
A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In the Faculty of Humanities

2012

Ann Williams

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures.
Contents

Abstract 5

Introduction 9

Literature review 18

Statement on Data 32

Chapter 1: Othering 38

Chapter 2: Textual Analysis 63

Chapter 2.1: Critical Discourse Analysis 63

Chapter 2.2: Corpus Based Analysis 72

Chapter 2.3: Methodological Framework 74

Chapter 3.1: Anglo-Iranian Relations 84

Chapter 3.2: Media 115

Chapter 4: Analysis 151

Conclusion 247

Bibliography 258

Appendix 1 269

Word count 74,045
List of Tables

Table 1: Daily circulation figures for UK National Newspapers taken from Magfourn.
Table 2: News Organisations and their percentage share of the daily market.
Table 3: Frequent words used in the reporting of Iran in both papers.
Table 4: Keywords in Rafsanjani’s Presidency.
Table 5: Keywords in Khatami’s Presidency.
Table 6: Displays frequent Collocates of the word ‘Islamic’ in The Times.
Table 7: Displays frequent Collocates of the word ‘Islamic’ in the Guardian.
Table 8: Displays frequent Collocates of Rafsanjani in The Times.
Table 9: Displays frequent Collocates of Rafsanjani in the Guardian.
Table 10: Displays frequent Collocates of Khatami in The Times.
Table 11: Displays frequent Collocates of Khatami in the Guardian.
Table 12: Comparison of keywords in both papers in which Iran and Terrorism appeared within the same sentence.
Table 13: Comparison of keywords in both papers in which Iran and Nuclear appeared within the same sentence.
Table 14: Displays frequent Collocates of Nuclear in The Times.
Table 15: Displays frequent Collocates of Nuclear in the Guardian.
Table 16: Comparison of keywords in both papers in which Iran and Human Rights appeared within the same sentence.
List of Figures

Figure 1: ‘News Flow in the Newsroom’ taken from Campbell.

Figure 2: Number of articles in both papers selected for their headlines from 17th August 1989 to 2nd August 2005.

Figure 3: Distribution of articles in which Iran featured in the headline.

Figure 4: Number of articles in which Iran and Key Issues appeared within the same sentence.

Figure 5: Distribution of articles in which Iran and Terrorism appeared within the same sentence.

Figure 6: Coverage of Iran and Hezbollah.

Figure 7: Number of articles in which Hezbollah/Hizbullah is referred to as pro-Iranian.

Figure 8: Number of articles in which Iran and Hezbollah/Hizbullah appeared within the same sentence.

Figure 9: Number of articles in which Iran and Nuclear appeared within the same sentence.

Figure 10: Number of articles in which Iran and Human Rights appeared within the same sentence.
Abstract

This thesis aims to uncover how Iran was represented in the British Print Press from 1989-2005. The period under analysis marked a new phase in Anglo-Iranian relations in which Iran sought improved relations with Britain primarily for economic reasons. This study will combine Critical Discourse Analysis with a Corpus Based Analysis using Monoconc Pro 2.2 a computer based concordance software package. The Corpus Based Analysis allows large corpus files to be analysed and provides quantitative findings which can support the qualitative analysis. The newspapers selected for the combined analysis were the *The Times* and the *Guardian*. Article selection was based on the presence of certain words appearing in the headline throughout the time frame. To facilitate analysis of the *Sun* and the *Mirror* which were not available on Lexis for the whole time frame, a qualitative only analysis was also conducted on all papers using four keys events. The study found that Iran is represented as a ‘threat’ through its link to terrorism and most notably the nuclear issue. In addition the study found that generally the media follow government policy in its coverage of Iran. Coverage was overwhelmingly political however both of the broadsheet papers did feature examples of social and cultural focused articles. Social and cultural reporting provides an opportunity for newspaper readers to gain an insight into aspects of Iranian life.
Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree of qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.
Copyright Statement

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and she has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the university has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patent designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (See http://campus.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/policies/intellectual-property.pdf), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (See http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations) and in The University’s Policy on presentation of Theses.
Acknowledgements

Words cannot express how grateful I am to my supervisor Dr Oliver Bast, without whom I would never have completed this thesis. To him I would like to say that despite the stumble at Beechers Brook, the finishing post was finally crossed! Thank you!

To Susan, it is when times are hardest that you realise just how special someone is! I have realised that I have the most amazing sister and best friend, thank you for everything!

I would also like to thank the rest of my family for their continued love, help and support without which I would never have survived!

Finally, To Ali, who put up with more than anyone should, I will never forget it!
Introduction

‘If it comes to a U.S. or U.S.-Israeli attack on Iran, Western readers and listeners are likely to be even worse prepared than they were for the invasion of Iraq’.

Coming from a former journalist of arguably Britain’s top newspaper the Financial Times, the situation does not look good. When viewed in light of this statement, the need for this study is more important now than ever!

The media is an integral part of British society. Irrespective of ones view of the media’s ability to shape public opinion, its position as a leading institution in society cannot be underestimated. From the establishment of the first newspaper through to the invention of the radio, television and more recently the internet, the media has played an important role in disseminating information to the general population. The role of the media within society is debated. Richardson summarises the differing views of journalism as follows: ‘Journalism as entertainment, as a loudhailer for the powerful and privileged and as a commodity produced by profit-seeking businesses.’ Whilst it is reasonable to argue that the media does provide entertainment, for example many of the broadsheet newspaper now contain, particularly at weekends, supplements such as The Sunday Times ‘Style’ which provides fashion advice, the latest trends in furniture design and recipes, it is still providing a service which is disseminating information. The tabloids many argue are predominantly sources of entertainment with very little hard news unless it is of public interest. They are however still disseminating information and therefore have an integral role in society. Richardson notes that stating the commercial role of the

---

newspaper does not actually achieve anything and as such ‘should only ever be the starting point of an analysis, not the conclusion’.

He argues that what all these positions miss is that ‘journalism exists to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position(s) in the world. Journalism’s success or failure – in other words, the degree to which it is doing what it should or is letting us down – rests on the extent to which it achieves this fiduciary role’.

It must be noted here that the role of the traditional journalist is being challenged by the layperson in possession of either a mobile phone or access to the internet. Anyone who can use the internet can now post their own report of an event or situation onto the internet within seconds of the event or situation occurring. The traditional media sources are no-longer the only means for informing the public. Facebook, Twitter and other social networking sites have made it easy to follow events both at home and abroad. This was strikingly evident with the presidential elections in Iran in 2009. Footage of the demonstrations and riots which followed were recorded on mobile phones and almost immediately uploaded onto the internet for the world to see. Many of the news networks including BBC news, Sky and CNN used this footage along with information from Twitter to inform their own news programmes in response to the restrictions placed on journalists operating in Iran whilst others were simply forbidden from entering the country to undertake any reporting. Raw, unprocessed footage of this kind for those with prior knowledge of the event is incredible but must always be viewed with caution. However, for those watching with little or no knowledge of an event or situation, then such footage could cause confusion and even misinterpretation.

\[^3\text{Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 7.}\]

\[^4\text{Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 7.}\]
Tunstall claims ‘A nation’s foreign news – like its definition of history – reflects its prejudices – and – sentiments; it ignores the events and places we want to forget and it emphasizes the events, place, and faces we prefer and admire’.\(^5\) News is also inherently negative and this is exacerbated when reporting international events or issues as newspapers simply do not have the space generally to report positive aspects and there is also the issue of audience interest in such reports. Therefore if the newspaper or the media in general, is the only time the readership receives any form of information about a country, then inevitably the representation of the country becomes negative. Hafez claims that in the case of Iran ‘the average westerner holds Iran to be the forecourt to hell. Why? Because Western media cover the country through the lens of the nuclear issue, Muslim veiling and Ahmadinejad. The enormous paradoxes of the country go unnoticed’.\(^6\) Whilst this example is contemporary, a number of alternate issues and people could have been substituted and the meaning of the sentence remains. For example in recent years Ahmadinejad could have substituted for Khomeini and the nuclear issue for terrorism. What this highlights is that Iran for the West is defined by a label or an issue and many are largely unaware of the true dynamic nature of the country.

The media section discusses the debate which surrounds the ability of the media to influence public opinion. There are those who subscribe to the notion that the readership has the ability to assess what they read and can reject it providing they have the background knowledge to undertake this task. I concur however with those who argue that in general this does not occur, and particularly in the case of foreign news, the audience has little, if any, other knowledge of the country being reported


other than that which they have read in the paper. It should be noted that, particularly in the case of countries from the Middle East, knowledge can come from fiction and film as will be highlighted briefly in the literature section. The most significant institution which could provide citizens with the ability to assess the newspaper is education. Lessing argues that school children should be taught about the factors involved in newspaper production because she notes ‘highly educated people don’t know the first thing about the influences that make newspapers – and, therefore, their own opinions’.  

The interplaying factors involved in newspaper production will be discussed in the media section.

This thesis rests on the premise that the media have some ability in shaping public opinion. It follows the claim by Entman that ‘the media make a significant contribution to what people think – to their political preferences and evaluations – precisely by affecting what they think about’.  

There are many studies which analyse the media and their coverage of a range of issues including Ireland, abortion and minorities, however there is very little research which looks at the media’s coverage of Iran. A PhD thesis has been undertaken which looked at media coverage of Iran from 1979-1989. However, there is to my knowledge no significant study which looks at Iran in the period from 1989 until 2005, the time frame that I have selected. Research has also been undertaken in which an issue pertaining to Iran is used in support of an overarching study for example Richardson includes a critical discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of a meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Countries held in Iran on 9

---

7 Doris Lessing, ‘Never the Whole Truth’, British Journalism Review, 1 (1990), 18-22 (p. 20).
December 1997 which forms part of a chapter in his book.\textsuperscript{10} In addition a study was carried out which analysed how the media reported the capture of British military personnel and how following the announcement that one of those detained was a woman, coverage shifted from conventional war frames to a focus on gender.\textsuperscript{11} The article makes reference to Iran as it was the agent in the capture of the personnel however the focus was media representations of gender in particular. The article is outside the time frame under analysis here and will not be discussed.

It should be emphasised here that much of the research carried out on the UK media has looked at the representations of Islam in general, of British Muslims and the issue of asylum seekers. While this research provides an insight into the representation of the ‘other’, it is important for this study that Iran is not simply interchanged for Islam. Poole argues that the media have demonised Islam to ensure the West can reassert its power for economic gains. She states:

The media as an instrument of public ideology demonizes Islam, portraying it as a threat to Western interests, thus reproducing, producing and sustaining the ideology necessary to subjugate Muslims both internationally and domestically. The portrayal of extremist images within a framework that advances an historical ‘myth of confrontation’, Halliday (1996) suggests, absolves ‘the West’ of any need to justify its hostility.\textsuperscript{12}

Whilst Iran is by its own definition the Islamic Republic and the role religion plays in all aspects of society is evident from a glance, it is not the only defining feature of this diverse nation. This research may however uncover that indeed Islam is used to frame reporting of Iran. Iran is also not an Arab nation however it is often mistaken for one.

\textsuperscript{10} John E. Richardson, \textit{Mis(Representing) Islam: The Racism and Rhetoric of British Newspapers} (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004).
I would argue that the study of Iran in general is of intrinsic interest given Iran’s continuing importance in global and regional affairs. Iran’s importance is based on both political and economic factors, which are inter-related. It is one of the world’s major oil producers and exporters and holds the second largest reserves of natural gas of any country in the world. As a revolutionary Islamist state accused of sponsoring terrorism and pursuing WMD, Iran is seen by the West as a major threat to international security.

This study of Iran from the death of Ayatollah Khomeini until the end of Khatami’s presidency in 2005 is particularly important as it coincided with a number of key international events most notably the Gulf War, September 11th 2001 and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Therefore Iran’s strategic importance was exacerbated. Whilst Iraq initially surpassed Iran as the greatest threat in the region in the early 1990s following its invasion of Kuwait which coincided with Iran’s decision to pursue a policy of more favourable relations with the West and the claim it would no-longer actively attempt to export its revolution, it still remained a key player as the Anglo-Iranian chapter will highlight. The time frame was selected as it marked the end of two full presidencies which had seen Iran’s interaction with the international community increase for the first time since the Iranian Revolution.

It could be argued that a study looking at Britain’s newspaper industry is no longer important as it is widely acknowledged, and highlighted in the media section, that newspaper readership is in decline. I argue that the influence of newspaper is still far reaching when the social interactions of its readership are considered. Statistics do not account for indirect readership. Nearly all within society interact with others in a social setting and inevitably discussions, debates and arguments ensue. I would argue if only one individual within that group had read a newspaper
and either initiates conversation based on what they have read, or in-turn contributes to an on-going discussion utilising facts or opinion from what they have read, then indirectly the views and opinion of the paper are being propagated to non-readers. The chain can continue if the members of the group take the information or highlighted issues away from one social setting and into another and the process begins again. Also as will be shown in the media section, the total daily circulation of British newspapers in 2005, the final year of this study, was 11,858,392\textsuperscript{13} which is not an insignificant sum and therefore reinforces the value of this study.

This research is particularly concerned with the practice of othering. Othering is an area of study within a number of academic disciplines and as a result various theoretical approaches have emerged. Kitzinger and Wilkinson note that ‘othering has been powerfully invoked to theorize ‘race’, ethnicity and colonialism, and to discuss the construction of third-world subjects as the objectified Others of North American or European imaginations’.\textsuperscript{14} Given the aim of this study is to uncover how the Other, in this case Iran has been represented in the British print press, this study will look at othering through the concepts of Racism, Islamophobia and Orientalism which are all interlinked with the notion of ‘othering’ based on race, religion, culture and nation.

The analysis of the newspapers will be undertaken combining Critical Discourse analysis with a Corpus Based analysis. Critical Discourse analysis is not a theory in the traditional sense. Van Dijk states: ‘CDA is not so much a direction, school or specialisation – next to the many other approaches in discourse studies.

\textsuperscript{13}Figure acquired using data from Magforum.com ‘UK National Newspapers’ \url{http://www.magforum.com/papers/nationals.htm} [accessed July 2010].

Rather it aims to offer a different ‘mode’ or ‘perspective’ of theorizing, analysis and application throughout the whole field!\textsuperscript{15} CDA is primarily concerned with inequality and looks at how discourse can reinforce or challenge this inequality and maintain the power of the elites and in turn the status quo. CDA does not however offer a unitary theoretical framework and therefore, studies utilising the key tenets may be theoretically and analytically diverse. The methodological framework which this study will utilise is that proposed by Richardson who, using the basic principles of CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough, comprised a framework which can be applied to the analysis of newspapers. According to Fairclough, analysis of a text must be undertaken at three stages; textual analysis, analysis of the discursive practices involved in the texts production and analysis of the social practice.\textsuperscript{16} This will be discussed in more detail in the theory and method chapter. It must be noted that while Iran in the traditional sense is a nation state, it may appear strange that it would be in anyway subject to inequality and therefore analysis utilising this framework would be unnecessary. However, when viewed in the historical context of ‘othering’ it could be expected that the text may simply ensure positive self-presentation set against the negative other which, when combined with the historical nature of Anglo-Iranian relations, it may simply further reinforce the dominant power of the West maintaining inequality and therefore this framework is applicable.

Fowler and Marshall believe ‘Discourse analysis is essentially historical: language cannot be interpreted without understanding what is going on in a particular


\textsuperscript{16} Richardson, \textit{Analysing Newspapers}, pp. 37-42.
social and political context’. For example, when analysing media discourse of in this case Iran, the political context must be understood if we are to understand the language in use. Therefore this study will discuss the relationship between the two nations with particular emphasis on the period under study.

The background and context chapters combined with the analysis will be utilised to answer the following research questions:

1) How is Iran ‘Othered’ in the British Print Press?

2) Are there differences between the newspapers in their coverage?

3) Is there any correlation between the reporting of Iran by the British press and Anglo-Iranian relations at the time?

This thesis will be divided into four main chapters. The first chapter will discuss ‘Othering’; the second will be sub-divided into three, the first of which will discuss Critical Discourse Analysis, the second will discuss Corpus Based Analysis and the third will outline the methodological framework to be used; the third will be sub-divided into two sub-chapters, the first of which will discuss Anglo-Iranian relations while the second will provide an overview of the media; the fourth chapter will be the analysis. The conclusion will follow.

The remainder of this introductory chapter will be divided into two subsections; a review of the relevant literature and a statement on data.

---

Literature review

As already noted there is very little research which analyses specifically Iran in the British print press and not just Islam. Therefore this section will discuss the literature which does analyse Iran and then will look at a few studies which have analysed Muslims in the British press. A small sample of studies which have been undertaken which analyse Iran in the American press is also discussed briefly. Whilst American newspaper practice differs from that in the UK, the practice of ‘othering’ is not unique to the UK and therefore may provide a valuable insight.

The thesis carried out by Mohsen to analyse how Iran was ‘constructed’ in the British press from 1979 until 1989 adopts an interesting but different approach from that which is adopted here. The approach combines three different approaches the first is that of the ‘Propaganda model’ which has its origins in the political economy theory, the second Mohsen terms ‘the cultural approach’ which he acknowledges is still not formulated as an approach and is based on the notion that news articles are selected based on the social and cultural values of society and the final approach is the news values approach which is that journalists become part of the institution and learn its norms and practices.\textsuperscript{18} The methodology used was quantitative content analysis, to analyse the large corpus of data and qualitative analysis to analyse in detail one event. Interviews with journalists involved in foreign news at the time were also carried out. Following content analysis the thesis identified a number of the themes which were most prevalent in the reporting of Iran and then grouped them into macro-themes. The ‘West and Iran’ was identified as the most prominent.\textsuperscript{19} In addition content analysis was used to uncover the presence of

labels within the text. The labels were generally negative and derogatory. Content analysis as a methodology is often criticised as it does not look at the word in the sentence. However the content analysis of this study has yielded interesting, although not I would argue unexpected results, when viewed within the frame of Iran’s relations with the West at the time. In sum the findings led the author to claim that ‘the journalist’s coverage of the Islamic Revolution has been a mixture of the journalist’s professional ideologies and their own attitudes towards Iran which is reflected in the process of interaction with particular selected sources of news, e.g. Western Officials and Iranian Opposition and in the language they use to describe Islam and Muslims in Iran’. For the purpose of this study it will be interesting to see if reporting was as overtly negative and hostile given hopes of improving relations throughout the period under study in this analysis.

A study undertaken by Robins which although outside the time frame of this study, should be noted here, as it highlights how reporting of two different events which occurred within hours of each other, involving Iran, were reported very differently due to discursive practices and news values of the papers. Analysing the reporting of the two incidents which became known as the Iran Air affair and the Gentle Breeze incident he noted that the more significant event, the Iran Air affair, was not reported in detail in the British press. He claims two reasons can explain this, the first is that the story broke after the deadline for the following day’s front page and because ‘even though the Gentle Breeze incident was less sensational, it did

21 Involved an Iranian vessel laying mines near Bahrain during the Iran-Iraq war.
22 Involved an attack by Iranian forces on a vessel flying a British flag during the Iran-Iraq war.
possess the magic ingredient of a domestic news perspective’. 24 This is because it was an attack on a British interest.

As already noted Richardson’s book length study includes a small analysis of how Iran was reported in the British broadsheet papers. By Richardson’s own claim, his study aims to show ‘how the reporting of elite (majority white) broadsheet journalists is implicated in the production and reproduction of (racist) attitudes, beliefs, sentiment and practices and the potential effects of this reporting on the lives of Muslims, both in Britain and the rest of the world’. 25 The study analysed reporting of both countries including Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Algeria as well as how British Muslims are reported in domestic reporting. It utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods of textual analysis, with the qualitative analysis set within the approach of CDA. Richardson claims the study identified that the broadsheets stance is predominantly white and therefore ‘to retain this readership, broadsheet newspapers adopt a White outlook in their reporting, imagining and positioning their readers as White readers and talking about Muslims rather than assuming that they are talking to Muslims. This tone inevitably distances ‘Them’ from ‘Us’, since ‘The Muslims’ are written about in the third person’. 26 Interestingly, although not so unexpected his finding showed that ‘47.4% (n=1205) of these sampled broadsheet newspaper articles about Muslim individuals, organisations and nations, did not refer to or draw upon ‘Islam’ to explain or contextualise the reported action’. 27 He notes that this is difficult to explain although it would appear ‘when (people who happen to be) Muslims engage in negative activities – particularly activities which are threatening, or violent, or sexist, or otherwise intolerant or repressive – it seems to

25 Richardson, Mis(Representing) Islam, p. iii.
26 Richardson, Mis(Representing) Islam, p. 214.
27 Richardson, Mis(Representing) Islam, pp. 214-215.
activate within journalists a reservoir of ideas or core images about “Muslims”.

This arguably reinforces preconceived negative images.

Crucially for this study, he identifies that in attempting to describe cultural difference the British broadsheet newspapers ‘predominantly reframe Muslim cultural differences as cultural deviance and, increasingly it seems as a cultural threat’. He identified four strategies which he claimed are used within the papers in referring to Muslims: ‘The military threat “They” pose to other countries; the terrorist or extremist threat “They” pose; the threat “They” pose to the democratic stability of “Their” own countries; and the threat “they” pose to women – both Muslim and non-Muslim.’

He highlighted that not all countries are reported utilising all four strategies. ‘The reporting of Iran focuses predominantly on the “military” threat Iran poses to other countries, the threat “Islam” poses to the democratic stability of Iran and, to a lesser extent, on Iranian gender inequality’. Arguably this reflects what is deemed important issues to the readership.

A study undertaken by Poole analysed the reporting of Islam in the British press. This study focused primarily on how British Muslims are represented and used tabloids. Whilst her research focuses on British Muslims overall, one of its key aims is to identify if representing of British Muslims concurs with the general theories of reporting Muslims elsewhere and if not what external factors may impact on the reporting of British Muslims. She concluded that the media is the means through which non-Muslims in Britain generally understand Muslims. The media she claims package news stories about Islam to fit into the values and ideas of society.

---

29 Richardson, *Mis(Representing) Islam*, p. 216.
30 Richardson, *Mis(Representing) Islam*, p. 217.
31 Richardson, *Mis(Representing) Islam*, p. 217.
33 Poole, *Reporting Islam*, p. 240.
which are already Orientalist in nature. A key finding of her study was that the reporting of Islam remains centred on international news reports and whilst reporting of British Islam is increasing, it remains only a small portion of the total. She notes that ‘Binary forms of representation are more often utilized in foreign news, while the representation of British Islam is more complex, with discourse sometimes attempting to formulate a pluralist version of the country. Much of this global anti-Islamic discourse enters the framework of reporting on British Muslims, but the process is subtler’. 

The Runnymede Trust’s Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia produced a report entitled Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All. The report identified a ‘closed’ and contrasting ‘open’ view of Islam and that Islamophobia is equated with a closed view of Islam. The report identified eight key features of this closed view which are cited below:

- Islam seen as a single monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to new realities.
- Islam seen as separate and other - (a) not having any aims or values in common with other cultures (b) not affected by them (c) not influencing them.
- Islam seen as inferior to the West – barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist.
- Islam seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, engaged in ‘a clash of civilisation’.
- Islam seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage.

34 Poole, Reporting Islam, p. 240.
35 Poole, Reporting Islam, p. 247.
36 Poole, Reporting Islam, pp. 257-258.
Criticisms made by Islam of ‘the West’ rejected out of hand.

Hostility towards Islam used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.

Anti-Muslim hostility accepted as natural and ‘normal’.  

This research received criticism from scholars including Poole who claims that the commission ‘fails to differentiate between representations of British and non-British Muslims. Critical of all sectors of the British media, including the liberal press, which, it argues, is guilty of an exclusionary liberalism, it barely differentiates between the different sectors of the British media and does not present a systematic analysis of the representations’.  

The Islamic Human Rights Commission undertook a wide ranging study entitled *British Muslims’ Expectations of the Government: The British Media and Muslim Representation: The Ideology of Demonisation*. The study does not look specifically at newspapers however it was still felt pertinent to include a brief mention here given it pertains to most other media including television, film and a wide range of literature including both classical and contemporary. In addition as has already been highlighted in order for the readership of the newspaper to analyse what they have read they need other sources of information and this study discusses some of these other key sources.

The study also involved the analysis of the responses to questionnaires which were sent to British Muslims with a diverse background and asked them ‘their views on media reporting on Muslims, Muslims portrayal in the film industry, non-Muslim

---

perception of Muslims as a result of media representation and how much opportunity is given to Muslims to express their opinions in the media.\textsuperscript{41} The findings claimed that Muslims had ‘decoded very anti-Muslim practices within the media that, if understood and articulated wider, could expose critical faults within cultural discourse that indict the mainstream cultural practice’.\textsuperscript{42} Whilst this study is particular insightful and covered an array of topics it should be viewed with caution. Whilst a detailed literature review was undertaken to inform the analysis, it appears the analysis was then undertaken from the perspective that the negative images already existed and that the research aimed to uncover them not as would be expected to discover if they exist to start with. This is evident in the introduction to part one which states: ‘With Orientalist ideas still dominating Western media, the first part of the analysis focuses on television news, English literature and Hollywood films with the aim to expose such misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims which exist within these forms of media.’\textsuperscript{43} This is further emphasised when beginning the television news analysis it states: ‘In order to understand the extent to which this prejudiced and inaccurate portrayal continues in the media, this research presents an analysis of television news.’\textsuperscript{44} In addition, the study would have benefitted from using both Muslim and non-Muslim sources to assess their perceptions. Pertaining to Iran the study includes analysis of the film House and Sand and Fog, and the books Reading Lolita in Tehran, Persepolis and Not Without My Daughter. It should be noted that in discussing House of Sand and Fog it does not acknowledge that the Iranian actress Shohreh Aghdashloo is in the film. Whilst this may be an oversight it could be seen as intentional.

\textsuperscript{42} Ameli, British Muslims’ Expectations of the Government, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{44} Ameli, British Muslims’ Expectations of the Government, p. 26.
In another study undertaken by Campbell which looks at other US films including the film version of the book *Not Without My Daughter* it claims that the films contain ‘stereotypes of irrationality, terrorism, cruelty, and barbarism’ that have succeeded in demonising Iranians for the uniformed mass audience’. 45

In a talk given in London in June 2002 at a conference on ‘Islam and the Media’ Brian Whitaker, the Middle East Editor for the Guardian, acknowledged that persistent stereotypes of Muslims do appear in newspapers. The four frames he highlights specifically are that Muslims are ‘intolerant, misogynistic, violent or cruel and strange or different’. He notes that violence and cruelty are not just associated with terrorism and that ‘under the “intolerant” heading we find words such as stern, harsh, puritanical. The last thing you would expect Muslims to do is laugh, enjoy themselves or tell jokes’. 46

Research undertaken by Karim also looks at stereotypes which are associated with what he terms ‘the Muslim other’. Concurring with those who acknowledge the importance of stereotypes, he claims they are key to understanding another culture and ‘date back centuries and are preserved in collective cultural memory’. 47 He notes that these general stereotypes are used to portray all Muslims, they do not take account of either the diverse nature of Islam or the position an individual may hold within society. 48 The overarching theme he notes is ‘“Us vs. Them” often achieved

---

by “Islam vs. West” or “Muslim rage” or an “angry faith”. Karim’s analysis shows that in a different form these primary stereotypes are associated with Islam:

- Violence
- Lust
- Avarice
- Barbarism

In addition he notes despotism is generally used to refer to the government of Muslim nations. Barbarism is according to Karim ‘manifested in the Muslim’s violence and sexual obsessions as well as in his or her implacable opposition to modernity and penchant for superstition and religious fundamentalism’.

In concluding Karim notes that these stereotypes create an image of Muslims and this impinges on them in the following ways: ‘Motives of Muslims are rendered suspicious because they are viewed as deceitful; their business dealings become dishonest due to their lust for material possessions; their political activities become illegitimate because they are always motivated by base desires and military desires look illicit because they are carried our as holy.’

In a number of works undertaken by Van Dijk, a key proponent of CDA, he claims what exists in Western society is a ‘New Racism’ which he argues is ‘a system of ethnic or ‘racial’ inequality consisting of sets of sometimes subtle everyday discriminatory practices sustained by socially shared representations, such

---

51 Karim, ‘The Historical Resilience of Primary Stereotypes’, p. 158.
52 Karim, ‘The Historical Resilience of Primary Stereotypes’, p. 158.
53 Karim, ‘The Historical Resilience of Primary Stereotypes’, p. 177.
as stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies’.\textsuperscript{54} He highlights the media’s role in this practice when he notes ‘Systematic negative portrayal of the Others, thus virtually contributed to negative mental models, stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies about the Others, and hence indirectly to the enactment and reproduction of racism’.\textsuperscript{55} The term racism is incredibly value laden and is associated with some horrendous practices of for example slavery and violent attacks, even a talk of ‘new’ racism, will inevitably revoke images associated with traditional racism. Van Dijk argues that the press actively sustain what he terms the New Racism although he acknowledges this is often a result of their daily practice, he states:

Most of the press, subtly and sometimes more blatantly (as in the right-wing tabloids), but always actively, fuels and spreads the ethnic attitudes that sustain contemporary racism. It does so, if only unwittingly, by its discriminatory hiring policies, biased news gathering, marginalization of antiracism, selective quotation of white elites, stereotype-confirming topics, denial of racism, and the consistent semantic, stylistic, and rhetorical construction of a contrast between (good) us and (bad) them. More importantly, it does so by its vast and unique scope of access to the public at large and by persuasively providing white readers with an interpretation framework of ethnic events that hardly allows antiracist understanding and action.\textsuperscript{56}

Van Dijk is not the only one to discuss a new racism, Modood argues that when discussing discrimination towards Asians the term ‘cultural racism’ is more appropriate.\textsuperscript{57} He defines traditional racism as ‘color racism’.\textsuperscript{58}

An interesting study undertaken by Dorman and Farhang which looks at reporting of Iran in the American press before the revolution identified that, the media adopted a favourable position in its reporting of Iran which corresponded with

\textsuperscript{55} Van Dijk, ‘New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach’, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{58} Modood, Multicultural Politics, p. 6.
political relations between the two nations. They concluded that political and economic reasons may excuse the politicians for failure to address the Iranian political situation, the media however have no such excuse. They state, ‘It is inexcusable that the American press should defer to the shortsighted position of official Washington for more than a quarter of a century in a matter of such crucial importance as relations between Iran and the United States. Not even the prestige press during this period elected to pursue sustained investigative journalism.’

Islamic discourse has created a perceived threat of Islam. In an article by Halliday, he argues that this threat is misleading, it ignores ‘the fact that most Muslims are not supporters of Islamist movements is obscured as are the conditions under which people who are Muslims do turn to this particular option’. Of particular importance for this study is his opposition to the frequent claim that the West needs an enemy. He argues ‘Capitalism is an expansionary force that seeks to subject the whole world to its domination and force it to imitate the West in the key areas of social, economic and political activity. Its main conflictual drive is competition within itself – for profit, markets, power’. The other point he makes which is particularly pertinent to this study is that he argues ‘if there are myths about ‘Islam’, they are ones invented and propagated not just in the supposed hegemonic world of Europe and the USA, but also within the supposedly dominated and oppressed arena of “Islam” itself’. This is based on the rhetoric which comes from Islamic leaders themselves, he states:

A casual reading of the speeches of Khomeini, or other Islamic leaders […] will reveal in them many of the same themes that are found in anti-Islamic propaganda in the West: The Islamist movement rejects Western values of secularism, democracy, the rule of civil law, equality between men and women, and between Muslims and non-Muslims; Islamists espouse gross racist generalizations about Jews, the ‘West’ and, in other contexts, Hindus; they are committed to a long-term struggle with the West, seen as decadent and aggressive, and to a militant, intransigent conflict with the historic enemy.\textsuperscript{63}

This may explain the foundations of any claims about Islam, which may be uncovered in this study.

The U.S media’s coverage of Iran shifted dramatically following the siege of the American Embassy in Iran in 1979 which is shown in Edward Said’s book \textit{Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World}. Compared with Dorman and Farhang’s work it would concur with those who claim that when relations are favourable, many issues are overlooked however when tensions escalate and the home nation is threatened then the media reflect this. It is also an indicator of how the media can at times simply follow government policy. Said claims ‘Iran continues to arouse seething passions in Americans, not only because of the deeply insulting and unlawful seizure of the Tehran Embassy, which was occupied by Iranian students on November 4, 1979, but also as a result of the incredibly detailed, highly focused attention of the media to the event and Iran’s demonization for years after it.’\textsuperscript{64} The important role he believes the media play in informing public opinion is evident. His work concurs with others who believe that the view of Islam in the West is monolithic, he argues that while alternative views exist but are not prevalent ‘the market for representations of a monolithic, enraged, threatening, and conspiratorially spreading Islam is much greater, more useful, and

\textsuperscript{63} Halliday, \textit{Islam and the Myth of Confrontation}, p. 110.
capable of generating more excitement, whether for purposes of entertainment or use of mobilizing passions against a new foreign devil’. Said acknowledges that a number of incidents (terrorist in nature) and situations (including censorship, an absence of democracy and repressive government) have inevitably fuelled the representations, however it is the indiscriminate use of the term Islam as a means to explain which is where the problem lies.

Coming from a geopolitical position, Robinson undertook a study which analysed British media reporting of the Bosnian Conflict (1992-1995) and argued it was significant in shaping Western policy responses. She highlights that two prevailing representations of Bosnia existed ‘Bosnia for many, was a sophisticated case placed in the heart of Europe whilst for others it was Bosnia’s Balkan identity and all the associated negative connotations which informed journalistic reports’. What is significant for this study is that she noted the use of historical and geographical analogies actually complicated reporting of the crisis.

A study undertaken by Negrine analysed British coverage of Turkey’s bid to join the European Union in 2004, and is useful for this study as it analyses reporting of an event which involves Britain and the European Union. The study concluded that the coverage did reflect Britain’s relationship with Europe. The issue was reported Negrine argues as a matter of foreign policy with Turkey wishing to join the EU. In addition whilst European public opposition was reported, no reference was

---

65 Said, Covering Islam, p. xxviii.
68 Robinson ‘Putting Bosnia in its Place’, p. 381.
69 Robinson ‘Putting Bosnia in its Place’, p. 381.
71 Negrine, ‘Imagining Turkey’, p. 634.
made to any within Britain. Negrine notes ‘the non-presence of the British public was explained, in part, by the absence of elite political dissent on this topic. But it can also be understood in part, as a reflection of the lack of historical relations of conflict between Britain and Turkey’.

What is evident from this literature review is the overwhelming use of Islamic discourse in representing the other. No other religion attracts such focus.

---

72 Negrine, ‘Imagining Turkey’, p. 634
73 Negrine, ‘Imagining Turkey’, p. 642.
**Statement on Data**

The four British newspapers selected for analysis are *The Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Sun* and the *Mirror*. Acknowledging that the *Daily Telegraph* boasts the highest daily circulation figures of all broadsheet papers it was however omitted from this study as its political leaning right of centre is comparable with that of *The Times*. *The Times* was selected over the *Daily Telegraph* because *The Times* has traditionally been viewed (especially by onlookers from abroad) as representing the views of the British establishment and because *The Times* has a long established reputation for its interest in foreign affairs and extensive foreign news coverage. For example when Napoleon blockaded the English Channel, *The Times* paid smugglers to bring the news in.\(^{74}\) The Shah acknowledged the paper’s importance when he took out a series of full-page advertisements promoting the 2500-year celebration of Iranian Monarchy in 1971.\(^{75}\) The *Guardian* was selected for its contrasting left of centre position and is generally perceived as equal to *The Times* when it comes to the coverage of foreign affairs.

It was felt that the high circulation figures of the tabloids makes them integral to any study of the British press. The *Sun* was selected as it is the paper which has the highest circulation figures of any English language newspaper. For contrast within the tabloid sector, the *Mirror* was selected as the fourth newspaper for analysis. The *Mirror* takes a pronounced centre left approach and has been traditionally associated with the Labour party.\(^{76}\)

---


\(^{75}\) *The Times*, Saturday, 25 September 1971.

A preliminary data search for Iran with the wildcard ! from the 17 August 1989 to the 2 August 2005 using Lexis library revealed over 10,000 articles in both broadsheets, this figure included Saturdays. The Sun and the Mirror are not available in Lexis for the whole time frame. Following a review of the broadsheet articles it was clear that whilst Iran was mentioned it was frequently not the focus. For example in the early years, articles centred on Iraq made reference to the Iran-Iraq war and articles discussing the Kurds mentioned the Iranian border.

It was decided that a quantitative and qualitative approach would need to be used. The initial review made it clear that the methodology of selecting 1 in every X articles would in this case result in data being gathered that Iran was not the focus nor formed a significant part of the article. Another approach of selecting articles based on those in which Iran was mentioned in more than a passing reference but in which she was not the focus was also tested but it was deemed that this method could not be replicated by another researcher as it was based on researcher interpretation and was consequently abandoned. It was then decided that articles in which either Iran! or Rafsanjani! or Khatami! or Khamenei! or Tehran appeared in the headline would be the criteria for data gathering.

In addition three separate searches were undertaken in which Iran appeared in the same sentence with one of these three issues; nuclear, human rights and terrorism. This two step approach ensured that these three issues were subjected to analysis even if they didn’t appear in the headline and would uncover what articles if any the issues were intertextually used in.

