



HOW HASAN ROOHANI'S DISCOURSE GOT DOMINANT IN THE ELEVENTH ROUND OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF IRAN: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract:

Within the political arena of Iran, parties, media and political activities are passing through initial stages; yet, they get suddenly active during the presidential election campaign. Hence, a proper investigation into the dominant discourses during this time can tell a lot about the politics of the country. The present paper aims at conducting a critical discourse analysis on the antagonistic discourses of Hasan Roohani and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf to demonstrate how the former one's discourse gets dominant and wins the election. The headlines of two supporting newspapers, Keyhan, supporting the fundamentalists, and Shargh, advocating the reformists, are analyzed as well to see how they try to back their candidates.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Roohani, Ghalibaf, antagonistic frontiers, transitivity system

1. Statement of the problem

Language was one of the main subjects that philosophy tackled and discussed during the twentieth century. The interest in language indicates the importance of language to human life. It *"gives the human species an enormous advantage over others: language is a quick and painless way of passing on the discoveries of one generation to the next."* (Devitt and Sterelny 3). Language and its relationship to mind and reality are the delicate and at the same time complex topics, that philosophy concentrated on from its genesis. As a

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matter of fact, philosophy of language got on the road by reflecting on two subjects, that is, the relationship between language and world and the relationship between language and mind. Plenty of giants of philosophy have addressed themselves to the study of language and the related issues. Consulting sources on philosophy of language, one can spotlight figures as Frege, Wittgenstein, Quine, Davidson, Chomsky, Gadamer and Heidegger arguing about the subject. Though language is not explored as a distinct discipline, it is deeply entangled in a great deal of other schools of thought such as semiotics, phenomenology, existentialism, Heideggerian ontology, structuralism, deconstruction and critical theory.

One of the primary critical schools which investigates into the world of language is Critical Discourse Analysis. This field of study has now fully and securely established itself within humanities, and the abbreviated term 'CDA' is widely used to stand for an acknowledged approach to explore language and its relation to power. In fact, some authorities in this area have even proposed that CDA is in close proximity of turning into '*an intellectual orthodoxy*' (Billig). Critical Discourse Analysis emerged with Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* in 1989, and intellectuals from various areas of humanities started focusing on CDA as "*a recognizable approach to language study or program*" (Wodak 50).

Several research strategies incorporating diverse theoretical and methodological backgrounds are to be in the vast zone of CDA. The most influential ones are Ruth Wodak's and Martin Reisigl's Discourse-Historical Approach, Gerlinde Mautner's Corpus-Linguistics Approach, Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach, Segfried Jäger's and Florentine Maier's Dispositive Analysis, Teun van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach and Norman Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach. A common feature among all of them is the focus on the dialectic relationship between discourse and social structure. Therefore, although it is wrong to look at CDA as a unitary homogenous entity, for the sake of the present paper, we deem Critical Discourse Analysis as one direction or paradigm brimming with common features. Hence, the term CDA will be used here to mean a large body of theory and analysis put forward by the scholars who view themselves as critical discourse analysts.

Though some scholars contend that CDA struggles "*to answer questions about the relationships between language and society*" (Rogers et al 365), mostly CDA experts argue that the field strives to unearth the relation between language and power in specific. Fairclough maintains that CDA is there "*to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle*" (Fairclough 2). CDA "*takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and power*" (Weiss and Wodak 12). Van Dijk states that "*Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the*

way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Orwenjo, Oketch and Tunde 167).

Critical discourse analysts, consulting this brief introduction, conduct research into distinctive social doctrines that betray inequity, discrimination and abuse of social power which cause harm to the underprivileged in society. They specifically revolve round unveiling the diverse techniques by which these inequities are performed by the privileged. Accordingly, inquiries into CDA are not only restricted to the description of text and speech but take into account their relation to the societies in which they are produced, because CDA tries to discern how the discourse is framed and the reasons for resorting to certain linguistic structures, rather than others, in fathoming certain texts or speeches (Van Dijk, Aims of critical discourse analysis).

Social institutions are eminent for manipulating distinct patterns of language in their discourse to convey and impart many and various ideologies. CDA draws a bead on decoding these ideologies because *"ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies"* (Van Dijk, Discourse Analysis as Ideology) Ideologies constructed and supported in many assorted discourses equally establish and retain power relations because the linguistic forms that put them across also articulate and manipulate power. Language, as a matter of fact, *"is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power"* (Wodak, What CDA is about: a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments 11).

Among numerous apparatuses which use language to mediate certain beliefs, newspapers are eminent for using discrete patterns of language in their discourse to convey diverse ideologies, specifically while writing on social issues. Newspapers, in the sense coming from their name, are supposed to report *"something called 'news' without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way"* (Schudson 150); however, they simply and clearly go against their occupational norms, and the journalists, the ones who hold sway over newspaper articles, use the genre so as to communicate and indoctrinate various ideologies. Newspapers, hence, keep a tight rein on the beliefs of their readers. The assumption of CDA, hence, is that ideologies of authors or reporters may be unveiled by a close reading and a systematic analysis, if language users consciously or unconsciously express their own ideologies by means of language and communication (Van Dijk, 1985).

