whole, the researcher tends to demonstrate the role of newspapers in construction of national identity and ideology and hence depicting how newspapers use specific discursive strategies in an attempt to achieve their goals. In order to explore the processes of ideological constructions in the newspapers, it is necessary to consider the historical



context and background knowledge for the relations between the three countries as well as the events under analysis in this study. What motivated the researcher to do this research was the interest in learning to think critically and not accepting any news as well as to help people to think critically as far as they can by clarifying the hidden meanings in news texts which result in raising the level of their consciousness. Also, the other motivation can be said as the gap in literature regarding CDA in Iran.

### **1-3- Significance of the Study**

Newspapers formulate and reproduce ideologies according to the demands of the powerful and dominant groups. Because of the importance of Iran's nuclear program, especially the assassination of some Iranian nuclear scientists during 2010 and 2011, the researcher was interested to examine how the discourse of the newspapers of Iran, the United States and Israel reported the events and constructed national identity and ideologies. This study aims to further reveal the embedded ideologies within the newspaper discourses in order to guide the readers to not regard every news report purely neutral. It does so by investigating some discursive strategies used by newspapers which unveil the journalists' stances towards the reports. This study depicts how newspaper discourse constructs our ideologies and identities as well as specific interpretations of events.

### **1-4- Purpose of the Study**

Newspapers play an important role in forming the public attitude and ideology through various linguistic strategies. So, this research tends to critically reveal the underlying ideologies in news texts. By using CDA, it aims to examine the discursive strategies that are used by the newspapers under study in order to persuade or influence their audiences. In order to achieve this goal, the present study analyzes the three selected newspapers, namely, Tehran Times, The New York Times and Y-net which are based in Iran, the United States and Israel respectively to uncover their reactions to the assassination of the

Iranian nuclear scientists. In sum, it examines how meanings of national identities and ideologies are constructed in the selected newspapers.

### **1-5- Research Questions**

The research questions posed in this study are as follows:

- 1) How did Iranian, American, and Israeli newspapers report the news on the assassination of the Iranian nuclear scientists?
- 2) How do the above-said newspapers' reports construct specific national identity and ideology?
- 3) Which discursive strategies are used by the newspapers to construct specific national identities and ideologies?

### **1-6- Organization of the study**

The thesis comprises five chapters: (1) Introduction; (2) Review of literature; (3) Methodology; (4) Data analysis and results, and (5) Discussion and conclusions. Chapter one includes a brief background knowledge about Iran's nuclear program, statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives, research questions and organization of the study. In chapter two, I'll write the review of related literature. In chapter three, I'll explain the methodology referring to data collection, data analysis, the frequent strategies in data and framework of the study. Chapter four relates to data analysis and results of the analysis. And, finally I'll write discussion and conclusions of the study.

# **Chapter 2**

## **Review of Literature**

## **2-1- Critical Discourse Analysis**

At the end of the 1970s, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is a type of discourse analytical research emerged. It was originally introduced by Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge, and later developed by Norman Fairclough (1989), Ruth Wodak (1989) and Teun Van Dijk (1993). It stems from critical linguistics and focuses on issues of power, domination, and social inequality in the study of text and talk. All approaches to CDA study ideology, critique and power, but they can be classified into three major approaches based on their differences in their theoretical foundations and analyzing tools. Its major goal is to analyze the relations of power, dominance, control and discrimination as manifested in language. Also, it takes special interest in relation between language and power as well as uncovering power relations.

## **2-2- Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis**

Based on the differences in analyzing devices and theoretical foundations, the approaches to CDA can be classified into three major approaches which are explained in the following sections. The key figures in this area include Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak.

### **2-2-1- Norman Fairclough: Discourse as Social Practice**

Norman Fairclough is one of the key figures in the realm of CDA. He regards CDA as a method of studying social and cultural issues in order to protest against power and dominance. He believes that language shapes and is shaped by social identities, interactions and systems of knowledge and beliefs. His approach is based on Halliday's

systemic-functional grammar (SFL) which he refers to as Critical Language Study (Fairclough, 1989:1).

Moreover, he considers language as a form of social practice implying that language is part of the society and it is a social process. It is a socially conditioned process which is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society (Fairclough, 1989: 22). Also, Fairclough (1989:26-27) identifies three dimensions for CDA:

1. Description is a stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text
2. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction by seeing the text as the product of the process of interaction and as a resource in the process of interpretation
3. Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the process of interaction and interpretation and their social effects

All these stages deal with analysis, but the nature of them is different in each stage. Analysis in the first stage relates to labeling the formal properties of the text and regards text as an object. The second stage analyzes the cognitive process of the participants and their interactions. The last stage explains the relationship between social events and social structures that affect these events and also are affected by them.