The results were reviewed for all searches and any Saturday and duplicate articles were removed.
In addition to allow the *Sun* and the *Mirror* to be analysed a qualitative analysis of four events within the time frame would be undertaken. As already noted the tabloid papers are not available for the whole time frame and therefore a full quantitative analysis could not be conducted and as these papers largely rely on press agency it was decided to limit their analysis to qualitative analysis. Four significant events throughout the period under analysis were selected. A time frame of one week prior to and one week following the event was chosen as this would provide access to reporting in the lead-up to and in the aftermath of the chosen event. Articles which mention Iran but Iran is not the focus will be recorded but will not be analysed. The four case studies selected are as follows:

- Case Study A: Re-establishment of diplomatic ties with Britain, September 27th 1990.
- Case Study B: Iran-Libya Sanctions Act August 5th 1996.
- Case Study C: Election of President Khatami May 23rd 1997.

The Nuclear issue was selected based on a study by Shahram Chubin.\footnote{Shahram Chubin, *Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006), p. xiv.}

The articles were sourced from three locations:

1. ‘Lexis-Library’: An on-line database covering many newspapers subscribed to by Manchester University’s John Rylands library.

2. ‘Arcitext’: The *Daily Mirror*’s on-line database which catalogues all publications in full text form from 1903 to date.
3. Microfilms located at the British Library (necessary for the earlier part of the
Sun’s coverage).

The work in Colindale involved reading every article of every Sun newspaper in the
week surrounding the events.

This analysis will be concerned with only the text of the articles including
headlines and by-line, no analysis of the location of the article will be undertaken.78
It will also not look at any directly or indirectly related visual representations such as
photographs (with potentially revealing captions that would invite analysis) or
caricatures, etc. Whilst it is acknowledged that this could be deemed a criticism of
the research, I would argue that this could form the basis of an additional study and
in order to address a large number of articles the decision to exclude images was
made. Until recently the traditional consensus in some fields was that the images
merely supported the news article and have little or no independent value, however
this notion is being challenged.79 Andén-Papadopoulos notes that media
organisations are undecided about how to view images: ‘On the one hand, because of
their perceived status as unmediated ‘windows’ on the world, photographs have
served to guarantee the objectivity and truth-value of news reporting. On the other
hand, defined as a ‘purely visual’ medium, photographs have been assigned to the
non-reflective realm of simplistic sensations, perceived as a threat to the journalistic
instituition with the roots in the rationalist Enlightenment.’80

78 Kress and Leeuwen are particularly interested in analysis of layout and have developed a
framework for such an analysis see Gunther Kress & Theo van Leeuwen ‘Front Pages: (The Critical)
Analysis of Newspaper Layout’, in Approaches to Media Discourses, eds Allan Bell & Peter Garrett
79 Kari, Andén-Papadopoulos, ‘The Abu Ghraib Torture Photographs: News Frames, Visual Culture,
The impact images can have on public perception is also widely debated as the prevalence of images increases. Summing up works by Campbell 2003; Moeller 1999; Taylor 1998 and Zelizer 1998, Andén-Papadopoulos states: ‘Debates have often boarded on moral panics over, on the one hand, the reality effect of atrocity images, threatening to traumatize the public and alter the course of state policy – the so called ‘CNN effect’ – or, on the other hand, over the perceived ‘compassion fatigue’ syndrome, presuming that the ubiquity of atrocity images has numbed our senses and created a new condition of public indifference in the face of the suffering of others.’81 Another crucial and highly significant factor which must be addressed is whether a photograph can truly be objective and I would argue not. An image is taken based on a photographer’s decision, the decision to include that particular image over others is one of selectivity and an image can be manipulated. John Simpson notes how the Iranians would paint their hands with red paint during the Iran-Iraq war.

Whilst this study has sought as far as possible to reduce the influence of the researcher, particularly in the use of a quantitative approach, it must be acknowledged that it cannot be removed completely. The examples which are used to support the findings are researcher chosen. The words selected for analysis are researcher chosen however, I would argue when the wordlist is formed which identifies frequent words, this provides quantitative figures to support the findings. Inevitably the background of the researcher, in a similar way to the background of the journalist impacts on the article, will impact on the research. This however does not invalidate the study as one interpretation is as valid as another and therefore the

study is viable. Also, by adhering to the combined methodological approach it reduces researcher involvement.
Chapter 1: Othering

‘Othering’ is an area of study within a number of academic disciplines and as a result various theoretical approaches have emerged. The most widely known concept of Othering is that it occurs on the grounds of race and nation, Kitzinger and Wilkinson note that ‘Othering has been powerfully invoked to theorize ‘race’, ethnicity and colonialism, and to discuss the construction of third-world subjects as the objectified Others of North American or European imaginations’. However, Othering occurs in numerous other instances for example based on gender, sexual preference, social class and even internally within nations for example being from Liverpool as opposed to Manchester. Given the aim of this study is to uncover how the Other, in this case Iran, has been represented in the British press, this chapter will discuss the concepts of Racism, Islamophobia and Orientalism which are all interlinked with the notion of othering based on race and nation and are all terms which have become prevalent in contemporary society and are associated with discussions of race, ethnicity and colonialism. This chapter will therefore highlight briefly a discussion of ‘Othering’ from the position of those who subscribe to the concept, it will then look in more detail at the issue of racism and the existence of a ‘new racism’ before discussing the debate surrounding Islamophobia and the connection with the Saidian notion of ‘Orientalism’. In addition other terms have been used to define hostility towards the ‘Other’ including the ‘barbarism theory’ and a specific ‘anti-Arab racism’.

Neuman argues that theorizing of the Other could be classified into four different paths ‘the ethnographic path, the psychological path, the continental

philosophical path and the “Eastern excursion”’. The works of Lacan for example, which are part of the psychological path, have been used by many feminists working on the concept of othering. Lacan’s work identified the process of othering occurring amongst infants. ‘Lacan’s account of the development of subjectivity suggests that the infant develops a sense of self (during what he calls ‘the looking-glass phase’)) through differentiating itself from Others’. 

Triandafyllidou argues ‘the notion of the ‘other’ is also ‘inextricably linked to the concept of national identity’. Neuman claims that it was Hegel who linked Self/Other with identity formation noting ‘he refines the idea that, by knowing the other, the self has the power to give or withhold recognition, so as to be constituted as self at the same time’. However Neuman argues that whilst Marx incorporated Hegel’s idea, his view of identity formation was focused only on ‘the dialectical principle’. Marx’s dialectical principal became known as dialectical materialism as his focus unlike Hegel’s was based on the mode of production. Neuman claims that it was Marx’s notion which dominated social theory about the Other in the 20th Century. Peterssoo using the work of Smith urges caution in focusing too heavily on the Self/Other in identity formation he notes: ‘One must remember that the dialectic with the Other is just one aspect of national identity formation. Modern nations and

---

83 Iver B. Neumann, ‘Self and Other in International Relations’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2 (1996), 139-174 (p. 141).
87 Neumann, ‘Self and Other in International Relations’, p. 141.
88 Neumann, ‘Self and Other in International Relations’, p. 141.
89 Neumann, ‘Self and Other in International Relations’, p. 141.
nationalism involve many more elements than a heightened concern for monitored boundaries and the exclusion of “foreigners” (Smith 1998:3).  

Othering, as already noted is theoretically diverse however as Kitzinger and Wilkinson highlight what is common amongst the different theories is ‘the observation that the notion of who and what Others are (what they are like, the attributes assigned them, the sorts of lives they are supposed to lead) is intimately related to ‘our’ notion of who and what ‘we’ are. That is, ‘we’ use the Other to define ourselves: ‘we’ understand ourselves in relation to what ‘we’ are not’.  

Triandafyllidou argues that each nation has a significant Other and that ‘the history of each nation is marked by the presence of significant others that have influenced the development of its identity by means of their ‘threatening’ presence’. Crucially for Triandafyllidou, it is the perceived threat which creates the Other and not the size or power of the other nation. She notes that during periods of crisis the Other is invoked to unify the nation: ‘Significant others also become more salient in periods of social, political or economic crisis during which the identity of the nation is put in question. The significant other in these cases serves in overcoming the crisis because it unites the people in front of the common enemy, it reminds them “who we are” and emphasizes that “we are different and unique”’. Many argue that in the case of Iran’s war with Iraq it was the uniting of the nation against a ‘common enemy’ which helped stabilise Iran after the revolution.

---

Petersoo notes that our relationship with the Other is not always negative and classifies the other into categories, each positive has a negative counterpart, ‘Internal positive Other, internal negative Other, external positive Other and external negative Other’. Triandafyllidou similarly classifies the Other but chooses instead to classify them initially in terms of internal and external significant others and then further into sub-types. In addition, Petersoo also acknowledges that our relationship with the Other is not fixed and that ‘the intensity of the Other’s influence on ‘us’ varies’. This is particularly evident when viewing international political alliances, the other nation can shift from friend to foe and back to friend and therefore the process of othering results in different outcomes during these periods.

Power is a key aspect of ‘Othering’. Clifford claims ““Cultural” difference is no longer a stable exotic “otherness”; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence”. It is worth quoting at some length Gupta and Ferguson’s summary of how ethnographers, one of the four paths highlighted by Neumann, and arguably the most relevant to this study, have used various concepts of power in their study on human cultures:

From Foucault (1978, 1980) ethnographers have borrowed the idea that power relations permeate all levels of society, with a field of resistances that is coextensive with them. From such writers as Bourdieu (1977) and de Certeau (1984), they have taken a stress on the active practices of social agents, who never simply enact culture but reinterpret and reappropriate it in their own ways. And from Gramsci (1971) and his more recent interpreters (Raymond Williams [1977] and Stuart Hall [1986] chief among them), they have taken a focus on the partially, the eternally incomplete nature of

95 Petersoo, ‘Reconsidering Otherness: Constructing Estonian Identity’, p. 120.
hegemony, with its implication of the cultural as a contested, contingent political field, the battlefield in an ongoing “war of position”.\textsuperscript{99}

Culture has never been excluded from politics but has been used along with other factors as a means of domination and control. In recent years as will be shown, racism based on the grounds of culture has become a feature of contemporary society. Throughout the colonial era, cultural distinctions provided justification for coloniser domination over the colonised.

Kitzinger and Wilkinson also highlight the role of power when they identify two key consequences of the idea that through constructing the Other, the Self is defined. The first concerns representations produced by the other: ‘Others representations of themselves (and certainly their representations of ‘us’) are routinely ‘deauthorized’, dismissed as neither credible nor coherent.’\textsuperscript{100} The second is that we can learn about the self by the way the Other is represented: ‘Representations of Otherness can be read as inverted representations of those doing the Othering […] Instead of reading accounts of Others as transparent texts which more or less adequately reveal information about those Others, such texts can be inverted and read as being ‘about’ their authors – that is, as reflecting and revealing the strategies by which those with the power of representation construct themselves.’\textsuperscript{101}

Crucially therefore in any discussion of Othering it must always be remembered that the outcome of othering is a construction. Kitzinger & Wilkinson state ‘We cannot write about the Other as if some totalizable intelligible object simply ‘exists’ out there, waiting to be represented. Others are constructed – by those


\textsuperscript{100} Kitzinger & Wilkinson, ‘Theorizing Representing the Other’, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{101} Kitzinger & Wilkinson, ‘Theorizing Representing the Other’, p. 10.
who do the Othering, by those who reflect upon that Othering, and by the Others’ own representations of themselves.\footnote{Kitzinger & Wilkinson, ‘Theorizing Representing the Other’, p. 15.} The problem however arises if the construction is based on the perceived negative or distinctively different characteristics of the other and consequently the other becomes known through this prism. Racism, Islamophobia and the Saidian notion of Orientalism are all cases in which characteristics of the Other are highlighted to construct an image of the Other which is often contrasted with an image of the self for political, economic or social reasons.

Racism as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary has two meanings, the first ‘the belief that all members of each race possess the characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or races’ and the other as ‘prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one’s own race is superior’.\footnote{www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/racism [May 2011].} Traditionally racism was discrimination on the basis of colour and most widely acknowledged as being directed against blacks. Innate characteristics were then also ascribed to a particular race. Hirschman identifies three factors which he believes accounted for this racism: ‘1) the enslavement of millions of Africans in plantation economies in the New World 2) the spread of European colonial rule across the world, especially in Asia and Africa in the nineteenth century; and 3) the development of Social Darwinism – the pseudo-scientific theory of European superiority that become dominant in the nineteenth century.’\footnote{Charles Hirschman, ‘The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race’, Population and Development Review, 30 (2004), 385–425 (p. 392).}
The United World Conference against Racism in 2001 also acknowledged that slavery and colonialism, amongst other factors, are the main causes of what they term ‘racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance’. There are also those who argue that examples of racism can be found throughout the Greek, Roman and Persian empires.

However, in recent years there has been much debate as to whether the term racism remains relevant in contemporary society or whether other terms would be more appropriate. Modood argues that the focus on the black-white relationship has made the term racism too restrictive and that this would be better termed ‘color racism’ whereas when discussing discrimination towards Asians he argues that the term ‘cultural racism’ is more appropriate. The reason for this distinction he argues is based on the fact that ‘the racialized image of Asians is not so extensively linked to physical appearance. It very soon appeals to cultural motifs such as language, religion, family structure, exotic dress, cuisine, and art forms. These are taken to be part of the meaning of “Asian” and of why Asians – which in Britain means South Asians – are alien, backward, and undesirable’. Modood acknowledges that it was in the 1980s that the idea of a ‘new racism’ in Britain began to emerge which identified racism based on cultural grounds. He identified the Holocaust and the discredited nineteenth century scientific claims of racial superiority/inferiority which paved the way for this ‘new racism’. ‘New racism’ he claims is based on ‘the “natural” preference of human beings for their own cultural group, and on the incompatibility between different cultures — the mixing or

106 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 6.
107 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 6.
108 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 27.
coexistence of which in one country, it was alleged, was bound to lead to violent social conflict and the dissolution of special bonds'.  

Balibar argues that ‘anti-semitism’ is the first example of racism in which biology was not the main factor. Modood notes that ‘cultural racism’ or ‘new racism’, as it is also referred, can also be seen in American where he notes that in the case of African-Americans ‘problems and disadvantages of that group are attributed to culture and not biology’.  

Cultural racism Modood argues is a ‘two-step racism’ with colour racism being the first step, but crucially however ‘cultural racism is not a proxy for racism but a form of racism’. Modood does not however reject the traditional sense of racism, he argues that ‘color racism is at the ground floor on which cultural racism is built in contemporary Britain, but I remain unpersuaded that they must be present in every practice or set of attitudes that we might wish to call racism’. He does acknowledge however that physical appearance remains important: ‘Racialization has to pick on some features of a people related to physical appearance and ancestry, otherwise racism cannot be distinguished from other forms of groupism. Physical appearance is central to race, but, as in the case of cultural racism, it can be a marker only and not necessarily denote a form of determinism.  

One of the criticisms of cultural racism Modood notes is that it views culture in terms similar to those of biology in that cultural traits are inherited and do not change over time. However to refute this he highlights the change in perception of Asians following the Satanic Verses affair: ‘Until The Satanic Verses affair, Asian

---

109 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 27.
111 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 11.
112 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 11.
113 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 12.
114 Modood, Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain, p. 11.
men were stereotyped as unassertive, overdeferential, and docile, not able to stand up for themselves. Within a few years, the prevalent stereotype of Muslim men (in Britain the majority are Asian) included the idea that they were inflexible, always demanding something fanatical, and aggressive.¹¹⁵

Similarly, Hirschman is another who believes that the traditional meaning of racism has changed identifying that it has taken on a more social meaning in recent years: ‘Racism is now viewed as a social – not a biological – category to describe members of a population who share some common physical features (e.g. skin colour) and whose ancestors share a common geographical origin.’¹¹⁶ He argues however to continue to use the term racism with its new meaning is no longer relevant and argues that ‘ethnicity’ would be a suitable replacement: ‘Ethnicity is explicitly subjective, it acknowledges multiple ancestries, and it recognizes that ethnic groups are porous and heterogeneous.’¹¹⁷

Van Dijk also acknowledges ethnicism, noting that ‘immigrants of non-western origin, or peoples of Third World countries generally, are not only or primarily categorized and (negatively) evaluated in terms of bodily appearance (whether or not conceptualized as different ‘races’), but also on the basis of cultural, that is ‘ethnic’ characteristics. Throughout western history, such social representations have been used to distinguish in – and out – groups according to variable mixture or perceived differences of language, religion, dress or customs, until today often associated with different origin or bodily appearance’.¹¹⁸ Van Dijk notes that this is more acceptable in society stating that ‘while seen as morally less

¹¹⁶ Hirschman, ‘The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race’, p. 408.
reprehensible, the emphasis on culture and cultural differences has become the modern variant of racial differentiation of earlier western ideologies. Hence racism, is being transformed into ethnicism’.\textsuperscript{119}

The Runnymede Trust noted that discrimination on the grounds of religion was omitted from the UK’s Race Relations Act when it was originally drafted in 1975/76 and changes were not made until 2003 following, it is argued, a directive from Europe.\textsuperscript{120} The Trust claims that Muslims have long been marginalised in legislation as a result of changes since the 1970s when certain religions (Jews and Sikhs) were defined as ethnic groups which granted them protection under race relations legislation.\textsuperscript{121}

Since the 1980s and 1990s the term Islamophobia has gained prominence in many sectors of society within the UK although it is not exclusive to the UK. Much debate abounds however as to the meaning and origins of the term or whether it should actually exist at all. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Islamophobia as ‘a hatred or fear of Islam and Muslims, especially as a political force’.\textsuperscript{122} It is often argued however that the term rose to prominence in contemporary society following the publication of the Runnymede Trust’s report in 1997 entitled \textit{Islamophobia: Issues Challenges and Action}.\textsuperscript{123} The Runnymede Trust identified that hostility towards Islam and Muslims is evident in Western cultures as early as the Eighth Century, however they argue that it has not remained constant and that it may be

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{119} Van Dijk, \textit{Racism and the Press}, p. 26.\\
\textsuperscript{120} Runnymede Trust, \textit{Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action} (London: Runnymede Trust, 2004), p. 13.\\
\textsuperscript{121} Runnymede Trust, \textit{Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action}, p. 13.\\
\textsuperscript{122} Oxford English Dictionary, \url{www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/racism} [May 2011].\\
\end{flushright}
more accurate to speak of ‘Islamophobias’ as ‘each version of Islamophobia has its own features as well as similarities with, and borrowings from, other versions’.  

The Trust’s report identified four specific factors which may explain the presence of contemporary Islamophobia, ‘the first being the mass migration into western nations of Muslims in the last fifty years, the second is the economic power now yielded by Muslim Oil rich nations, the third is that serious human rights abuses have been committed by nations using Islam as justification and finally is that a number of political organisations have emerged which use Islam as justification for actions which are deemed terrorist.’  

In Britain, Field pinpoints the Rushdie affair as being a key point for Britain’s Muslim community, he notes, ‘The Rushdie affair unified the British Muslim community in a way that no other previous issue had, radicalized many young British-born Muslims, developed links with proponents of radical Islam overseas and created a strong backlash against Muslims and in some sections of the British media.’  

López however highlights a number of works at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century which identified a position in Europe towards Islam and Muslims which some termed ‘Islamophobia’. Following his research on a number of early twentieth century works he concludes:

In short, approaches to the term and the phenomenon in the early twentieth century leave no doubt that the term ‘Islamophobia’ should be applied only to denote a hostile attitude towards Islam and Muslims based on the image of

---

Islam as the enemy and as a vital, irrefutable and absolute threat to ‘our’ well-being and even to ‘our’ existence, irrespective of how Muslims are identified, whether on the basis of religious or ethnic criteria.\textsuperscript{128}

Field analysed UK opinion polls undertaken between 1988 and 2006 which looked at British attitudes towards Muslims. Whilst acknowledging the problems of using opinion poll data, which include the fact that they are generally commissioned by the media for news stories and therefore lack the academic scrutiny in their methodology and are often undertaken when tensions are running high, he argues that they remain a valuable source of information.\textsuperscript{129} His study drew nine conclusions which led him to declare that a stereotypical picture of Muslims does exist in British society which is that ‘Muslims in Britain are slow to integrate into mainstream society, feel only a qualified sense of patriotism and are prone to espouse anti-Western values that lead many to condone so-called Islamic terrorism’.\textsuperscript{130}

Sayyid argues that there are three main differences between Islamophobia and racism:

Firstly, given the hegemonic understanding of ethnicity based around the quasi-biological notions of race, discrimination against Muslims since Muslims are not reducible to one ethnicity […] Secondly, Islamophobia transcends the boundaries of the nation-state […] Thirdly, Islamophobia paradoxically demonstrates the contingent nature of the Western enterprise By seeing in the assertion of Muslim identity an existential threat to Western civilisation itself, Islamophobes inadvertently betray their anxieties about a future in which cultural, economic and military dominance of the West may not be sustained.\textsuperscript{131}

In addition, he argues that the contested nature of the term Islamophobia ‘has allowed it to circulate widely, but ineffectively: useful, for some, to vent grievances; used, by others, to pontificate; conveniently toothless platitudes and sound bites for

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{128} López, ‘Towards a Definition of Islamophobia’, p. 570. \\
\textsuperscript{129} Field, ‘Islamophobia in Contemporary Britain’, pp.449-450. \\
\textsuperscript{130} Field, ‘Islamophobia in Contemporary Britain’, p. 466. \\
\end{flushleft}
canvassing politicians and opinion makers unable or unwilling to see its value as a tool for justice’. 132

Halliday argues that the term ‘Anti-Muslimness’ is preferable to Islamophobia because he notes it is the people who in contemporary society that are attacked and not Islam. 133 Another alternate term to Islamophobia has been to talk of ‘Anti-Muslim racism’. The Runnymede Trust object to this term claiming Muslims do not constitute a race arguing that there is only one race the human race. 134 Halliday in addition believes that the term Islamophobia is misleading as it implies the existence of a unitary Islam and hinders the potential for open criticism of what Halliday terms ‘universal principles’. 135 He argues that ‘Islamophobia like its predecessor ‘imperialism’ can too easily be used to silence critics of national states and élites’. 136

Modood also uses the term Muslimophobia and argues ‘it is at the heart of contemporary British and European cultural racism’. 137 Balibar however identifies in France what he terms ‘Arabophobia’ which he notes however confuses ‘Arabness’ with ‘Islamicism’ as it is based on a notion of Islam. He notes, ‘contemporary Arabophobia, especially in France, carries with it an image of Islam as a “conception of the world” which is incompatible with Europeanness and an enterprise of universal ideological domination, and therefore a systematic confusion of “Arabness” and “Islamicism”’. 138

134 Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action, p. 11.
137 Modood, Multicultural Politics, p. 37.
In American however Salaita argues that a more preferable term than Orientalism or Islamophobia to describe the representation of Arabs would be ‘Anti-Arab racism’. He argues that Orientalism has numerous issues and that it is not appropriate when Arab-Americans are viewed in the context of the Arab World. Although he does note that, ‘orientalism has been remarkably useful as a descriptive critique of phenomena ranging from misconceptions about Arabs to fool hardy foreign policy, and has seen its use (quiet justifiably) increase among Arab Americans in post-9/11 United States.’ The term Islamophobia he believes is too ambiguous. ‘Anti-Arab racism’ he claims should be located ‘within a heterogeneous and multitemporal complex of historical factors, although it is clear that 9/11 stratified pre-existing attitudes about Arabs (both positive and negative), thereby transforming Arab Americans into discursive tropes invoked to justify various political agendas’. For Salaita, Anti-Arab racism has been important in developing American National Pride and Patriotism. He notes:

The vigilanty synthetic American consciousness would, in its present form, be impossible without the now tired strategy of demonizing the Other – in this case Arabs, all of whom, according to the totalized pronoun usage common in the United States, are terrorists. On the other hand, the painstakingly manufactured images of an innately terrorist Arab World would be impossible without the dialogically opposed images of all-American communities, which increasingly are being defined according to attitude and behaviour rather than simply by ethnicity (although the whiteness underlying this imagery has, by no means dissipated).

Like other forms of racism, Anti-Arab racism is clearly dependent on the Other, however similarly, it has helped define the Self. In a poignant concluding sentence Salaita states: ‘Ridding the United States of anti-Arab racism requires

140 Salaita, ‘Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia’, p. 249.
141 Salaita, ‘Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia’, p. 249.
143 Salaita, ‘Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia’, p. 262.
nothing less than a rejection of all that is now considered fundamentally American.¹⁴⁴

As has already been highlighted, the Rushdie affair had an important impact on the representation of Asians in the UK. In more recent times, 9/11 again influenced how Muslims and Islam are viewed. In discussing the impact of 9/11, the Runnymede Trust claimed that any international conflict or tension leads to negative representations of the ‘other’ involved and a positive representation of the ‘self’. They note:

> The enemy is portrayed as implacably opposed to us and all we stand for; as evil and barbaric; and as deserving of punishment, suppression and even death. Also, the enemy is less intelligent and rational than we are, has a poorer sense of proportion and cannot be argued with. The only language the enemy understands is force. Casualties inflicted on the enemy are less serious ethnically or legally than casualties suffered by one’s own side.¹⁴⁵

The report noted that it is the presence of particular characteristics which distinguish the enemy that are highlighted, religion being one of the main characteristics favoured.¹⁴⁶

Semanti notes that in America, the media framed the events of 9/11 within popular narratives which the American people could identify with and this he argued was to ‘facilitate the construction and intensification of the generic category of ‘Arab-Middle Eastern-Muslim’ other’.¹⁴⁷ In a similar vein, the Runnymede Trust’s report claimed ‘One reason why Islamophobia cannot be held at bay with words is that it resides in, and is communicated through, stories and imagery’.¹⁴⁸ In a study undertaken by Balfe he highlights how popular fantasy texts often draw upon

¹⁴⁴ Salaita, ‘Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia’, p. 265.
¹⁴⁵ Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action, p. 15.
¹⁴⁶ Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action, p. 15.
¹⁴⁸ Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action, p. 16.
traditional Orientalist tropes. He states, ‘rather than describing purely imaginary
spaces, I would argue that these texts continue a Western historical tradition of
problematically mapping difference on to the ‘Other’, a mapping that serves to
position the ‘Fantastic West’ as morally and culturally superior to the ‘Fantastic
Orient.’

Discussing media reporting in the weeks following 9/11 the Runnymede
Trust notes that ‘abroad’ was represented:

In addition to beards, turbans and loose clothing, and to long, hooked noses,
bin Laden and his followers were associated with recurring images of what
the Western imagination supposes to be quintessential Islam. Examples
included magical flying carpets, with their implications of exotic and
alluring irrationality; genies kept in bottles and lamps, evoking dark,
destructive, uncontrollable forces; scimitar-shaped swords, symbolising
primitive cruelty; and minarets, implying foreign, outlandish beliefs and
practices.

These are traditional Orientalist images which have been highlighted in many
works on Orientalism.

Following the concept of cultural racism, Huntington believes that culture
will become the new source of world conflict, surpassing politics and ideology. He
argues, ‘Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the
principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of
different civilizations.’

In a study undertaken by Brown of the British and French media, he
identified that prior to 9/11 three major themes existed in the reporting of Islam and
Muslims ‘exoticism’, ‘fanaticism’ and ‘delinquency’ and claims that the themes
‘have unfolded chronologically, but they exist side-by-side, within the context of the

Geography, 5 (2004), 75-90 (p. 75).
150 Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia Issues, Challenges and Action, p. 17.
broader Orientalist perceptions of Islam that have existed in the West for centuries’. However, what he argues is most important in his finding is that these themes existed prior to 9/11.

Poole similarly argues that the discourse of Orientalism remains relevant in contemporary society, she notes: ‘Rather than rendering Orientalism outdated (due to the demise of national distinctions), processes of globalization have increased the need for such construction in creating stable boundaries as anxieties increase. In limiting the frameworks of interpretations to containing the ethnocentric ideological assumptions with strategic interests of the Orientalist discourse continues to be a contemporary force.’

Her study claims that in contemporary society it is political Islam which has led to a homogenized view of Muslims as being ‘backward, irrational, unchanging, fundamental, misogynist, threatening, manipulative in the use of their faith for political and personal gain, and yet with politically unstable governments and movements’. This is another clear example of the Saidian notion of Orientalism. Malcon, Baimer and Curry also claim that Islamophobia draws extensively on orientalist stereotypes.

Like Poole, Zebiri also acknowledges the role globalization plays in increasing fear and insecurity and the need for the creation of an ‘other’. She argues that:

---

155 Poole, *Reporting Islam*, p. 18.
The rapid changes brought about by globalization, including, increasing pluralisation and shifts in the international political order, contribute to a feeling of insecurity. For Britain in particular, the end of empire, the nation’s gradual diminution as a world power, its involvement in Europe, migration and regional devolution have all added to the sense of uncertainty. At such times, the creation of “folk devils” onto which one can project one’s own shadow side (unwanted or unacknowledged traits) is especially appealing. The representation of Muslims as barbaric, cruel, irrational, backward, repressive of women, irredeemably alien and Other, goes hand in hand with a view of the Self – whether it be the West, Europe, or Britain – which is modern, progressive, rational, civilized, humane and liberal.\(^\text{157}\)

Following those scholars who continue to acknowledge that a Saidian notion of Orientalism can still be seen in contemporary society, his arguments should be highlighted.

Orientalism traditionally was the overarching term which covered the study of the ‘East’ (however it was defined) whether it be, the study of its languages, religions and political or social-cultural features. Anyone undertaking such a study was therefore an Orientalist.\(^\text{158}\) Mackenzie notes that in addition in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Orientalism referred to the recommended approach Britain should employ in governing India: ‘British Orientalism suggested the notion that East India Company officials should govern India according to Indian laws and customs (or at least their perception of them), immersing themselves in the languages and culture of the subjects of the Company’s Indian territories.’\(^\text{159}\)

Said was not the first to challenge the discipline of Orientalism. Other scholars such as Kurd Ali, Tibawi, Alatas, Abdel-Malek and Laroui had already begun to challenge the motivations and findings of Islam and the Arab World by

---


Western Orientalists.\textsuperscript{160} However, whilst there can be no denying of their impact on the discipline, it was Said who had the most profound effect.

Said’s key premises concerning Orientalism are presented almost immediately in the work’s introduction where he provides elements of a definition. For Said, Orientalism means several things, all of which are interdependent. The most traditional meaning is academic: ‘Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient […] is an Orientalist and what he or she does is Orientalism.’\textsuperscript{161} He furthermore states: ‘Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and (most of the time) “the Occident.”\textsuperscript{162} However, it is the following definition that is arguably the most contentious: ‘Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short; Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.’\textsuperscript{163}

For many who partook in the discipline of Orientalism it was the following claim which was taken as a direct assault on their integrity

So authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism […] That is not to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but that it is the whole network of interests inevitably bought to bear

\textsuperscript{160} Robert Irwin, \textit{For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies’}, (London: Penguin 2006).
\textsuperscript{163} Said, \textit{Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient}, p. 3.
on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion when that peculiar entity “the Orient” is in question.\textsuperscript{164}

In addition to the impact \textit{Orientalism} had on the objects of study, Said argues it was also a means by which the identity of the practitioner could be reinforced: ‘European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.’\textsuperscript{165} Said’s view of Orientalism fits with the concept of othering.

While \textit{Orientalism} invoked a diverse response in the Anglo-American academic world, there was however a general consensus amongst its critics that it contains a number of errors both historical and methodological, for example Lewis highlights that Said has Muslim armies conquering Turkey before North Africa.\textsuperscript{166} The factual errors have themselves facilitated much debate.

\textit{Orientalism}’s most vocal critic was Bernard Lewis who rejected Said’s analysis of Orientalism without, Lockman argues, ‘[…] really engaging with the substance of Said’s critique’.\textsuperscript{167} Macfie in his book also entitled ‘Orientalism’ charts Lewis’ main criticisms of \textit{Orientalism} and concurring with Lockman argues that: ‘A more sympathetic reading of \textit{Orientalism} might have persuaded Lewis that Said’s work, however flawed, yet constitutes a remarkable reading of Europe’s intellectual and political history, worthy of further consideration.’\textsuperscript{168} However he also claims: ‘A more tolerant reading, by Said, of Lewis’s critical analysis of his work, might have enabled him more effectively to defend the intellectual integrity of his project.’\textsuperscript{169} Ibn Warraq’s support for Lewis is evident when he notes: ‘The most famous modern

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{164} Said, \textit{Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{165} Said, \textit{Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{166} Irwin, \textit{For Lust of Knowing}, p. 283.
\textsuperscript{169} Macfie, \textit{Orientalism}, p. 119.
\end{flushright}
scholar who not only replied to but who also mopped the floor with Said was of course Bernard Lewis. Lewis points to many serious errors of history, interpretation, analysis, and omission. He has never been answered, let alone refuted.  

In recent years, Lockman notes that in an attempt to explain the spread of Islamism, a new wave of orientalists has emerged often termed ‘neo – Orientalist’ as they have ‘recapitulated key elements of Orientalism in a contemporary setting’. Sadowski notes ‘this new generation of Orientalists were uncomfortable with their predecessors’ claim that Islam promoted political submission – while sharing the conviction that Islam was incompatible with democracy’.  

Providing an example particularly useful for this study, Lockman identifies an article written by Thomas Friedman, a journalist at the time, published in the New York Times in the run up to the 1990 Gulf War. In the mentioned article, Friedman claims ‘despite all the critiques to which it had been subjected, the kind of cultural essentialism which critics argued was central to the Orientalist tradition continued to be pressed into service, especially at the moments of crisis’. Friedman argued that the differences which existed between the West and the Arab World were evident in the symbols that he believed represented them:  

The symbol of the West is the cross – full of sharp right angles that begin and end. But the symbol of the Arab East is the crescent moon – a wide ambiguous arc, where there are curves, but no corners. What Westerners failed to understand, according to Friedman, was that Arabs just don’t think like “we” do: whereas we are rational and say what we really mean, for the
Arabs, things are often not what they seem; they say one thing but mean another.\textsuperscript{175}

As Lockman notes, this is almost laughable but in fact what it did was offer Americans reassurance and comprehension: ‘At a critical moment it offered Americans an easy way both to make sense of a complicated and often confusing world and to reassure themselves about their innocence, righteous and rationality.’\textsuperscript{176}

Khalid in a study looking at the role of gender in the War on Terror discourse argues that Orientalism is the key to understanding the discourse as ‘it deals with the relationship between depictions by Westerners of non-Western subjects, and the material power relations that arise out of such depictions’.\textsuperscript{177} As previously identified, gender particularly the issue of women has become a means for dividing ‘Self’ from ‘Other’. Khalid notes that what she terms ‘gendered orientalism creates categories of people according to race and gender, defining through these categories what ‘men’ or ‘women’, ‘us’ or ‘them’, ‘Afghan/Arab/Muslim’ and ‘Western’ are and do’.\textsuperscript{178} Khalid goes on to argue that these representations were used in both official and unofficial discourse on the War on Terror and that it played a role in justifying U.S. military intervention into Afghanistan and Iraq.\textsuperscript{179}

Semmerling following on from his research looking at the image of Arabs in film narrative identified that following 9/11, other medium were adopting the traditional film narrative: ‘What once existed as imaginary narratives (Arabs viscously attacking Americans on American soil) had suddenly become real occurrences. But as I read the literature that was spurred by 9/11, listened to the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{175} Lockman, \textit{Contending Visions of the Middle East}, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{176} Lockman, \textit{Contending Visions of the Middle East}, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{178} Khalid, ‘Gender, Orientalism and Representations of the ‘Other’ in the War on Terror’, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{179} Khalid, ‘Gender, Orientalism and Representations of the ‘Other’ in the War on Terror’, p. 15.
\end{flushleft}
inspired political rhetoric, and viewed the assembly of images that had been turned into documentaries, I realised that some 9/11 narratives were borrowing visual tropes and narrative structures from this cinematic genre.  

In a study undertaken by Buchowski on Orientalism in Eastern Europe, he believes Orientalism here has changed and it now is evident both within and outside nations. Concurring with others, he sees the changes in Orientalism as being linked with globalisation, he argues that this new European Orientalism is ‘a refraction, a derivative or correlate of a phenomenon covered by such concepts as globalization, the expansion of multinational capitalism, transgressions, migrations, transnationalism or the media-covered global village’. His work looks at how within society, it is the poor, unemployed and those in the lowest level of society who he argues have become the ‘other’. He views this as being an act of hegemony by which ‘Creation of the inferior categories of people, an intellectual process that shares its logic with orientalising modes of thought, legitimizes political practices, sanctions discrimination and possibly exploitation’. The important role culture is now playing both within the social and political spheres of society is again evident. As already highlighted, culture is key in ‘cultural racism’, Islamophobia and here in neoorientalism.

Culture is also a key factor of Tuastad’s ‘new barbarism’ thesis which offers an explanation for violence. ‘The “new barbarism” thesis implies explanations of political violence that omit political and economic interests and contexts when describing violence, and presents violence as a result of traits embedded in local

---

182 Buchowski, ‘Social Thought and Commentary’, p. 476.
cultures’. The similarity between Orientalism and ‘new barbarism’ Tuastad notes is that they serve the interests of those in a dominant position: ‘Orientalism once served the policies of the colonial powers, the new barbarism thus serves the political interests of people who are aware of the need to produce the images of a conflict as one between civilisation and barbarism.’ He highlights the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an example.