Each news item consists of a headline, a lead and a body. News headlines are intentionally fashioned to be succinct and captivating, and since headlines are the catchiest part of a news article and readers generally commit them to memory,

journalists are prone to exploit the new headlines to render their ideological conception of the news stories they report. The very first sentence of the news item, which is called lead, presents the news by advancing some elucidations to harness the view presented in the headlines. The body incorporates a series of descriptions, instances, data, etc. which are concrete exemplifications that preserve and give grounds for premediated ideologies.

The present paper aims at conducting a critical discourse analysis on the antagonistic discourses of Hasan Roohani and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, and the newspaper headlines of two Iranian newspapers in the wake of the eleventh round of presidential election of Iran. Since, within the political arena of Iran, parties, press and political activities, to the exact sense of the terms, are going through the initial phases, it can be said that the political atmosphere suddenly gets active during election campaigns. Hence, an investigation into the presidential candidates' speeches and media in the wake of election can prove fruitful in a precise recognition of a segment of political atmosphere, the existent discourses in Iran, and a description of political events. Presidential election which is an attempt to attain one of the highest political positions in Iran is very significant, and a study of the participating candidates' discourses can help identify the dominant discourses in Iranian election.

The present study intends to decipher how Hasan Roohani's discourse got dominant and he won the election. To do this, it is necessary to explore his main rival's discourse, and also the political arena of the society in the wake of election, in this case study as represented in two opposing newspapers, that is, Shargh, backing the reformist party, and Keyhan, backing the fundamentalists.

2. The Significance of the Study

Language is a representation of a system of concepts and thought emanating from society, discourse and dominant ideology, and is revealed in the forms of speech and writing as an apparatus of communication. Accordingly, language is constantly an appropriate subject for analysis, and since the theory of discourse deals with the significant role of the social ideas and behaviors, Critical Discourse Analysis surveys and reviews the techniques by which systems of meaning or discourses create people's understanding of their own role in society, and affect their political activities. Since government is the most eminent institution in the modern nation-states, it goes without saying that presidential election is one of the most momentous political events hold every 4 years in Iran. As a result, it is significant to enquire into the phenomenon through language and discourse.

2.1 The Aims of the Study

The present study aims at carrying out a critical discourse analysis of socioeconomic policies of Hasan Rouhani and how his discourse gets dominant. Therefore, his discourse is reviewed and analyzed alongside with that of Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, his major rival candidate in the eleventh round of presidential election of Iran in 2013. To unravel more about the process in which Roohani's discourse gets dominant, it is necessary to delve into the political background at the time of election, and within the present case study, two competing newspapers are inspected.

2.2 Research Questions

The present study embarks on answering one major question, that is, "*how did Roohani's electoral discourse get hegemonized and cause him to win the election?*" and two minor questions which are

1. What are the master signifiers of the chosen candidates? How other moments are articulated around the privileged sign?
2. How does each of these discourses try to hegemonize oneself by creating antagonistic borders and an 'other'?

3. Theoretical Framework

So as to answer the primary research question of the present study, it is essential to single out one theoretical framework capable of obtaining and analyzing the moments and the master signifier of the discourses under study. Accordingly, the discursive theory of Laclau and Mouffe was picked out as, it unveils the political antagonisms, probes into the creation and alteration of hegemonic formations, and has a comprehensive look on the segments of political articulations.

Laclau and Mouffe have developed their theory through the deconstruction of other bodies of theory. This theory holds discourse as the fixation of meaning within a certain realm. Signs here are described as moments. They are "*the knots in the fishing-net, their meaning being fixed through their differences from one another ('differential positions').*" (Jorgensen and Phillips 25) According to this theory, every single sign is a moment in a system and the meaning of each sign is specified by its relations to the other signs. Discourse is shaped by the partial fixation of meaning around nodal points. (Laclau and Mouffe 112) Nodal points are the privileged signs around which the other signs are formed. Other signs, in other words, take on their meaning firm their relationship to the nodal points. (Jorgensen and Phillips 25) A discourse is regarded as a reduction of all possibilities.

A discourse is a reduction of possibilities. All the possibilities that the discourse excludes are called 'the field of discursivity' (Laclau and Mouffe 111). The field of discursivity is actually, whatever has been denied and excluded by the discourse. In their theory, Elements are the signs whose meanings have not yet been fixed; and it helps get a better understanding of discourse: "a discourse attempts to transform elements into moments by reducing their polysemy to a fully fixed meaning" (Jorgensen and Phillips 28). The discourse forms a closure, a short-term stop to the oscillation in the meaning of the signs. But the closure is never definitive. Floating signifiers, in this theory, are the signs that various discourses strive to invest with meaning in their own particular way (Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* 28). Articulation is any practice cultivating a relation among elements such that their identity is revised as a result of articulatory practice. As it goes without saying, all primary key terms within this theory are related to each other:

"Discourse aims to remove ambiguities by turning the elements into moments through closure. But this aim is never completely successful as the possibilities of meaning that the discourse displaces to the field of discursivity always threaten to destabilise the fixity of meaning. Therefore, all moments stay potentially polysemic, which means that the moments are always potentially elements. Specific articulations reproduce or challenge the existing discourses by fixing meaning in particular ways. And because of the perpetual potential polysemy, every verbal or written expression (even every social action, as we will see later on) is also, to some extent, an articulation or innovation"

(Jorgensen and Phillips, 29)

Laclau and Mouffe maintain that politics is the way we settle on to organise society and thereby excluding other ways. Politics is hence perceived as the praxis, where decisions are taken on how to fix the contingent discursive structures. If the structures were constantly settled, politics would have no meanings. The chosen strategy of organization is an upshot of ongoing processes of political acts and in Laclau and Mouffe's theory these acts are contingent articulations that either revise or reproduce the hegemonic discourses and thereby the organization of society (Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* 33-34).