### **2-2-2- Ruth Wodak: Discourse historical approach**

The discourse-historical approach always attempts to integrate as much available information as possible on the historical background and the original historical sources in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded. Wodak works on sexism, anti-Semitism and racism and offers guidelines to avoid using sexist language and some other guidelines for appropriate patient-doctor communication (Wodak, 1995:209). Anti-Semitism studies after the Second

World War made Wodak and her colleagues to choose historical approach to CDA. This approach attempts to use all the background information in analyzing different layers of a spoken or written text. Wodak (2001: 69-70) has put forward some features for the historical approach to CDA as follows:

1. This approach is interdisciplinary. Like other critical linguists, Wodak acknowledges the intricacy of the relationship between language and society
2. This interdisciplinary nature could be seen both in theory and practice. She combines argumentation theory and rhetoric with Halliday's Functional Linguistics
3. This approach is problem-oriented rather than emphasizing some particular language issues
4. Methodology and theory are chosen through eclecticism
5. The analyst moves between theory and empirical data
6. Historical context is integrated into the linguistic analysis of discourse and text

And, the general principles of the discourse historical approach are as follows (Wodak, 2001):

1. Discourse should be understood and interpreted in its specific context
2. Historical facts have crucial role
3. Texts must be precisely analyzed linguistically

Wodak believes that historical approach to discourse considers written and spoken language as form of social practice and discourse is considered as a social act that creates discourse and non-discursive behaviors and in turn it is created by them. Wodak distinguishes between discourse and text. She considers discourse as a complex set of synchronic and coherent linguistic acts that emanate in genre and text. Consequently text is seen as the production of these linguistic acts. Like Fairclough, Wodak approaches CDA linguistically in his discourse historical perspective on CDA.

### **2-2-3- Teun Van Dijk: A Socio-cognitive Model**

Teun Van Dijk is one of the leading pioneers in the domain of CDA. Most of his critical works are concerned with prejudice and racism in discourse. The analysis of the topics that people talk about represents what exists in their minds that he calls mental and personal models. He proposes a multidisciplinary approach to CDA as socio-cognitive discourse analysis that shows to what extent studying cognition is significant in CDA, communication and interaction. According to Van Dijk (1993: 249), CDA examines the relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality. Also, he (2008) regards the function of CDA as systematic analysis of different structures and strategies in text and talk. In fact, CDA considers discursive and linguistic data as a social practice that reflects and reproduces ideologies in society. Fairclough and Wodak rely much on linguistic analysis of text, especially Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), but Van Dijk (1997) mostly focuses on social contexts and his approach is based on four categories: action, context, power and ideology.

Van Dijk elaborates the concept of ideology from a socio-cognitive perspective. He addresses the societal structures as related to discourse structures. He does not consider societal structures as directly related to discourse structures because they are mediated by mental models. Thus, mental models mediate between ideology and discourse. Regarding news discourse, he indicates that it should be analyzed both linguistically and semantically, that is the analysis of the cognitive, social, political and cultural context. The next section is related to definitions of ideology and national identity as used in this study.

### **2-3- Ideology and National Identity**

The concept of ideology that will be used in this study refers to the description of Van Dijk (1998: 49) as specific beliefs of groups of people which are the foundation of the social representations. He holds that as there are different social groups, there will be different

ideologies and each group may develop particular group knowledge based on the ideology of the group. Van Dijk takes a multidisciplinary account of ideology, that is, he regards ideology as having both social and cognitive properties so that the socio-cognitive theory is needed to study its nature. Hence, this approach does not consider ideology apart from its cognitive properties or socially shared ideas.

Therefore, this study adopts a socio-cognitive theory in order to explain ideologies as socially shared cognitive resources that have significant roles in social practices. Thus, this study investigates the ideological implications in three selected newspapers of Tehran Times, The New York Times and Y-net. Based on Van Dijk, there is no ideological analysis of discourse that has not relied on some background and contextual knowledge. So, the present study analyzes the three newspapers' reports of the assassination of five Iranian nuclear scientists while regarding some background knowledge about the relations of the three countries in order to explore how they have constructed specific ideologies and national identity. So, the three newspapers' political, social and historical backgrounds are considered in the analysis of ideologies in this study.

Regarding the nation, Anderson characterizes nations as imagined communities and supports the view that communities are to be distinguished from one another 'not by their authenticity but by the way in which they are imagined' (Anderson 1983:15). Not just any language *per se*, Anderson argues, but the written language invented nationalism (Anderson 1983:122). The question of how this imaginary community reaches the minds of those who are convinced of it is easy to answer: it is constructed and conveyed in discourse. National identity is thus the product of discourse. The process of national identification is promoted by the emphasis on 'national uniqueness' which is assigned entirely positive attributes (Wodak, 1999:27). In a similar vein, Michael Billig (1995) explains nationalism as a form of ideology that makes nations appear natural. For



nationalism to be able to occur, Billig argues, certain ideological habits of thought must be reproduced daily, and this is what he calls 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995).

#### **2-4- Relevant Studies**

Many studies about the role of language have focused on the mass media and the way the news are reported. In this section, some of them are presented. Lihua (2009) uses editorials from the China Daily to investigate patterns of interpersonal rhetoric devised to construct and shape public opinion. It examines attitudinal lexis and modal expressions separately with the object of discovering how editorials communicate their evaluation of their subject matter. It contends that the author of an editorial is more likely to be explicit in evaluating events and implicit in evaluating behavior and that he/she seldom attributes attitudes to other sources. Modality occurs frequently in editorial discourse. Modal expressions of certainty, necessity and obligation (as realized by will, should, need to, have to, must) are particularly common and indicate the authority and power nature of the discourse. Modal expressions of obligation/necessity normally occur at the end of the text in order to make the most powerful possible appeal to the reader.