This chapter has shown that power is a key factor in the practice of Othering. In addition the relationship between the Self and the Other is not static but changes throughout history. Frost argues that, ‘Articulations of racism assume different forms that relate to specific socio-economic, political and historical conditions […] Racism as ideology and practice adapts itself to changing material conditions and is in turn a product and reflection of those very conditions. Moreover, levels of racism and the forms it takes are not constant over time and have increased at specific historical moments for complex social and political reasons.’ Similarly Henry argues that, ‘one of the most critical components of modern or new racism is that it is based on an ideological construction of difference and othering. In combination with prevailing dominant white hegemony power, racism becomes a commanding strategy for maintaining asymmetrical power or the status quo.’

Concurring with these views, it would be reasonable to argue then that Imperialism, Orientalism, Islamophobia, Racism, New racism and anti-Arab racism

are the labels given to interactions with the ‘other’ at certain points throughout history for political or social reasons. Common to all these interactions are a range of stereotypes or tropes which are used to describe the ‘other’. Modood notes that stereotypes can change in response to certain situations.\(^{188}\) Following this, it is therefore interesting to identify which stereotypes are utilised and in which situations and to see if there exists any patterns in their use.

Chapter 2: Textual Analysis

Textual Analysis in this study will combine Critical Discourse Analysis with a Corpus Based Analysis using Monoconc Pro 2.2 a computer based concordance programme. Gabrielatos & Baker\(^{189}\) and Hardt-Mautner\(^{190}\) have both used a combination of the two methods to study the press. Hardt-Mautner claimed her decision to develop a combined approach arose out of a desire to undertake Critical Discourse Analysis but with a large corpus.\(^{191}\) This combined approach will address one of the main criticisms of CDA that as an approach it is too selective. Corpus Based Analysis is used in part to provide quantitative results with context.

Chapter 2.1: Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged in the 1980s and has since been applied to a number of studies, covering an array of topics, including political discourse, ideology, racism, media language, institutional discourse, education, literacy, advertisement and promotional culture, economic discourse and gender.\(^{192}\) Key proponents of this approach include Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk, Roger Fowler, Theo Van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress.\(^{193}\)


\(^{191}\) Hardt-Mautner, ‘“Only Connect”’, p. 1.


Before any discussion of CDA is possible, it is important to ascertain what is meant by the terms ‘text’ and ‘language’ by its key proponents. Fairclough claims ‘Texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction’. The concept of ‘Text’ does not pertain only to a piece of written language. Fairclough argues ‘we can continue regarding a text as a primarily linguistic cultural artefact, but develop ways of analysing other semiotic forms which are co-present with language and especially how different semiotic forms interact in the multisemiotic text’. Social semiotics addresses this multisemiotic nature of a text. For the purpose of this study it is the written text which is to be analysed.

Fairclough’s view of language in texts has its origins within Systemic Functional Linguistics and particularly those of Halliday ‘SFL is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always orientated to the social character of texts’. Set within SFL, Fairclough states, ‘language in texts always simultaneously functions ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole (a text precisely) and tying texts to situational contexts.’

Offering a concise and clear view of language related to the analysis of newspapers Richardson identifies five general assumptions about language.

---

194 Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, p. 6.
195 Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, p. 6.
197 Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, p. 6.
‘Language is social; language use enacts identity; language use is always active; language use has power; language use is political’.198

Discourse and discourse analysis have become highly debated concepts and it is often argued a definition seems beyond the scope of discourse studies.199 The work of Foucault has been highly influential in discourse studies, he himself noted: ‘I believe I have in fact added to its [discourse] meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.’200 Analysis of discourse for Foucault is concerned with discovering the rules which ‘govern’ bodies of texts and utterances. ‘The term “discourse” is used abstractly (as an abstract noun) for “the domain of statements”, and concretely as a “count” noun (“a discourse”, “several discourses”) for groups of statements or for the “regulated practice” (the rules) which govern such a group of statements.’201 Fairclough notes ‘for some linguists … “discourse analysis is analysis of text structure above the sentence” (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975)’.202 However, he views discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world:

Particular aspects of the world may be represented differently, so we are generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses. Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people […] Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another – keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another.203

198 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, pp. 10-14.
199 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 21.
200 Fairclough, Analysing Discourse, p. 123.
201 Fairclough, Analysing Discourse, p. 124.
202 Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, p. 7.
203 Fairclough, Analysing Discourse, p. 124.
Discourse according to Fairclough therefore is language in use which he notes is itself a form of social practice.\textsuperscript{204} Discourse analysis of a text he argues must therefore take account of its social context. When viewed in relation to Richardson’s views of language this is the view of discourse which I concur with.

Interconnected with any discussion of discourse is that of ideology. Ideology like discourse is another contested and over used term. Kress argues that the structuring of the various discourses is based on ideology.\textsuperscript{205} He notes ‘Ideology can be seen therefore as the politics of discourse, marshalling discourses into certain alignments in the cause of larger political aims’.\textsuperscript{206} Kress argues that the outcome is that ‘discourses (in their operation in texts) attempt to reconcile contradiction, mismatches, disjunctions and discontinuities within that domain by making that which is social seem obvious’.\textsuperscript{207} Success however he noted is dependent on the reader. This forms the crux of the claim by those that argue that the reader can reject the media message:

If readers occupy the same discursive positions as those expressed in a text, they are likely to be compliant readers. That is, their habitual use of and exposure to a certain discourse or set of discourses will have made the world as constructed in that discourse seem natural, obvious and inevitable […] On the other hand, readers who already occupy different discursive positions are less likely to adopt the reading positions constructed for them in a text. They are more likely to be resistant readers.\textsuperscript{208}

Individuals within a social group are affected Kress claims by their historical experience with discourses which occurs form birth to adulthood as well as their

\textsuperscript{204} Fairclough, \textit{Critical Discourse Analysis}, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{206} Kress, ‘Discourses, Texts, Readers and the Pro-Nuclear Arguments’, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{207} Kress, ‘Discourses, Texts, Readers and the Pro-Nuclear Arguments’, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{208} Kress, ‘Discourses, Texts, Readers and the Pro-Nuclear Arguments’, pp. 72-73.
current experience with it in their social environment. These factors combine and influence how individuals can experience the same discourse very differently.\textsuperscript{209}

Despite the lack of an agreed theoretical and analytical framework there exists a general consensus as to the overarching aim of CDA. Garrett and Bell state: ‘CDA has an explicit sociopolitical agenda, a concern to discover and bear witness to unequal relations of power, which underlie ways of talking in society, and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging sociopolitical dominance.’\textsuperscript{210} Van Dijk notes that understanding the nature of social power and dominance is crucial to CDA.\textsuperscript{211} Access to resources, such as wealth and education he notes is a crucial component of social power. He claims ‘“modern” and more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation’.\textsuperscript{212}

The ability of those who dominate, to influence the minds of the dominated so they act according to the rules stipulated by those who dominate, but of their own free will, is termed ‘Hegemony’\textsuperscript{213}. The concept of Hegemony, Fairclough, notes is central to the Marxism espoused by Antonio Gramsci.\textsuperscript{214} According to Gramsci ‘The normal exercise of hegemony […] is characterised by the combination of force and consensus which vary in their balance with each other, without force exceeding consensus too much. Thus it tries to achieve that force should appear to be supported

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{209} Kress, ‘Discourses, Texts, Readers and the Pro-Nuclear Arguments’, p. 73.
  \item \textsuperscript{211} Van Dijk, ‘Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis’, p. 254.
  \item \textsuperscript{212} Van Dijk, ‘Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis’, p. 254.
  \item \textsuperscript{213} Van Dijk, ‘Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis’, p. 255.
  \item \textsuperscript{214} Fairclough, \textit{Analysing Discourse}, p. 45.
\end{itemize}
by the agreement of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion – newspapers and associations.\textsuperscript{215}

As already noted, the media are a particular subject of CDA because of their role in the reproduction of discourse. When it comes to the study of the print media, taking a CDA led approach means to accept that newspaper texts are not isolated objects; they are products of a social practice.

Van Dijk summarises the main tenets of CDA from the work of Fairclough and Wodak (1997) in the following list:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.\textsuperscript{216}

For the purpose of this study therefore, it is the CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough which will primarily be drawn upon. Fairclough offers a three-dimensional methodological framework for undertaking a study utilising CDA. However, it must be noted that this is not a step-by-step method which can be applied directly to a text, it is an over-arching framework as will be shown, which can be adapted and applied to suit the aims of the research. Fairclough states:

CDA is consolidated here as a ‘three-dimensional’ framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.\textsuperscript{217}

\textsuperscript{216} Van Dijk, ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, p. 353.
\textsuperscript{217} Fairclough, \textit{Critical Discourse Analysis}, p. 2.
The first stage, the textual analysis aspect involves a detailed linguistic examination of the text. Content analysis as the sole method of analysis at this level would be inadequate. However, it could prove an important addition to a more detailed analysis. Richardson notes that if we assume every part of a text is a result of choice, therefore we must analyse this choice in more detail. Analysis at this stage ‘requires attention to the textual form, structure and organization at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical (vocabulary) and higher levels of textual organisation in terms of exchange systems (the distribution of speaking terms), structures of argumentation, and generic (activity type) structures’.  

Analysis at the next stage, the discursive practice, looks at the processes involved in the production of texts, writing for the audience for example through style, style guides themselves, intertextuality, translation and the roles of the press agency. Analysis at this stage may also include analysis of the consumption or audience reception of the texts, something that is relatively rarely done. Text analysis as the sole method of analysis has come under criticism from those within the media studies field who argue that there exists a need for audience reception analysis and there has been a shift in recent years to focus attention on the later. The Glasgow media group focus particularly on audience reception. However, it has been argued that ‘interpretation of texts is a dialectical process resulting from the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, and

---

properties of the text itself. Textual analysis is an important part, if only a part, of the picture, and must be defended against its critics'.

Intertextuality is based on the notion that texts are not produced in isolation and must be understood in relation to other texts. Intertextual analysis is one of the key components of Fairclough’s CDA. ‘Intertextual analysis crucially mediates the connection between language and social context, and facilitates more satisfactory bridging of the gap between texts and contexts.’ Intertextuality it is noted is both external and internal. ‘Taking external intertextuality first: texts are only fully intelligible (or rather: their detailed, more complete meaning is only revealed when contextualised and ‘read’ in relation to other texts and other social practices.’ Internal intertextuality includes quotations and reported speech. Analysis of reporting in a text must according to Fairclough take into account two aspects; ‘First […] the relationship between the [quote] and the original (the event that is reported) […] Second the relationship between the [quote] and the rest of the text in which it occurs.’

Analysis of the social practice can be undertaken from a variety of perspectives, for example an examination of economic practices could include a study of how advertisers’ activities relate to the class composition of audience. Politics can also be the focus of analysis of social practice. An analysis of social practices with regard to the print media could look at the role journalists play in supporting social values and in particular reflecting and reinforcing political policies.

---

223 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 100.
224 Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, p. 189.
225 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 106.
227 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 114.
CDA has sparked much debate and has received criticism from a range of sources. The lack of a unitary theoretical and methodological framework has generated much discussion. For some this is a positive feature of CDA as it provides the opportunity for the researcher to construct a methodology, within the parameters of the overarching framework, which is the most suited to their research aims. However, for others, the lack of a unitary methodological framework makes the approach abstract and challenging.

One of the most vocal critics of CDA came from Widdowson in a series of review articles in which he highlights a number of weaknesses. His first criticism is that many of the concepts and models are vague, which ‘is not helped by the rhetorical use of social theory’.

His second claim accuses CDA of failing to analyse how a text could be read in many ways not just the one the analyst states nor does it analyse the circumstances in which it was produced and consumed despite claims from those who practice it to the contrary. Toolan takes this point further and claims that a CDA should provide an alternative reading: ‘I believe it is possible, indeed necessary and appropriate, if critical discourse analysis is to be genuine critique, for analysts to make proposals for change, for example, to prescribe and validate corrections to discourses. One of my main points is that CDA is not prescriptive enough.’ In response however it could be argued such an undertaking is unnecessary if the aim of the research being undertaken is to uncover how a certain discourse is represented. Offering an alternative way of writing a newspaper article for example would be impractical. The letter to the editor does provide an outlet.

---

229 Blommaert and Bulcaen, ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, p. 455.
Another area of debate surrounded context. ‘In Schegloff’s opinion, there is a
tendency to assume the a priori relevance of aspects of context in CDA work:
Analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyze
them accordingly. Stable patterns of power relations are sketchy, often based on little
more than social and political common sense, and then projected onto (and into)
discourse.’231 Blommaert highlighted the issue of context in CDA and noted ‘the
“uncritical” acceptance of particular representations of history and social reality as
“background facts” in analyses’.232

Despite the criticisms levelled at CDA, it is still acknowledged as a valid
method for undertaking discourse analysis, as Toolan notes:

The premises upon which CDA is based are I believe irrefutable. If it did not
exist we would have to invent it […] But […] I think it needs to critique
some of its own theoretical distinctions (e.g. between description and
interpretive explanation), it needs to be more critical and demanding of the
text linguistics it uses, it must strive for greater thoroughness and strength of
evidence and in its presentation and argumentation, and it must not shrink
from prescribing correction or reform of particular hegemonizing
discourse.233

Chapter 2.2: Corpus Based Analysis

Gabrielatos & Baker argue that ‘corpus linguistics is more a methodological
approach, there is significant overlap between informing theoretical concepts and its
methodological tool’.234 Monoconc Pro 2.2 is a computer based concordance
programme which searches large corpus files and produces results primarily as
wordlists, keyword in context concordances and frequent collocates. The wordlists
are simple content searches which provide quantitative results for the words used in

frequency or alphabetical order. Wordlists should however not be used in isolation as they break down the whole text into units in which their context is removed. Wordlists however provide interesting results when in the case of this study they are analysed using background knowledge of the subject as they can highlight key topics and players. The wordlists can also be used as the starting point for the concordance searches.

The keyword in context concordance function allows selected words to be viewed in context. Gabrielatos and Baker highlight that one of the advantages of concordance analysis is that the researcher can select how much text is viewed on either side of the word and this they claim is how ‘concordance analysis, then can be used in ways akin to “qualitative analysis”’. Monoconc Pro also provides the function to undertake various sorts of the concordance which allows the corpus results to be viewed in various ways and assists in identifying any patterns when the concordance is reviewed. For example a 1st right sort from the keyword arranges the concordance based on the words which occur immediately after the word. The distribution of the concordance can also be viewed to see if there are any variations over time.

Collocate frequency is another important feature of the software. ‘Collocations give information about the most frequent or salient ideas associated with a word’. They can allow claims based on qualitative analysis to be supported.

---

Hardt-Mautner argues that ‘concordancing effectively heralds a breaking down of the quantitative/qualitative distinction, providing as it does the basis for quantitative analysis without deverbalising the data, that is, without transferring it, through human intervention, to the numerical mode. The difference is, precisely, that between number crunching and word crunching. The latter leaves the co-text intact, while the former obliterates it’.238

For the purpose of this study therefore the three functions of the concordance programme will be used to identify not only words frequently used in the reporting of Iran but also the context in which they appear.

**Chapter 2.3: Methodological Framework**

Initially all the articles are read to identify the topics and issues which are reported.

**Corpus Based Analysis**

The articles are converted into plain text files, this removes all formatting and makes them machine readable. The two papers are then analysed individually. Initial analysis subjects all the articles from *The Times* to a wordlist search. The results table is then saved to allow for comparison with the *Guardian*. The *Guardian* articles are then subjected to the same search to create a wordlist table. The comparison function is used to compare the two papers. The table is analysed to identify which words are frequently used in the coverage. A stop list containing a number of function words and other words related to the paper was created e.g. ‘copyright’ which the programme would ignore in the search. The articles are then split by date corresponding with the presidencies of Rafsanjani and Khatami. The presidencies

238 Hardt-Mautner, “‘Only Connect’”, p. 23.
were classed as the day of inauguration to the day before the inauguration of the next president. This is to reveal any noticeable changes in words frequently used between the two presidencies.

Words identified in the wordlist are then subjected to concordance analysis to see what context they are reported in and if there are any noticeable patterns. The concordance lines are then reviewed to identify context and any interesting reporting patterns. The sort function is also used to arrange the concordance in various ways.

The initial reading had identified the use of press agency and a search based on press agency is also undertaken to identify how the papers use the press agency and the type of articles they provide. Journalist location is also important and a byline search is undertaken to identify frequent locations.

The collocate frequency function is then used on words identified in the wordlist search to identify their most frequent collocates 3L-3R of the node.

The articles in which Iran appeared within the same sentence as either: terrorism, human rights and nuclear are subjected to an initial search to identify topics and issues. A wordlist search, concordance analysis and were applicable a collocate frequency search are then also carried out.

Key aspects from the CDA framework inevitably informed the corpus based analysis.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

John Richardson’s book *Analysing Newspapers* provides a clear and generally applicable framework for analysing newspapers in a CDA perspective and it is this framework which will be primarily drawn upon for the analysis of the
events. Following Fairclough, Richardson is concerned with three levels of analysis: text, discursive practices and social practices.

Text Analysis

Utilising Fairclough’s work which claims that analysis of text must involve analysis of the structuring and the combining of propositions, Richardson argues that, analysis should therefore move from the micro level of analysis, which includes words and sentences, to the macro-level of analysis which analyses the meaning across the whole text. To facilitate such analysis he proposes a number of linguistic analytical tools, of which I will be borrowing the following:

- Lexical analysis.
- Naming and reference analysis.
- Predication.
- Analysis of Transitivity.
- Analysis of Modality.
- Presupposition
- Analysis of Rhetorical Tropes.
- Narrative

Many of the key aspects of textual analysis identified by Richardson are also noted by Martin Conboy in his book *The Language of the News.*

---

Each of the linguistic tools will be looked at in more detail below

1) Lexical Analysis

Lexical analysis examines the choice and meaning of words used in a newspaper article. Richardson’s example shows clearly how the selection of words can have drastic implications for the representation of a situation:241

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>They have</th>
<th>We have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“A war machine”</td>
<td>“Army, air force, and navy”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>They launch</th>
<th>We launch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sneak attacks”</td>
<td>“First strikes”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Naming and Reference Analysis

Naming and reference analysis is crucial for this study as the representation of a social actor can have important implications for their influence and authority, for example ‘Mad Mullah’, ‘despotic leader’ compared with ‘British MP’ or ‘President’. Van Dijk’s ideological square is particularly significant here as it may provide explanations for the referential strategies identified. The Ideological Square is characterised by a Positive-Self-Presentation and a concurrent Negative-Other-Presentation. ‘This occurs by emphasising (what is called fore-grounding) ‘their’ negative characteristics and social activities and de-emphasising (or back-grounding) their ‘positive’ characteristics activities.’242 Parallel to this occurs the representation

242 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 51.
the *Self’s* positive features and the de-emphasising or (back-grounding) of the *Self’s* negative features.\(^{243}\)

3) Predication

Analysis at this stage is concerned with how characteristics and ideals of characters are reported. Risigl and Wodak call these ‘the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena’.\(^{244}\)

4) Analysis of Transitivity

Conboy notes that ‘transitivity is an umbrella term with regard to the verbal structure of a sentence. It refers broadly to who does what to whom, and how […] Transitivity allows options and […] any process which allows choice in this way in the media can often be ideologically significant in its preferences’.\(^{245}\) Richardson highlights the work of Simpson here and notes three components which exist in any process and can be changed: ‘The first is the participants involved in the process. These roles are typically realised by noun phrases in the clause; the second is the process itself, which will be expressed by the verb phrase in a clause and finally the circumstances associated with process, normally expressed by adverbial ad prepositional phrases.’\(^{246}\) Analysis at this level is important as each of these features can be changed facilitating a different representation. In addition it will provide a useful method for identifying any differences which exist between papers, particularly if a press agency piece is being utilised.

\(^{243}\) Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, p. 51.

\(^{244}\) Reisigl and Wodak cited in Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, p. 52.

\(^{245}\) Conboy, *The Language of the News*, p. 56.

\(^{246}\) Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, p. 54.
5) Analysis of Modality

Modality according to Richardson ‘forms the counter-part to transitivity referring to judgements, comment and attitude in text and talk, and specifically to the degree to which a speaker or writer is committed to the claim he or she is making.’ 247 Modal verbs include for example can, must, could, will as well as adverbial forms for example certainly, probably, etc. 248 Richardson notes modality exists in two forms, truth modality which can be viewed on a scale of absolute to reduced certainty and obligation modality which is concerned with the degree to which the author believes a future event should take place. 249 Whilst categorical modal truth claims appear more authoritative, he argues in some cases a lower degree of modality can have a profound impact. 250 The fictional statement would be a case in point: ‘Iran could have a nuclear bomb in 6 months the Americans warn’ leads to the idea of a real threat. Analysis of modality within the text will be important for this research as it will provide an indication of the papers stance.

6) Presupposition

‘A presupposition is a taken for granted, implicit claim embedded within the explicit meaning of a text or utterance.’ 251 Utilising work undertaken by Reah, Richardson highlights three linguistic structures which facilitate presuppositions. The first is through the use of change of state and implicative verbs for example continue would presuppose an action had started, the second is through the use of definitive and possessive articles for example the use of ‘the threat’ presupposes a threat and finally through the use of ‘wh-questions for example why does Iran seek a nuclear weapon,

247 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 59.
249 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 60.
250 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 60.
251 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 63.
presupposes Iran does seek a nuclear weapon. For the purpose of this study analysis of presuppositions will prove significant in identifying implicit assumptions which may be frequently utilised in reporting on Iran.

7) Analysis of Rhetorical Tropes

Rhetorical tropes it is argued are the means through which journalists can influence their readership. Richardson identifies five key tropes for the study of newspapers.

- Hyperbole – ‘noun, a way of speaking or writing that exaggerates things and is not meant to be understood literally’.

- Metaphor – ‘noun, a word or phrase used in an imaginative way to represent or stand for something else (e.g. the long arm of the law)’.

- Metonymy – ‘(A figure of speech characterized by) the action of substituting for a word or phrase denoting an object, action, institution, etc., a word or phrase denoting a property or something associated with it; an instance of this’.

- Neologism – ‘noun, a new word or expression’.

- Pun – ‘noun, a joke that uses a word or words with more than one meaning’.

As far as my study is concerned it will be the analysis of rhetorical tropes that is most likely to play a major role in identifying Orientalist themes where and if they are present in the coverage.

---

252 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 63.
253 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, pp. 64-70.
8) Narrative

This Richardson notes involves analysing what is included in the story and how it is presented. The order of a news article is important as it will not be reported in the real time it occurred and this can be significant. For the purpose of this study then preliminary analysis of the text will record the headline, the by-line, the location of the journalist, if the article is from a press agency, the word count, the page the article featured on and if the article contains any Iranian words. Bell’s framework for the structural analysis of a newspaper article will be utilised at this stage. Analysis at this stage will identify ‘who, what, when, where, why, how’.

Bell claims that ‘Journalists do not write articles they write stories – with structure, order, viewpoint and values’. It follows then that his framework draws from analysis of story but also works of others including Van Dijk’s analysis of news discourse. Bell notes that ‘a news text will normally consist of an abstract, attribution and the story proper’. Attribution he argues is not always clear and can include reference to a press agency, the journalist byline, time and location of the journalist. In addition to the primary elements of a newspaper article, Bell identifies an additional three categories within the main body of a story: background, commentary and follow-up. He claims these ‘represent the past, the

259 Richardson, Analysing Newspapers, p. 71.
261 Bell, ‘The Discourse Structure of News Stories’, p. 66.
262 Bell, ‘The Discourse Structure of News Stories’, p. 64.
265 Bell, The Language of the News Media, p. 169.
(non-action) present, and the future of the events described in the main action of the story.  

Bell argues that the lead is a ‘micro-story’ and that it condenses what the journalists view to be the most important information. I would concur that this is often the case. Therefore this analysis will pay particular focus to this stage. In addition the headline will be analysed as it generally provides an overview of the story and can set a position that the reader should read the text from. It should also be noted that these two features are particularly important if we acknowledge that some people will only skim articles.

**Analysis of Discursive Practices**

The media section has already identified many of the key discursive factors involved in newspaper production and these form a crucial part of the analysis at this level. Reported speech as already identified is an integral component of intertextuality which is according to Fairclough’s CDA a key discursive practice. Richardson has identified five methods utilised in journalistic reporting to incorporate reported speech.

1. Direct quotation

2. Strategic quotation. ‘Conventionally known as “scare quotes”, the reported speech, writing or thoughts of others are often placed in quotation marks in order to indicate their contentious nature”

3. Indirect quotation

---

4. Transformed indirect quotation. In addition to dropping quotation marks it also drops reporting clauses.

5. Ostensible direct quotation. ‘The structure of the clause entails direct speech but is conceptually different from direct quotation, in as much as it is made up.’

Intertextuality may prove a useful analytical tool in highlighting if issues are stated in articles in which the focus is another issue. I will examine if a text with the focus on one issue uses reporting of a different issue within the text to set the article in context and if reporting of speech is direct and who is reported.

**Analysis of Social Practices**

Analysis of social practices can include analysis of a range of issues as highlighted earlier. However, for the purpose of this study the practice of Othering is to be examined. Furthermore, the linking up of the texts in view of the existing reality of Anglo-Iranian relations at the time, which will be outlined in the Anglo-Iranian relations section, is also applicable here. This will allow me to answer the last of my remaining research questions.

---

Chapter 3.1: Anglo-Iranian Relations

Britain and Iran have endured a long and at times fraught relationship. The complex and often exploitive nature of this relationship transcends the decades. Incidents which occurred generations ago are, as will be shown, evoked and play an important role in today’s relations. Whilst this study is centred on a very recent period of history, it is imperative however that this relationship is viewed within its historical context and not in isolation. Divided into two sub-sections, this section will analyse some of the key events and issues which have constituted this ‘special’ relationship. The first will look briefly at the relationship which existed from 1907 when Britain and Russia divided Iran into zones of influence until the 1979 revolution and the latter will discuss relations under the Islamic Republic with particular emphasis placed on the period under study.


Tensions between Iran on the one side and Russia and Britain on the other intensified in 1907 when Britain and Russia agreed to divide Iran into three zones of influence. The Iranians viewed this as virtual ‘colonial control’.270 Britain had supported the revolutionaries during the constitutional revolution of 1905/06 which had led temporarily to a more favoured view of Britain. However this did not continue.271

Following the 1917 Russian revolution and the end of WWI, Russian presence in Iran declined and it was hoped that there would be less foreign

interference in Iran. In reality, British influence increased.\textsuperscript{272} The 1919 Anglo-Iranian agreement was evidence of this and increased resentment towards Britain, for many Iranians ‘the 1919 agreement had been designed by the British government to turn Iran into a British protectorate’.\textsuperscript{273} There was significant opposition within sections of the British government to the agreement as well but it was eventually signed on 9 August 1919.\textsuperscript{274} The agreement however failed. Katouzian identifies four crucial factors which led to its failure:

\begin{quote}
Its unqualified rejection by Iran’s body politic; the confirmation of their worst fears by France, America and Russia; the refusal of the War Office, the Treasury, the India Office and the government of India to supply the necessary instruments for its defence; and Curzon’s incredible rigidity in dealing with a rapidly deteriorating situation, even to the extent of effectively stopping Vosuq from opening negotiations with Moscow to forestall the Enzeli\textsuperscript{275} landing.\textsuperscript{276}
\end{quote}

The result of its failure Katouzian notes paved the way for the 1921 coup and the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty.\textsuperscript{277}

While there is no written evidence pertaining to the British government’s involvement in the coup, Keddie notes that the rise of Reza Khan was supported by General Ironside, the commander of the British military in Iran, and that he encouraged Reza Khan to undertake the coup.\textsuperscript{278} In addition it has been argued that given the significant role Britain played in Iran prior to this point it is inconceivable

\begin{footnotes}
\item[272] Ali M. Ansari Appendix 10, \url{http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmfaff/80/80ap11.htm} [accessed September 2009].
\item[275] In May 1920 Soviet Bolsheviks landed at Enzeli, the subsequent British withdrawal of forces to Rasht and then later to Quzvin provided an opportunity for the Iranian Bolsheviks and their Soviet counterparts to unite and on 4\textsuperscript{th} June 1920 declare Gilan a Soviet Socialist republic, which was a crucial factor in the 1921 coup (Katouzian, 1998) pp. 40-44.
\end{footnotes}
that she played no role in the coup.\textsuperscript{279} However, it is the belief of the Iranian people in British involvement in the coup which is more significant, as Ansari notes: ‘The continued popular belief in British involvement in the establishment of the Pahlavi state was to haunt Reza Shah and his son […] it underpinned the whole edifice of the Pahlavi state and as a result has come to be seen as a turning point in the modern history of Iran. There was an essential crisis of legitimacy which plagued the Pahlavi dynasty from its inception.’\textsuperscript{280}

Following the establishment of the Pahlavi state in 1926 Katouzian highlights that in an attempt to consolidate his political power, Reza Shah strengthened ‘the army, the government bureaucracy and court patronage’.\textsuperscript{281} It should be noted however, that he had been actively pursuing reforms in those fields since the 1921 coup. In addition Reza Shah undertook a series of internal reforms aimed at modernisation. While some of the reforms proved highly contentious\textsuperscript{282} and were met with significant opposition, many would argue they formed the foundations for modern Iran.\textsuperscript{283} In an attempt to further secure legitimacy for his rule and to promote Iranian nationalism he instigated a campaign against foreign influence. Despite cancelling the original oil concession in 1932, pressure from Britain and fear that Iranian assets overseas would be confiscated, Reza Shah signed a new agreement in

\textsuperscript{279} Ali M. Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After}, (London: Pearson Education Ltd.,) p. 27.
\textsuperscript{280} Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{282} Reza Shah’s decisions to prohibit the wearing of the hejab in 1936 and to reduce the income of the Ulama, placed him on a collision course with the Ulama and are attributed as factors which contributed to the success of the 1979 revolution.
\textsuperscript{283} Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921}, p. 40.
1933 which extended the original concession for an additional 32 years, from 1961 to 1993.\textsuperscript{284}

Throughout this period, German influence within Iran increased. Iran it is argued favoured a relationship with Germany as it was viewed as being free of colonial pursuits. In 1930 German experts were employed to manage the Bank Melli.\textsuperscript{285} This could be viewed as a deliberate act intended to antagonise Britain, particularly as already noted the Imperial Bank of Persia was owned by a British subject. Developments during World War II led Britain and the USSR to invade Iran in August 1941. The invasion it is argued was intended to prevent a possible occupation by German forces, secure Britain’s oil interests and ensure a supply route to Russia.\textsuperscript{286} The allies forced the abdication of Reza Shah in favour of his son Mohammad Reza. Britain’s position as the occupying force led to much resentment amongst Iranians.

Relations between Iran and Britain remained tense following the war as the momentum for nationalisation of the previously AIOC increased. For Britain, nationalisation was unthinkable given the economic crisis she faced at the end of the War. In an attempt to placate the Iranians the Supplementary Oil Agreement was drafted but was never ratified by the Majlis.\textsuperscript{287} Ansari notes however that ‘while British officials were willing to consider the possibility of profit-sharing, privatisation was a principle they were unwilling to publicly counternance’.\textsuperscript{288} In 1951 the Majlis Oil Committee drafted a nine-point law for nationalisation of the

\textsuperscript{284} Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921}, pp. 56-57.
\textsuperscript{285} Hossein Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities} (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 15.
\textsuperscript{286} Homa Katouzian, \textit{Mussadiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran} (London: Tauris, 1999), p. 42.
\textsuperscript{287} Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921}, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{288} Ansari, \textit{Modern Iran since 1921}, p. 111.
AIOC and approved it.\textsuperscript{289} The Iranian Prime Minister at the time resigned in protest at not being consulted.\textsuperscript{290}

Mosaddeq who despite declining previous offers to become Prime Minister on it is claimed the grounds he would antagonise the British, became the new Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{291} Mossadeq insisted that his acceptance be ‘predicated on the ratification of the nationalisation law, which the Majlis dutifully approved on 28 April 1951, followed by the Senate the following day’.\textsuperscript{292}

The oil issue Katouzian argues was for Mossadeq and his followers political, they believed ‘as long as foreign concessionaires were operating on Iranian soil, any effort to establish democracy, freedom and the rule of law, eradicate political and financial corruption, and achieve social and economic progress would be thwarted’.\textsuperscript{293} The British it is argued were furious.\textsuperscript{294} Britain appealed to the International Court and the United Nations but to no avail. In October 1952 Mossadeq broke off diplomatic relations having already expelled British diplomats.\textsuperscript{295}

In 1952 Mosaddeq resigned when his nomination for Minister of War was opposed by the Shah. However following mass demonstrations Mosaddeq was reinstated.\textsuperscript{296} In 1953 Mossadeq was overthrown in a coup d’etat backed by Britain and America.\textsuperscript{297} Ansari notes ‘the overthrow of the Mossadeq government, is often

\textsuperscript{289} Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{290} Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{291} Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{292} Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{293} Katouzian, Massadiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{295} Wright, 'The Restoration of Diplomatic Relations with Iran, December 1953’, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{296} Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 118.
seen as one of the turning points in modern Iranian political history’. Incidentally, the oil issue was resolved a year later in an agreement which saw ‘the control of oil production and 50 percent of the profits back in the hands of the world oil companies’.

The significance of the coup cannot be underestimated. The image of the U.S., which had always been viewed more favourably in the past, was now also tainted. Britain who had long since gained a reputation for exploitation and interference in Iran compounded this image. But for the Shah, the coup had tarnished his legitimacy and earned him the reputation of a ‘Western puppet’ and it has been argued this was another factor in the success of the 1979 revolution. Ansari notes, ‘The events of 1953, while acknowledged and regretted by the US, have yet to be officially recognised by the British government, despite the fundamental role they play in continued Iranian suspicion of British motives, and they run like a deep negative undercurrent beneath most aspects of Anglo-Iranian relations.’

WWII had changed the international dynamic, the U.S. had replaced Britain as the leading world power and in 1968 Britain declared it would withdraw its military presence from the Persian Gulf by 1971. Negotiations began in the aftermath of Britain’s decision to withdraw with the sovereignty of the disputed islands in the Persian Gulf being at the forefront. In 1971 an agreement was reached in which Iran could deploy its troops to the three islands and it was agreed that in the case of Abu Musa half of the oil revenue would be given to Sharjah and concessions

298 Ansari, Modern Iran since 1921, p. 125.
299 Keddie, Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution, p. 130.
300 Ali M. Ansari Appendix 10
for fishing would also be granted.\textsuperscript{302} This did not end the dispute and tensions over the islands remain.\textsuperscript{303} Nazarahari claims that the dispute and the persistent tensions continue to have a negative impact on Anglo-Iranian relations, he argues there are those who believe that Britain intentionally did not resolve the dispute so it can be reignited in the future. However he notes ‘The British Ambassador of the time to Iran believed Britain was then unable to settle the dispute forever or, in other words, Britain did not enjoy enough power to convince the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf to officially recognize Iran’s sovereignty over these islands’.\textsuperscript{304}

Following the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf Iran became an important regional power. In May 1972 Iran and the U.S. agreed to protect Western interests in the Persian Gulf and in return the U.S would guarantee the Shah a continued supply of non-nuclear military equipment, the agreement became known as the Nixon Doctrine.\textsuperscript{305} The US now held the most significant influence of any foreign power in the region having replaced Britain and this situation would remain until the 1979 Revolution.

For many the Iranian revolution marked the end of favourable relations between Iran and the West. Anglo-Iranian relations prior to the revolution have not always been favourable, the legacy of these relations have shaped and continue to shape Anglo-Iranian relations under the Islamic Republic.

Before looking in more detail at Anglo-Iranian relations under the Islamic Republic, it is important to look at the role some believe conspiracy theories have

\textsuperscript{302} Nazarahari, ‘An Assessment of the Withdrawal of British Forces from the Persian Gulf’, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{304} Nazarahi, ‘An Assessment of the Withdrawal of British Forces from the Persian Gulf’, p. 146.
played in shaping this relationship. In an insightful article Ashraf claims that ‘although conspiracy theories can be found wherever a belief system exists’, he notes ‘they appear more prevalent in the Middle East and more particularly in Iran’.  

There are a number of factors he attributes to explaining this:

The legacy of deep rooted pre-Islamic and Shi’ite cultural beliefs about satanic forces; frequent foreign interference during the period of semi-colonialism in the 19th and early 20th centuries and the great power politics of the 1940s-80s; the autocratic, non-participatory style of Persian politics combined with tight control of the press and media; as well as the effectiveness of conspiracy theories as a collective defence mechanism, particularly during periods of powerlessness, defeat and political turmoil.  

The later point is particularly significant for Iranians who remain proud of their long history. Conspiracy theories flourished after the revolution. One of the first theories to circulate claimed that Britain had instigated the revolution as it envied the position the US had secured within Iran. A common statement widely heard following the revolution became. ‘If you lift up Khomeini’s beard you will see Made in England stamped on his chin.’ While such statements initially appear ludicrous to the outsider, for many Iranians the underlying sentiment of the statement is not without truth. Even today, despite thirty years of volatile and at times negligible relations, theories of British involvement in Iranian affairs flourish within all sections of society.

Anglo-Iranian relations and the Islamic Republic

The 1979 Revolution shocked much of the international community, coming just over a year after President Carter’s infamous speech on New Year’s eve 1977, in

---


which he stated: ‘Iran under the great leadership of the Shah is an island of stability in one of the most troubled areas of the world. This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership, and to the respect, admiration and love which your people give to you.’