Laclau and Mouffe use discourses to refer to a system of significant, object/subject identity-making acts. Discourses are annexed systems which are essentially political and their creation requires the existence of antagonism between 'us' and 'them'. Discourses consist of power components and when they are established, the other possibilities are excluded.

Antagonism in politics produces an 'other' or an enmity which determines the border between 'us' and 'them', and thereby one can discriminate between the discourse and the discursive field. When the surrounding elements of a master signifier are articulated, a hegemonic formation in which people are identifying subject is created. We can apply this pattern in any field. Antagonism is never eliminated; they temporarily become residual in moments and conceal the power relations.

4. Methodology

Three types of analyses are conducted throughout the present study:

1. Intertextual analysis;
2. Interdiscursive analysis;
3. Transitivity system analysis (for news headlines).

Intertextuality analysis seeks to comprehend "*how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts*" (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 17). Intertextuality concentrates on how the 'outside' of a text is taken into the text. Fairclough believes it to be a necessary complement for a linguistic analysis. Intertextuality, in its most obvious sense, "is the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotations" (39). However, there are many less evident ways of embracing elements of other texts. The present paper performs intertextual analysis to demonstrate the ways the events are represented in the news headlines. Moreover, using this method, the discursive signifiers of the two candidates were identified and used to answer the main research question of the present study.

Interdiscursive analysis studies "*texts in terms of the different discourses, genres and styles they draw upon and articulate together*" (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 3). As a matter of fact, the relations between discourses, genres and styles are examined here. In other words, they make the link between the text and other elements of the social, between the internal relations of the text and its external relations. Discourses, genres and styles are both elements of texts, and social elements and create the link between the text and other elements of the social (37).

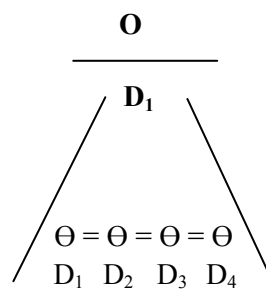
Transitivity analysis is a powerful tool in studying news headlines and the way the ideological representations are offered. It inquires into the structure of sentences as represented by processes, the participants involved and the conditions in which both processes and participant are encompassed. Transitivity is a grammatical system and deals with different types of process which can be found in the language and the structures. The experience of reality is represented in terms of processes. These processes form the transitivity system of language. Performing transitivity analysis,

scholars have attempted to demonstrate that language structures can yield certain meanings and ideologies which are not always easily understandable for readers. To put it in a nutshell, the functional analysis, and particularly transitivity analysis, sets out to determine the relation between meanings and wordings.

Clauses are the most important component in transitivity analysis. Clauses represent events and a variety of different processes, and transitivity is after clarifying how the action is performed, by whom and on what. The systemic functional linguistics approach to discourse analysis is based on the model of "language as a social semiotic" outlined in the works of Halliday.

5. Research Model

The Model applied in the present study is the one offered by Laclau, as depicted in the following diagram,



Where O stands for Others; the horizontal line for the frontier separating the oppressive regime from the rest of society; the circles D₁...D₄ for the certain demands, split between a bottom semi-circle representing the particularity of the demand and a top semi-circle representing its anti-system meaning, which is what makes their equal relation possible. Consequently, D₁ above the equivalent circles stands for the general equivalent.

Within the present study, O stands for the others, and the horizontal line shows the antagonistic frontier. D₁ stands for the master signifier, and the equivalent circles stand for the moments of discursive articulation.

6. The Constitution of Discourses

According to the chosen method, the discursive signifiers of both of the candidates were extracted so as to be able to study how the conqueror discourse is constituted and then gets hegemonized. Moreover, how the events are represented and how the moments of

discourses are described is studied through intertextuality and interdiscursivity analyses respectively.

The followings are the analyses of the speeches delivered by the candidates Hasan Roohani and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf in News Special Talk TV show, broadcast in May 26 and 27, 2013, and televised Economic Debate in the wake of election, broadcast in May 31, 2013.

Table 1: An analysis of a selection of Roohani's speeches in News Special Talk TV show

Main theme	The management and inefficiency of the government is the major cause of the numerous problems of the country, especially economic ones.
Key terms	Moderation, production boom, instability of economic regulations, inflation control, controlling unemployment, improvement of the business environment, development along with justice, and a fair national media.