Moreover, Li (2009) examines the effects of intertextuality on the discursive construction of national identities in the press. She does so by comparing how two daily newspapers in the United States and China employ specific discursive strategies to construct national identities and positions in their discourse of two particular events that represent moments of crisis and conflict in US–China relations. Focusing on discourse, style, and genre, the study shows that news texts draw on, echo, and bring together different intertextual resources realized in the forms of discourses, styles, and genres, and the circulations and combinations of these intertextual relations in particular contexts construct specific understandings of national identities and positions.

Another research by Li (2010) in the realm of CDA is entitled 'Transitivity and lexical cohesion: Press representations of a political disaster and its actors'. Using The New York Times' and China Daily's reports of the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in May 1999 as examples, this article unravels the processes of representing the event and its social actors in news texts. It focuses on investigating the relations between choices of certain linguistic forms and the ideologies and power relations which underlie such forms. Guided by assumptions of critical discourse analysis and drawing on the analytical framework offered in Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, the article examines two dimensions of clause grammar: transitivity and lexical cohesion, which may be respectively associated with the ideational and textual functions of language. By analyzing aspects of clause grammar related to these two dimensions of language in news texts of different ideological orientations, the article shows that interpretations of the NATO bombing and of the roles of social actors involved in the bombing event are constructed in the specific choices that each newspaper makes in the two dimensions of text organization.

Wang (2008) has written an article that explores intertextual aspects of Chinese newspaper commentaries on the events of 11 September 2001. Informed by genre theories and discussions of intertextuality in different disciplines, his article examines the micro-genres of the data collected and reveals that Chinese writers tend to use the explanatory micro-genre often with attributed but unidentified external sources or sources with high status for keeping a distance from these sources in the writing. This suggests that the writers tend to avoid personal authorship and responsibility for what they write.

Atawneh (2008) has studied the language of war. Data involves the headlines reported in the local and world media at times of crises and major reported events during the second Palestinian Intifada (2001–2004). The analysis investigates the kinds of speech acts

reported in the media showing aggressive or defensive attitudes and focuses on Threats and Appeals, together with related illocutionary verbs. Results show that the Israelis, as the more powerful side in this conflict, use many more Threats than do the Palestinians. Conversely, many more Appeals are used by the Palestinians, which reflect their weakness.

Also, Van Dijk (2006) has studied the manipulation as a form of social power abuse in one of his articles named 'discourse and manipulation' in which he has used a triangulated approach to manipulation, i.e., social, cognitive and discursive. He holds that manipulation is in the best interest of the dominating group and against the best interests of dominated groups. He then analyzes Tony Blair's speech that is an example of national and international manipulation in order to start the war on Iraq.

Relevant studies on CDA in Iran are few. As one example, one can refer to the thesis by Nikukalam (2007) entitled 'A critical discourse analysis of two Iranian newspapers headlines on nuclear power'. She has analyzed headlines of the two Iranian newspapers with different political flanks in order to find their reactions to the same reality- nuclear power. It concludes that they have selected certain syntactic structures and lexicons that have constructed ideology in readers. They have not reacted to the same reality similarly and each newspaper preferred to induce its ideology to the readers rather than informing them.

Too, Ghahramani (2003) has conducted his thesis on CDA in which he has compared the lexical choices in Persian news of seven radios during a four week by using Halliday's SFL and has concluded that every radio, by using specific strategies like generalization, naming, address forms, overlexicalization and so on, has depicted the same event differently and has demonstrated it in the best interest of its government.

Bakht parvar (2000) has written his thesis on 'language in newspapers' and indicates that since the news events should be delivered fast, the newspapers must firstly pay attention to their informative role. In his thesis, Bakht parvar investigates the role of lexical choice and structures in construction of readers' opinions.

Also, Moradi (2011) has conducted her thesis on CDA in which the event news of seven Iranian newspapers are analyzed so that manipulative discursive and non-discursive strategies has been found. Some of the discursive strategies involve generalization, overlexicalization, quotation patterns, thematization, nominalization, etc. Along with discursive strategies, the newspapers have used non-discursive strategies like graphic symbols and visual indexes (photos, color) for manipulation and attracting their attention. The results of her study illustrate an obvious polarization has been formed between the powerful group of events.

Another thesis in the realm of CDA is the one conducted by Saki (2010) who has analyzed the headlines and bodies of the news of two Iranian newspapers. The depicted portrait of Afghan refugees that are the largest minority group in these newspapers is negative and lexical and syntactic structures have been used purposefully to form this negative attitude toward this group in Iran.

Relevant studies in Iran are not a lot so that there is gap of research in literature regarding CDA in Iran at least as far as the researcher knows, especially the gap exists on current controversies among Iran and the two counties –Israel and the United States.