The revolution sparked a change in relations between Iran and the international community, ‘Iran emerged on the international scene as defiant, fiercely independent, proactively religious and non-aligned power.’

In the early stages of the Islamic Republic, Britain managed to retain her embassy. However, following the American Embassy siege in 1979, an international crisis ensued. The British ambassador to Tehran was withdrawn in April 1980 and by the autumn the embassy had closed. Rundle notes that contrary to the widely held belief that Britain had closed its embassy in a solidarity act with America, in reality it was on advice from Iran’s Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh over safety concerns. He notes that following the dismissal of the Foreign Minister the reasons behind the closure were not made public for fear it would increase suspicion of British involvement in Iran. Britain did however retain an interests section in the Swedish embassy.

Ironically it was the Iranian Embassy in London which was to become a target. In April 1980 the Iranian Embassy was stormed by Arabs who demanded autonomy for Khuzestan. The siege came to an end following the well documented storming by the S.A.S which saw all but one of the hostage-takers killed. Two of the

311 Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 92.
312 Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 92.
313 Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 92.
314 It was known as Arabistan by those opposed to Iranian rule.
embassy staff were also killed. Rundle notes that despite official thanks from Iran for Britain’s help in the siege, tensions arose between the two over compensation for damage done to the embassy.\textsuperscript{315}

The outbreak of the war with Iraq left Iran pre-occupied on the home front and consequently therefore relations between Iran and Britain for a while, remained tense but without major incident. Iran was however incensed with the failure of the United Nations to immediately condemn the Iraqi invasion. This was exacerbated further when the international community, particularly the US, offered financial and military assistance to Iraq.

Britain’s decision to remain neutral during the Iran-Iraq war facilitated a continuation of trade although not on the scale witnessed in the past.\textsuperscript{316} For Iran, London remained commercially significant and retained its position as the major out-post for the Bank Melli, the National Iranian Oil Company and more significantly for the arms procurement agencies.\textsuperscript{317}

During the war however tensions between Iran and Britain increased following the arrest of an Iranian diplomat for a minor offence in Manchester. In a retaliation act the Iranians responded with the arrest of a British diplomat. The situation was resolved with the reduction of diplomatic representation and the closure of the consulate in Manchester.\textsuperscript{318} It was further evidence of how sensitive relations between the two had become. Britain’s resolve to remain neutral during the war was challenged in 1987 when the US asked the international community for military assistance.

\textsuperscript{315} Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution: Opening Doors’, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{317} Joffe, ‘Iran, the Southern Mediterranean and Europe’, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{318} Joffe, ‘Iran, the Southern Mediterranean and Europe’.
assistance. Britain initially refused but later sent mine sweepers. Britain did close the Iranian arms procurement offices in London at this time.

With the end of the war it was hoped relations between the two countries would improve. The dispute over the claim for compensation for the damage caused to the Iranian embassy in London and the reciprocal claim for damage caused to the British embassy in Tehran was settled in the summer of 1988 and in the same year following talks in Geneva the British embassy was also re-opened with agreement that full diplomatic representation would follow.

However, relations deteriorated rapidly again following the publication of Salman Rushdie’s novel *Satanic Verses*. Opposition to the book came from all corners of the Islamic World, however it was the imposition of a *fatwa* by Ayatollah Khomeini which was the most ardent. Iran subsequently broke diplomatic relations in March 1989. The Rushdie affair had far reaching consequences, the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in June 1989 left the situation unresolved and consequently the affair impacted on Anglo-Iranian relations throughout the 1990s.

The end of the Iran-Iraq war and the economic crisis which ensued would have positive implications for Iran’s relations with the international community. There was a growing realisation within some sections of the Iranian government that without foreign investment reconstruction was impossible. The economic situation would become a key factor in foreign policy throughout the ‘Second Republic’.

---

320 Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 94.
321 Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 95.
Anglo-Iranian relations in the years under Ayatollah Khomeini had remained sensitive and unpredictable. Following his death, it was hoped that a new era in relations would begin which would prove beneficial to both.

The ‘Second Republic’

The death of Ayatollah Khomeini coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union and gradually Islam in both Afghanistan and the Middle East began to be perceived as the greatest threat to Western security. Iran it could be argued at this time symbolised to the international community the face of a ‘new Islamic threat’. Internally the death of Ayatollah Khomeini had culminated in a power share between President Rafsanjani and the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei. The implementation of constitutional changes to facilitate this power share led to much factional fighting. Wells notes that ‘between 1989 and 1997, the government was dominated by a reformist centre-right coalition. For the first time in the history of the republic, the Islamist right played a major role in the policy making process’.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait saw Iraq surpass Iran as the greatest perceived threat to regional security. Despite Iranian objections to an enhanced Western military presence in the Gulf, Iran’s decision to remain neutral and support the UN’s position was to have a number of positive outcomes. The UN finally acknowledged Iraq as the main aggressor of the Iran-Iraq war, which allowed Iran to make a claim for reparations from Iraq. In addition, Iran also restored diplomatic relations with Jordan, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia and Iraq also agreed to fully accept the implementation of SCR 598 and the 1975 Algiers Treaty. It could be argued Iran’s

---

decision to remain neutral was another clear sign to the international community that Iran sought improved relations.

Relations between Britain and Iran also began to improve in the 1990s despite the Rushdie affair. On 27th September 1990 diplomatic relations between Iran and Britain were resumed but only on the level of ‘charge d’affaires’. Relations improved significantly following the release of a number of British and American hostages being held in Lebanon, as it is widely believed Iran was a key player in the negotiations.\(^{324}\) In 1991, an Iranian on trial in the UK accused of arson on bookstores was returned to Iran. Shortly after, Iran released the British businessman Roger Cooper who was being held in Tehran.\(^{325}\) In 1994 concerns over Iran’s involvement with the IRA surfaced. By 1995 however relations were more favourable although the *fatwa* continued to play a part. In an interview with the *Independent’s* Robert Fisk, the Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati stated: ‘We as a government are not going to send anybody to kill somebody outside this country, or to dispatch some commandos to kill somebody outside this country, whether this is Salman Rushdie or someone else. This is the official position of our government.’\(^{326}\) This did not however resolve the *fatwa* issue and despite attempts to distance the Iranian government the issue remained.

The Europe Union in this period adopted a policy of ‘critical dialogue’ towards Iran, a term which was coined in December 1992 at the Council of Ministers in Edinburgh. The policy aimed at addressing Iran’s human rights violations, the


\(^{325}\) Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, pp. 96-97.

fatwa, arms procurement and Iran’s approach to the Arab-Israeli peace process. Moshaver notes the Europeans believed ‘engagement rather than isolation would encourage Iran to moderate its radicalism, In practice, however, engagement proved more effective in facilitating trade and economic links than in moderating policies on WMD, on the Middle East peace process, or on human rights’. Relations took a dramatic turn in April 1997 when a German court ruled several high ranking Iranian officials including Rafsanjani were involved in the Mykonos affair in which Kurdish dissidents had been killed in a restaurant in Berlin. Consequently all EU ambassadors were withdrawn from Tehran and the policy of Critical Dialogue was frozen.

Iran’s support for a number of groups labelled terrorist by most notably America and Israel coupled with concerns over Iran’s growing nuclear capabilities led the US to impose sanctions which aimed at denying Iran the necessary finance for such pursuits. On 15 March 1995 President Clinton issued Executive Order 12957 which banned US investment in Iran’s energy sector and then on 6 May 1995 Executive order 12959 which banned U.S. trade with and investment in that country.

The imposition of sanctions coincided with attempts by Iran to encourage foreign investment, a crucial component of its economic development. The US in addition introduced the controversial ‘Iran Foreign Oil Sanctions Act of 1995’. Katzman notes by the time the bill was passed by the senate it included both the

---

329 Moshaver, ‘Revolution, Theocratic Leadership and Iran’s Foreign Policy’, p. 295.
332 Often referred to as the D’Amato Act after the Senator who introduced the Act.
export of technology, and investment in Iran’s energy sector. Libya was added on 20 December 1995 in response to its continued refusal to hand over the suspected bombers of the Lockerbie disaster for trial. The Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) as it became known was signed into law by President Clinton on August 5th 1996.

The ILSA was fiercely opposed by members of the EU who considered bringing a case against the US. ‘Immediately upon the signing of the act, the European Commission’s vice president Sir Leon Brittan issued a statement in which he accused the United States of attempting to “dictate the foreign policy of others” and warned that the European Union “will act to defend its rights and interests if they are jeopardized by this legislation.” The sanctions failed to have a major impact on the Iranian economy, many foreign companies continued to trade with Iran benefiting from the absence of U.S. competition. Inevitably the ILSA would prove a serious stumbling block to improved relations between the US and Iran.

The landslide victory of President Khatami in the May 1997 election brought with it hopes both within Iran and amongst the international community that Iran was on the brink of fundamental change. Boroumand & Boroumand note that Khatami’s campaign speeches broke with tradition, introducing instead new terms previously unheard under the Islamic Republic. The terms which included: “civil society,” “the rule of law,” “citizens’ rights and dignity,” “political participation,” and “women’s

---

presence” would become increasingly significant throughout his presidency.\textsuperscript{338} For the international community such rhetoric brought with it a genuine belief change was on the horizon: ‘For almost two decades, the world saw Iran as a country of believers in a state of mystical unity with a political and spiritual supreme leader. For many, this image, together with terrorism and violence symbolized the Islamic Republic of Iran.'\textsuperscript{339}

Khatami’s foreign policy was a three dimensional model based on ‘dignity, wisdom and prudence; détente; and dialogue among civilisations’.\textsuperscript{340} The opportunity to showcase his foreign policy and ultimately enhance his image on the international stage occurred in December 1997 when he headed a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference held in Tehran. The conference it is claimed spelled out Iran’s aims.\textsuperscript{341} Interestingly Ramazani notes, coverage in the Western media of Khamene’i’s inaugural address failed to see that the major elements in Khatami’s address were also present in Khamene’i’s. He states:

In a chorus, the Western media latched almost exclusively on two blunt statement made by Khamene’i. He was repeatedly quoted as saying that the peace process was ‘unjust, arrogant, contemptuous and finally illogical” and that the West was directing everyone towards materialism “while money, gluttony and carnal desires are made the greatest aspirations.” A careful reading of the two addresses, reveal that as a matter of fact Khatami’s words on Israel and the peace process were even harsher than those of Khamene’i.\textsuperscript{342}

Khatami’s decision within weeks of the conference to give a televised interview on CNN and talk directly to the American people was evidence of his policy of détente. For the international community this was another indication of

\textsuperscript{339} Boroumand & Boroumand, ‘Illusion and Reality of Civil Society in Iran’, p. 303.
\textsuperscript{340} Sabet-Saeidi, ‘Iranian-European Relations: A Strategic Partnership?’, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{342} Ramazani, ‘The Shifting Premise of Iran’s Foreign Policy’, p. 184.
Iran’s desire to become an actor on the international stage. As Ramazani notes, this was more magnanimous given the continued sanctions imposed on Iran.\textsuperscript{343} While the U.S response was initially hesitant, President Clinton did finally respond favourably to some of Khatami’s proposals particularly those relating to cultural exchange.\textsuperscript{344} However, in another clear example of how the contradictory nature of Iran’s internal situation continued to affect relations with the international community, Ayatollah Khamene’i shortly after Khatami’s interview announced that ‘Talks with the United States have no benefit for us and are harmful to us […] The regime of the United States is the enemy of the Islamic Republic’.\textsuperscript{345}

In September 1998, relations between Iran and Britain showed signs of improvement when the two agreed to exchange ambassadors. The relationship was characterised as one of ‘constructive engagement’.\textsuperscript{346} There was indignation from some within Britain that the fatwa was not lifted prior to the exchange of ambassadors. However, as Ansari notes, the outcome was in fact mores beneficial for Britain than it first appeared. He claims that while the fatwa was not supported by many Iranians, the enforced removal of it would have seen Iran bow down yet again to British pressure.\textsuperscript{347}

Relations continued to improve in January 2000 when the Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi visited Britain, the first minister to do so since the Revolution. Consequently, on 24 September 2001, the British Foreign Minister Jack

\textsuperscript{343} Ramazani, ‘The Shifting Premise of Iran’s Foreign Policy’, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{344} The Washington Post, 30\textsuperscript{th} January 1998 cited in Ramazani, ‘The Shifting Premise of Iran’s Foreign Policy’, p. 186.
\textsuperscript{346} Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Third report ‘British-Iranian Relations’ http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm
\textsuperscript{347} Ali M. Ansari, Appendix 10, Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Second Report http://www.parliament.the-stationary-office.co.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8003.htm
Straw visited Iran. Rundle claims the response of the Iranian Foreign Ministry to a subsequent visit by Jack Straw in June 2003, which occurred shortly after Britain’s Prime Minister Tony Blair had made a statement in support of students demonstrating in Iran, was evidence of Iran’s desire to have a steady relationship with Britain. The Iranian Foreign Ministry Rundle notes stated: ‘Straw’s visit was necessary because “closing the doors would solve nothing” and because it would not be appropriate to convey Iran’s viewpoints and positions to its European friends through the media.’

It should also be noted that HRH Prince Charles visited Iran in February 2004 following the Bam earthquake in his official capacity as President of the Red Cross. The visit received criticism from some sections opposed to the Iranian government who claimed a visit by a member of the British Royal family granted legitimacy to the government.

Despite being declared by the US as a non-producing country, Iran is the main route for the trafficking of heroin from Afghanistan to Europe. It has been reported that 90 percent of all heroin in the UK originates in Afghanistan. For Iran, the problem is not merely one of rising drug addiction amongst its population, it is also the playing field of serious criminal networks and the consequences of which include increased levels of crime and corruption. Iran’s attempt to stop the importation of heroin has been costly: ‘Close to 3,000 Iranian border guards have died in the past 20 years in clashes with the heavily armed Afghan drugs convoys

---

350 Robins, ‘Memorandum submitted to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs’ (note 3)
which cross Iran. Since September 1998 the British and Iranian governments have cooperated on a number of programmes to tackle drugs trafficking. The British government has provided funding directly to the Iranian government to help both secure Iran’s border with Turkey and provide improved airport controls in an attempt to stop the passage of drugs to Europe. In addition, the British government contributes to the United Nations International Drug Control Programme which provides funding for training and equipment in countries including Iran.

Cultural relations between the two countries improved significantly with the election of President Khatami. A strong relationship for example was forged between the National Museum of Iran and the British Museum. The success of this relationship is evident. In 2005, the British Museum successfully held the *Forgotten Empire: the World of Ancient Persia* exhibition. The exhibition was unprecedented due to the major loans it received from both the National Museum of Iran and the Louvre. 2005 also saw the work of the Iranian film-maker, photographer and artist Abbas Kiarostami hosted by both the National Film Theatre and the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. The Iran Heritage Foundation was also established in 1995.

For the first time since the Iranian revolution, the British Council reopened its offices in Tehran in 2001. In 2004 the British Council’s sculpture exhibition held in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Tehran was the largest cultural event held by

\[351\] Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, ‘British-Iranian Relations’, [http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm) (point 36)

\[352\] Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, ‘British-Iranian Relations’, (point 37).

\[353\] Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, ‘British-Iranian Relations’, (point 37).

\[354\] Rundle, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution’, p. 102.
the UK in Iran since 1979. The British Council also operates a scholarship scheme which provided Iranian students the opportunity to undertake attachments in UK Universities.

Trade between Iran and Britain is an important factor in relations between the two. Economic factors following the eight year war with Iraq, as already noted, became one of the prime motivational factors in Iran’s pursuit of improved relations with the West. ‘British exports to Iran rose from around £300 million in 2000 to £444 million in 2004’. Rundle notes however that these figures do not account for re-exports which go through Dubai and Oman. Britain however lies behind many countries including Germany, France and Japan in its trade relations with Iran. Iran’s oil and gas sector is the UK biggest export client. This is primarily because Britain is home to some of the world’s leading manufacturers of such specialised equipment. The following sectors account for the majority of other exports: ‘power, petrochemicals, healthcare, mining, agriculture/food processing, water, telecommunications and the automotive industry.’

Throughout Khatami’s presidency a number of incidents have occurred which have posed a challenge to the improving relationship. Many of these incidents it has been argued were deliberate acts by those opposed to the reformist policies. One of the most significant incidents occurred on 7th February 2002 following Iran’s

---

355 Response of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs May 2004  
356 Response of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs May 2004, p.2.  
360 Select Committee on Foreign Affairs third report ‘British-Iranian Relations’ (point 12)  
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm
rejection of nominee David Raddaway as Britain’s ambassador.\textsuperscript{361} The situation was not resolved until Iran finally accepted Britain’s nominee Richard Dalton as ambassador on 24 September 2002.

Tensions arose again the following year with the arrest and detention in Britain of a former Iranian diplomat, Hade Soleimanpour under an extradition warrant served by Argentina. Soleimanpour was accused of involvement in the bombing of a Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires in 1994. Iran claimed the arrest was political. Shots were fired at the British Embassy in Tehran. Following a judicial review it was concluded that there was insufficient evidence to agree to the extradition request and consequently Soleimanpour was released on bail.\textsuperscript{362}

Arguably the most significant challenge to Anglo-Iranian relations occurred following the capture of eight British navy personnel in the Shatt al-Arab waterway on 21\textsuperscript{st} June 2004. The six Royal marines and two navy sailors it is claimed were part of the navy training team based in Iraq and had been delivering a boat from Umm Qasr to Basra. The Iranians claim the boats had travelled into Iranian territorial waters without authorization and accused the personnel of spying. Following discussions between Britain’s Foreign Secretary Jack Straw and Kamal Kharrazi his Iranian counterpart all eight were released three days later. The boats and equipment were retained by the Iranians and have never been released.

In addition to the individual incidents which posed a challenge to Anglo-Iranian relations, there are a number of overarching issues which continue to affect the possibility of further improvements in relations. In his response to the Foreign

\textsuperscript{362} Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Third report “British-Iranian Relations” http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm
Affairs Select Committee’s report 2003/2004, the then Foreign Secretary Jack Straw stated the following: ‘For relations with Iran to move forward, Iran will need to address our political concerns in areas such as human rights, nuclear proliferation, the fight against terrorism and Iran’s attitude to the Middle East Peace Process.’

Iran continues to receive condemnation from the international community for its human rights record. In a report from the UN’s Special Representative to Iran, concern was expressed for the following: ‘the high number of executions in the absence of internationally recognised safeguards, cases of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the failure to meet international standards with regard to the administration of justice and the absence of due process of law, violations of the right to peaceful assembly and restrictions on the freedom of expression, thought, opinion and the press.’ The report also expressed particular concern over Iran’s treatment of the Bahais which it claims infringed their human rights. Other minorities it highlights are discriminated against on religious grounds. In addition it stated concern at Iran’s treatment of women who it claims ‘endure widespread discrimination’.

In a memorandum submitted by Elizabeth Sidney to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs she notes that despite claims to the contrary, the persecution of women under Khatami increased. She acknowledged any relaxation in dress code occurred only in Tehran. She also notes that Khatami had presided over three measures particularly detrimental to women, these are cited below:

— The Mullahs’ refusal to sign CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women) on the grounds that treating women as equals is “blasphemous”

— The passing of the Women and Press Law, forbidding discussion of women’s rights in the media

— The passing of a law requiring gender segregation of all medical services.  

However in response, the Iranians claim their human rights record and especially their treatment of women is better than many other states in the region.

Iran’s internal dynamics have inevitably impacted on relations with Britain. Axworthy notes that the murders of writers and dissidents in Iran in November and December 1998 which led to strong protests from members of the European Union is one such example.  

Iran has been labelled a state sponsor of terrorism since 1984. The Iranian government has levelled the same charges at the United States. ‘Washington describes organisations that Tehran assists, such as Lebanese Hizbollah, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command (PFLP-GC), as terrorist groups. Tehran sees them as liberation movements.’ There exists no internationally agreed definition for

368 Chubin, Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions, p. 51.
terrorism and that is the fundamental problem in ascertaining what is an act of terrorism and who can be held accountable.\textsuperscript{370}

Iran has been accused of supporting acts and groups which have been deemed terrorist. These acts have included hostage taking and assassinations in a number of countries. Changes in Iranian policy is however evident. In comparison to the early days of the Islamic Republic, the Iranian government is no-longer active in the promotion of its revolution, nor does it partake in hostage taking at home or abroad and in recent years it would appear it has abandoned targeted killings abroad.\textsuperscript{371} However, Iran’s role in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine continue to cause concern on the international stage.

Iran’s support for groups in Palestine and Lebanon is the most contentious and has put Iran on a crash course with the US. It is imperative for any understanding of Iranian policy and relations to understand the Iranian perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Citing statements by the Iranian Foreign Minister and another Iranian official, William Samii provides clear evidence of the Iranian perspective:

In October 2001, the Iranian Foreign Minister said that there should be a distinction between terrorism and “nationalist, freedom-seeking struggles.” This may sound benign, but when he referred to Palestinian suicide bombers six months later, the Iranian Foreign Minister said that one could not compare them with the individuals who flew hijacked aircraft into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. He explained, “The difference is that the Palestinians are resisting the occupation of their land.” And another Iranian official said, “One cannot possible describe the Palestinians’ martyrdom as acts of terrorism […] In fact, they are defending their own rights by launching such operations.”\textsuperscript{372}


\textsuperscript{371} For a list of targeted killings in which the Iranian government has been accused either by officials or the media see Hossein Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities} (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 218-222.

\textsuperscript{372} Samii, ‘Tehran, Washington and Terror: No Agreement to Differ’, p. 54.
Iran makes no secret of its support for Hezbollah which is evident. Samii notes that it has held a number of conferences entitled ‘Support for the Palestinian Intifada’ which saw many groups including Hezbollah, Hamas, the PII, and the PFLP-GC represented. The US accuses Iran of deliberately trying to scupper the Israeli-Palestinian peace process to ‘prevent its isolation in the Muslim world […] and to divert U.S. pressure (including efforts at regime change) toward others in the region’.

Possessing considerable insider knowledge Mousavian summarises Iran’s policy on the Israel-Palestinian conflict in the following four points:

1. Israel poses direct and indirect threats to Iran’s national security. Therefore, it should be treated as a security matter.
2. Iran insists on the implementation of UN resolutions by Israel and the necessity of its compliance with international regulations
3. Iran considers defending the rights of Palestinians an obligation from the viewpoint of Islamic and human considerations and in terms of international laws and regulations.
4. Iran maintains that continuation of Israel’s occupationist and expansionist policies is a major reason for the continuation of the crisis, instability and insecurity in the Middle East. Iranian officials believe that holding a referendum in Palestine in which Muslims, and non-Muslims, in addition to the current inhabitants of Palestine, Palestinian refugees, and immigrants would be entitled to vote, is a good way to end the existing crisis. Iran urges that Israel has acted in violation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions as well as international law and maintains that the best solution to the crisis is withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and establishment of a Palestinian government that would be accepted by the whole Palestinian nation.

Iran has also faced accusations that it is offering support to al-Qaeda. Sick however notes that Iran has vigorously opposed both the Taleban government in

---

375 Seyed Hossein Mousavian served as the Iranian Ambassador to Germany from 1990 to 1997. He was Chairman of the Supreme National Security Council’s (SNSC) Foreign Policy Committee from 1997 to 2007 and was also the foreign policy advisor to the Secretary of the SNSC until 2007. He is currently Vice President of the Centre for Strategic Studies in Tehran. See Hossein Mousavian, Iran-Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities, (Oxon: Routledge, 2008).
376 Mousavian, Iran-Europe Relations, pp. 237-238.
Afghanistan and al-Qaeda. He claims ‘Al Qaeda is a Sunni Muslim group that espouses the views of the most extreme proponents of the Salafi (often called Wahhabi) school of Islamic thought, which regards Shi’ism [...] as heretical [...] Claims of an alliance, however, lack evidence and logic’. 377

In 2002 however, Iran was accused by the US of harbouring Taliban fugitives, President Khatami denied any such claims, however they were later discovered in a hunting lodge formerly owned by the Shah, but now occupied by the revolutionary guard. It is unclear if the failure to notify Khatami was deliberate or accidental. Following September 11th Iran was one of the few nations in the Middle East to openly condemn the terrorist attacks.

Sick notes also that Iran was an active participant in talks over the creation of Afghanistan’s new government and ‘at the Tokyo donors conference in January 2002, Iran pledged a total of $560 million for the reconstruction of Afghanistan – the largest donation of any developing country’. 378 It was hoped such an act would pave the way for a thawing in relations between Iran and the US. However, less than 6 weeks later, George Bush included Iran on his ‘axis of evil’ list and such hopes were quashed. 379

Since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein there has been growing concern in the US and Europe over Iran’s role in the new Iraq. While Iran fears any instability in Iraq could spill over into Iran, it is opposed to a US presence in Iraq. Iran’s position in Iraq appears contradictory, Sick notes ‘Iran seems to have encouraged its longstanding Iraqi Shia allies to cooperate with US forces. However it also

apparently began to flood Iraq with intelligence operatives who could influence events there and if directed, organize attacks on U.S. allies.³⁸⁰ The British government also claimed Iran was supporting attacks against its troops in Iraq.

It is Iran’s nuclear programme however, which appears to unite the majority of factions in Iran’s political system and the nation as a whole and poses the greatest challenge to improved relations with the European Union and the US. It is important to remember in any discussion of Iran’s nuclear programme that it is not a new pursuit. Baghat notes that:

As early as 1957 [...] it signed a civil nuclear cooperation agreement with the United States that provided for technical assistance and the “and the lease of several kilograms of enriched uranium”,³⁸¹ Iran’s nuclear programme under the Shah was almost totally dependent on the West who supported it. This is evident in that ‘in the 1960’s, the Atomic Center of Tehran University and a research reactor were established. Enriched fuel was supplied by an American company called AMF. In the following decade, Iran signed several agreements with the United States (1974) to buy eight reactors, with Germany (1974) to build a power reactor at Bushehr, and with France (1977) to build two reactors at Darkhovian. In addition, Iran purchased a ten percent share in a uranium enrichment plan built by a French company called Tricastin.”³⁸²

Despite concerns the Shah was pursuing nuclear weapons, he signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in 1968, ratified it in 1970 and in 1974 called for the creation of a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East (MENWFZ).³⁸³ Adherence to this ideal has continued to characterise Iranian rhetoric on its nuclear programme through to the present day.

Since the recommencement of Iran’s nuclear programme a number of significant developments had occurred between then and the end of this study. One

³⁸² Bahgat, ‘Nuclear Proliferation’, p. 308.
³⁸³ Bahgat, ‘Nuclear Proliferation’, p. 309.
of the most significant, evidence suggests, occurred as early as 1987 when A.Q. Khan, a Pakistani national, approached Iran and provided the designs for centrifuges type P1 and it is widely believed type P2 also. While no evidence exists to link the Pakistani government, they refuse to allow A.Q. Khan to be questioned by the IAEA for fear this may threaten their internal security. On 10 March 2005 in a statement given by the Pakistani Minister of Information he acknowledged that A.Q. Khan provided Iran with some centrifuges however he stated categorically that the Pakistani government was not involved. Highly enriched uranium was discovered on centrifuges in Natanz it was later declared by the IAEA that the uranium was already on the centrifuges which had been exported from Pakistan.

Iran’s claims that in 1987 it received only ‘two disassembled centrifuges, plus supporting drawings and specifications […] it did not acquire uranium casting and re-conversion technology or equipment from the network, nor did it ask for the 15-page document describing the procedures for the reduction of UF6 to uranium metal, and its casting into hemispheres.’ Following detailed investigations which included interviews with Iranian officials as well as members of the supply network and the analysis of data provided by Iran the IAEA concluded that: ‘Iran’s statements are consistent with other information available to the Agency concerning Iran’s acquisition of declared P-1 centrifuge enrichment technology in 1987.’


389 IAEA, p. 3.
From 1987 until 1993 Iran claimed its nuclear programme was small, with focus centred on understanding the workings of centrifuges and on domestic production of their components. They claimed that research was not carried out in universities and that they received no contact with the supply network. The IAEA claims that while the evidence they have does not dispute most of these claims they cannot verify the role of universities during this period. 390

The IAEA reports that Iran claims from 1993 to 1997 it was experiencing technical difficulties with centrifuge manufacture, it had devoted only a few personnel to the nuclear programme at this time and that it was not until the late 1990s that its nuclear programme intensified. 391

Following the successful test of P-1 centrifuges by the end of the 1990’s the decision to build an enrichment plant at Natanz was reached. ‘During this period, procurement activities were intensified and vacuum equipment, as well as special raw materials such as maraging steel and high strength aluminium, were acquired from abroad.’ 392 Iran’s nuclear programme was clearly well under way by this point. The IAEA note that despite claims it did not work on the development of P-2 centrifuges until 2002, they cannot verify this. 393

Iran’s nuclear programme was thrust into the international spotlight in 2002 when the Mujahideen Khalq Organisation (MKO), claimed Iran had undisclosed nuclear sites in Isfahan, Natanz and Arak. 394 While Iran was a signatory of the NPT Mousavian claims Iran had not agreed to the additional protocol and was therefore

390 IAEA, p. 3.
391 IAEA, p. 4.
392 IAEA, p. 4.
393 IAEA, p. 4.
394 Mousavian, Iran-Europe Relations, p. 147.
not obliged to declare Natanz and Arak.\textsuperscript{395} In addition Isfahan was under the direct supervision of the IAEA.\textsuperscript{396}

Britain, France and Germany’s general policy of negotiation with Iran throughout this period included its nuclear programme. In October 2003, British, French and German diplomats met in Iran seeking an agreement that Iran would cease all nuclear activities. Iran refused and following negotiations did agree to suspension.\textsuperscript{397} On 21 October 2003 Iran submitted a full report to the UN watchdog detailing its nuclear activities.\textsuperscript{398} On 18 December 2003 Iran signed the 93+2 additional protocol.\textsuperscript{399} Meetings held in 2004 led to the Brussels agreement however Iran claimed if its demands were not met it would end enrichment suspension. Iran subsequently cancelled the Brussels agreement and resumed the manufacture and assembly of centrifuges.\textsuperscript{400}

At the same time concern arose in the international arena over claims Israel had plans to attack Iran’s nuclear sites. The claims led to condemnation from Britain, France and Germany.\textsuperscript{401} Reluctant to end diplomacy, another round of talks commenced which culminated with an agreement on 29 November 2004 which became known as the Paris Agreement. This agreement called for the suspension of Iran’s fuel cycle, with the possibility of its resumption, while Europe agreed to grant additional concessions and engage in greater cooperation with Iran.\textsuperscript{402} The agreement was the most encouraging and it was hoped would pave the way for improved

\textsuperscript{395} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{396} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{397} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{398} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{399} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{400} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{401} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, pp. 166-172.
\textsuperscript{402} Mousavian, \textit{Iran-Europe Relations}, p. 172.
relations between Iran and Europe. The election of President Ahmadinejad would see a drastic change in Iran’s resolve.

Relations between Iran and Britain remain volatile and unpredictable. While the election of President Khatami provided some improvements they were not on the scale hoped. The election of President Ahmadinejad posed a new challenge to Anglo-Iranian relations. In a report to the Select Committee of Foreign Affairs, Herzig notes:

The British government has little credibility among the Iranian elite and wider public as a moral or ethical spokesman, while bilateral economic and political relations are not sufficiently important to Iran to allow conditionality to be applied effectively. There is little that the UK can do in its bilateral relations to put pressure on the Iranian government in pursuit of normative or strategic goals. Any attempt to take the moral high ground, and to prescribe policies and behaviour will be seen as hypocritical, imperialistic and patronising, and may well be counterproductive by provoking a backlash.

However, as this chapter clearly shows, the Iranian response to Britain is not without justification given their historical encounters.

---

403 A summarised report submitted by the Director General to the IAEA provides a clear overview of Iran’s nuclear programme during the period under study. The report is included as appendix 1.
404 Edmund Herzig Memorandum submitted to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Third report ‘British-Iranian Relations’, (note 3.4 to 3.5) http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm
Chapter 3.2: Media

This section will provide a brief overview of the newspapers being analysed in this study. It will proceed to look at the key factors involved in newspaper production before discussing briefly the debate which surrounds the role of the media in influencing public opinion.

The newspapers

Circulation of both national and regional newspapers is on the decline in Britain. Despite censorship during World War II newspaper sales increased, a trend which continued until 1957 when sales peaked at 17,320,000. With a few exceptions, newspaper circulation declined from this period onwards. It should be mentioned however that not all printed publications are in decline. Sparks notes that magazine publications have risen significantly from nearly 3000 in 1900 to 7500 by 1989.

British newspapers can be classified into three categories; tabloid, midmarket and broadsheet. Table 1 taken from Magforum shows the breakdown of the titles, the ownership, the type of paper and the sales for March 2005. Despite declining figures, newspaper sales still amounted to 11,858,392 copies per day which is not an insignificant figure and is a clear indicator of the important role the press played and continues to play within society.

---

407 It should be noted that The Times, Guardian and Independent have changed their broadsheet format to a more compact one. For the purpose of this study however, they will continue to be referred to as broadsheets as the change did not occur until the latter stages of the period under analysis and the papers were and still are known by the general public as the broadsheets and the tabloids.
408 This table was selected as it shows the circulation figures recorded during the period under study.
## UK national newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Sales (March 05)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>popular tabloid</td>
<td>News International Newspapers Ltd</td>
<td>3,273,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>midmarket, tabloid</td>
<td>Associated Newspapers (DGMT)</td>
<td>2,426,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>popular tabloid</td>
<td>Trinity Mirror plc</td>
<td>1,719,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Star</td>
<td>popular tabloid</td>
<td>Express Newspapers Ltd (Northern &amp; Shell)</td>
<td>854,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>midmarket, tabloid</td>
<td>Express Newspapers Ltd (Northern &amp; Shell)</td>
<td>948,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>quality broadsheet</td>
<td>Telegraph Group Ltd</td>
<td>907,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>quality compact</td>
<td>News International Newspapers Ltd</td>
<td>679,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Financial Times**</td>
<td>quality broadsheet</td>
<td>Financial Times Ltd (Pearson)</td>
<td>419,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>quality Berliner**</td>
<td>Guardian Newspapers Ltd</td>
<td>366,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>quality compact</td>
<td>Independent Newspapers (UK) Ltd</td>
<td>263,595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Trinity Mirror also publishes popular tabloid daily *Daily Record* and a popular tabloid *Sunday Mail* in Scotland**. Most of the FT's circulation is outside the UK: 128,216 is the UK sales figure.

Source: [ABC](http://www.magforum.com/papers/nationals.htm)

**Table 1 Daily Circulation figures for UK National Newspapers taken from Magforum.**

---

409 ‘The Berliner format is a mid-way between a tabloid and a broadsheet, with a page dimension of 470mm x 315mm, and is sold folded’, [www.guardian.co.uk/gpc/story-of-the-berliner](http://www.guardian.co.uk/gpc/story-of-the-berliner) [accessed 5th June 2011]

The sales figures show that circulation of the tabloid papers far exceeds those of the broadsheets. This once again underlines the importance of including them in this study. The *Sun* and the *Mirror* combined had a daily circulation in 2005 of 4,992,859 which was a market share of 42%. *The Times* and the *Guardian* at the same time had a combined total of 1,045,835 which was approximately a market share of 9%.411

The structure of the press in Britain differs from that of many other nations including the United States, in that it has a relatively large number of national titles competing for readership throughout the whole country. The reasons for this difference Sparks notes, are not well understood. However he highlights that already by 1810, technological advancements made it possible to distribute a centrally produced newspaper throughout the whole country.412 The London location corresponded with the heart of Britain’s political and economic centre which would ensure the availability of potential news stories which would appeal to the nation.

Competition amongst the national newspapers is not as strong as it appears when viewed in relation to ownership and category. Sparks notes ninety percent of daily newspaper sales are split amongst four newspaper organisations.413 Table 2 taken from Magforum supports these findings. Sparks argues many economists would describe the nature of the newspaper industry in Britain as an ‘oligopoly’. The Oxford English Dictionary defines an oligopoly as: ‘A state of limited competition, in which a market is dominated by a small number of producers or sellers.’414 A key

411 The figures show the daily circulation of the newspapers and excluding the *Financial Times* do not state which proportion is international.
413 Colin Sparks, ‘The Press’, p. 47.
414 The Oxford English Dictionary online http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00331221?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=oligopoly&first=1&max_to_show=10
factor which ensures the continuation of such a state of affairs are the high start up and running costs associated with a newspaper.\textsuperscript{415} Competition, a key component of a capitalist society, therefore remains limited. In addition, competition within the British press is further reduced as it exists generally within categories of paper and not within the industry as a whole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper groups</th>
<th>Titles owned</th>
<th>Market share (daily)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News International</td>
<td>Sun, Times, Sunday Times, News of the World</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rupert Murdoch)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Mirror plc</td>
<td>Mirror, Sunday Mirror, People, Daily Record</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern &amp; Shell</td>
<td>Express, Express on Sunday, Star</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Richard Desmond)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail and General Trust</td>
<td>Mail, Mail on Sunday</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph Group</td>
<td>Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, The Business</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Barclay brothers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian Media Group (Scott Trust)</td>
<td>Guardian, Observer</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson plc</td>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Newspaper organisations and their percentage share of the daily market.\textsuperscript{416}

Advertising is another important feature of the newspaper industry. It is reasonable to conclude that newspapers could not survive in today’s market without the revenue secured from advertising. It is reported that advertising revenue for the

\textsuperscript{415} Colin Sparks, ‘The Press’, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{416} Magforum.com, ‘UK National Newspapers’.
tabloid papers accounts for approximately forty percent of their total revenue, compared with the broadsheet papers in which it is a staggering seventy percent of their total revenue. Advertising differs significantly between broadsheet and tabloid papers and is a reflection of the readership’s perceived buying power. The newspaper industry is therefore not only dependent on its readership for survival but also its advertisers. Consideration must therefore be given to the interests of the advertisers which will inevitably influence newspaper production.