Table 2: An analysis of a selection of Ghalibaf's speeches in News Special Talk TV show

Main theme	The country is in a state of social disorder and economic inefficiency and a disorganized government has brought this about.
Key terms	Inflation and high prices, instability of prices, controlling unemployment, work along with human dignity, not using the material and social resources of the country, weakening social trust, planned economy, monetary and financial policy reform.

Table 3: An analysis of a selection of Roohani's speeches in Economic Debate

Main theme	The economy is highly troubled and is not reformed unless a nonpartisan government takes office.
Key terms	Economic justice, decentralization, production orientation, real privatization, employment, improvement of the business environment, freedom of expression and criticism, crude retailing.

Table 4: An analysis of a selection of Ghalibaf's speeches in Economic Debate

Main theme	Government can curb the current disorders by reforming the policies and formulating a clear economic plan.
Key terms	Justice, economic growth by according priority to deprived areas, controlling inflation, housing improvement, a government independent from oil export revenues, currency stability.

7. Findings

During eight years in office, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad landed the country in numerous economic, political and social problems. Consequently, both candidates bitterly censured and condemned Ahmadinejad's government to gain legitimacy among the

public. Both Roohani and Ghalibaf concentrated mostly on economic chaos and distress. People, also believed that the fundamentalist party supported the policies of Ahmadinejad's government, and as a result, they were more attracted to reformist candidates. Moreover, Roohani announced Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and Hashemi Rafsanjani as his supporters, and as a result gained a substantial support from the people who were dissatisfied with policies of fundamentalists during Ahmadinejad's office.

7.1 Transitivity System

The theoretical framework of transitivity was first developed by Halliday, and it *"construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types."* (Halliday 170) Transitivity furnishes a toolkit which offers an understanding of how the subjects are linked to (or detached from) objects or processes. Transitivity, in other words, allows us to spot the agencies, processes and hidden participants amid the newspaper headlines. while analyzing transitivity, the *"interest lies in investigating the ideological consequences that different forms can have."* (Jorgensen and Phillips 83)

The raw data of the present study are the main headlines of Keyhan and Shargh newspapers in the course of 11th presidential electoral campaign in Iran. At first glance, it comes conspicuous that the verbal processes are the most prevalent ones in Keyhan and then comes material and relational ones respectively. Indeed, verbal processes make up 50 percent of the headlines, material processes 30 percent and relational processes 20. The prevalence of verbal processes in the headlines of Keyhan is highly significant, and when it is compared with the representational processes applied in Shargh, the general struggle between the rival political factions right before election stands out.

Verbal processes are the ones that are categorized as mental processes in Halliday's theory. Unlike relational and material processes, verbal processes cannot be analyzed by asking a direct question about an action carried out in the real world. Verbal processes are *"symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language"* (Halliday 170) and hence, they are as the mediators between the reality and material processes and represent an action indirectly. While interpreting the clauses with this type of process, what prove extremely significant are the participants in terms of speaker/audience and specially their social status.

A quick study of the headlines of Keyhan unveils a sort of desperation and confusion in the wake of the election. There are two reasons for this: first, there were too many fundamentalist candidates and the newspaper did not run the risk of supporting one; and second, conflicts and tensions within the discourse of the fundamentalist

candidates had aggravated the situation and, within such an adverse circumstance, Keyhan could not back any of the candidates directly.

Material processes bear a close relationship with the material world and can be interpreted as a request for an objective, a material effect or an action in the real world. They try to make the ideologic representations more palpable. In *"The Status of Concept of Justice in the Fundamentalist Discourse during the Ninth Round of Presidential Elections"* (2008, in Farsi), Poorsafir showed that 45 percent of the headlines of Keyhan had been allocated to the material processes, and the newspaper tried to persuade the readers to support its Recipient, that is Mahmood Ahmadinejad. On the contrary, to the ninth presidential election, the newspaper did not display such a tendency in the wake of the eleventh round of the election. However, the sole six headlines represented with material processes do not feature any references to any specific candidates, and three of the headlines had people as their Recipient, and one headline, surprisingly, alluded to the opposition candidate - most possibly to downgrade him by relating him to the enormously wealthy people and the so-called 'Fetnegaran' or troublemakers.

The news headlines of Shargh newspaper, on the other hand, were represented with material processes. Eighteen headlines were analyzed and twenty-one processes were recognized. Of these, fifteen headlines, that is 71 percent of them, were represented with material processes. Relational process type came next with about 9 headlines, which made up 19 percent of the total headlines. Two headlines also demonstrated verbal processes which were a total of 10 percent.

Material processes involve a physical action, and as mentioned before, are in direct contact with the material world, and hence, can be interpreted as a call for an action. The majority of headlines in Shargh were material processes, and they proved significant as they were there to effect a change in the real world. The events were represented by material processes to convince and press the readers into carrying out a certain action, that is giving vote to a favorite candidate.

Reflecting on the main client or Recipient of the headlines proved to be consequential as well. Sixty-six percent of the headlines involving material processes supported candidates as the Recipients and, in most of the cases, mentioned their names directly. The percentage of material clients grows to 93 when we ignore this late factor of mentioning the candidates directly. 93 percent of news headlines represented by material processes, in other words, asked the readers to perform a certain action, that is giving vote, for a certain Recipient, that is the supported candidate.

Shargh tried to trigger the readers' emotions in their own favor by pointing out the supported candidates' touching words and phrases. Some of these catchy words were: *"putting to trial the agents of economic crises"*, *"there are no ways but to let the reason*

judge”, “restoring the pride of Iranians”, “preventing the spread of lies”, “changing the status quo”, and “skipping the self-interests for the interests of Iranians”.

7.2 An analysis of the news headlines of Keyhan (May 23, 2013 to June 13, 2013)

Western Media: Iranians’ turnout was historically unprecedented.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Election	Western media / the audience	A superb election

Leader: The bright future of Iranian people will be a pattern for everybody.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	People	Speaker / People	Being a pattern

Leader: Candidates shall provide accurate information about themselves and society to people.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	Candidates	Speaker / Candidates	Getting more knowledge
Material	People	Speaker / People	Submitting accurate data

Behnood: For Khatami, no one was more available than Hashemi.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	The party supported by the newspaper	Speaker / Audience	Abusing

John Carry: Iranian nuclear negotiations does not change into election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	Nuclear negotiations	Speaker / Audience	Negotiations do not change

Foreigner media: Iranian presidential candidates are unanimous on nuclear plans.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	Electoral candidates	Speaker / Audience	Consensus on nuclear plans

American Diplomat: Let’s talk less not to be the loser of Iranian presidential election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	American diplomats	Speaker / Audience	Not being the loser in election

A hot debate at the station of politics; People getting closer to the election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	People	Keyhan / Audience	Persuading to vote

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Foreigner Westerner: The last debate of candidates was hot and serious.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Electoral debates	Speaker / Audience	Election being hot and serious

Special News: Hashemi and Kargozaran Party allied themselves with Roohani.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	Keyhan / Audience	Giving vote

Having sent a letter to the National Election Headquarter, Haddad Aadel withdrew from election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Fundamentalist Party	Keyhan / Audience	Pulling out of election

The head of expediency council: people will choose a righteous person in the election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	People	Speaker / People	Giving vote

Ahmadinejad among the reporters: the government does not support any candidates.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Government	Speaker / People	Not supporting
Verbal	Government	Speaker / People	Being impartial

Leader: the political epic of Iranian people will reach its apex tomorrow.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	People	Speaker / Audience	Epic reaching the apex

Voice of Russia: the returns of Iranian election will be amazing and unexpected.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Iranian election	Speaker / Audience	Election being amazing and unexpected

Ahmadi Moghaddam: Political epic venture will take place with people's huge turnout.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	People	Speaker / people	Running a historic election

Shahrekord Congressman: Participation in the election is another chief accomplishments of the Islamic Republic.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Islamic Republic	Speaker / Audience	Impressive role of election

Netanahoo: let's not deceive ourselves. The election of Iran will not change anything.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Verbal	Western Nations	Speaker / Audience	Not deceiving ourselves
Material	Election	Speaker / Audience	No change will take place

7.3 An analysis of the news headlines of Shargh (May 23, 2013 to June 13, 2013)

S. Hasan Khomeini to Hashemi: it was incredible that you were excluded from the election.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Hashemi	Speaker / Hashemi (audience)	Not expecting one to be excluded

Rejection of chamber of commerce of any support for any certain candidates.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Chamber of commerce	Speaker / Audience	Not supporting

Leader: the candidates should proceed with energy, yet without challenge.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Candidates	Speaker / Audience	A compitition without challenge

Aaref's campaigning program was suddenly brought to a stop.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Aaef	Shargh / Audience	Challenging national TV

Roohani: Those who have caused the current economic chaos should be put to trial.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	Speaker / Audience	Putting to trial the agents of economic failure

Aaref: we have no way but the rule of enlightenment.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Aaref	Speaker / Audience	The rule of rationality
Verbal	People	Speaker / Audience	The rule of rationality

Khatami and Hashemi's councellors offered a proposal for supporting a single candidate.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Reformation Party	Shargh / Audience	Coalition

Leader: it is essential for the candidates to promise people to avoid marginalization.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Relational	Nation	Speaker / Audience	Necessity of the candidates' promises to people

Nemat-zade: Roohani's first step will be getting the charter of civil rights prepared			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	Speaker / Audience	Preparing the charter of civil rights
Relational	Roohani	Speaker / Audience	Preparing the charter of civil rights

Roohani: we will restore Iranians' pride.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Iranians	Speaker / Audience	Restoring Iranians' pride

Aaref: I have come to stop the spread of telling lies.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Aaref	A candidate	Tackling the spread of telling lies

Aaref: I obey the consensus.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Coalition	Candidate / People	Obeying the consensus

Towards a decisive coalition.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Reformist party	Shargh / Audience	A decisive coalition

Roohani: I will certainly change the conditions of the country.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	A candidate / Audience	Changing the conditions

Having appreciated Aaref, S. Mohammad Khatami, Ayatollah Hashemi, assembly of combatant clergymen, coordinating council, reformist party and Mostafa Moeen announced their support for Roohani			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	Shargh / Audience	Supporting / giving vote