**The Times**

The paper was first published on the 1 January 1785 under the title *The Daily Universal* it was however renamed *The Times* three years later. The paper became an important source for foreign news within a few years of its establishment. Initially foreign news was not easy to obtain and was acquired from the Post Office who purchased foreign journals which they translated, summarised and sold to the newspapers. In 1792 *The Times* established news correspondences in Brussels and Paris and in 1807 the first foreign staff correspondence was appointed.

*The Times* desire to secure foreign news saw it employ smugglers to bring the news to Britain from France during a blockade of the English Channel by Napoleon. The reputation of *The Times* for foreign news is evident when the then Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh was forced to ask ‘will Mr Walter [of *The Times*]...

---

have the goodness to tell him if he has received any intelligence of the reported
defeat of the French near Dresden. 422

Coverage of foreign news continued to improve. For example by 1840
information could be passed from Paris to London in less than 22 hours. 423 In 1854,
during the build up to the Crimean War, the Tsar of Russia reportedly read of
Britain’s ultimatum in The Times, before he received official notification. When the
war was finally declared, the editor at the time, John Delane, in an unprecedented act
travelled to Crimea to witness events first hand. 424

The Times supported a policy of conciliation towards Germany in the years
prior to World War II. The war years however proved beneficial for The Times as
circulation increased. An indicator of the governments’ esteem for The Times was
again apparent during the war when the Ministry of Information distributed it within
neutral countries as a source of propaganda. 425 This is a clear indicator of the
prevalence of censorship and self censorship within the paper at the time.

The appointment of a new editor in 1952 further enhanced the reputation of
The Times. On the 3 May 1966, The Times made the decision to place news
permanently on the front page. Consequently circulation figures soared. However
increased production costs associated with this rise resulted in losses for the paper
and it was eventually sold to Lord Thompson of the Thompson group who already

422 Woods and Bishop, The Story of the Times, p. 15.
423 Woods and Bishop, The Story of the Times, p. 60.
424 Woods and Bishop, The Story of the Times, p. 60.
425 Woods and Bishop, The Story of the Times, p. 325.
owned *The Sunday Times*.\textsuperscript{426} The sale resulted in the merger of the two papers to form Times Newspaper Ltd.\textsuperscript{427}

The 1970s sparked a turbulent decade for the paper as it was hit by a number of unofficial strikes over pay and the introduction of new technology. On 30 November 1978 Thompson shut both papers down indefinitely.\textsuperscript{428} Publication resumed nearly a year later, however the financial implications resulted in the papers being put up for sale.\textsuperscript{429}

On 22 January 1981, Rupert Murdoch purchased the papers. There was much opposition to the purchase and concerns that the deal should be referred to the monopolies and mergers commission. The deal never reached the commission. One reason put forward to explain this was that as both of the papers were uneconomical a referral was deemed unnecessary.\textsuperscript{430} However as Manning notes it is widely believed that the decision was based on Murdoch’s support in the previous decade for the Conservative government which was facilitated through the *Sun* newspaper which had shifted its political learning to the right.\textsuperscript{431} In a dramatic u-turn however the *Sun* switched allegiance to the Labour party in the build up to the 1997 general election and is credited by some with playing a significant role in the subsequent victory of the Labour party.

Following the acquisition by News International, *The Times* has undergone a number of important changes which have included; relocation in the 1980s to offices

\textsuperscript{426} Woods & Bishop, *The Story of the Times*, p. 325.
\textsuperscript{427} Woods & Bishop, *The Story of the Times*, p. 361.
in Wapping, which facilitated the introduction of new technology to improve printing, a number of editorial changes and in recent times the introduction of a compact and online version.

The events of Wapping, combined with the establishment of the *Independent* in 1986 had a significant impact on *The Times*. The *Independent* was founded by three men who at the time all worked for the *Telegraph* ‘Andreas Whittam Smith the city editor, Symonds an economics leader writer and Stephen Glover a writer of leaders and features. Douglas Long the former deputy chairman and chief executive of the Mirror group was another key player’. The paper aimed to attract ‘people who felt uncomfortable about papers run by high-handed proprietors and who were also growing disenchanted with the Thatcherite philosophy espoused by the *Times* and *Sunday Times*’.434

In addition the paper also successfully attracted a number of journalists from competitor papers, including most notably *The Times*. Greenslade claims ‘Many journalists from *The Times* and *Sunday Times*, worried by the ethics of union-busting, and conveniently overlooking the fact that they were about to work on a non-union paper made possible by Murdoch’s move, wanted to cleanse themselves of Wapping’. The staff who moved from *The Times* and *Sunday Times* to the *Independent* were: ‘political editor Tony Bevins, economic editor Sarah Hogg, columnists Peter Jenkins and Miles Kington, writers James Fenton, Isabel Hilton and Tim McGirk […] former *Times* editor William Rees-Morgan was persuaded by

---

Whittam Smith to contribute a regular column. The renowned Middle East correspondent Robert Fisk also left The Times and moved to the Independent. It would be reasonable to conclude that the loss of more liberal journalists inevitably shifted the political stance of the paper further to the right.

The Sun

The Sun launched in 1964 and replaced the Labour leaning Daily Herald which had been bought by International Publishing Corporation (IPC) who also owned the Daily Mirror. The readership continued to decline following its takeover as it competed in the same market as the Mirror. The early Sun it is claimed ‘contained little news, the layout was a mess, its shape halfway between a tabloid and a broadsheet, was off putting, while the orange sun on the masthead looked decidedly odd’. The IPC sold the Sun to Rupert Murdoch who revolutionised the paper and it became the Mirror’s biggest rival.

The Sun targeted the readership of the Sketch, Daily Mirror and the Express but crucially it focused its attention on those young readers who had yet to form an allegiance with any paper. Murdoch believed what this group wanted from their paper was ‘sex, scandal, sport, more sex, all leavened with a lively coverage of serious topics’. Consequently, in a controversial move, the paper launched a photograph of a topless ‘girl’ on page 3. Page 3 became synonymous with the Sun and continues today. Summing up the editorial line which ensued, Curran & Seaton note: ‘It evolved a complex editorial formula – mistakenly dismissed by some critics as simple-minded – which was both hedonistic and moralistic, iconoclastic and

authoritarian, generally conservative in its opinions and radical in its rhetoric.’ By 1979 circulation of the Sun had surpassed that of the Daily Mirror and as Table 1 shows, the trend has continued until the present day.

The Sun has faced serious criticism at times for its sensationalised reporting. One such example occurred following the Hillsborough disaster in 1989, which claimed the lives of 96 Liverpool football fans. Under the editorship of Kelvin MacKenzie (1981-1994) the paper published a front-page article under the heading ‘THE TRUTH’, which claimed ‘Some fans picked pockets of victims’, ‘some fans urinated on the brave cops’ and ‘some fans beat up PC giving kiss of live’. This sparked a mass boycott of the Sun in Liverpool and despite subsequent apologies, sales of the paper have never recovered. Whilst the size and duration of this boycott is unusual it is a clear indicator of the power the readership holds over the media.

The Sun has also in recent years been accused of inciting racial tension in Britain. The editor, Rebekah Wade, on her appointment in 2002 launched a campaign demanding tighter laws to prevent ‘bogus’ asylum seekers.

Despite a general decline in readership of the tabloid papers as shown in table 1, circulation of the Sun still accounts for a substantial amount of total circulation of the British press and therefore an analysis of its content is important.

**The Mirror**

Launched on 2 November 1903 by Alfred Harmsworth who would later become Lord Northcliffe, the paper sought the readership of women and

---

subsequently appointed Mary Howarth as its first editor. In addition to the features
designed to attract women the paper also carried a full page devoted to foreign
news. The paper was unsuccessful in attracting readership and in 1904 it was
turned into a pictorial paper. By 1914 the paper was selling 1.2 million copies a
day. Readership however fell below 800,000 by 1933. Curran & Seaton note
that despite a largely conservative, middle class readership, the paper was unable to
attract advertisers. In an attempt to secure advertising the paper was relaunched in
1935 as a tabloid and sought to attract the working class. Despite concerns over
alienating its traditional readership the paper shifted its political stance to the left and
drastically revised its content. By 1937 it is reported the paper had halved its
coverage of social, economic and political affairs. The paper now dominated the
daily market.

As already identified, the Sun overtook the Daily Mirror in circulation figures
in the 1970s and this trend has continued until the present day. In the 1970s and
1980s the Daily Mirror faced union resistance to its plans to modernise, as did most
of the British press. In 1984 the Mirror was purchased by Robert Maxwell from Reed
group. Controversy surrounded Maxwell’s ownership, he was accused of using the
paper for his own gains. Following his death it was discovered he had
misappropriated pension funds from the Daily Mirror into other companies.
The Sun’s decision to support the Labour party in the 1990s forced the Daily Mirror to undertake a series of measures to address the new competition for its readership. ‘Under the editorship of Piers Morgan the paper in an attempt to attract and retain readership introduced new features which included M magazine for women and the creation of a celebrity gossip team called 3am girls.’

The Guardian

Founded in 1821 the Guardian became one of Britain’s most revered broadsheet papers, adopting a left of centre political stance. The Guardian is owned by a trust founded in 1936 by the owner to ensure the papers’ survival. In summarising its own history, the Guardian’s website highlights the crucial aims of the Scott Trust:

As well as pledging to ensure the radical editorial tradition of the paper (that the newspaper "shall be conducted in the future on the same lines and in the same spirit as heretofore", in the words of the founder's legacy), the Scott Trust also has the duty to maintain a secure financial footing for the business: "...to devote the whole of the surplus profits of the Company which would otherwise have been available for dividends...towards building up the reserves of the Company and increasing the circulation of and expanding and improving the newspapers." These principles remain the only instructions given to an incoming editor of the Guardian.

An important outcome of this style of ownership is that unlike The Times and the Sun the content of the Guardian is not influenced by the personal opinions or business interests of one individual. The Guardian attracts only 3% of the daily newspaper readership, however its position as a left of centre broadsheet ensures its coverage remains significant and of interest for a key section of society.

The Notion of the Freedom of the Press

A free press is viewed by many people as an indicator of a free society. Since 1980 an American based company, Freedom House, has analysed the degree of freedom of the press in a number of countries throughout the world. Their research is based on Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states: ‘Everyone has the right to freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.’\(^{455}\) Whilst they acknowledge political, economic and cultural differences amongst countries, they argue that they cannot be justifiable reasons for media control.\(^{456}\) The methodology is based on 23 criteria and awards points from 0 to 100 where a lower score is indicative of a free press.\(^{457}\) In 2005, the final year of this study, of the 194 countries under analysis, 38% were classed as having a free press, whilst 28% had a partly free press and the remaining 34% was deemed not free.\(^{458}\) The UK was ranked 18 in Western Europe with a score of 19. Political influence accounted for 7 of the points, economic pressures also accounted for 7 of the points with legal environment amounting for the remaining 5.\(^{459}\) The political score was influenced by a number of factors but the report highlighted most notably a Terrorism Bill introduced following the July 7 bombings as well as ‘stringent libel laws […] under which the burden of proof remains with the defending publisher-in other words, guilty until proven innocent [and] a judiciary that has traditionally taken

\(^{456}\) Freedom House.
\(^{457}\) Freedom House.
\(^{458}\) Freedom House.
a sympathetic stance toward libel claimants’.  

No country achieved a score of 0 which would indicate a totally free press, in Western Europe, Finland and Iceland scored 9 and were ranked joint 1st. Compared to the UK, Iceland scored 4 for political influence and Finland scored 3. A review of the processes involved in newspaper production will show a score of 0 could arguably be deemed impossible.

The Structure of the Press

Summarising the intricate workings of the newsroom, Campbell in Figure 1 clearly highlights the various stages a potential story must go through before it is turned into news copy and received by its readership. An important feature of news production which this diagram shows is that at any stage a story can be discarded or ‘spiked’. A number of factors including limited space, deadline constraints and the values of the newspaper all influence why a story may be discarded.

For the purpose of this research it is important to note that in some cases what is discarded is just as significant as what is reported. Therefore, whilst journalists play a significant role in news production as the later part of this section will show, the personal opinions of the editor combined with the political stance of the paper all shape what the audience finally receive.

460 Freedom of the Press.
462 Freedom of the Press.
463 Campbell, Information Age Journalism: Journalism in an International Context, p. 108.
Spiking is not a new journalistic practice. Lessing claims that editors are not always aware of their prejudices citing ‘When I was working as a journalist on behalf of the Afghan refugees I learnt more than was comfortable about unconscious censorship. Anything I wrote that contradicted our preferred idea of the mujahidin as brutal and bloodstained fanatics, tended to be cut.’ However she notes that the editor would not cite his opposition to the reporting as the reasons for the cut but that it was as a result of the lack of space. Greenslade in a discussion of the Hillsborough disaster claims Kelvin MacKenzie’s editorship was ‘marked by controversy because he too often made decisions based on instinct and fired by a fierce competitiveness’. He goes on to state ‘one of his prejudices was certainly a deep dislike of Liverpool, believing it to be largely populated by law-breaking, work-shy, socialist scroungers descended from the Irish (another prejudice). So the

---

466 Greenslade now a journalist for the Sunday Times worked for five years as deputy editor under the Sun’s editor Kelvin Mackenzie.
Hillsborough allegations confirmed what he always suspected about Liverpudlians. It fitted his own preconception perfectly. This highlights the important contribution a journalist or an editor’s background can have in shaping the news.

The power of the editorial line is further highlighted by Jempson who reports the case of Daily Express journalists who approached the Press Complaints Commission over concerns that they were being forced to produce stories they deemed racist in order to follow the paper’s editorial line on asylum seekers. He notes, ‘The journalists wanted assurance from the PCC that they would be protected if they failed to follow the editorial line but acted based on their conscience. The PCC referred it to the Committee of editors reviewing UK Newspaper Industry’s Code of Practice which turned the complaint down.’

The Role of the State

The newspaper industry in Britain is not free from government influence as Freedom House highlighted. One means through which this is achieved is government legislation which infringes on freedom of speech. In a study undertaken by Moore he argues that the government have lost trust in the media. He argues this is evident by the fact that ‘[in 1931] there were 44 people in the whole of government with some direct responsibility for communication. There are now [2007] 3,200 press officers, not to mention special advisors, huge departmental communications offices, a No. 10 communications team, an advertising budget of £230million, and 950 government websites (currently being culled).’

---

468 Greenslade, ‘Hillsborough’.
471 Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 34.
Consequently because the government do not trust the media to present it fairly to the public, he claims therefore ‘it feels justified in restricting, moulding, leaking and dumping information to present its actions in the best light’. Such a practice is aided by the nature of the British political system, which operates a Lobby system that provides some journalists with access to high ranking government officials while the nature of the system means most of the information is non-attributable. This is highly significant when considered that many of the sources utilised by journalists are from the political elites, although as will also be shown, this is partly the result of current newspaper production processes and is not always done to favour the interests of the elites.

The commercial nature of the British press inevitably means it is the proprietor who has direct influence over the newspaper production.

**The Role of the Proprietor**

It is widely acknowledged that the proprietors of British newspapers in general strongly influence the editorial line of their newspaper. However, it is the motivation for this intervention which is disputed. Campbell notes that for some, proprietor intervention is viewed as profit-driven. Their argument is based on the fact that a number of owners are non-British. However this view is strongly challenged by those, he claims, who argue that intervention in the political system is necessary for owners who are profit-driven. Selection of an editor who will follow the proprietor’s line ensures intervention can appear limited. The Scott Trust which owns

---

472 Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 34.
the *Guardian* undertakes this practice: ‘editors [are] appointed by the Trust and then left to run the paper the way they see fit.’\(^{475}\)

Not all newspapers adhere to this practice, and at times proprietor involvement is direct. Rupert Murdoch’s papers have been accused of bias in their reporting of issues which touched on his business interests or personal views. One such example was a claim by Sam Kiley, former Middle East editor of *The Times*, that ‘his reports were regularly censored by editors who lived ‘in terror’ of upsetting Murdoch. The paper followed a pro-Israeli line dictated by Murdoch’.\(^{476}\) Kelvin Mackenzie also claims he was forced by Rupert Murdoch to apologise over the infamous ‘Truth’ claims following the Hillsborough disaster.

**The Role of the Journalist**

The role of the journalist is another important factor in newspaper production. Moore argues that the role of what he terms ‘the public-interest journalist’ is two-fold: ‘the first is as a watchdog, holding the powerful to account, exposing fraud, deceit, corruption, mismanagement and incompetence […] the second […] to inform, explain and analyse.’\(^{477}\) For Bell journalists are story-tellers which he claims is evident in the language used within their own industry for example ‘Is this really a story?’\(^{478}\)

Journalists as already noted are obliged to conform to the in-house style of their paper and must therefore ensure their reporting fits within the values of the paper and appeals to their readership. Journalists also work under a code of ethics and in the UK are also subject to government legislation. Richardson highlights the

---

\(^{475}\) Campbell, *Information Age Journalism*, p. 67.


\(^{477}\) Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 33.

key factors set out by the British National Union of Journalists which journalists should adhere to: ‘The British Union of Journalists states that journalists “shall at all times defend the principle of the freedom of the press and other media”, striving “to eliminate distortion, news suppression and censorship”, shall “protect confidential sources of information”, “shall not accept bribes” and “shall neither originate nor process material which encourages discrimination, ridicule, prejudice or hatred”.’

Objectivity, is for many journalists’ at the heart of their professional integrity. However, there is much debate surrounding the concept of objectivity and its achievability. For those who adhere to the concept of objectivity they believe ‘in the existence of a reality ‘out there’ beyond individuals’ experience of reality, a reality that could be observed, analysed, assessed, and particularly in journalism’s case, recorded’. Manning notes however, for those who counter this position, objective reality does not exist and ‘that the world can only be experienced through our own perceptions’. Therefore ‘people individually and collectively construct their realities’. Lakoff and Johnson however argue that there exists a middle ground between the two concepts. They claim that ‘though there is no absolute truth, there can be a kind of objectivity relative to the conceptual system or a culture. The point of impartiality and fairness in social matters is to rise above relevant individual biases’. This it could be argued is the goal of the individual journalist.

Similarly Richardson notes that the dictionary definition of objectivity differs to a journalist’s view of achieving objectivity in a report and this is an important
factor in claiming that a report is objective.\textsuperscript{484} He notes ‘to file an objective report a journalist needs to distance himself or herself from the truth claims of the report. Distancing oneself from the truth claims of the report is not the same as removing all value judgements from a news report’.\textsuperscript{485} It is achieved Richardson notes by ensuring that any opinion within the report is from other sources.\textsuperscript{486}

Richardson utilises the work of Tuchman (1972) to highlight four methods by which journalists can produce reports which are based on their concept of objectivity and can be termed objective:

- First, the use of sources in the verbalisation of (competing) truths […] Second an objective report includes supporting evidence in the form of background or contextualising information […] Third, an objective report will often use ‘scare quotes’ to indicated a contentious truth claim – or a least that the truth claim is not the reporter’s […] Finally, an objective report uses the inverted pyramid structure of news reporting and a narrative style that removes the authorial voice of the journalist.\textsuperscript{487}

The first of the methods, the use of sources is a fundamental part of news production particularly as they constitute a significant proportion of a news report and this has inevitably led to much debate about the relationship between the journalist and their sources. Studies undertaken by Hall et al claimed that official sources often influence the news but it is primarily a result of the production processes which grant such groups and individuals this status. These he terms are ‘primary definers.’\textsuperscript{488} Summarising the explanation for why such sources are awarded this position, Manning notes:

First, precisely because such institutions were powerful and, therefore, newsworthy; secondly, because these institutions enjoyed a kind of legitimacy in the eyes of journalists by virtue of their status as representative

\textsuperscript{484} Richardson, \textit{Analysing Newspapers}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{485} Richardson, \textit{Analysing Newspapers}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{486} Richardson, \textit{Analysing Newspapers}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{487} Richardson, \textit{Analysing Newspapers}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{488} Manning, \textit{News and News Sources}, p. 122.
either of ‘the people’ (governments, MPs, Police, etc) or of strategically important sections of society (trade unions, industry, the city, etc); and thirdly, some sources enjoyed credibility not as representatives but as ‘disinterested’ or ‘objective’ experts contributing expertise and authoritative knowledge.489

Hall et al’s work received much criticism, however, it still retains a degree of importance for research today. Summarising the work of some of the most vocal critics Manning writes:

The critics of the concept in its original formulation suggest that it is flawed both theoretically and empirically; that it is too rigid in its attempt to distinguish those institutions with the capacity to primarily define the news from those without; that it rests upon an ahistorical model which cannot explain changes over time in the distribution of opportunities to primarily define; and that empirically it can be demonstrated that organisations such as non-official sources or marginal political groups can successfully set the agenda, or primarily define in particular policy arenas (Schlesinger, 1990; Anderson, 1993; Miller and Williams, 1993; Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994).490

As already shown, the use of sources facilitates the claim by journalists of objective reporting. However how journalists report their sources is significant and can be indicative of the paper’s stance. The practice of naming and referencing is an important indicator of opinion and was highlighted in the methodological framework. However, Clayman notes when using verbal sources for example press conferences, interviews and public speeches, how these interactions are reported within the news article is also significant.491 His research highlights that journalists have two choices in reporting speech, either as stand-alone statements or with additional parts of the interaction.492 Both methods however involve selection as they cannot reproduce the whole speech. In addition, ‘while a statement may be quoted in isolation, this does not necessarily mean that it has been fundamentally distorted. The intended sense

490 Manning, News and News Sources, pp. 138-139.
492 Clayman, ‘From Talk to Text’, p. 82.
and import of source statements may be clarified through the reporter’s narrative; they need not use the surrounding talk to accomplish this task’. It must be noted that space limitation is a key factor in source reporting.

Another important concept surrounding journalists’ role in newspaper production is that of framing. Framing it is claimed is the process by which journalists foreground one issue over another. Entman states:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

Utilising the frequently stated metaphor the glass is half full he argues, ‘If the text frame emphasizes in a variety of mutually reinforcing ways that the glass is half full, the evidence of social research suggests that relatively few in the audience will conclude it is half empty.’ He does acknowledge that people have the ability to evaluate the text differently, however he states ‘people are not generally so well-informed and cognitively active, and that framing therefore heavily influences their responses to communications’.

Concurring, a study undertaken by Brewer, Graf and Willnat identified that US attitudes towards foreign countries are influenced by the frames set by the newspaper. The study concluded that ‘when members of our audience read stories that offered a direct link between an issue and a nation that carried a specific evaluative implication, they tended to adopt this frame of reference in their own

\[493\] Clayman, ‘From Talk to Text’, p. 82.
\[495\] Entman, ‘Framing Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm’, p. 56.
\[496\] Entman, ‘Framing Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm’, p. 56.
thinking. In three out of four cases, frames that provided this sort of link shaped how people formed judgements.\footnote{497}

In addition, their study analysed whether priming of domestic issues would indirectly influence attitudes towards foreign nations. Their research is based on the ‘associative network model’.\footnote{498} Priming they claim is ‘built on the assumption that a stimulus can activate previously learned cognitive structures, thereby influencing the judgement process (Fiske and Taylor, 1984) […] When a node is activated in memory – or primed – it becomes more accessible and thus more likely to play a role in the formation of subsequent evaluations’.\footnote{499} Crucially for this concept is ‘“the principle of spreading activation” (Collins and Luftus, 1975): once one node is activated, activation spreads along the associative pathways to other nodes in the mental network’.\footnote{500}

However the study concluded that this did not happen in the case of international news, ‘when participants read about issues on the domestic front, they did not carry their thoughts over to the international realm’.\footnote{501} In attempting to explain their findings, which noted no apparent influence of domestic priming on readers’ perception of international news, the authors highlight a number of key factors which may have contributed to this result. One factor they highlight is the issue of research design. The audience may also not have associated in this case the countries selected with a given specific issue. The possible associations that they tested were the association of terrorism with the countries of Iran and Libya and the association of illegal drugs with Mexico and Colombia. Perhaps if other countries

\footnote{498} Brewer, ‘Priming or Framing’, p. 494.
\footnote{499} Brewer, ‘Priming or Framing’, p. 494.
\footnote{500} Brewer, ‘Priming or Framing’, p. 495.
\footnote{501} Brewer, ‘Priming or Framing’, p. 504.
had been chosen the associative link might have been discernable. Finally, they note that no correlation may have been found because the spreading of activation is not how priming is produced.\textsuperscript{502} Whatever the role of priming might be it must be noted that framing certainly does have an important role to play in linking an issue with a nation.

Another important factor which it has been argued can play an important role in informing how journalists perceive a situation is their background. Cottle argues, ‘if journalists are found to come predominantly from white middle-class homes, select educational institutions and share similar middle-ground particular values undoubtedly this will influence the sensibilities and knowledge base informing journalist output.’\textsuperscript{503} This, combined with the already highlighted values of the newspaper, inevitably lead reporting to be imbued with values of both the journalist and the institution.

Whilst the internet has had a significant negative influence on newspaper sales and distribution, it has also influenced journalistic practices. Manning highlights that journalists now use the internet for a number of reasons which include obtaining information directly from the website of an institution and it could be argued controversially to check quotes and source stories from the website of their competitors.\textsuperscript{504}

In any discussion of the discursive practices of newspaper organisations it is imperative to highlight the role of the style book. All newspaper organisations have a

\textsuperscript{502} Brewer, ‘Priming or Framing’, p. 505.  
\textsuperscript{504} Manning, \textit{News and News Sources}, p. 77.
style book which journalists much adhere to. Cameron notes the overall aim of the style guide is twofold, ‘first is conformity to a set of values that are held to define ‘good writing’ on newspapers in general, and these could be summed up as the ‘four Cs’: correctness, consistency, clarity and concision […] The second […] is to produce a distinctive ‘institutional voice’ for a particular style.’ Adhering to the style guide, a journalist’s lexical choice is therefore influenced by the ideological stance of the newspaper. However Cameron notes that journalists and editors are unaware of any ideological significance in the style guides they use. She notes:

For the most part they regard stylistic precepts uncritically as an inherited body of professional lore; they take pride in mastering the linguistic aspects of their craft, and do not require reasoned arguments for writing in one way rather than another – particularly if the preferred ways of writing can be seen to fall within the scope of the general norms of correctness, consistency, clarity and concision. Analysis of any newspaper must acknowledge the role of the style guide in shaping the news copy disseminated in this paper.

As technology advances the role of the journalist has inevitably changed. In a study undertaken by Moore he notes that public interest journalism is under threat from four sections of society. The first he notes is the government who use legislation in an attempt to control the information the media receive. The second sector is the corporations who spend vast sums of money on PR to protect their private interests. ‘The PR industry in the UK is now valued at around £6.5 billion per annum and is the second largest in the world’. He also notes the striking number of former media editors who have moved to the PR sector. The aim of the PR firms is

---

505 The Times and The Guardian style guides are available on-line.
507 Cameron, ‘Style Policy and Style Politics’, p. 331.
508 Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 35.
to seek favourable press. Moore notes in some cases this involves persuading journalists or editors to change or withdraw certain stories and it is often these stories which are of the most interest to the public.\textsuperscript{510} Clients of Chime the UK’s largest PR firm it is claimed include ‘exiled billionaire Boris Berezovsky, the Saudi Arabian Government, BAE systems, and two of the Labour donors currently being investigated in the cash for honours controversy’ \textsuperscript{511} Such high-profile clients are a clear indicator of the perceived value and power that the media possess.

The issue of foreign governments attempting to influence their countries image abroad is not a new idea. As already mentioned, the Shah of Iran saw the importance of a positive international image and did his utmost to achieve this, including taking out advertisements in leading newspapers including The Times. Manheim & Albritton in a study undertaken in 1984 identified a rise in the use of American PR firms by international governments to improve their image in the US press.\textsuperscript{512} They noted two important factors which are crucial when discussing national image; visibility which is the amount of media coverage a country receives and valence which is the degree to which the coverage is either favourable or not.\textsuperscript{513} Successful image manipulation by the PR companies would involve ascertaining the current quantity and quality of a country’s coverage in the press and deciding whether a change in quantity or quality or both would yield the greatest results.\textsuperscript{514}

The third sector he believes which threatens public interest journalism is the public themselves. He notes this sector is not aware of the effect their actions such as selecting the free newspapers instead of purchasing a paper or relying on television

\textsuperscript{510} Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{511} Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{513} Manheim & Albritton, ‘Changing National Images’, p. 645.
\textsuperscript{514} Manheim Albritton, ‘Changing National Images’, p. 645
or the internet for acquiring news. Consequently he argues ‘the impact of this is the decline of the idea of the public interest, or information important to everyone within society, not just slivers of it.’

The fourth and final sector he notes is the media themselves. He claims journalists largely seem ‘unwilling to broaden their watchdog role outside monitoring government and many don’t seem even to count it within their public-interest responsibilities’. He cites as evidence two examples to support such claims which are firstly how no journalists have uncovered successfully the widespread corruption in football, he notes while the BBC tried, they failed to offer enough evidence and the second example is the failure of the media to highlight the role private equity firms are having on British business. He also argues the media are failing to achieve the second aim of public interest journalism, choosing instead ‘to emphasise the subjective, the personal, the emotional and the sensational […] as a result, depth, context, objectivity, balance and accuracy are being sacrificed’.

International Reporting

Coverage of international news varies substantially between the broadsheet and tabloid papers. Tunstall notes: ‘The upmarket daily newspaper may devote the equivalent of three full pages (without advertising) to foreign news; but if one includes front-page foreign stories, editorials, columns, and features – and then adds this to foreign stories on the financial pages – the upmarket daily is carrying up to six full pages of foreign news (broadly defined).’ In comparison, the tabloids have virtually none. A key indicator of the importance of international news to a

---

515 Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 38.
516 Moore, ‘Public Interest, Media Neglect’, p. 38.
newspaper is the number of foreign correspondents. In 1990 the tabloid newspapers had no foreign correspondents compared with a hundred and one for the broadsheets.\footnote{Tunstall, \textit{Newspaper Power}, p. 340.} Whilst the number of foreign correspondents the broadsheet papers retain appears positive, when compared with the number of potential international stories which could feature daily the figures are small. Highlighting the general location where broadsheet newspapers would situate foreign correspondents, Tunstall notes in the early 1990s the Middle East would probably have two staff correspondents respectively located in Cairo and in Jerusalem.\footnote{Tunstall, \textit{Newspaper Power}, p. 347.}

Despite having no foreign correspondents in the period under study, some tabloids Tunstall notes have a ‘foreign editor’ who ‘writes stories based on the agencies, covers ‘diplomatic’ stories (Foreign Office and London embassies) and goes on occasional foreign trips’.\footnote{Tunstall, \textit{Newspaper Power}, p. 346.} The newspapers are instead increasingly relying on stringer journalists, located throughout the world for newspaper stories as well as news agencies. Journalists working for the foreign desk are subject to similar editing processes as domestic journalists.

Financial constraints and readership demands inevitably influence the value newspaper organisations place on foreign news coverage within their paper. Considering the factors which influence international coverage, it is reasonable to conclude that the issues and events selected for coverage are clear indicators of the values of the owners, the political system and the readership. This is evident in Tunstall’s description of the working of the foreign desks when he states, ‘the foreign desk personnel feel that they have a better understanding of how the international news agenda fits with the day’s British news agenda. Thus the desk will
on many days tell the correspondent which story to cover, or which agency item to follow up on’. 522

**The News Agency**

News agencies as already noted are now an integral part of the newspaper industry in Britain and throughout the world. It has been reported that the London based news agency Reuters has ‘184 news bureaus in 163 countries around the world’. 523 The American based news agency Associated Press (AP) ‘has some 242 bureaus worldwide, producing 20 million words and 1,000 photographs each day, reaching a daily audience of some 1 billion people’. 524 The figures are clear indicators of the power wielded by the news agencies. In 1851 Reuters provided the opportunity for other papers to challenge the dominant position *The Times* held for foreign news. In October 1858 *The Times* itself subscribed to Reuters and by 1870 it was an invaluable source for the paper. 525

The financial constraints and the impracticality of having a journalist in every country ‘just in case’ something occurs, means newspapers now rely on press agencies more than ever as a source for their international news. This however does not always lend itself to uniform reports.

Editors can and do edit and change the agency copy for a number of reasons including to fit the allocated space on the page and to suit their in-house style. This is evident in a study undertaken by Hakam which analysed the coverage of English-language Arab newspapers and their reporting of the debate which followed the

---

publication in a Danish newspaper of cartoons sketches of the Prophet Mohammad. Hakam’s analysis which looked at Arab-generated texts and compared them to texts attributed to the news agencies. The study noted how Arab editors would make small but significant changes to news copy from the international news agencies to resist what is termed ‘the dominant Euro-centered discourse’. 526

The use of news agencies is not without issues. Bell notes ‘To a large extent they [news agencies] set the day-by-day agenda for what other media cover’. 527 In addition, Campbell notes that what is reported by the news agencies may reflect their cultural values. 528 If we consider that the four largest news agencies are ‘western’ then it is likely the values of the ‘west’ are prominent. This concurs with Hakam who as already noted claims the discourse of the main news agencies are ‘Euro-centered’. 529 Another problem associated with the use of news agencies is that by their nature they are a barrier for less powerful individuals and organisations to have their voices heard in society and this is a crucial component of ensuring the readership receives a balanced view of the world. 530

The Media and Public Opinion

The relationship between the media and public opinion is the subject of one of the most important debates in media studies. It is widely acknowledged that the media and public opinion are inter-related but it is the nature of this relationship and the consequences for society which are significant. Research which analyses the

527 Bell, The Language of News Media, p. 50.
528 Campbell, Information Age Journalism, p. 235.
530 Manning, News and News Sources, p. 57.
influence of the media is vast and as Van Dijk highlights, opinions have changed over time:

Early research emphasized the power of the media, a position that gave way to a more skeptical approach to mass media influence when experiments in the 1960s and 1970s often showed little direct effects. Instead, it was then suggested that the media especially have agenda-setting functions: They do not tell people what to think, but what to think about (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; MacKuen and Coombs 1981; McCombs and Shaw 1972). At present there is a tendency to pay attention to significant indirect, overall and ideological influences of the media, for example, in the framework of a critical analysis of the role of the media (see, e.g., Hall, Hobson, Lowe, and Willis 1980).\(^{531}\)

The role of the media in shaping public opinion becomes of paramount importance for those who hold to the view that public opinion influences public policy. Van Dijk notes a cyclic relationship between the media and the powerful elites in securing policy support. ‘Foreign policies without support from the press can hardly be legitimated and sustained and are difficult to implement when the corporate lobby is opposed to them. International business is seriously hampered by bad publicity or by firm state antagonism. And conversely, mainstream news media cannot operate without the cooperation of the political and corporate elites.’\(^{532}\)

Herman’s research in America which analysed the role of the media in foreign policy identified that the media tend to follow government agenda on foreign policy. Concurring with those who argue for the need for context in media reports in order for the public to evaluate the events successfully he noted ‘the real problem, however is the already high level of subservience to government agendas and the media’s consistent failure to provide context, and to encourage or even to allow debates extending to fundamental criticism’.\(^{533}\) The study analysed the three stages

\(^{532}\) Van Dijk, ‘Power and the News Media’, p. 29.
of the Gulf War in 1991 and showed that the mass media followed official government policy throughout. Herman was particularly critical of the failure of the media to provide any context in the build up to the war which was imperative for the public to be accurately informed and to form their own opinions. The power he believes the government has over the media is indicative when he notes: ‘they [the media] allowed themselves to be managed in the service of war mobilization and failed to provide the factual and opinion basis for public evaluation.’\(^{534}\) It should be noted that war reporting has inherent difficulties and a number of studies have highlighted these.\(^{535}\) However, the difficulties do not explain or justify a lack of critical reporting in the build up to war.

Research undertaken by Shaw analysed reporting of the Gulf War in the UK media. His study identified that whilst television coverage was largely standardized, newspaper coverage on the other hand despite at times uniform reporting ‘was differentiated by the contrasting positions, styles and ethos of the papers’.\(^{536}\) Utilising opinion polls the study identified that correspondingly newspaper readers displayed extreme variation in their opinions.\(^{537}\) He notes ‘these differences in perception of and attitudes to the war between readers of newspapers were more extreme and significant than any other variations (e.g. gender, age, etc.) measured’.\(^{538}\) This research is further evidence that the media have a role to play in informing public opinion.