Roohani: I gave up my right in favor of the great nation of Iran.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Iranians	Speaker / Nation	Relinquishing the right

Ali Motahhari: I'll vote to Roohani.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Roohani	Speaker / Audience	Giving vote
Relational	Roohani	Speaker / Audience	Giving vote

Ayatollah Hashemi: those who are dubious shall vote as well.			
Process	Recipient	Participants	Aim
Material	Supported candidate	Speaker / undecided people	Giving vote

8. Antagonistic Frontiers

How the chains of signifiers acquire meaning and how the antagonistic frontiers are framed to form the other, so that each candidate would make his discourse dominant are explored here. Based on the textual analyses, the moments and the signifiers of the two candidates' discourses were recognized.

Based on the textual analyses, the moments or the discursive signifiers of the two candidates, that is the ones which were concentrated on with different methods of representation through the texts, were traced down. Here, we are to study the articulation of these signifiers, the master signifier around which other signifiers are formed and the antagonism that occasions the articulation.

The analytical pattern, as described in research model, has been picked out as a mechanism to analyze the texts. This analytical pattern has been adapted from the pattern Laclau developed to interpret the Russian revolution (Laclau, 2000: 303) and the modifications suggested by Thomassen (Thomassen, 2005: 293-4). During the previous sections, the main themes of the discourses of the two candidates were extracted using Fairclough's method; however, since Fairclough's approach was not so effective in determining the master signifier, the master signifier and how the discourses were hegemonized were determined using Laclau and Mouffe's method.

Following a thorough analysis of the texts, it is obvious that both candidates are making heaven and earth to hegemonize their own discursive formation. It is an antagonism which endeavors to breed an 'other', disarticulate this other one's discursive signifiers, and offer a conflicting commentary on them in his own discursive field. The existence of many common signifiers implies that both candidates were trying to form their discourse in conflict with the other and reproduce it anew; and therefore, within the antagonistic field, they described and modified their discursive signifiers and suggested new articulations. So as to become hegemonic, a discursive formation needs to alter and modify its signifiers in relation to other formations. Such

modifications are clearly observed within the discourses of both candidates. It is also noteworthy that discursive formations of both candidates are similar to each other, and the social conditions of the time occasioned this. Economic issues are prioritized by both of the candidates and it is because of the dire predicaments the country was facing at the time, such as inflation, high prices, devaluation of national currency, unemployment etc. A particular focus on such problems was called for by the nation, and especially the poor people who were recognized as the loyal supporters of the Revolution. Both candidates denounced and condemned the practices and policies of the previous government and ventured to redefine and reproduce their common discursive moments. Ghalibaf, as a technocrat, concentrated more on the middle class; however, at the last days of campaign advertising, because of the affiliation to the party supporting the then government, and a close attention of Rouhani on economic chaos and crisis, Ghalibaf became less popular.

The present paper extracted the master signifiers of two of the candidates of the eleventh presidential election of Iran, and specified how the other signifiers were articulated around the master signifier. It was also clarified how each of the discourses tried to produce antagonistic frontiers and make an 'other' so as to hegemonize itself. In addition to these two primary goals, the discursive antagonism was clarified through a transitivity analysis of news headlines of the newspapers Keyhan and Shargh.

The News Special Talk tv show and Economic Debate program were chosen as the research data for the current study. The candidates offered their plans and policies on these two television programs. Laclau and Mouffe's theory was also singled out as the theoretical toolkit to analyze the data. Laclau and Mouffe's theory is a macro perspective theory and only allows the researcher to cast a comprehensive look at all of the factors that hegemonize a discourse; however, this theoretical framework is not qualified to determine the elements that become moments in a discursive formation and are finally articulated. Just because of this deficiency, Fairclough's method-theory was opted for. Applying both of the theories presented a precise and detailed account of the status of the country at the time.

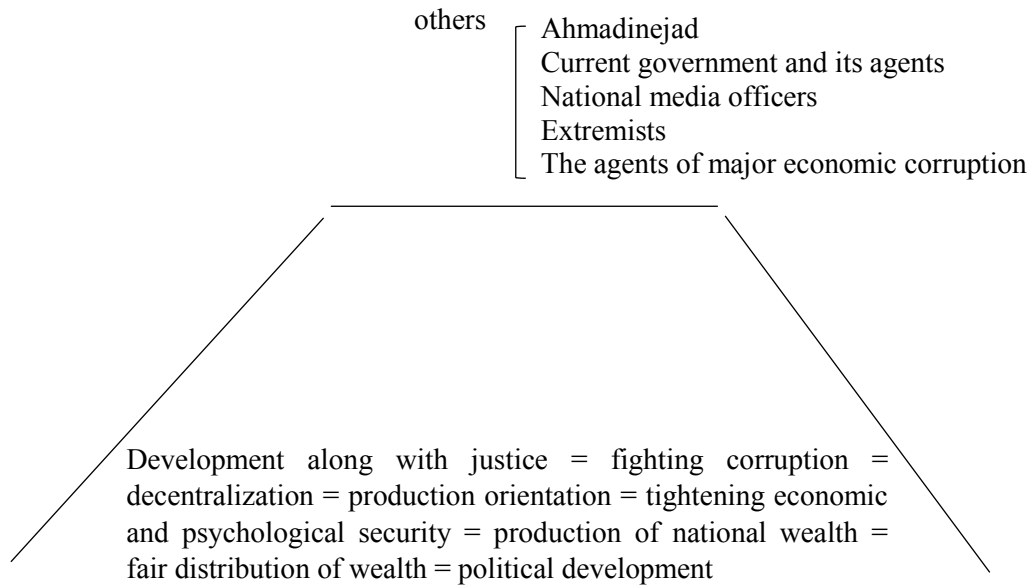


Diagram 1.1: Antagonistic borders in Roohani's socioeconomic discourse

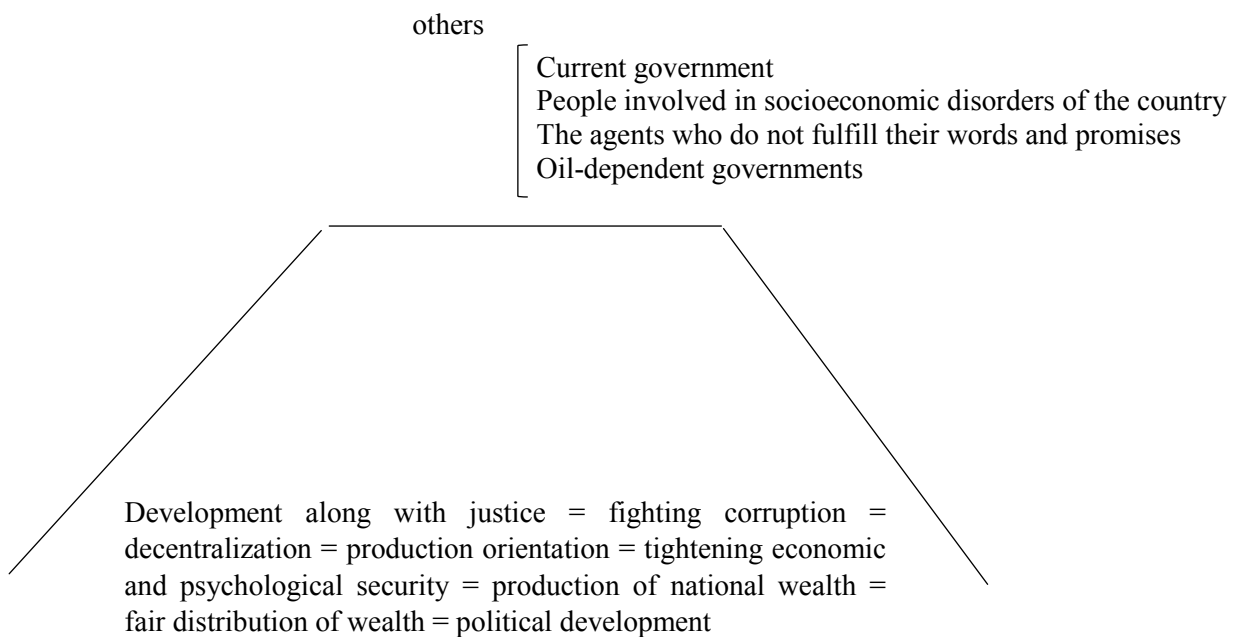


Diagram 1.2: Antagonistic borders in Ghalibaf's socioeconomic discourse

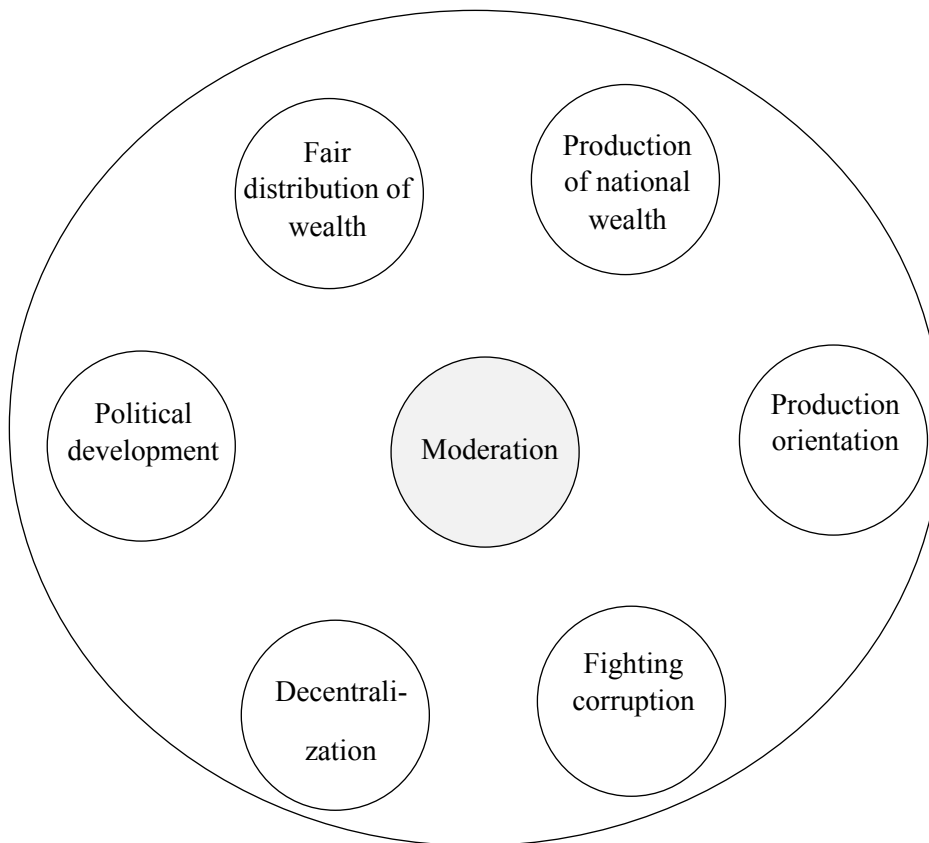


Diagram 2.1: Discursive articulation of socioeconomic discourses of Roohani

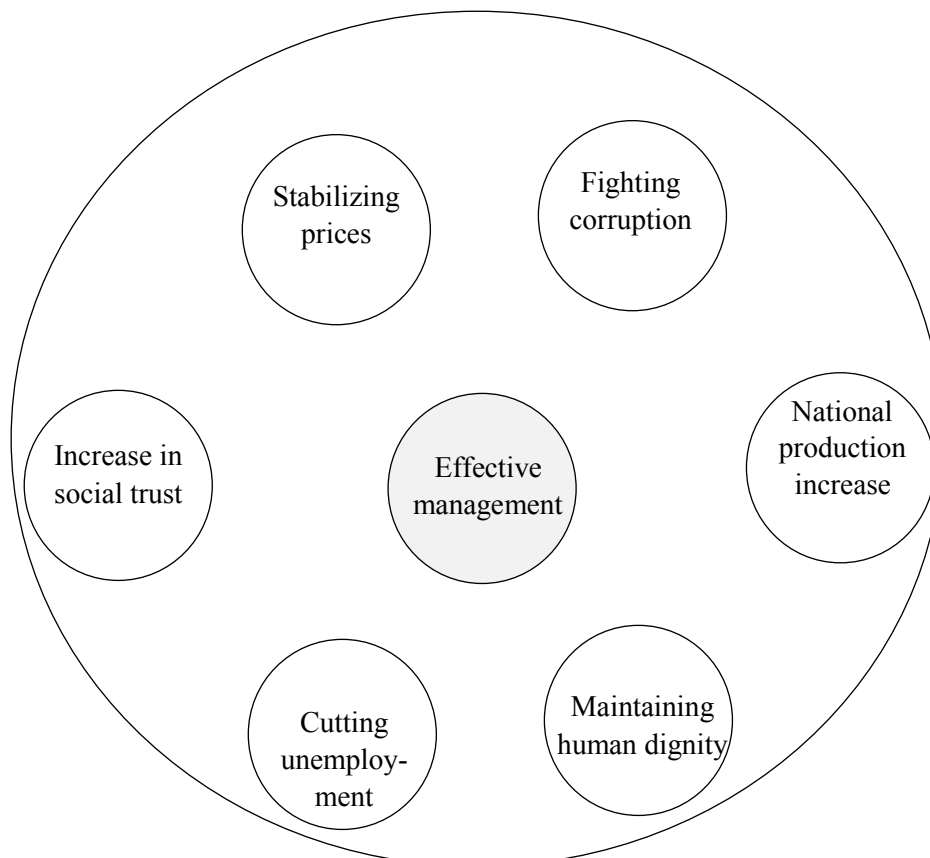


Diagram 2.2: Discursive articulation of socioeconomic discourses of Ghalibaf

9. Research Findings

Discourses cannot be fixed permanently and are consistently changing. So as to get stabilized, they try to marginalize other discourses and hegemonize themselves. Within the two analyzed discourses, economic moments are more conspicuous and this is due to the certain conditions of the country at the time.

Both of the discursive formations broke away from the initial formations, got close to each other, and resort to common signifiers. This unveils the significance of how discourses paid close attention to people's problems, and specifically the economic ones as the main factor in getting hegemonized in the political atmosphere of Iran. In this round of elections, each candidate tried to withdraw from the then government which was considered to be the sheer cause of the then predicaments and crises.

Transitivity analysis is mainly conducted to unveil the mechanisms of hidden ideologic representations, and through such an analysis, it was clearly revealed that the texts and the news headlines were not impartial and detached, and did not represent the events as they were in reality.

In the tables offered based on an analysis of the news headlines, it was clearly shown that while Shargh news headlines represented the events to provoke the readers to take some action and strongly emphasized the material processes, Keyhan news headlines revealed a confusion over supporting a single candidate and were mostly persuading people to vote in the election.

Shargh took advantage of the then terrible conditions of the country and the coalition of the supported candidates, and represented the material processes in its headlines. Under this policy, Shargh introduced the then government and the rival discourse as the causes of the tight corners and troubles.

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