\(^{534}\) Herman, ‘The Media’s Role in U.S Foreign Policy’, p.45.
\(^{536}\) Shaw, *Civil Society and Media in Global Crisis*, p. 97.
\(^{537}\) Shaw, *Civil Society and Media in Global Crisis*, p. 138.
\(^{538}\) Shaw, *Civil Society and Media in Global Crisis*, p. 138.
Research has also been undertaken which looks at the audience and its reception of the media message. The Glasgow media group have undertaken research which focused on audience reception. Their research claimed the media can influence audiences’ knowledge but amongst other factors, the audience possesses the ability to accept or reject the messages the media disseminate based on their own past experiences.\(^{539}\) Van Dijk also acknowledges the power of an individual to interact with the information they receive from the media: ‘psychological and sociological evidence suggests that despite the pervasive symbolic power of the media, the audience will generally retain a minimum of autonomy and independence, and engage more or less actively, instead of purely passively, in the “use of the means of mass communication.”\(^{540}\) Whilst Manning acknowledges the ability of the audience to critically engage with a news report and that they need alternative sources of information to facilitate this. He notes: ‘In the case of war, famine and ‘events abroad’, or, for example with many controversies concerning technical ‘expert’ opinion, we are all less able to step outside the interpretative frameworks offered by the news.’\(^{541}\)

A study undertaken by Bennett, Flickinger, Baker, Rhine & Bennett analysed the knowledge citizens of five western nations possessed of foreign affairs with focus on the role played by the media of the chosen countries. The study identified a number of key factors which influenced citizens’ knowledge of foreign affairs and concluded that ‘people learn about foreign affairs due to their opportunity, defined by their location in the social structure, and their motivation, indexed by attention paid

\(^{539}\) Glasgow University Media Unit ‘Media Effects and the Active Audience’\(\) http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/sociology/units/media/effects.htm, [accessed 17th March 2008].

\(^{540}\) Van Dijk, ‘Power and the News Media’, p. 11.

\(^{541}\) Manning, News and News Sources, p. 226.
to news accounts of world politics. This further supports the argument that the media plays an important role in informing the public. However as Entman notes ‘the forces that move public opinion remain complicated and mysterious, and the media fill in only part of the puzzle’. It could be argued however that it is a significant part of the puzzle.

**Reporting in Iran**

The complexities of reporting in Iran are highlighted in an insightful article by Gareth Smyth. He likens reporting in Iran to ‘walking on eggs while being jostled by burly people. Sooner or later you are going to fall over and you have to hope you don’t end up in an omelette’. The problems associated with not retaining resident journalists throughout the world have already been discussed. Many organisations simply send a visiting journalist or rely on other sources of information. However as Smyth notes an additional problem faced by visiting journalists working in Iran is that they must hire the services of minders through Ershad – the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. Minders will inevitably have an influence on reporting as they control access and their presence will inevitably influence the freedom of expression of any sources used. Smyth notes however that resident journalists also face similar problems: ‘Even the resident reporter finds it hard to gain access to anyone, or any place, remotely near a real

---

544 Gareth Smyth was the Tehran correspondent for the *Financial Times*. He spent four years in Iran from December 2003.
story, although to admit this to editors is dangerous when they are desperate to know what is going on in the “axis of evil”.  

Another important factor which influences reporting of Iran is its size and varied social composition. Smyth notes to accurately report Iran, a journalist must travel throughout the country to ‘avoid confusing the country (bigger than Iraq, Turkey, Syria combined) with the elite of northern Tehran. It means keeping an open mind and a permanent scepticism’. For the visiting journalist then it would be reasonable to conclude that gaining an in-depth understanding of the social and cultural differences which exist within Iran to ensure their reporting is representative, is difficult given the time factor and minder constraint.

Another significant challenge for the Iran reporter Smyth claims is the ‘vocal power of the huge number of “Iran experts” that inhabit think-tanks, campaign groups and even newspapers in the West’. His opposition to these people stems from his belief that they ‘can all be skilful in meeting the agendas of Western politicians and news organisations’.

Smyth was a reporter in Iran during the last few years of this study and he observed that reporting of Iran appeared to fit a predetermined western framework ‘there was a strong western view that the reformist (popular, goodies) were confronting the conservatives (unpopular, baddies) over social freedom and women’s clothes. Everything had to fit that model’. He cites a story which appeared in a number of newspapers including The Times, which despite being denied by the Iranian government and no evidence offered to corroborate the story, claimed eight

---

people had died following the parliamentary elections in February 2005. In addition it was highlighted that the Iranian papers reported the incident as being the result of a local non-political dispute with no connection whatsoever with the elections. However he notes, ‘By the time the story made the international press, via the wire agencies, it had been fitted into the rivalry between reformers and conservatives and the notion of Iran in crisis.’ The complex and difficult nature of reporting in Iran is certainly not unique to Iran but Smyth’s account of the Iranian case highlights the number of interplaying factors which influence production of international news copy.

---

Chapter 4: Analysis

Corpus Based Analysis

Initial analysis of the headline selected articles identified that the focus of the articles in the study covered a range of political events which Iran was involved in both at home and abroad. The events included; Iran’s role in the hostage situation in Lebanon;\(^554\) the Rushdie affair;\(^555\) the holding of Roger Cooper in Iran;\(^556\) attempts at improving regional relationships;\(^557\) Kurdish refugees during the Gulf War;\(^558\) Iranian support for Bosnia Muslims in their war with Serbia;\(^559\) Oil; Overseas assassinations;\(^560\) Disappearances in Iran;\(^561\) Iran’s links with the IRA;\(^562\) Lockerbie;\(^563\) Iran-Libya Sanctions Act;\(^564\) Elections;\(^565\) Acts of terror overseas;\(^566\) Relations with the West;\(^567\) Iranian unrest at home;\(^568\) Capture of British marines\(^569\) and the nuclear issue.

In addition, *The Times* and the *Guardian* both carried articles with a focus on social and cultural issues and events. These included articles discussing sport, women’s issues and Iranian film and theatre.

\(^{554}\) *The Times*, ‘Iran’s Role in the Dispute Grows’, 18 April 1990.
\(^{557}\) *The Times*, ‘Saudi’s Agree on Date for Renewal of Ties with Iran’, 21 March 1991.
Figure 2 shows that the *Guardian* carried more articles than *The Times* in which Iran(!) or Rafsanjani or Khamenei or Khatami or Tehran featured within the headline.

Figure 3 Distribution of articles in which Iran featured in the headline.
Figure 3 shows the distribution of the articles in both papers across the time frame. The chart shows that the coverage was relatively high in both papers in 1990 and 1991 and peaked in 2003. This coincides with both wars in Iraq and in the later also with advances in Iran’s nuclear programme.

Table 3 displays a comparison between the two papers of the most frequently used content words. As would be expected the most frequent words are ‘Iran’, ‘Iranian’ and ‘Tehran’. Most striking is the frequency of ‘nuclear’ and ‘Islamic’ which indicates that the reporting of Iran is strongly based on these two issues. The presence of other words in the table associated with ‘nuclear’ including ‘uranium’, ‘enrichment’, ‘programme’, ‘atomic’, ‘bomb’, ‘IAEA’, ‘weapons’ and ‘missile’ reinforce that Iran’s nuclear programme generated much of the reporting on Iran.

In addition the table also shows that ‘America’, ‘Britain’, ‘Europe’, ‘Germany’, ‘France’ and ‘Russia’ were also frequently referred and these were also key players in the international debate surrounding Iran’s nuclear programme. ‘Women’ and ‘terrorism’ are also frequently reported which would be expected as Iran was accused of being a state sponsor of terrorism and women are often highlighted in any discourse about Islam. Similarly ‘Oil’ inevitably receives coverage in any discussion of Iran as it is a major exporter of oil and it is also a member of OPEC. The presence of ‘Lebanon’ and ‘hostages’ in the table reflects the key position this issue played in the early part of this study and also highlights that Iran was frequently referred to over this issue. The Anglo-Iranian section highlighted that Iran was seen as key to the release of the hostages. The presence of words such as ‘hardliner’, ‘reformist’, ‘reformers’, ‘radicals’, ‘revolutionary’ and ‘hardliners’ highlight that these words are frequently used in the coverage of Iran. It was only to be expected that ‘sanctions’ would frequently be referred in reporting of Iran as they
have been an important factor in relations between Iran and the West. ‘Secret’ is another word which as the table shows was used in the reporting of Iran.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5026</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>3729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2692</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>1784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2222</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1391</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1479</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1047</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>569</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>644</td>
<td>Iranians</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>relations</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>579</td>
<td>weapons</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>488</td>
<td>military</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>489</td>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>666</td>
<td>Khatami</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Diplomatic</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444</td>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>Rafsanjani</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>708</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Hostages</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Rushdie</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>Regime</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401</td>
<td>Saddam</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Hardliners</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>Accused</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Sanctions</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Uranium</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>hardline</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Khamenei</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>revolutionary</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>economic</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Hezbollah</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>energy</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>atomic</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>bomb</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>fatwa</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>bombing</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>Khomeini</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>election</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>missiles</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>terrorist</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>enrichment</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hojatolestan</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>religious</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>reformist</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>moderate</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>secret</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>ambassador</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>missile</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Iran-Contra</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>reformers</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>al-Qaeda</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>conservatives</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Velayati</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>developing</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>IRNA</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>radicals</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Frequent words used in the Reporting of Iran in both papers.
The variation between table 4 and table 5 reflect the different issues which dominated the two presidencies. In table 4, the presence of ‘Western’, ‘hostage’, ‘release’ and ‘Lebanon’ indicate that Iran was frequently reported in connection with the holding in Lebanon of western hostages. The presence of ‘Rushdie’ reflects that he was a key actor during this period. The presence of ‘diplomatic’ and ‘relations’ in the table combined with some of the other most frequent words confirms that the hostage crisis in Lebanon and the Rushdie affair all impacted on diplomatic relations. The presence of ‘nuclear’ near the end of the table highlights that it was an issue even during this period but that it was not the most important issue. Table 5 in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1114</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>782</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460</td>
<td>against</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>570</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Rafsanjani</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>hostage</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>relations</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Rushdie</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>Iraqi</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>diplomatic</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>nuclear</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>release</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3078</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>2172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1229</td>
<td>nuclear</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>935</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>775</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>555</td>
<td>against</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651</td>
<td>Khatami</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>575</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>programme</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>weapons</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>425</td>
<td>Iranians</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>security</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
<td>war</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>relations</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>power</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Keywords in Rafsanjani’s Presidency. Table 5 Keywords in Khatami’s Presidency.
contrast shows that ‘nuclear’ had become the most dominant issue in reporting for both papers during Khatami’s presidency. This was reinforced by the presence of ‘programme’, ‘weapons’, ‘IAEA’, ‘security’ and ‘power’. What is evident in both periods is the frequency of ‘Islamic’ and ‘Iraq’. ‘Iraq’ inevitably appeared frequently during both presidencies as the West went to war against it.

Given the high frequency of the word ‘Islamic’, it was subjected to a concordance frequency analysis to identify the most frequent key collocates which occurred with the word. Tables 6 and 7 display some of the most frequent key collocates which occurred with ‘Islamic’ in The Times and the Guardian respectively. The tables show that in both papers ‘revolution’ and ‘republic’ were the two most frequent words to immediately follow Islamic. This would be an anticipated finding as Iran, by its own definition, is the Islamic Republic and the Iranian revolution is frequently referred to as an Islamic revolution. 1979 was the most frequent 1st left collocate and that again would be expected as this was the year of the revolution and the founding of the Islamic Republic. The 1st right collocate in both papers highlight that ‘regime’ is qualified by being ‘Islamic’. Both papers also show the presence in the 1st right collocate of ‘vigilantes’, ‘militants’, ‘hardliners’ and ‘fundamentalists’, here ‘Islamic’ is used as a modifier to emphasise the Islamic nature of these groups. The 1st left collocate in both papers also highlights the frequent use of similar words to further modify ‘Islamic’ which is already modifying something. In both papers ‘dress’ is modified by ‘Islamic’ placing a value judgement on clothing which is a process of othering highlighting difference between ‘Them’ and ‘Us’. Table 7 also highlights the presence of the word ‘bomb’ in the 1st right collocate which is modified by ‘Islamic’, this reinforces an image of Islam as a threat. Would the paper claim a ‘Christian’ or ‘Hindu’ bomb? Referring to any group
as ‘Islamic vigilantes’, ‘Islamic militants’ or ‘Islamic fundamentalists’, which are terms associated with lawlessness reinforces the threat of Islam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>since</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>since 3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>112 revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>embassy</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>with 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>hardline</td>
<td>99 republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>anniversary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>radical</td>
<td>20 regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>culture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>revolutionary</td>
<td>18 law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>militant</td>
<td>16 Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>liberalise</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>leading</td>
<td>16 jihad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hamas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>strict</td>
<td>13 system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>13 state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>undermining</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
<td>11 conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>relation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fundamentalist</td>
<td>10 revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>against</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shia</td>
<td>10 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>organisation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>10 guidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>towards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>moderate</td>
<td>9 republic’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>diplomat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>keep</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>insulting</td>
<td>9 vigilantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>battle</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>9 hardliners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>arms</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sharia</td>
<td>8 world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>founder</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>claim</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tehran’s</td>
<td>8 dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>7 militiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pressure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IRNA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>country’s</td>
<td>7 States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>point</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hezbollah</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>6 Rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>council</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>observe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>outspoken</td>
<td>5 fundamentalists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Table 6 Displays frequent Collocates of the word ‘Islamic’ in The Times.’
Table 7 Displays frequent Collocates of the word ‘Islamic’ in the Guardian.

The content search highlighted the prevalence of the word ‘regime’ in both papers. A collocate frequency of the word in the Guardian highlighted that three of the most frequent 1st left collocates were ‘Iranian’, ‘Islamic’ and ‘Tehran’, whilst
three of the most frequent 1st right collocates were ‘change’, ‘is’ and ‘has’. A few examples highlight how regime is used in sentences:

‘The Pentagon is pushing for an aggressive policy aimed at “regime change” in Tehran’.

‘Bush may take first step to Tehran regime change’.

‘Officials in Iran’s Islamic regime have stressed the importance of a high turnout to bolster the country’s democratic credentials in the face of American and European pressure for it to abandon its nuclear programme’.

‘Equally important is that there remains a common interest between most conservative and reformists – to maintain the Islamic nature of the regime’.

In The Times a collocate search for ‘regime’ found that the three most frequent words on the 1st-left were ‘Islamic’, ‘Tehran’ and ‘Iranian’ and on the 1st right were ‘change’, ‘has’ and ‘is’. A few examples highlight how ‘regime’ is used here:

‘In the absence of any claim for the killing, Dr Bakhtiar appeared to be another victim of the continuing struggle in Tehran between those who want better relations with the West and those wary of the effects upon the Islamic regime’.

This article was reporting on the assassination of Bakhtiar in Paris.

‘An organising committee set up by supporters of Mrs Ebadi to plan festivities for her return had called on women to make the symbolic gesture of

---

wearing white rather than the usual black preferred by the Islamic regime’. This article was reporting the return to Iran of Nobel Prize winner Shirin Ebadi.

‘In spite of the co-operation, there are hardliners within the Iranian regime who are unhappy with the rapprochement’. This article reported the capture of British marines in 2004.

The similarity in concordance for both papers is evident. The concordance results for ‘regime’ were submitted to a 1st right sort in both papers. The results showed that in the Guardian all instances in which ‘change’ followed ‘regime’ occurred from 2002 onwards and in The Times from 2003 onwards. Both papers are clearly reflecting the rhetoric at the time most notably from sectors within America and Israel for regime change.

The use of the word ‘regime’ is a clear example of the practice of ‘Othering’. In this case Iran is ‘Othered’ through the use of ‘regime’ as opposed to ‘government’ or even ‘political system’. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines ‘regime’ as ‘a government, especially one that was not elected fairly or that you disapprove of for some other reason’. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a ‘regime’ as ‘a government, especially one that strictly controls a state’. Whatever definition the reader holds, the use of ‘regime’ as opposed to for example ‘government’ places a negative value judgement on the Iranian political system and inevitably reinforces the ‘Self’ against the ‘Other’.

---

578 The Oxford English Dictionary.
The concordance analysis also identified examples of how Iran’s internal divisions contribute to a negative perception of Iran. One example occurred over the Rushdie affair. The *Guardian* reported that the Iranian Government had disassociated itself from the Fatwa on Salman Rushdie.\(^{579}\) Less than a month later it was reported that there had been fresh calls from some within Iran for his death.\(^{580}\)

**Key Players**

A keyword in context search was performed on Rafsanjani to identify the most frequent collocates. Tables 8 and 9 displays the most frequent collocates in *The Times* and the *Guardian* respectively. What is clear from the tables is that there were no frequent value judgements placed on him. As will be shown this contrasts with how Khatami was represented. One explanation for this finding is that there was no general consensus as to what could be expected from Iran under his presidency. The presence of ‘pragmatists’ in the *Guardian’s* 3rd-right column does however concur with how Rafsanjani’s supporters began to be referred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khamenei</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Hojatoleslam</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>between</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>hashemi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>meeting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mehdi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>headed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>constituency</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>supporters</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ex-president</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8 Displays frequent Collocates of Rafsanjani in *The Times*.*

\(^{579}\) The *Guardian*, ‘Rushdie’s Nightmare is Over; Iran Disavows Fatwa and Bounty’, 25 September 1998.

\(^{580}\) The *Guardian*, ‘Author’s Life a Pawn in Battle of Iran; Islamic Hardliners Spoil the Diplomatic Honeymoon with their Insistence that Rushdie Must Die’, 15 October 1998.
Coverage of Rafsanjani in the papers did however report changes which began to occur within Iran and changes in Iranian policy towards the West. The *Guardian* for example carried an article headlined ‘Rafsanjani charm offensive increases momentum. The hand of a president determined to improve ties with the West and play a leading role in the region’.

The article highlighted that in addition to improvements in relations with Saudi Arabia and Jordan, he had also rearranged Iran’s internal security system to ensure all sections were answerable to the Ministry of Interior Affairs including the Komiteh, described as the ‘feared Komiteh’.

In another article it describes Rafsanjani as the ‘Pragmatic Shark of Iran - President Rafsanjani is an enigma, a leader who invokes the name of Ayatollah Khomeini whilst repudiating the extremes of his Islamic Revolution’.

This article supports the claim that the media themselves were unsure of how to report on Rafsanjani describing him as an ‘enigma’.

---

581 The *Guardian*, ‘Rafsanjani Charm Offensive Increases Momentum: The Hand of a President Determined to Improve Ties with the West and Play a Leading Role in the Region’, 3 April 1991.

582 The *Guardian*, ‘Rafsanjani Charm Offensive Increases Momentum: The Hand of a President Determined to Improve Ties with the West and Play a Leading Role in the Region’, 3 April 1991.

583 The *Guardian*, ‘Pragmatic Shark of Iran – President Rafsanjani is an Enigma, a Leader who Invokes the Name of Ayatollah Khomeini whilst Repudiating the Extremes of His Islamic Revolution’, 8 April 1991.
In reporting that Rafsanjani had offered to mediate between Iraq and the United States during the Gulf War, *The Times* also reported in the last paragraph that Rafsanjani had appealed for more freedom for Iranian women. Combined with the offer of mediation, the report is placing a positive slant on reporting of Rafsanjani.

A keyword in context search was performed on ‘Khatami’ to ascertain how he was referred in both papers. Table 10 displays the collocate frequency of Khatami ranked in frequency in *The Times*. As would be expected ‘president’ occurs most frequently 1st and 2nd left to the keyword as he would be referred to as ‘President Khatami’, ‘Muhammad’ is the next most frequent 1st left collocate which again would be expected as this is his forename. What is evident from the table is the use of ‘reformist’ and ‘moderate’ to refer to Khatami both as a referencing strategy ‘reformist Khatami’ and to assign qualities to him ‘Khatami a moderate’. The Anglo-Iranian section highlighted that this was how Khatami was viewed by Britain and other nations after his election victory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>reformist</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>moderate</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>reformist</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>support</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Reza</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>supporters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hojatoleslam</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>election</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>popularity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>victory</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hardliners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 Displays frequent Collocates of Khatami in *The Times*.

---

The examples below show a sample of the concordance of ‘Khatami’ (the keyword) with a 1st-right, 2nd right sort. What is evident is how the paper reinforces the perceived image of Khatami:

‘… to accelerate [[his]] reform programme. Mr Khatami, a liberal cleric, trounced hardliners …’

‘... hands." In contrast, Iran's [[President]] Khatami, a moderate cleric who has used sport a ...’

‘... election victory last year of [[Muhammad]] Khatami, a moderate. The dispute triggered ...

‘... it heavy responsibilities from [[Mohammad]] Khatami, a reformer whose attempts at modernisation ...

‘... led by the UN and not the US. [[President]] Khatami, a reformist, recently accused the United ...

The concordance search also highlighted instances of direct quotations ascribed to Khatami one of the first was the reporting of a part of Khatami’s first news conference after his election in 1997 which concerned America. “Our relations with the United States will depend on observing changes in their attitude towards us, but unfortunately we have not seen anything,” Mr Khatami said at his first news conference yesterday after defeating the hardline parliamentary Speaker, Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri, in last Friday’s elections.”

Whilst another was a response to accusations by America that Iran was harbouring members of al-Qaeda it stated ‘Mr Khatami said “We will never allow the terrorists who are operating in Afghanistan to use our soil.” Instead, he accused the US of sponsoring terrorism. “We believe that


some of the terrorists who have targeted us were either directly supported by the US or had their tacit approval".  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>reformist</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>moderate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>since</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Reza</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>between</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Khatami</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 Displays frequent Collocates of Khatami in the Guardian.

The collocate frequency in the Guardian, as in The Times highlights the prevalence of ‘reformist’ and ‘moderate’ to describe Khatami. The examples below show a sample of the concordance of ‘Khatami’ (the keyword) with a 1st-right, 2nd right sort. The results show again how the paper reinforces the value judgements placed on Khatami at the time:

... in to the reforms of [[President]] Mohammed Khatami, a hero to the students, who helped bring ...

... in the summer of 1997, when Muhammed [[Khatami]], a liberal cleric, won the Iranian presidency...

... landslide election victory on Friday. Mr [[Khatami]], a moderate Shi'ite Muslim cleric who ...

... praised Iran's [[president]], Mohammed Khatami, a moderate locked in a power struggle ...

... are taking aim. To be sure, President [[Khatami]], a mullah too, wants to preserve the Islamic...

As in *The Times*, the concordance search highlighted examples of direct quotations made by Khatami and reported in the paper. One article for example reporting the problems with reforms in Iran quoted a statement by Khatami which was reported in the IRNA which stated: “"Recently it has been difficult for me to speak because [...] many of my opinions, my beliefs and my promises which I expressed truthfully and sincerely and were supported by the people, have not been fulfilled."”.597 Another article reporting on Iran’s nuclear programme quoted Khatami as saying: "Iran has discovered reserves and extracted uranium [...] we are determined to use nuclear technology for civilian purposes".598 In this situation using a direct quote from Khatami ensures no ambiguity.

It is interesting that both papers chose to report direct speech from Khatami when reporting instances in which the statement is threatening. The practice of reporting direct speech arguably reinforces the statement and adds credence to it. The naming and reference strategy adopted by both papers is arguably another process of ‘Othering’ as it chooses to bring to the forefront certain characteristics. A collocate frequency analysis for Bush, Blair, Clinton and Major highlighted no significant reference to any of their values or beliefs.

**Journalists and Press Agency**

The majority of the articles analysed in *The Times* stated a byline and were written by various journalists including Hazhir Teimourian599 who wrote predominantly in the overseas section, Jamie Dettmer in Washington, Ankara and Tehran, Michael Theodoulou who wrote from Nicosia and Tehran, Christopher

---

599 His own website describes him as ‘a London based writer and commentator on the Middle Eastern politics, culture and history’ but he was employed by *The Times* also. www.hteimourian.net
Walker whose articles came from Tehran, Cairo, Jerusalem and Kuwait City, Martin Fletcher in Washington, Michael Binyon the diplomatic editor, Ian Brodie in Washington, Richard Beeston the Diplomatic Editor, Tom Rhodes in Washington, Michael Evens a diplomatic and defence correspondent and defence editor, Bronwen Maddox who wrote in the Overseas news section, Amir Taheri whose articles featured in ‘Features’ and ‘home news’, Elaine Monaghan in Washington, Miranda Eeles in Tehran, Roland Watson in Washington and Ramita Navai in Tehran. The paper also used academics whose field of study includes the Middle East for example Nikki Keddie, Fred Halliday, Shaul Bakhash and Roger Owen.

The majority of articles analysed in the Guardian also included a byline and were written by journalists in various locations, these included Afshin Valinejad in Tehran, Ali Akbar Dareini whose articles featured in Foreign pages, Brian Whitaker who wrote some articles on location in Tehran, Hella Pick diplomatic editor, Martin Walker in Washington, David Hirst a Middle East correspondent in Nicosia and Beirut, Ian Black in Jerusalem, he is also the Middle East editor, Martin Woollacott in Washington, Damascus and Nicosia, Martin Walker in Washington, Richard Norton-Taylor, Sarah Boseley, Simon Tisdall in Washington, Chris Hedges in Tehran and Khartoum, Dan De Luce in various cities in Iran, he was the Guardian’s Tehran correspondent from 2003 until he was expelled, Daniel Taylor in Iran, David Hearst in Tehran and Moscow, David Pallister’s articles appeared in the Home section, Ewen MacAskill Diplomatic editor, Geneive Abdo in various cities in Iran, she was the Tehran correspondent from 1998 to 2001, James Astill in Tehran, Ian Traynor in Zagreb, Tehran and Berlin, John Simpson, Jonathan Steele in Tehran.

600 The Times, ‘Don’t Judge a Woman by Her Cover: Life is Not All Bad in Iran’, 9 Feb 2004.
603 The Times, ‘Iraq’s Desire for Key Islands Take Pressure Off Iran’, 3 August 1990.
Julian Borger in Washington, Kathy Evans in Tehran, Peter Bradshaw, Robert Tait in Tehran and Simon Tisdall in Washington. As in *The Times*, the *Guardian* also used academics including Fred Halliday and Homa Katouzian.

The location of reporters in Tehran inevitably assists with the reporting of events and situations, however as was highlighted in the media section by Smyth the former *Financial Times* journalist, situating a journalist in Iran is only the start and that their reporting will invariably be subject to Iranian restrictions and laws. This was reinforced in an article by the *Guardian*’s Dan De Luce following his expulsion from Iran by the Iranian authorities for reporting in Bam a few months after the earthquake without a permit. He wrote ‘arbitrary, unwritten rules discourage foreign journalists from venturing into sensitive subject matter. Only a handful of news organisations have managed to secure visas for resident foreign correspondents. Reporting outside the capital, Tehran, often requires elusive written permission. So much of the news coming out of Iran ends up being based on official statements broadcasts by the state media’. The image created of Iranian society and the reality he argues are not comparable. He states ‘“The clerical establishment” with its dour state television and interminable political-religious sermons, likes to present a picture of society dedicated to Islamist militancy. The reality is something else entirely’.

Another point is that often journalists whose reports come from Iran are roaming journalists and consequently they will go to Iran when a newsworthy event has taken place or is due to take place. A resident correspondent provides a paper the

---

opportunity to feature articles that may not normally receive press coverage. A review of the articles by Geneive Abdo who was the Guardian’s resident Iran correspondent provides examples of this. One such example was headlined ‘Iran debates female privacy health; Medical rules to shield women could endanger them’.\textsuperscript{608} This article reported new medical rules which would offer women more privacy, it was a heavily debated issue and the article reported the different views. Another headlined ‘Youths sell kidneys for cash on streets of Tehran’\textsuperscript{609} discusses the practice of kidney selling in Iran. Whilst another reported a demonstration from Qom under the headline ‘Iran’s female students protest at segregation; Medical school sit-ins reflect growing demands for sexual equality’\textsuperscript{610} which reported how female medical students believed the education they received was inferior to their male counterparts. Whilst such articles can provide an insight into another dimension of Iranian society, there is a concern that to be of interest to the British audience the topics need to be ‘interesting’ and therefore could inevitably fall into negative ‘Othering’ by which negative stereotypes of the ‘Other’ are highlighted and reinforced. In January 2001, Abdo was forced to flee Iran following an interview she conducted via smuggled questions with Akbar Ganji, an Iranian journalist being held in Evin.\textsuperscript{611}

Both the \textit{Guardian} and \textit{The Times} use press agencies for their reporting. These articles are generally either short ‘News in Brief’ style articles or they use the press agency as a source within a more detailed article. The articles analysed in this study show a significant difference in the use of Western press agencies between the

\textsuperscript{608} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Iran Debates Privacy over Health’, 2 December 1998.
\textsuperscript{610} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Iran’s Female Students Protest at Segregation’, 28 January 2000.
two papers. The Guardian used a press agency in a 198 articles compared to only 6 in The Times.

In the Guardian, 146 articles used Reuters whilst 52 articles came from the Associated Press. The following examples are from the Associated Press; ‘News in Brief: Iran Test New Cruise Missile’ and is based on a statement from the United States, the length of this article was only 227 words and carries very little context. Another is ‘US names Iran on State Terror’ and again this is based on a statement made in the United States and is only 147 words long. Whilst another, also under News in Brief states ‘Khatami ‘Appoints a Woman’. The following examples are from Reuters; “Immediately after the gunshots some of these hardliners jumped on their motorbikes and headed in the direction of the (sound of the) shots,” a Reuters correspondent said. This article was reporting student demonstrations which had been occurring in Iran in June 2003. Another example was an article discussing an incident in which the British Embassy was attacked in Iran. The article was written by Dan De Luce who was the Guardian’s correspondent in Iran at the time but it still used press agency to quote an unnamed source. ‘The cause of the incident was being investigated by police, a British diplomat told Reuters’. A distribution analysis of the Reuters articles showed that they spanned the whole time frame under analysis and that the majority were short brief articles. In this study, the overall variation between the two papers in the number of articles could be explained by the presence of these ‘news in brief’ style articles.

In all the three cases in which the Associated Press was used in the *The Times*, it was as the source for its news articles. The first article headlined ‘Iranian resignation’, was a 43 word, article reporting that Khatami had accepted the resignation from his Culture Minister following pressure from the hardliners, the second was a report about an Afghani warlord living in exile in Iran and the third under the headline ‘Iranian-art lovers’ in an 85 word article reported the opening of an exhibition by British artists at the Museum of Contemporary Art and the political difficulties which the exhibition had experienced due to pressure from hardliners.

Of the articles which Reuters was referred, it was not used as the main source of the article, the first was about the stock market and mentioned a decline in Reuters share value, the second reported how a Reuters journalist and his wife were forced to leave Iran after being threatened whilst the third used Reuters as a source for a quote in an article written by Bronwen Maddox about America’s plans to sell bunker buster weapons to Israel. The article stated ‘The Israeli Defence Ministry declined to comment on the reports, but the Reuters news agency quoted an unidentified senior Israeli security official saying “This is not the sort of ordinance needed for the Palestinian front. Bunker-busters could serve Israel against Iran or possibly Syria.”

Both papers also use Iran’s own media system as a source for their reporting and statements. IRNA as table 3 shows was reported in both papers. For example in the *Guardian*, an IRNA story was carried as ‘news in brief’ and reported that Iran was planning to sell shares in public companies and encourage private investment.


*The Times*, ‘Iran’s Call for Holy War Sends Investors Rushing to Sidelines’, 13 September 1990.


Times was viewed as the newspaper of a section of the Iranian government. One article stated ‘The paper is the main mouthpiece of the pragmatic wing of the Iranian leadership headed by President Rafsanjani’.623 The Guardian similarly stated that the Tehran Times ‘has recently emerged as a mouthpiece of President Rafsanjani’s ‘pragmatist' camp’.624

The Times reported an article published in the Jomhuri Islami which they described as ‘the mouthpiece of Iran’s radicals’ in which it claimed that blankets which had been sent to Iran to help the Kurdish refugees contained viruses including Aids, quoting the Iranian paper the article stated: “‘These materials are problematic, and therefore it cannot be ruled out that they have to be destroyed. There is a strong possibility that they are infested with deadly viruses, including Aids,” said Jomhuri Islami.’625 In addition to the bizarre nature of such a claim, at a time when Rafsanjani was seeking improved relations with the outside world such a report was both unhelpful and portrayed Iran as backwards and irrational.

The Tehran Times was credited with a significant role in the hostage crisis, the Guardian reported ‘The Tehran Times has traditionally played a leading role in raising hopes for the freedom of 17 Westerners held by pro-Iranian Shi'ite extremists. In February it called for the release of all hostages, 'with no precondition', on 'Islamic, ethical and humanitarian' grounds’.626

The Guardian also reported the pivotal role the Iranian press plays in Iran’s own internal affairs reporting how the paper was used to criticise another.627 The paper stated ‘The English-language Kayhan International rounded on Jumhuri Islami

on Tuesday. It argued in an editorial that because Iranians had no experience of
democracy, their ideas of self-expression as exemplified by *Jumhur Islami* could be
damaging and had “made almost the entire world the enemy of Iran”.

**Social and Cultural Reporting**

Whilst the majority of articles in this study would be classified as political
and economic, the papers also carried articles discussing Iranian society and culture.
Analysis of the articles highlighted anniversaries for example the Iranian Revolution
and the siege of the American Embassy which provide an opportunity to carry
articles reviewing Iran. Whilst these articles generally recall the initial event and then
often move to discuss the current situation in Iran’s political system they also are
often used to highlight aspects of Iranian society. For example in 1994 to mark the
fifteenth anniversary of Khomeini’s return to Iran, John Simpson recalled the flight
and the arrival in Tehran. The article then highlighted how Iranian people have
adapted to the restrictions imposed on them by the state he notes: ‘Patrols
occasionally roam the streets, looking for women who wear lipstick or clothes that
are too bright, and treat them brutally when they catch them. Yet always, after a
crackdown the lipstick appears again. And anyone who wants a party can always find
one.’

In another article in the *Guardian* the headline states ‘Hostages to an
Irrational Antagonism; 18 years on, the occupation of the US embassy in Tehran is
still a potent reminder that relations with Washington are the central concern of the
Islamic Revolution. But to most Iranians, and some of their leader, the historic

---

The article highlighted the internal contradictions in the Iranian government and the difficulties faced by Rafsanjani. The article concluded that ‘Nothing fosters Iranian “irrationality” like America’s own’.  

A Guardian correspondent used the anniversary of her own deportation twelve years earlier to discuss Iran. In the article she highlights the contrasting nature of Iranian society including the government’s attempt to impose strict dress laws but then she notes ‘in the upper class areas of north Tehran, lipstick and eye-liner are back in a big way. Headscarves, the main political sensor, are now worn well back on the head over huge bouffant hairdos. Twelve years ago, this was a town which jailed you for a wisp of hair or wearing the wrong colour socks’.  

She does acknowledge that writers and film-makers believe Iran still lacks true freedom of expression. Concluding, while offering a slightly more positive stance on Iran she states ‘more liberal Iran might be, but as a woman I can’t wait to get on that aircraft out’.

The Times similarly under the headline ‘Iranians Dream of Shah’s Golden Days’, used the fourteenth anniversary of Ayatollah Khomenei’s return to report the economic problems facing Iran.

The reporting by both papers of travel opportunities in Iran indicate that relations between Iran and the West were improving throughout the years of this study. Examples in The Times included a report in 1995 headlined ‘Iran woos western visitors’ and notes that Iran is trying to attract tours to Isfahan. Another

---

article in 1998 discussed travel to the world’s most dangerous destinations and it was
headlined ‘Ten days in Iran just pounds, 2000 each’.636 Whilst in 1999 the paper
carried another travel article headlined ‘Glories of Persia Flower in its Gardens’637
that described travel to Iran in the summer.

The Guardian for example carried an article in 1996 headlined ‘Chadors
protect Iran’s Skiers on the Slippery Slopes; John Lancaster samples the pistes of
Dizin, where modest headscarves mingle with Ray-Bans and skiing to rival the
French Alps can be had for the price of a hot drink’.638 The article highlights some of
the issues associated with skiing in Iran including segregated slopes and wearing
Islamic dress but then states ‘Skiing here is fun’.639 The article concludes that ‘Away
from the eyes of the religious police, there seemed much less concern for Islamic
propriety. Women made only cursory attempts to hide their hair. Most did not bother
with a chador, preferring to bend the rule with thigh-length belted ski jackets or
droopy sweaters’.640 This article is clearly contrasting Iran with Europe, the reference
to Western dress one of the most obvious ways.

The Guardian also carried an article about a trip to Isfahan. Discussing Iran’s
attempts to promote tourism it states ‘It is paltry by world standards. But it is a
breakthrough, even a revolution of sorts. The mullahs had to wrestle with their
puritanical souls to permit it’.641 The article highlights the tensions which arise
between Islam and tourism but does also highlight how Iranians get around some of
these. It states ‘And visitors to the Caspian can always do as the natives do:
segregation applies to the beaches only and nothing stops people from swimming out

half a mile, to beyond the dividing screen, and joining their partners in the privacy of the sea’. 642

In the articles analysed here, Iranian sport was reported primarily if it involved the UK or Ireland or if it could be used to highlight aspects of Iranian society, particularly women. The Times for example carried a picture during the 1990 Asian Games of female members of Iran’s shooting team, the caption stated ‘Firepower: Women members of the Iranian Shooting Team at the Asian Games posing in Chadors, bearing their accreditation cards, with the pan pan mascot’. 643 The Guardian also reported this event and similarly made reference to the chador. 644

The Times reported that an Iranian woman was to compete in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. The article used the opportunity to refer to Iran’s political situation claiming ‘it is a significant victory for Iranian moderates led by President Rafsanjani’. 645 In a more detailed article after the event, the article discussed the difficulties faced by Iranian women competing in sport due to Islamic restrictions. 646

In the reporting of the 1998 World Cup, the politics of Iran and the contrasting nature of Iranian society were again highlighted through reporting women watching the game: ‘Iranians revel in new-found freedom’ and reported that thousands had travelled to France to watch the game. The first paragraph reported it through the female perspective, describing one woman ‘holding aloft a green, white and red football scarf, the attractive young Iranian, wearing tight white shirt and black jeans, wiggled her hips provocatively in time to the drumbeat echoing around the stands. Ten rows below her, three women, heads covered with black scarves, sat

watching the scene, smiling contentedly beneath their veils and clapping with
gusto. Islamic dress is used here to highlight the contrasting nature of Iranian
society.

Under the Headline ‘Iran bends the rules for Irish women fans’, The Times
reported the official reasons given for women not being permitted to attend football
stadiums which include bad language. The paper then reported a number of football
chants in Farsi with the translation which are obviously deemed the offending terms:
‘Ma gol mikhaym yallah (We want a goal, quick), Ham leh, Ham leh! (Attack,
attack!), Bacheh-na motshakarim (Players, we thank you) and Davar pool gerefteh
(The bloody referee's been bribed). The Guardian carried one of its articles on the
football game under the headline ‘Iran lifts Women’s ban for the Irish’ and also
reported the official reasons given for not allowing women into the stadium.

Another example of reporting which highlights sides to Iran which are often
unseen are evident in The Times which carried an article by Nikki Keddie that
coincided with the visit of Prince Charles to Iran. In the article she highlighted that
there are many images of Iran which are not shown in the West. She highlights such
examples as Iranian women going to University, literacy levels and the introduction
of what she terms ‘one of the world’s most effective voluntary birth control
programmes’. In a poignant message to the West she concludes: ‘Today the key
struggle for advocates of women’s rights is for true democracy. Most want only

651 The Times, ‘Don’t Judge a Woman by Its Cover: Life is Not All Bad in Iran’, 9 February 2004.
moral support from the West, and to give it we have to stop veiling them in stereotypes.”\footnote{The Times, ‘Don’t Judge a Woman by Its Cover: Life is Not All Bad in Iran’, 9 February 2004.}

Iranian cinema received generally complimentary coverage however reviewing the films inevitably politics was invoked. Much of the reporting originated from films being entered in film festivals such as Cannes. An article in the \textit{Guardian}, reported how Iranians hoped the film industry would change the views of outsiders who saw them about Iran.\footnote{The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Iranian Film Comes Through the Big Chill of Hardline Years; Cinema is Daring to Tackle Subjects Off Limits in Other Media’, 13 November 1998.} However it was also used as a means to highlight Iran’s complex political system: ‘Like much of life in Iran, freedom of expression and the fate of films depend on shifts in the delicate political balance between conservatives and reformers.’\footnote{The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Iranian Film Comes Through the Big chill of Hardline Years; Cinema is Daring to Tackle Subjects Off Limits in Other Media’, 13 November 1998.} In 1990 \textit{The Times} carried an article headlined ‘Iranian Tragedy’ which reported that Abbas Kiarostami had revealed that almost all the cast in his film ‘Where is my friend’s house’, which had just opened in Paris, had been killed in the earthquakes that had hit Iran the previous year.\footnote{The \textit{Times}, ‘Iranian Tragedy’, 11 September 1990.} The article went on to state ‘With the easing of tension between Britain and Iran, our own film festivals should seek out Kiarostami’s film’.\footnote{The \textit{Times} ‘Iranian Tragedy’, 11 September 1990.} This is another example of how politics again is intertwined with culture.

The \textit{Times} also reported that the legendary pre-Revolutionary singer Googoosh was being allowed to leave Iran and was to perform a series of concerts in Canada, Europe and the US. The article was reported in the overseas section of the
paper not as may be expected the features section and was under the headline ‘Iran thaw clears way for Queen of Pop’s comeback’.  

Googoosh was again mentioned in the *Guardian* to set the scene for a report into Iranian’s managing to get around a satellite ban and watch NITV, an Iranian music channel broadcast from Hollywood. The opening paragraph stated: ‘Every night Ahmad sinks into his armchair and drifts back to 1978. He listens to the songs of Googoosh, Iran’s banned and most venerable pop star. He watches old films and remembers a time when romantic love was a public affair. For the next few hours he weeps, out of longing for the time before the Islamic Revolution. He goes to bed already looking forward to his return from work the next day, when he can escape to the past again. “I am not part of this life any more. I’m much happier now” says Ahmad, who is too afraid to give his name.’ That was an incredibly emotive introduction to an article which was featured in the foreign pages of the paper to discuss a ban on satellite television. Inevitably it raises questions how bad is life under the Islamic Republic if people are living for an escape to years gone by? The rest of the article discusses the number of Iranians seeking such satellite systems and the debate within the ruling establishment over the issue. It is reasonable to argue however that the introductory paragraph set the scene for a preferred reading of the article.

As highlighted in the Anglo-Iranian section, the period under analysis witnessed improvements in cultural exchanges. Both papers reported a number of

---

these events. The Guardian for example carried an article in 2001 in the arts section in which it reviewed an exhibition being held at the Barbican of Iranian art and a film festival of Iranian films which accompanied it. Again the review made reference to the political situation stating: ‘Life has clearly become easier since the Ayatollahs came to power and blacklisted artists, shut galleries and outlawed the depiction of female nudity. Since Mohammad Khatami became President in 1997, the ban on female singers performing in public has been relaxed; last year Googoosh, the “queen of Persian pop” got her passport back.

The analysis identified that the purpose of some articles appears simply to ‘Other’ Iran through highlighting examples which totally contrast with the self. One such example in the Guardian reports only on the experience of a woman on a flight with Iran Air to Iran.

Both papers carried standalone articles which offer an insight into aspects of Iranian society. For example one article in The Times reported a new Persian dictionary of Argot which had been written. It identified that the dictionary charts the language used by particularly the young. Its inclusion is arguably to highlight the contrasting nature of Iranian society. The article provided a few examples for arguably amusement value: ‘A virgin is a "zero kilometre", a reference to a car with no mileage on the clock. A non-virgin is an "overturned car". A pregnant girl has "been in an accident", and "hubcaps" is the word for a girl's bottom. "Cor, look at the axle on that. And what a blinding pair of headlights," is typical chat between young

---

659 The Times contained a special section on Saturday 26th October entitled ‘Mysticism’ which reported a number of Iranian cultural events including concerts and readings which were being held throughout the UK and organised by Iran Heritage and Culture.


Brylcreemed Iranian men.663 Another example is a spy which is ‘a "BBC", reflecting the belief of many Iranians that Britain is the puppet-master of world politics'.664

In another article in the Guardian the paper reported how through determination a woman trapped inside a man’s body was able to make sex-change in Iran legal. The article recounts her harrowing struggle and her eventual meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini which gave the operation religious approval. The paper states ‘It was the fatwa she had sought’.665

Social and cultural reporting provides the reader with the opportunity to gain an insight into Iranian society. It is reasonable to argue that such reporting reflects the improvements in Anglo-Iranian relations particularly encouraging travel and tourism. The use of articles from for example Nikki Keddie an expert on women’s issues provides a more balanced view of society. However, given the nature of the press and the need to provide its readers with issues which would be of interest for example skiing and sex-change, there is a risk that the representation of Iran becomes seen only through the lens of Western entertainment.

Issues

The articles used in this part of the study are articles in which Iran and the related issue appeared within the same sentence.

![Figure 4 Number of articles in which Iran and Key Issues appeared within the same sentence.](image)

Figure 4 clearly shows that Iran and nuclear was the most frequently referred to issue of the three analysed. What is most notable from the figure is the similarity between the two papers in their coverage of these issues.

Terrorism

Iran has been accused by the international community of being a state sponsor of terrorism. The Anglo-Iranian section highlighted that Jack Straw claimed Iran’s link with terrorism is a key stumbling point to improved relations with Britain and the European Union. Table 3 reinforced that terrorism was frequently referred to in the reporting of Iran. Figure 5 shows the distribution of articles in which Iran and terrorism appeared in the same sentence throughout the time frame. The graph again shows a similarity between the two papers in the number of articles.
Figure 5 Distribution of articles in which Iran and terrorism appeared within the same sentence.

The focus of the articles in which Iran was mentioned in the same sentence as terrorism in the Rafsanjani period had as their focus a number of issues including Lockerbie, Libya, Iran’s influence in Sudan, President Rafsanjani’s re-election, Iran’s link with the IRA, Iran’s role in the bombing of a Jewish target in Argentina and Britain, American sanctions against Iran, Israel’s concerns over Iran’s nuclear programme, Iranian targeting of dissidents abroad and the Rushdie affair.

A sample of the headlines reflect these events; ‘Tugs on the hostages’ chains: The fates of the remaining Western captives in the Lebanon are bound up in the complex struggle between Islamic moderates and radicals’; 666 ‘Iran leader seeks ties with UK but repeats threats to Rushdie’; 667 ‘Sudan’s link with Iran alarm West’; 668 ‘Iran linked to Israel Embassy Bombing: Washington ‘warns governments of further terrorism’; 669 ‘Tehran accused of terrorist links with IRA’; 670 ‘US report says Iran

---

668 The Times, ‘Sudan’s Link with Iran Alarm West’, 18 Dec 1991.
has Soviet Nuclear Weapons’, ‘Major attacks Libya and Iran over Terror: Bombs ‘will not derail Middle East peace process’; ‘Iran terror warning by Britain’; ‘Hit-team trial undermines Bonn’s cosy relations with Iranian mullahs’ and ‘US connects Iran to Dhahran Blast’. 

A review of the headlines showed that the terrorism links are made through accusations from particularly the US. The use of verbs for example ‘links’ and ‘connects’ does however imply a degree of uncertainty in the claims.

Following the election of President Khatami, Iran and terrorism as figure 5 shows, continued to be an issue. Iran was again not always the focus of the articles in which it appeared. Rushdie, Lockerbie and sanctions continued to be reported, along with in this period Bush’s war on terror as well as alarmist reports on the possibility of Iran being next after the war against Iraq and in nuclear reporting.

A sample of the headlines reflect this; ‘Italy declares Tehran free of terror links’; ‘Blair ends silence to win Iran’s support’; ‘Terror groups glorified at Iran display’; ‘US rebukes Straw for his views of ‘axis of evil’’; ‘US accuses Iran of stockpiling chemical arms’; ‘Chinese curbs on missile science welcomed by

US’; 681 ‘Britain warns Iran over terror links’; 682 ‘Bush to put diplomacy ahead of democracy for Putin’; 683 and ‘Iran rejects US claim of al-Qaeda link’.

As the Anglo-Iranian section highlighted the naming of Iran as well as Iraq and North Korea as part of an ‘axis-of-evil’ can help explain why Iran and terrorism occurred in articles in which Iran was not always the focus. This was particularly evident in reports of US relations with Russia and China in which their relations with Iran were a cause of concern for the US. For example the article headlined ‘Bush to put diplomacy ahead of democracy for Putin’, 685 reported the US were questioning Russia’s supply of nuclear fuel to amongst other countries Iran.

A keyword analysis was performed on the articles to identify the most frequent content words used and the key actors. Table 12 compares the findings for both papers.

As would be expected ‘Iranian’ and ‘terrorism’ featured at the top of the list. Clinton followed by Bush are the most frequently referred to political actors in the articles. A review of the articles identified that this can be explained as Iran and terrorism were mentioned in articles in which the focus for example was to report US meetings with Russia and China and because Clinton’s implementation of the Iran-Libya sanctions act and Bush’s ‘axis of evil’ statement cited Iran’s support for terrorism as justification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>The Times</th>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>The Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1096</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>989</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Saudi</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>bombing</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>terrorists</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hostages</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Khatami</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Bomb</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>sanctions</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Ayatollah</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Regime</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Fatwa</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Rushdie</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Hezbollah/ Hizbullah</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Rafsanjani</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Lockerbie</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda/ Al-Qaida</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Khamenei</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Khomeini</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 Comparison of keywords in both papers for Iran and Terrorism within the same sentence

Interestingly, Rushdie appeared as the second most reported actor, analysis of the articles showed that the Rushdie affair and the fatwa were viewed as a stumbling block to improved relations. Rushdie was also used as an opinion source in the 1990s. The prevalence of Rushdie and the fatwa in the articles can in part explain
why Khomeini was reported in both *The Times* and the *Guardian* throughout the period under study. Interestingly, Khomeini and Khamenei received the same number of references in *The Times* and there is only a relatively small difference between the two in the *Guardian*.

The articles were also searched using Monocon pro to identify how Iran and terrorism appeared in the same sentence. The search string Iran* @ terrorism was used. The papers reported Iran as being a state sponsor of terrorism through claims made by Britain and other states most notably Israel and the US. The following examples are taken from the *The Times* which support this claim:

‘The UN Security Council make it clear to Iran that acts of terrorism will not be tolerated and that both the criminals themselves, and their masters, will face the penalties they deserve’. 686

‘The Central Intelligence Agency yesterday confirmed Iran’s continued role in sponsoring terrorism and said that the bombing attacks against Jewish Centres and Embassies in Argentina and Britain were carried out with full knowledge of the Islamic Government in Tehran’. 687

‘Mr Clinton has appealed to China as well as Russia to cancel plans to sell nuclear power reactors to Iran. He described Tehran’s backing for terrorism as the worst in the world’. 688

‘Britain yesterday accused Iran of sponsoring terrorism, stirring up differences and inciting violence in the Gulf Arab states’. 689 This statement was reported on a two day visit by a Minister of State at the Foreign Office to Bahrain.

‘Israel has long warned Europe that Iran was a centre of global terrorism and that it was the main force backing Palestinian groups opposed to the Middle East peace process’.\textsuperscript{690} This statement was made in a report of a meeting between Tony Blair and Ariel Sharon in Downing Street. Another section stated that: ‘Britain was until recently a leading proponent of Europe’s “constructive engagement” with Tehran. Asked yesterday whether Mr Blair now agreed with Israel’s assessment, one Israeli source said bluntly: “I think so”’.\textsuperscript{691} The use of an unnamed or positioned Israeli source is rather ambiguous.

‘He [Bush] issued tough new warning to Syria and Iran to stop supporting terrorism and to curb their designs on Lebanon and Iraq’.\textsuperscript{692}

Of the articles in \textit{The Times}, a few did report Iranian denial of its support for terrorism. One such article reported responses to the imposition of sanctions and a response by the Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister in which the paper reported ‘He denied Iran was involved in terrorism and said it deplored both the Saudi bombing and the destruction of the TWA jet’.\textsuperscript{693} Whilst another reported a visit by the Italian Foreign Minister to Tehran in which it stated what President Khatami had said about terrorism: ‘President Khatami had assured him that Iran “does not support international terrorism in anyway, whether by states or by individual groups … on the contrary, Iran condemns terrorism because it has itself suffered from it”’.\textsuperscript{694}

\textsuperscript{689} \textit{The Times}, ‘Iran Terror Warning by Britain’, 18 June 1996.
\textsuperscript{690} \textit{The Times}, ‘Blair Has a Change of Heart on Iran’, 16 July 2003.
\textsuperscript{691} \textit{The Times}, ‘Blair Has a Change of Heart on Iran’, 16 July 2003.
\textsuperscript{693} \textit{The Times}, ‘US Sanctions Against Iran and Libya Trigger Allies’ Outcry’, 6 Aug 1996.
\textsuperscript{694} \textit{The Times}, ‘Italy Declares Tehran Free of Terror Links’, 3 March 1998.
A similar search in the *Guardian* highlighted how Iran is accused of being a sponsor of terrorism by key political actors including those from Britain, Israel and America. The below examples support this finding:

‘John Major yesterday roundly condemned countries such as Iran and Libya which sponsor international terrorism, but stopped short of accusing either country of being involved in this week’s two bombings of London’s Jewish community’.

‘The US legislation aims to punish Iran for allegedly supporting terrorism and is trying to develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons’. This sentence appeared in an article discussing the imminent implementation of sanctions which were opposed by Europe on Iran. It is interesting that the paper chose to use ‘allegedly’ on the occasion when Britain was opposing the sanctions. Allegedly supporting terrorism was again used in referring to the Sanctions Act: ‘More sanctions were imposed in 1996 when the D’Amato act targeted Libya and Iran for allegedly supporting terrorism and trying to acquire weapons of mass destruction’.

‘Jeremy Hanley, the Foreign Office minister, said in Manama on Monday: “Iran has been guilty of sponsoring terrorism abroad […] particularly to try to stir up difficulties here in the Gulf where stability is important”’. This was the same event pertaining to Bahrain that was reported in *The Times* however, in this article, the paper immediately reported Iran’s perspective on the situation stating ‘Iran denied the charges and offered to mediate between Bahrain’s government and its Shi’ite

---

opponents who have waged an 18-month campaign of bombings to demand political and economic reform’. 699

‘The US blames Iran for supporting terrorism and there is evidence that Tehran – or at least elements in the regime – has links to groups like the Organisation of Islamic Revolution of the Arabian Peninsula. But no one has identified direct Iranian state attacks on US targets’. 700 This article was speculating on possible suspects if the downing of TWA flight 800 was due to a bomb. The article proceeded to state ‘Today’s Middle Eastern men of violence tend to be radical Muslim veterans of the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, financed – ironically by the CIA, Saudi Arabia and Britain’. 701

‘Iran tops US terrorism list’. 702

‘Washington classifies Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism, and suspects it of having a nuclear weapons programme, under a civil nuclear energy programme, in which Russian technology may play a part’. 703

‘He [Tony Blair] agreed with President Bush that Iran was a state sponsor of terrorism, and hoped the Iranian leadership would comply with “the set of obligations it has got to fulfil” on its nuclear programme’. 704 It was interesting that the paper chose to use direct quotation marks to reinforce Blair’s demand. The choice of wording is indicative of an unequal balance of power which appears to exist between Iran and the Western nations if they believe that they have a right to stipulate what Iran has to do, why should Iran fulfil these obligations?

Following the analysis of the articles in both newspapers, what became evident from articles in which Iran and terrorism were not the focus was that the paper would report that Iran is accused of being, or is a state sponsor of terrorism however little if no context of this is given. The reader must either be assumed to have previous knowledge of what terrorism this is referring to or that they will simply take the statement as given.

Analysis of the articles in which Iran and terrorism appear within the same sentence, highlight the turbulent relationship between the West and Iran throughout the time frame. They also highlight the struggle amongst Western nations over their dealings with Iran. These articles are however reporting and reinforcing the process of Othering, in which Iran is the external ‘Other’ but also America becomes the internal ‘Other’ of Britain and Europe, following the imposition of sanctions. The articles also showed that any improvements in relations with Iran are conditional, maintaining an imbalance of power.

Iran’s involvement with Hezbollah was a cause of much international criticism. The following section highlights how this link was referred.

**Hezbollah**

Figure 6 shows the number of articles in both papers in which Hezbollah is mentioned. Considering the time frame is nearly 16 years, coverage between the two papers is similar.
Coverage of Iran within the same sentence as Hezbollah or Hizbullah is also similar in both papers. Analysis of how this relationship is referred highlights that in the early years of the time frame, one method was to refer to Hezbollah as ‘pro-Iranian Hezbollah/Hizbullah’. However, as figure 7 shows, use of the term after 1992 amongst both papers became sporadic, and was not used again in The Times after 1999 and in the weekday Guardian after 2002. The papers preferred to use terms such as ‘Iranian backed Hezbollah’ or ‘Hezbollah, which is supported by Iran’.

---

705 There was one additional reference in the Guardian in 2004 but this was a Saturday paper.
Figure 7 Number of articles in which Hezbollah/Hizbullah is referred to as pro-Iranian

Figure 8 shows noticeable peaks in coverage in *The Times* in 1991 and 1996, this coincided with two Israeli operations into Lebanon. Again as the figure shows coverage in both papers is similar.

Figure 8 Number of articles in which Iran and Hezbollah/Hizbullah appeared within the same sentence

706 The first was an attack on Palestinian bases in Lebanon. The second was an attack on Hezbollah bases in Lebanon code named ‘Grapes of Wrath’.
Nuclear

Figure 9 clearly shows that whilst articles in which Iran and nuclear appeared within the same sentence occurred throughout the period under study, there is obvious peaks in the coverage. These peaks reflect international tensions over Iran’s nuclear programme at the time. The 1995 peak reflects US policy towards Iran which saw it implement the first stage of a series of sanctions against Iran over its alleged support for terrorism and advancing nuclear programme. The peak from 2003 onwards reflects Iran’s open pursuit of nuclear technology and the subsequent growing international concern that its nuclear programme was not for peaceful purposes as it maintained.

Initial analysis of the articles in which Iran and nuclear appeared in the same sentence showed that Iran’s nuclear programme was referred to both in articles in which it was the focus as well as in articles in which it was not. The focus of the articles in which Iran was only referred covered a number of topics and involved various countries including China, Russia, America, Britain and those of the
European Union. The topics included trade with Russia and China, the issue of the nuclear proliferation treaty and the build-up to the war with Iraq.

In the articles under analysis in this study, the first article in which Iran’s nuclear programme was discussed in an Iranian focused article in *The Times* was in 1991. The focus of the article was to report that Ayatollah Khamenei had claimed the Middle East Peace Talks were treason and referring to Khamenei stated ‘an influential hardliner urged terror groups to kill all those taking part, in particular President Bush, “the most hated individual”’. The final paragraph of the article contained a report from American intelligence that Iran was trying to develop a nuclear weapon. It cited an American official as saying that Iran had bought equipment from China. The article contained no dates as to when these claims had been made and arguably as it was combined within an article in which Khamenei’s claims were not only threatening but also irrational it would heighten concerns about a ‘nuclear Iran’. The first article that focused specifically on Iran and nuclear appeared in March 1992 and reported claims made in a German magazine that Germany’s intelligence service believed Iran had purchased two nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan.

The first article in the *Guardian* in which Iran and nuclear appeared within the same sentence and in which Iran was also the focus was actually an article about Iran’s nuclear programme. The article appeared in 1991 and was headlined ‘China helps Iran to make N-Bombs’ and reported claims that China had supplied equipment to Iran.

---

Following a keyword search of the articles, Table 13 shows the most frequent content words which appeared. As would be expected ‘nuclear’ and ‘Iran’ were the most frequent content words. The table shows that in both papers, ‘weapons’ were referred to more frequently than ‘programme’. The key players in the debate surrounding Iran’s nuclear programme are also present in the table and their position in the table reflects their key player status, ‘Bush’ and ‘Blair’ being the most frequent leaders reported. The presence of the nations of ‘Iran’, ‘Britain’, ‘Israel’, ‘Russia’, ‘China’ and the ‘EU’ reflect the key nations in the Iranian nuclear issue. The presence of Iraq and Korea in the table would also be expected as a result of the war with Iraq and concerns over Iranian involvement in it and because both countries were listed as part of George Bush’s ‘axis of evil’. Key institutions are also reflected in the table these include ‘IAEA’, ‘UN’ and ‘NATO’.

The table also highlights the frequency of words such as ‘weapons’, ‘security’, ‘military’, ‘defence’, ‘missile’, ‘bomb’, ‘terrorism’, ‘attack’, ‘action’, ‘destruction’ and ‘missiles’, which are words associated with a threat. ‘Oil’ also appears within both papers and was a key argument cited as to why it is believed Iran does not need nuclear power. ‘power’, ‘peace’ and ‘energy’ are also present within the table and would be expected as this is the position Iran maintains its nuclear programme is for. The initial review of the articles identified that both papers did report that Iran maintained its nuclear programme was for energy. Words associated with ‘nuclear’ are also present in the table which would be expected for example ‘enrichment’, ‘fuel’, ‘uranium’, ‘process’ and ‘reactors’. ‘Secret’ also appears in both papers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4973</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>4482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3352</td>
<td>nuclear</td>
<td>2527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2469</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>2236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2125</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>1811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2746</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>2450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1206</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1240</td>
<td>weapons</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>726</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>830</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>741</td>
<td>could</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>926</td>
<td>war</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620</td>
<td>programme</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>907</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>502</td>
<td>Britain’s</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444</td>
<td>policy</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>562</td>
<td>security</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>489</td>
<td>military</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>387</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>power</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>481</td>
<td>uranium</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>defence</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426</td>
<td>intelligence</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>energy</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>threat</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>atomic</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>treaty</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>technology</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td>regime</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>missile</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>report</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385</td>
<td>bomb</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>election</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>diplomatic</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Nato</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>terrorism</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>enrichment</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>agreement</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>economic</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>attack</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>pressure</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>mass</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Putin</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>destruction</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>sanctions</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>believe</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>missiles</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Co-operation</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>fuel</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>secret</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>process</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>ambitions</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Non-proliferation</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>sources</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>agreed</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>develop</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>concern</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>allies</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>inspectors</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Khan</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>evidence</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>reactors</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 Comparison of keywords in both papers in which Iran and Nuclear appeared within the same sentence.
To ascertain exactly which words surround the word ‘nuclear’ a concordance frequency analysis was carried out. Table 14 and Table 15 show the results for *The Times* and the *Guardian* respectively of a 3L-3R concordance.

Table 14 Displays frequent Collocates of ‘nuclear’ in *The Times*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>develop</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>ambitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>civil</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>non-proliferation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>develop</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Pakistan’s</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>bomb</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plans</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>united</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>acquire</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>watchdog</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>developing</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>reactor</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trying</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>secret</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>spread</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>civilian</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>halt</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>capability</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>concerns</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>inspections</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>out</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>nations</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>sale</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>transfer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>country’s</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signatory</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>developing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Iraqi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>pursuit</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>sell</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>row</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>development</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>UN’s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The collocate frequency findings in table 14 show clearly that ‘weapons’ was the most frequent content word to follow ‘nuclear’. This reinforces the findings in

711 N in the table refers to the word Nuclear
the initial search which identified ‘weapons’ as one of the most frequent words overall. As would be expected ‘programme’, ‘power’ and ‘technology’ frequently follow the word ‘nuclear’. The frequencies of the words ‘bomb’, ‘arms’ and ‘warheads’ are still significant although the paper preferred to use the word ‘weapons’. In the broadsheet press, this would be expected. Also when viewed in relation to the most frequent word in the 2nd right search which was ‘programme’ and the most frequent word in the 1st left search which was ‘a’, it is reasonable to conclude that ‘a nuclear weapons programme’ is frequently reported. A review of the 1st left search showed the prevalence of the words ‘develop’, ‘acquire’, ‘developing’, ‘build’, and ‘make’, all words associated with amassing nuclear power. ‘Civilian’ also appeared in the 1st left search. As already identified in the initial search, ‘secret’ was a frequently used word. The collocate search identified that it occurs in both the 1st left and 1st right column and is arguably used to reinforce the threat of a nuclear Iran as it is hidden.

Table 15 shows that in the Guardian, the three most frequent collocates in the 1st-right column are identical to those in The Times although not in quantity. Use of the word ‘bomb’ however was more frequent in the Guardian than in The Times. As in The Times, ‘Arms’ and ‘warheads’ were also frequently used. The words in the 1st right column were similar in both papers. In the 1st left column, ‘civilian’ and ‘secret’ also appeared. However in the Guardian, ‘peaceful’ also appeared in the 1st left column to describe nuclear. This should be expected as Iran claims that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes.

A ‘nuclear’ concordance search and collocate frequency search were also carried out on the headline selected articles to identify if this search produced similar results to the searches for Iran and nuclear within the same sentence. The findings
showed that whilst the figures were obviously different, the words which appeared most frequently were the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-left</th>
<th>2-left</th>
<th>1-left</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1-right</th>
<th>2-right</th>
<th>3-right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>develop</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>civilian</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>developing</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>inspections</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>spread</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>would</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>peaceful</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Pakistan’s</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>building</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>UN’s</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>used</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>secret</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>trying</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>use</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>access</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>develop</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>secret</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>threat</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>plans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Make</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Israel’s</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>fissile</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>material</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>convert</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>market</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>could</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>acquire</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>insists</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>clandestine</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>proliferation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>acquiring</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>against</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 Displays frequent Collocates of ‘nuclear’ in the Guardian

As already highlighted in the Anglo-Iranian section and as figure 9 shows, Iran’s nuclear programme was reported throughout the time frame. A review of the headlines in both papers generally reflects the political situation of the time. What is
evident however is the number of alarmist headlines which are used. Below is a section of headlines from both papers:

*The Times*:

‘US Gulf chief warns of Iran bomb by 2000’. 712

‘Iran denies concealing Nuclear Weapons’. 713

‘Bush threatens Iran with action to halt its nuclear ambitions’. 714

‘Uranium found at second Iran Site’. 715

‘EU trade threat to Iran over nuclear fears’. 716

‘Tehran looks likely to get the bomb and there is no Plan B’. 717

‘Iran defines a UN ultimatum to halt nuclear work’. 718

‘“Blueprints” prove Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons’. 719

‘“Weapon” find’. 720

‘Iran accused of lying over secret nuclear research’. 721

‘Last chance for Iran over Nuclear Deadline’. 722

The *Guardian*:

‘Iran could build nuclear bomb in 5 years.’  

The article stated ‘Iran is much closer to producing nuclear weapons than previously thought, and could be less than five years away from having an atomic bomb, several top American and Israeli officials believe.’ It quoted Dr Chubin an Iranian specialist as saying Iran could have a nuclear weapons programme within five years. In the final sentence quoting the *New York Times* it reported a statement by a senior Israeli military official ‘Iran is “not just trying to get one or two bombs,” said a senior Israeli military official. “It wants an arsenal. The warheads are not what they are after, but the technology. They want to be a super-power”’.  

‘Iran tests missile able to strike Israel’.

‘US Hawk warns Iran threat must be eliminated’.

‘Iranian Uranium Find Boosts Nuclear Bomb Fears’.

‘Sexed-up reports, pressure on the UN … here we go again: US claims over Iran’s nuclear programme sound eerily familiar’.

‘Iran threatens to restart nuclear activity: Britain, France and Germany ask for week’s grace as Tehran claims it has offer of non-aggression’.

---


731 The *Guardian*, ‘Iran Threatens to Restart Nuclear Activity: Britain, France and Germany Ask For Weeks Grace as Tehran Claims it Has Offer of Non-Aggression Deal’, 1 August 2005.
The final article in both papers reported the same event ‘Iran restarts nuclear plant’ and ‘Iran to reopen nuclear plant as dispute escalates’. The Anglo-Iranian section noted that Europe had continued to try to negotiate with Iran over its nuclear programme which generally contrasted with America’s stance. This difference in stance over Iran between the EU and America was frequently reported in the papers for example in the Guardian the paper stated ‘EU and US clash over Iran bomb threat’ and ‘Iran’s Nuclear Secrets Split EU and US’. In The Times for example the paper reported ‘Powell fails to heal the rifts with Europeans’.

The analysis showed that The Times carried more alarmist headlines than in the Guardian. The following example which reported the same event on the same day shows how one paper chose to report the event from one perspective whilst the other from another. On 25th February 2004, both papers reported that Mohamed Elbaradei the head of the IAEA had produced a report which raised a number of questions about Iran’s nuclear programme. The Times however focused its article on the report and headlined it ‘Iran accused of lying over secret nuclear research’. The Guardian in contrast headlined its article ‘Iran promises to freeze nuclear project again’ and whilst the article did highlight Elbaradei’s report, the focus was initially on Iran’s decision to freeze its nuclear programme. The contrast between the two is significant as Iran is represented in The Times incredibly negatively whilst the Guardian adopted a positive stance towards Iran.

A review of the articles identified that American, British, Israeli and IAEA officials are most frequently used as sources for reports about Iran’s nuclear programme. The analysis identified that American and Israeli sources are the most frequent providers of alarmist statements. The following examples are taken from various concordance analyses and highlight some of these instances:

‘American intelligence estimates that Iran is five to ten years away from becoming a nuclear power and has produced up to 2000 tons of chemical weapons’.\textsuperscript{739}

‘Mr Clinton will present Mr Yeltsin with top secret American intelligence showing that Iran has embarked on a crash programme to build nuclear bombs’.\textsuperscript{740}

‘America has long suspected Iran of using a nuclear power programme as cover for pursuing the development of an atomic weapon’.\textsuperscript{741}

‘Mossad, the Israeli Secret Service, estimates that Iran will complete development of the Shahab 3 ballistic missile, capable of hitting Israeli cities in 18 months and be able to build its first atomic bomb by 2002’.\textsuperscript{742}

‘But US and Israeli intelligence agencies fear that it will lead to the transfer of vital technology to help Iran’s ambition to build a nuclear bomb’.\textsuperscript{743} Article discussed that America wanted to stop Russia supplying nuclear technology to Iran.

‘“American officials are convinced both that Iran plans to use that reactor to develop nuclear weapons, and that Iran’s possession of nuclear weapons threatens US national security and that of its vital allies,” Celeste Wallander of the US Council

\begin{footnotesize}\begin{tabular}{ll}
739 & \textit{The Times}, ‘US Reverses Policy to Brand Iran as International Outlaw’, 1 April 1993. \\
740 & \textit{The Times}, ‘Twisting Yeltsin’s Arms’, 9 May 1995. \\
741 & \textit{The Times}, ‘US Rejects Claims that Plants are for Civilian Purposes’, 12 December 2003. \\
742 & \textit{The Times}, ‘Israel Pursues Afghan Ties to Spy on Tehran’, 18 June 1998. \\
743 & \textit{The Times}, ‘Russia Faces Pressure Over Iran Links’, 23 May 2002. \\
\end{tabular}\end{footnotesize}
on Foreign Relations wrote in an analysis last month of the Bush administration’s policies on Russia’.744

‘Israel warned yesterday that Iran “is trying everything” to get a nuclear weapon, and that it if it succeeded it would threaten far wider area than just the Middle East’.745

‘US report says Iran has Soviet nuclear weapons’.746

‘Iran “actively developing nuclear bomb” says Rumsfeld’.747

‘Iranians will soon be able to create a nuclear bomb, claims diplomats’.748

The diplomatic sources were described as British, the opening sentence stated ‘Iran is just “months away” from having the capability to enrich uranium for a nuclear bomb, Western diplomatic sources said yesterday’.749 Having created a state of alarm the final paragraph quoted an IAEA source: ‘IAEA sources said that the inspectors were watching every move being made by the Iranians and had no evidence yet of an intention to divert material for a nuclear bomb. "Even if they complete the centrifuge technology, it would still take time to spin the material through the system and to make a bomb, and we're monitoring activities rigorously," one source said’.750

In one article in The Times, it actually quoted a response by an American source to an IAEA report which stated that there was no evidence that Iran is

---

pursuing a nuclear weapons programme in which the source claimed ‘It is impossible to believe’. 751

The most striking finding of this analysis is that with a few exceptions from the Guardian, there existed no full debate over the Iranian nuclear programme within the papers. Reporting overwhelmingly followed the political line that Iran’s nuclear programme is a threat and that they are actually pursuing a nuclear weapons programme which the Western powers, who are nuclear powers themselves, say they cannot have. Reflecting the political situation, the articles shift from claims that Iran’s nuclear programme is for weapons, to denials by Iran, to threats of sanctions and then the tightening of sanctions if Iran refuses to meet demands, to dialogue and trade offers if Iran complies. What is not debated is why Iran, as a fully functioning nation state, cannot have nuclear weapons if it wishes, what reasons could make Iran desire a nuclear weapons programme if this was after all its intention and more importantly what right do Western nations have to police the rest of the world. As noted the Guardian did provide a few articles which challenged the general stance on Iran’s nuclear programme. The first headlined ‘Nuclear Threats: Iran’s fears are real,’ 752 asks why few have stopped and actually asked why Iran may want to follow a nuclear weapons programme. It notes that the reason is not to dominate the Gulf and its oil, nor export its revolution as its internal policies take precedence. 753 It claims that there is however one reason a ‘deeply persuasive reason for acquiring nuclear arms: national security’. 754 The article is deeply critical of a number of Bush’s policies and it claims that these are reasons which would encourage Iran and possibly other nations to seek a nuclear deterrent. The article states ‘Faced by this

escalating US pressure, it would be regrettable but understandable if Iran were to
decline that nuclear bombs were essential to protect itself.\textsuperscript{755} Another article
headlined ‘Iran has made its promises. Now the West must too: The Nuclear threat
won’t go away until security issues are dealt with’.\textsuperscript{756} The article reported that Iran
needs to ensure its own security as the war with Iraq and tensions with Israel
highlight that it is vulnerable. In 2005, the \textit{Guardian} also carried an article which
claimed that the policies of the US and Britain towards nuclear weapons send out a
message that they offer security.\textsuperscript{757} In the final article entitled ‘A bigger threat than
the bomb: The world can live with Iranian nuclear weapons. But can the US’,\textsuperscript{758} the
\textit{Guardian} questions whether it would matter if Iran were to achieve nuclear weapons.
It states ‘How much would it matter if Iran had the bomb? Merely to pose this
question, within the Bush administration, would almost be treason. European
countries, for their part, consider it indiscreet to raise it - better to say that a nuclear-
armed Iran should be avoided if at all possible. Yet the question of how dangerous a
development it would be is crucial’.\textsuperscript{759} Whilst the \textit{Guardian} has raised the issue,
compared with the number of articles in which the Iranian nuclear issue is discussed,
it amounts to only a small fraction of the coverage. Reporting of the nuclear issue is
overwhelmingly based on Othering Iran as a threat with reporting frequently linking
Iran to weapons and bombs. This is reflecting the rhetoric of a number of Western
governments including Britain’s.

\textsuperscript{755} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Nuclear Threats: Iran’s Fears are Real’, 16 September 2003.
\textsuperscript{757} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘A Most Contradictory Message: Contradictory US and British Nuclear
Proliferation Policies Will Lead Other States to Conclude that Nuclear Weapons Earn Respect and
\textsuperscript{758} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘A Bigger Threat Than the Bomb: The World Can Live With Iranian Nuclear
\textsuperscript{759} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘A bigger Threat Than the Bomb: The World Can Live With Iranian Nuclear
Human Rights

![Bar chart showing the number of articles in which Iran and Human Rights appeared within the same sentence over time. The chart includes two periods, 17 Aug 1989 - 31 Dec 1999 and 1 Jan 2000 - 2 Aug 2005, with the years 1999 and 2000 showing a peak in coverage in both papers in 2003.]

Figure 10 Number of articles in which Iran and Human Rights appeared within the same sentence

Iran has received much international condemnation for its human rights policy. Figure 10 shows that there was coverage of Iran and human rights within the same sentence throughout the period under analysis with a peak in coverage in both papers in 2003. This corresponds with the war in Iraq and also an increase in coverage of the nuclear issue. Amnesty International and other human rights groups on occasion have released statements and reports highlighting human rights abuses in Iran. Both papers carried articles in which examples of human rights abuses were reported and also articles which referred to these reports. The focus of the articles in which Iran and human rights appeared within the same sentence ranged from articles which highlighted specific instances of Iranian human rights abuses, to articles reporting issues surrounding Iran’s nuclear programme, to articles comparing Iran’s human rights record to that of other nations including Sudan and America.
The content search in table 16 highlights key players and words associated with the reporting of Iran and human rights.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Guardian Word</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rights</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Khatami</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>trade</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran’s</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>sanctions</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>murder</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuclear</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>police</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Amnesty</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushdie</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Ebadi</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countries</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>revolution</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>justice</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>fatwa</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrorism</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>abuses</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weapons</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>freedom</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relations</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Rafsanjani</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>chemical</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>evidence</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>forces</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>programme</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 Comparison of keywords in both papers in which Iran and Human Rights appeared within the same sentence

The most frequent content words identified in the table are to be expected. The presence of ‘nuclear’ and ‘terrorism’ in the table reflect the political situation in which these issues were cited along with human rights as barriers to improved relations between Iran and Western nations. Examples include:
In 1994 John Major stated ‘Iran’s behaviour presents another serious challenge to the international community. Many aspects of Iran’s behaviour are simply unacceptable, and indeed threatening: On human rights, terrorism, her military and nuclear ambitions, her attempts to undermine the (Middle East) Peace Process’.

Following the election of President Khatami *The Times* reported that ‘Washington wants signs of change in four specific areas: Iran’s support for terrorism, weapons proliferation, Iranian sponsorship of violent opposition to the Middle East Peace Process, and human rights’.

The presence of ‘Rushdie’ and the ‘fatwa’ in the table highlight that this issue as already noted in the headline analysis remained an issue throughout the time frame but was also reported as an example of human rights violations in Iran. This was compounded by the fact that a human rights group campaigned on Rushdie’s behalf.

The presence of words such as ‘torture’, ‘executed’ and ‘murder’ in the table, identifies the most frequent examples cited to support claims Iran had committed human rights abuses. Examples include ‘Amnesty report claims Tehran executed 5000 in three years’. The *Guardian* also carried this report under the headline ‘Amnesty Attacks Iran Executions’, and highlighted that whilst stoning and other methods were used, the majority of the executions occurred through hanging. An alarming report by Amnesty International in 1995 was reported in *The Times* which

---

claimed that ‘tens of thousands of suspected government opponents have been
executed in Iran in the past 16 years’.  

Table 16 also highlights the presence of ‘Islamic’ and ‘Islam’ in these
articles. The articles in which Islamic and Islam were mentioned varied from those
which were discussing the issue of Iran’s human rights to those which were reporting
incidents of human rights abuses. For example an article reporting a visit to Iran by
the Italian foreign minister claimed that the West measured Islamic nations by “its
own values … rather than talking of human rights, we should talk of civil rights.
Which in Iran are guaranteed”.  

In an article marking the fiftieth anniversary of the
UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1997, the Guardian reported that the Iranians
viewed the document as based on western values and wanted it to reflect their views
although the article did note that ‘none has identified the offending articles, or what
is meant by Islamic Human Rights’.  

In 2002, a correspondent for The Times reported on a public hanging which
she had witnessed. The article was headlined ‘Joining the crowd to watch as justice is
done, Islamic style’. The crime had been the murder of a policeman. The hanging
was carried out in the same park in which the murder had occurred. The article stated
‘It is a crime – along with rape, drug trafficking and armed robbery – that the Islamic
Republic punishes with death’. After describing the details of the hanging the
article concluded ‘Justice had been done, Islamic style’.  

---

768 The Times, ‘Joining the Crowd to Watch as Justice is Done, the Islamic Way’, 8 November 2002.
769 The Times, ‘Joining the Crowd to Watch as Justice is Done, the Islamic Way’, 8 November 2002.
770 The Times, ‘Joining the Crowd to Watch as Justice is Done, the Islamic Way’, 8 November 2002.
The presence of Shirin Ebadi in table 16 reflects that she was an important source for both papers in their reporting of Iranian human rights. In an interesting article in the *Guardian*, it highlighted that despite the changing role of women in Iranian society, the law did not reflect this. Attendance at University is viewed as the main reason to explain this change. The article quoted the claim by Shirin Ebadi that it was actually the veil and segregation which facilitated the increased numbers of girls attending university as it removed the grounds for objection.\(^{771}\) *The Times* reported that during the acceptance speech for her Nobel Peace Prize, she accused the US of using 9/11 to commit human rights violations although it reported that she did criticise Islamic States for their “‘patriarchal structure and discrimination against women’”.\(^{772}\)

The analysis highlighted that actions of the Iranian government contribute to their own negative headlines. One example occurred in 2003 following a report by the United Nations Human Rights Monitors criticising Iran’s prisons and judicial system.\(^{773}\) Two months after the report, an article appeared in the same paper reporting that the Iranian MP was facing trial accused of providing the UN Human Rights Monitors with the information about Iranian prisons.\(^{774}\)

There is no denying that acts which are in violation of accepted Western human rights are carried out in Iran. Both papers carried articles which highlighted these violations including for example, in the *Guardian* an article headlined ‘Iran steps up attacks on Christians’ which claimed that the Iranian government was carrying out a series of attacks on Christian minorities which included shutting down

churches, imprisonment and torture\textsuperscript{775} and in *The Times* an article headlined ‘Public execution for teenagers convicted of rape’,\textsuperscript{776} the article reported that two boys had been hanged for the rape of a 13 year-old boy. The hanging had received condemnation from gay rights groups in the UK but it also highlighted the controversial issue that Iran executes minors. The article reported that Iran had executed 11 children since 1990 according to Amnesty International.\textsuperscript{777}

Analysis of the articles however show that the papers reflect and reinforce the political situation in which human rights is used by western nations as a means to ‘Other’ Iran. This inevitably creates within the West a consensus through which conditional relations become accepted.

\textsuperscript{775} The *Guardian*, ‘Iran Steps Up Attacks on Christians’, 3 August 1994.
\textsuperscript{776} *The Times*, ‘Public Execution For Teenagers Convicted of Rape’, 22 July 2005.
\textsuperscript{777} *The Times*, ‘Public Execution For Teenagers Convicted of Rape’, 22 July 2005.
Critical Discourse Analysis

Resumption of Diplomatic Relations

All four papers reported the resumption of diplomatic relations. A review of the headlines on 28 September 1990 is an important indicator of the stance the papers adopted in reporting the situation. The Mirror and the Sun both featured two articles in which Iran was the focus. The Times featured three whilst the Guardian featured six articles. The headlines for each of the articles are as follows:

The Mirror

‘Hope for hostages as we make up with Iran’. 778
‘I’m so sorry says Salman’. 779

The Sun

‘Brit ‘spy’ set for freedom in deal with Iran’. 780
‘Rushdie “Sorry”’. 781

The Times

‘Britain and Iran to resume diplomatic links’. 782
‘Invasion accelerated UK rapprochement with Tehran’. 783
‘Diplomatic victory born out of the Gulf conflict’. 784

---

778 The Mirror, ‘Hope For Hostages as We Make Up With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
780 The Sun, ‘Brit ‘Spy’ Set for Freedom in Deal with Iran’, 28 September 1990
The Guardian

‘Britain to renew ties with Iran’. 785

‘It’s been hell says contrite Rushdie’. 786

‘Renewing ties puts Rafsanjani’s pragmatists one step ahead’. 787

‘Ten years of strained links between the two capitals’. 788

‘Letter from Whitehall to burying the hatchet’. 789

‘Talk and Rushdie’. 790

What is evident from a review of the newspaper headlines is that the Guardian, the Sun and the Mirror all reported the event with reference to the Rushdie affair, which had caused the breakdown of diplomatic relations. The Times however did not feature any reference to Rushdie in any of its headlines, choosing instead to link the resumption of diplomatic relations with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The Sun used the method of intertextuality in which it also reported the case of Roger Cooper the British business man being held in Iran over allegations of spying. It chose to report this using the noun phrase ‘Brit “spy”’ and by putting the word spy into quotation marks they adopted the strategic speech strategy and distanced themselves from the claims. No other paper chose to report this link in the headlines which could be viewed as the Sun perceiving its readers as liking a good ‘spy’ story.

What is overwhelmingly evident from reviewing the headlines of the two tabloid papers is that the focus was on the British interest story. This it could be argued is evidence of the paper setting the context which it wants its readership to

read the article and because this is what it believes its readership is interested in. This is supported by Bell who claims the purpose of the headline is to attract the reader. Both of the tabloids chose to report Rushdie’s declaration of an apology in their headlines as reported speech without further clarification. However, the *Guardian* acknowledges that Rushdie is sorry through the use of ‘contrite’ as a pre-modifier to the noun Rushdie and chose instead to report Rushdie’s speech as ‘It’s been hell’.

A look at the first headline of each article in *The Times* and the *Guardian* both explicitly state Iran and Britain are to resume diplomatic ‘links’ and ‘ties’. What is particularly significant is that while both sentences are transitive and report the issue actively, the *Guardian* chose to make Britain the agent, the process being to renew ties while the object is Iran. This ensures a positive portrayal of Britain however this contrasts with *The Times* in which Britain and Iran are represented as equal agents. Similarly, the *Mirror* foregrounded the positive us when it reported that the situation appeared more promising for the hostages as ‘we make up with Iran’. The use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ to refer to the British government distinguishes ‘us’ and ‘them’ and is here used to give a collective identity and in the context of a positive outcome, that the reader can feel a sense of personal satisfaction. The phrase ‘make up’ offers an image of a child’s game. Politics are often referred to metaphorically as games or war. Therefore combined the phrase ‘we make up with Iran’ automatically recalls the idea when as a child a parent or teacher would say to two children arguing or fighting that the bigger person instigates the ‘make up’ and therefore the ‘we’ becomes the bigger party which in this case is Britain.

The *Guardian* also chose to make reference to how the resumption of relations would prove positive for Iran’s internal situation, it chose to refer to Iran’s

---

791 Bell, *The Language of the News Media*, p. 189.
new leadership as ‘Rafsanjani’s pragmatists’\textsuperscript{792} which it could be viewed is seen as positive shift from the last decade when as the literature review highlighted the lexical choice was centred around Islam or negative and often derogatory terms. The corpus based analysis highlighted that pragmatists became used in reporting of the Rafsanjani period.

**The Mirror**

As already highlighted from the review of the headlines, the *Mirror* chose to report the event in the context of British interest stories and not as a political event in itself. The paper had no coverage in which Iran was the focus either in the week prior to or the week which followed the event. The paper did not include the use of any Iranian sources in either. The lead sentence in the first article stated that ‘hopes rose last night that British hostages may be freed after Britain and Iran agreed to resume full diplomatic relations’.\textsuperscript{793} As noted in the methodological framework according to Bell the lead is a micro-story however we clearly see that the paper does not at this point say how the resumption of diplomatic relations would help the hostages. The second paragraph and third paragraph intertextually linked the Salman Rushdie affair and Roger Cooper being held in Iran. Iran’s role in the hostage situation is highlighted by referring to the hostage takers as ‘pro-Iranian groups’,\textsuperscript{794} however this is not expanded on and presupposes the reader understands how these groups are pro-Iranian.

The paper uses the strategy of foregrounding the information it wants its readers to focus on whilst back-grounding other information which either does not

\textsuperscript{792} The *Guardian*, ‘Britain To Renew Ties With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{793} The *Mirror*, ‘Hope For Hostages as We Make Up With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{794} The *Mirror*, ‘Hope For Hostages as We Make Up With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
show Britain in a positive light or it appears to detract from the claims it is trying to make. This was done in two ways here, firstly it chose to lexically change the Islamic word *fatwa* for death sentence which could reasonably be explained in that the audience may not understand what it is. It does not provide the context of the ‘death sentence’ until near the end of the story when it claims it was imposed by Ayatollah Khomeini. However in the sentence immediately following the lead Ayatollah Khomeini was interchanged for ‘Iranian Moslems’. The sentence stated ‘And British author Salman Rushdie, under a death threat from Iranian Moslems may soon be able to come out of hiding’.\(^7\text{95}\) This implies that every Muslim Iranian, which given Iran is predominantly a Muslim country implies all, is threatening Salman Rushdie. It is the generalisation of a nation as a threat which is significant in the lexical change.

The paper did not include until the end of the article any reference that Britain was contradicting its own stance which it took at the time of the termination of relations between the two countries in which it had stated that it would not resume diplomatic relations until the *fatwa* was lifted. This as identified in the critical discourse analysis section is a method in which newspapers reduced the impact of information.

Their analysis showed examples of the process of othering in that we are foregrounded positively and the other Iran negatively. The threat from Iran is evident both in its support of groups who take Westerners hostage and the notion that Iranian Muslims want to kill Rushdie. Islam is for fronted in the threat identified here.

**The Sun**

The *Sun* as already highlighted adopted a similar line to the *Mirror* in that it chose to report the resumption of diplomatic relations in the context of British

\(^7\text{95}\) The *Mirror*, ‘Hope For Hostages as We Make Up With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
interest stories. The paper in the week before the event had however carried a report on 20 September 1990 which highlighted what was hoped to be a new development in the on-going plight of the hostages.\textsuperscript{796} The story focused on the hostages and noted that Syria’s President had gone to ask for Iran’s help with their release. Iran was not the focus of this article although the perceived power Iran wields was indicated through the report that Assad would ‘plead with Tehran for their release’.\textsuperscript{797} The reference strategy used to refer to the leaders holding the hostages was that of ‘the pro-Iranian Hizbollah fanatics’. Iran is by association now connected with the rest of the article and its negative reports.

Reporting of the resumption of diplomatic relations occurred in an article on the 28 September 1990, the focus of the article was however Roger Cooper’s potential release and the resumption of diplomatic relations was referred in reference to the impact it could have on his release.\textsuperscript{798} The only other reference to the political situation was made in the middle of the article when it was quoted that relations had ceased when ‘Ayatollah Khomeini had ordered the execution of \textit{Satanic Verses} author Salman Rushdie’.\textsuperscript{799}

In all its coverage, no Iranian sources were used, instead the paper chose to select in the first article an unnamed diplomat in Cyprus, the British Foreign Secretary and the brother of Roger Cooper and in the second a spokesman from LWT. The paper intertextually linked the hostage situation in Lebanon but unlike the other papers this was not the priority. The paper chose to highlight in the second article the cost to Britain of the \textit{fatwa} in protection for Salman Rushdie. Such a

\textsuperscript{796} The \textit{Sun}, ‘Waite Could Be Free In Days, says Jailers’, 20 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{797} The \textit{Sun}, ‘Waite Could Be Free In Days, says Jailers’, 20 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{798} The \textit{Sun}, ‘Brit ‘Spy’ Set For Freedom In Deal With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{799} The \textit{Sun}, ‘Brit ‘Spy’ Set For Freedom In Deal With Iran’, 28 September 1990.
statistic invokes resentment and anger and reinforces a negative image of Iran as their irrational act is costing the tax payer and therefore the reader money.  

*The Times*

As already highlighted, *The Times* chose to frame the resumption of diplomatic relations in political discourse and linked the decision to the Gulf conflict. *The Times* used a number of predominantly western based sources although it did include statements from Iran as well as Iranian press sources. The linking of Iran to the Gulf conflict was evident in reporting which occurred in the week prior to the event in which Iran was a key part of four articles. Iran was represented in all these articles as a key player in the region however, Iran’s decision not to openly state whether it would assist Iraq and defy sanctions was a prevalent theme. The internal divisions within Iran were repeatedly reported. One article did report how Iran had arrested smugglers attempting to take goods to Iraq. The negative consequences particularly the threat which an alliance between Iran and Iraq would bring was evident when in highlighting Rafsanjani’s approach which was reported as more likely to exploit Iraq’s weaknesses, it noted that the outcome would be ‘a new Baghdad-Tehran axis based on Islam’. The lexical choice of ‘axis’ invokes images of Nazi Germany as the term is most frequently used in discussions of Word War II. The implied threat of this axis is claimed in the article to be based on Islam. However, no reference to the fact that Iran is Shia and Iraq Sunni or that Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, could hardly be described as based on Islam is made.

---

As already identified the headlines adopted by the paper centred on the political nature of the events. The lead which accompanied the first article included reference to both the hostages in Lebanon and the case of Roger Cooper. This immediately sets the resumption of diplomatic relations in the context of other issues in which Iran was involved. The lead which accompanied the second article identified the role of the Gulf conflict in the resumption of diplomatic relations using an adverbially phrase of short time to reinforce that such an event was directly related to the Gulf conflict. While the lead in the third article indicated Iran was playing a game as it claimed ‘wooed by both sides’ and precedes to state that Iran has achieved the most from this.

Whilst linking the Gulf tensions with the diplomatic relations the paper throughout adopted the stance that Britain ‘needed to’, rather than it would appear ‘wanted to’, improve relations. This was highlighted in the use of adverbials of time and the adjective accelerated as indicative of a hastened event. Emphasis of how much Iran had gained from the situation further highlighted this. In what appears an attempt to remind the readers of what Iran was really like the paper stated ‘Revulsion against the Islamic regime helped throw Britain’s support behind Baghdad during the Gulf war despite its being the original aggressor’. Despite being factually inaccurate, Britain as the Anglo-Iranian relations chapter highlighted, had remained neutral for most of the war, which had allowed trade to continue. It offers no explanation as to why Britain would have drawn such opposition anyway. The same paragraph then reinforces the negative image of Islam in the following phrase ‘All

---

the sensitivities of a Muslim country staggering under the burden of sudden religious and political regression’.\textsuperscript{808} The statement presupposes that Muslim countries have sensitivities although what these are is unclear and would indicate the reader is supposed to know. Othering occurs through highlighting Iran’s Islamic nature.

In the week following the event, articles were carried in which Iran was the focus and highlighted tensions both externally and internally for Iran. The first discussed the tense relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran.\textsuperscript{809} The article reported a meeting between the two at the UN but set the context as an ‘ideological battle for influence’ between ‘the two main Islamic powers’.\textsuperscript{810} The later despite the headline indicating the article would focus on the hostages in Lebanon,\textsuperscript{811} it reported on what it claimed were internal divisions which had led to the temporary suspension of the Majlis the previous day. The hostages received a brief mention at the end of the article. The tensions it claimed were between ‘pragmatists’ and ‘anti-Western radicals’,\textsuperscript{812} which clearly reinforces for the reader that one group is ‘anti-Western’.

**The Guardian**

The *Guardian* carried a number of short news in brief articles involving Iran prior to the resumption of diplomatic relations. The majority of which were attributed as press agency. These articles included a report of an earthquake,\textsuperscript{813} resumption of Iranian relations with Tunisia\textsuperscript{814} and the Smuggler story\textsuperscript{815} which was also in *The Times*. *The Guardian* carried only one long article in which Iran was the focus and

\textsuperscript{808} *The Times*, ‘Invasion Accelerated UK Rapproachment with Tehran’, 28 September 1990.

\textsuperscript{809} *The Times*, ‘Islamic Giants Begin to Mend their Quarrel’, 2 October 1990.

\textsuperscript{810} *The Times*, ‘Islamic Giants Begin to Mend their Quarrel’, 2 October 1990.

\textsuperscript{811} *The Times*, ‘Rafsanjani Advance Bring Hope for Hostages’, 4 October 1990.

\textsuperscript{812} *The Times*, ‘Rafsanjani Advance Bring Hope for Hostages’, 4 October 1990.

\textsuperscript{813} *The Guardian*, ‘Earthquake in Iran’, 25 September 1990.


that was to report the outcome of the meetings between Syria and Iran.\textsuperscript{816} The lead of
the story highlighted that despite the talks being lengthy ‘Syria and Iran had reached
complete agreement on the Gulf Crisis’.\textsuperscript{817} The paper used direct quotations from
both presidents to report the story however to highlight scepticism of the agreement
it used the debate in Iran’s own media.

The \textit{Guardian} as already highlighted reported the resumption of diplomatic
relations in 6 articles. The lead to the first article,\textsuperscript{818} despite the headline positioning
Britain as the active agent, reported the event more balanced by stating that the
agreement was between both countries. Unlike \textit{The Times} who made the link with
the Gulf conflict of paramount significance in the headline, the \textit{Guardian} did not
refer to it until the third paragraph and used the lexical phrase ‘by-product’. The
hostage crisis and Roger Cooper were referred to also in the third paragraph but these
were introduced by the claim ‘Britain was delighted that the release of […] will soon
be possible’.\textsuperscript{819} The article used a wide range of sources including relatives of the
hostages and a representative from the Muslim Institute. Although some of the
sources were cautious they were, with one exception, all generally positive. The only
negative response was from Rushdie’s publisher. The second article\textsuperscript{820} reported the
television interview that Salman Rushdie had given which was predominantly about
the impact of the \textit{fatwa} on his life. Iran was not directly referred to. The third
article\textsuperscript{821} reports the resumption of diplomatic relations from the Iranian side and
notes that it was not simply a response to the Gulf crisis but a change in policy by
Iran, which was foregrounded in the article that facilitated it. The contradictory

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{816} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Syria and Iran Call for Gulf Security Net’, 26 September 1990
\bibitem{817} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Syria and Iran Call for Gulf Security Net’, 26 September 1990
\bibitem{818} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Britain to Renew Ties with Iran’, 28 September 1990
\bibitem{819} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Britain to Renew Ties with Iran’, 28 September 1990.
\bibitem{821} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Renewing Ties puts Rafsanjani’s Pragmatists One Step Ahead’, 28 September
1990.
\end{thebibliography}
nature of Iranian policy was reiterated through its report on Iran’s stance towards American presence in the Gulf. The term which had become synonymous with Iran ‘death to America’ was included. However it should be noted that this section was not until the end which could be seen as adopting the strategy of attempting to hide this information although still include it to ensure a more balanced ‘objective view.

The fourth article\textsuperscript{822} summarises the incidents which had impacted on Anglo-Iranian relations since the establishment of the Islamic Republic and it pinpoints the US embassy siege as the trigger.\textsuperscript{823} The fifth article\textsuperscript{824} was actually a copy of the Foreign Secretary’s speech which led to the resumption of diplomatic relations. This is significant as the text is introduced by stating ‘It was this which led to the restoration of diplomatic relations’.\textsuperscript{825} The text contained Britain’s position on the Salman Rushdie incident and reaffirmed Britain’s respect for Islam. Again this follows with the initial headline of article one, in that Britain is again the active agent and it promotes a positive representation. Although Iran’s positive position was highlighted in article three which discussed Iran’s role in actively seeking to restore relations as a result of Iran’s desire for more open relations and that it actually predated the Gulf conflict. The sixth article\textsuperscript{826} was from the comments section and whilst it began by following the general stance the paper had taken throughout over the positive nature of the event, it did warn of caution and that the Rushdie issue ‘must remain, high on the political agenda whenever the diplomats meet’.\textsuperscript{827} The Rushdie affair as the corpus analysis showed affected relations between Iran and Britain for many years.

\textsuperscript{822} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Ten years of Strained Links Between the Two Capitals’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{823} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Ten years of Strained Links between the Two Capitals’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{824} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Letter from Whitehall Led to Burying the Hatchet’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{825} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Letter from Whitehall Led to Burying the Hatchet’, 28 September 1990.
\textsuperscript{826} The \textit{Guardian}, ‘Talk and Rushdie’, 28 September 1990.
Reporting in the *Guardian* generally was significantly less hostile towards Iran than it was in *The Times*. This was evident in the choice of articles which appeared throughout the time frame and the wide range of articles which sited a more balanced view of the actual report. *The Guardian*’s stance throughout was generally to reflect Government policy of improved relations being positive.

Resumption of diplomatic relations occurred at the start of what was a period of internal change in Iran. Rafsanjani was securing his position as president and his policy of attempting to seek improved relations with the West. *The Times* appears to reflect a more reserved policy in its reporting of the issue. It appears the build-up in the Gulf combined with the Rushdie affair, the hostage situation in Lebanon and Iran holding Roger Cooper led the paper to adopt this more reserved stance. The corpus analysis identified reports before the resumption of diplomatic relations which arguably reflects their stance.828

**Iran-Libya Sanctions Act**

The *Mirror* and the *Sun* offered no direct coverage of the Sanctions act during the time frame under analysis. *The Mirror* did report another event on this day which Iran’s inclusion in was felt significant enough to include here. *The Times* and the *Guardian* both reported the incident and the headlines are reported below:

**The Mirror**

‘Jet bomb ‘in eye box; TWA jet bomb may have been hidden in sealed medical box’.829

---

828 *The Times*, ‘Hostage Set Back as Iran Refuses to Talk’, 17 May 1990.
829 The *Mirror*, ‘Jet Bomb ‘in Eye Box; TWA Jet Bomb May have been Hidden in Sealed Medical Box’, 6 August 1996.
The Times

‘US sanctions against Libya trigger allies’ outcry’. 830

The Guardian

‘News in Brief : Prosecutors plea’. 831
‘Clinton casts aside EU anger to enact anti-terror laws’. 832

The Mirror’s headline presupposes some knowledge of the incident as it does not explicitly state which ‘jet bomb’ is being referred. It is however the idea that medical equipment was used to store a bomb which is significant and horrific as the two concepts are contradictory. Iran is linked into the story at the end of the article as it claims ‘America has moved closer to accusing Iran of blowing up the jet’. 833 No evidence is provided to say how America is making this conclusion the reader is either assumed to already know this or guess. The Mirror carried no other articles relating to Iran.

The Times headline indicates the paper chose to report the ILSA from the viewpoint that the allies were opposed to it. The lexical choice of ‘allies’ is a term associated with the nations who opposed Nazi Germany. The Guardian carried two articles on the day the ILSA were announced, the headline of first article 834 does not indicate its focus. The second article 835 has President Clinton as the active agent. The choice of ‘casts aside’ is indicative of American indifference to European anger. The

830 The Times, ‘US Sanctions Against Libya Trigger Allies’ Outcry’, 6 August 1996
833 The Mirror, ‘Jet Bomb in “Eye box”; TWA Jet Bomb May have been Hidden in Sealed Medical Box’, 6 August 1996.
Guardian chose to refer to the sanctions act as ‘anti-terror’ which reinforces that their basis is in terrorism. Iran was not referred to directly in any of the headlines.

The Times

In the week prior to the ILSA, The Times carried a number of articles in which Iran was the focus. One report\textsuperscript{836} stated that radiation had been released from an Iranian plant however it detailed only the effect on staff, no mention was made to Iran’s nuclear programme. This may have been because at the time Iran’s nuclear programme was not a significant focus of international attention as was highlighted in the Anglo-Iranian relations chapter. Two of the articles, featured on the day America was due to sign the ISLA, linked Iran to terrorism. The first\textsuperscript{837} reported the response of the Iranians to claims by America that they are their ‘prime suspect in the lorry bombing in June that killed 19 American servicemen’.\textsuperscript{838} No evidence to support the claims was offered. The other article\textsuperscript{839} provided this evidence using a non-attributable source from America’s intelligence service. Iranian aggression was highlighted in a report which claimed ‘Thousands flee as Iran troops attacks Kurds inside Iraq’.\textsuperscript{840} Highlighting the humanitarian impact of Iran’s attack as the lead of the headline compounds the aggressiveness of the attack.

The analysis of the newspapers following the announcement of the ILSA led to some unexpected results. Rhetoric became anti-American. The lead which accompanied the first article\textsuperscript{841} initially reported the sanctions as being reasonable

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[836] The Times, ‘Radiation Scare at Iran Plant’, 1 August 1996.
\item[841] The Times, ‘US Sanctions against Iran and Libya Allies’ Outcry’, 6 August 1996.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
compared to military action which was encouraged by Republicans.\textsuperscript{842} This highlights that maybe they were the better of two options. Although it raises an alarm that military action is a consideration in dealing with Iran. To provide evidence of the opposition in Europe the paper uses statements from the foreign ministries of the countries opposed to the act to reflect European Government policy. In a direct attack on one of the key factors behind America’s justification, the paper used an non-attributable British official as its source and stated that regarding the TWA plane bombing and the bombing in Saudi Arabia ‘there was no conclusive proof linking Iran with the atrocities’.\textsuperscript{843} The paper used Iranian newspapers to highlight the retaliatory action Iran could take against possible attacks by America which included a threat to the oil supply.\textsuperscript{844} The legislation is only explained briefly at the very end of the article.

The ILSA and the EU’s opposition to it was an on-going story throughout the week. Again the rhetoric was anti-American and in support of the EU. The EU’s policy of ‘critical dialogue’\textsuperscript{845} was highlighted in a statement from the German Foreign Minister as ‘preferable to the American position because it was more dangerous to isolate a country of regional importance’.\textsuperscript{846} Van Dijk’s ideological square of positive self-presentation through foregrounding our positive against the negative ‘other’ in this instance and over this event in general shows it was America who appeared as the ‘other’. Such was the opposition to the ILSA that \textit{The Times} ran a story in which the focus was on the opposition from around the world obviously to reinforce that it stretches beyond Europe. It could be viewed as opposition to what is

\textsuperscript{842} \textit{The Times}, ‘US Sanctions against Iran and Libya Allies’ Outcry’, 6 August 1996.

\textsuperscript{843} \textit{The Times}, ‘US Sanctions against Iran and Libya Allies’ Outcry’, 6 August 1996.

\textsuperscript{844} \textit{The Times}, ‘US Sanctions against Iran and Libya Allies’ Outcry’, 6 August 1996.


arguably an American attempt to dictate to another nation. The lead used the metaphor of ‘storm’ to describe the magnitude of criticism and described America’s implementation as ‘heavy-headed’. Reporting on Iran was thus reduced primarily to being the cause of the sanctions. The Times did however report that Iran, in a retaliatory act was to take America to the International Court of Justice over claims it funds action in Iran. Interesting the paper adopted to lexically phrase the action as ‘covert’ what this action entails is not reported. The paper also carried two articles discussing a deal with Turkey. The lead of one of the articles refers to Turkey’s government as ‘Islamic led’ and then notes it ‘has badly damaged US moves to isolate Iran and cripple its energy sector’. The Islamic nature of Turkey’s government is arguably used to show a political coalition based on Islam.

The findings here indicate that The Times followed the government stance through reporting European opposition to the ILSA.

The Guardian

Iran featured in a number of articles in the week prior to the ILSA. The Guardian like The Times reported Iran’s military attack on the Kurds in northern Iraq. However unlike the article in The Times, the Guardian did not highlight the humanitarian impact choosing instead to highlight the political outcome ‘Iran raid strengthens grip on northern Iraq’.

848 This is referring to the Coalition of the Islamic Welfare Party and the True Path Party.
Interesting the *Guardian* carried an article attributed to the Associated Press Agency, claiming ‘Iran is 10 to 15 years away from acquiring nuclear weapons’ and appeared under the headline ‘New Nuclear Power Threat’. The use of the modal verb ‘is’ implies certainty which is intensified through the use of stating a time frame. The seriousness of this is in the headlines use of the word ‘threat’. ‘New’ also presupposes an old threat, but does not state who or what the reader should suppose that is. The claim comes from the US Control and Disarmament Agency. What is interesting is this was released by an American agency, reported to an American press agency only five days before America would announce highly controversial ratified sanctions. *The Times* did not feature this story. The *Guardian* also reported that British troops in Saudi Arabia had been put on high alert for a terrorist attack.

Iran was intertextually linked to this event through the reporting of a statement by the US Defence Secretary who claimed Iran was “‘certainly the leading candidate for international terrorism directed against the United States’.”

As already noted, the first article which covered the ILSA could not be understood without the rest of the article. The article was a report that German prosecutors believed Iran was involved in the killing of three opposition leaders in Berlin. The article was attributed to Reuters. This was not reported in *The Times*. The second article focuses on European opposition to the sanctions. The paper therefore adopted a similar reporting strategy to that of *The Times* of listing statements and reports of the European opposition. The paper used direct reporting of President Clinton’s speech to highlight the US position. To report the Iranian side it

---

used a report from Tehran radio that claimed Iran believed the bill would fail. The *Guardian* carried two feature length articles on the 7 August 1996 the focus was the issue of sanctions, Iran was not a key part. The *Guardian* carried another article relating to the sanctions but again the focus was on EU opposition. Interestingly the paper had shifted from referring to the ILSA as the ‘anti-terror’ law which it had done on the 6 August 1996 to referring to it as the ‘anti-trade’ law. This lexical change emphasis that they were going to affect trade, anti-terror law is acceptable but anti-trade is reflective of the impact it would have on the EU. The source is again attributed to Reuters. The *Guardian* also covered the improvement in relations between Iran and Turkey however the paper reported the event predominantly with the focus on Turkey and its desire to reinforce its links with Islamic countries not just Iran. The headline is indicative of this stance ‘Turkey Fosters Islamic Ties’. The paper then also refers to the Prime Minister as pro-Islamic and that by making his trip to Iran first he ‘has put his desire to strengthen ties with Muslim countries before relations with the US, Turkey’s closest ally’.

Reporting of the ILSA highlights the media reflects Government policy. The papers could have used the ILSA and American justification for them to provide articles and discussion of how America came to this decision for example highlighting examples of acts of perceived Iranian terrorism. However, both papers chose to adopt the European stance and report the opposition. This also reflects the European and British stance towards Iran in this period, in which Britain and Europe were seeking dialogue and pursuing a policy of ‘Critical Engagement’.

---

858 The *Guardian*, ‘Clinton Casts aside EU Anger to Enact Anti-Terror Laws’, 6 August 1996.
The 1997 Election

Neither the *Sun* nor the *Mirror* provided any coverage of this event. It was initially thought this may have been a result of the inauguration which did not occur until August 1997 and the papers may have chosen to highlight the change in presidency during this time. However, an initial search proved this was not to be the case. An Arcitext search of the name Khatami following his election shows that in the *Mirror* the first time he is referred to is on 23 September 1998 in an article headlined ‘Hope for Rushdie: Iran withdraws support for fatwa calling on Muslims to kill Salman Rushdie’. The article was reporting a statement made by President Khatami to the United Nations which stated ‘We should consider the Salman Rushdie issue as completely finished’. Whilst this finding does not claim that Iran was not featured in the paper during this time, what it does show is the election of President Khatami went unnoticed in the paper and the readership is just expected to accept and not question a change in name of Iran’s president. This finding was particularly unexpected as his election was perceived by many as hope for reform and it was expected it would have been referred to even if it was only in the ‘news in brief’ section. However, it may not have been covered as the victory was largely unexpected in the West as will be clearly evident in the headlines of the broadsheet papers. This, it could be argued, further highlights the restrictive view of world affairs that the readership of the tabloid press receives.

The election occurred on a Friday and therefore the decision of this study not to analyse weekend papers means analysis of the headline was on the first weekday.

---

864 A similar search in the *Sun* is not possible as it is not available on Lexis library during this period.
following the election which was Monday 26 May 1997. The headlines which accompanied the reports are as follows:

**The Times**

‘Tehran Euphoria greets moderate’s landslide’.  
‘Tired of Revolution’.  

**The Guardian**

‘Iranian youth celebrate Khatami’s clear mandate for social change’.  

*The Times* in the first headline used the noun phrase ‘Tehran Euphoria’ to symbolise the whole nation. Tehran was substituted using the common rhetorical trope of metonym, to mean the whole of country. This is a common strategy in media reporting however it usually refers to the government and not as is the case here the nation. It could be argued that the use of Iran or Iranian’s would have been more symbolic. Euphoria is also a powerful choice of noun. Immediately the term ‘moderate’ is used to set the tone for the reporting. The second headline ‘tired of revolution’ removes the subject which takes away agency and makes the sentence more expansive. The *Guardian* in its headline chooses to name Khatami as the active agent of social reform.

---

865 The *Guardian* on the Saturday 24 May 1997 carried an article which was headed ‘Iranians vote in battle of the clerics’. This highlights that the validity of the analysis is not diminished in anyway by it not beginning until Monday 26 May 1997.  
The Times

In the week prior to the election of Khatami, Iran was reported in two articles. The first was in an article which discussed imposing sanctions on Chinese companies accused of selling Iran chemical weapons technology.\textsuperscript{869} In the same article a different issue was reported in that China was accused of providing Iran with cruise missiles however the prepositional phrase ‘that could attack American vessels in the Gulf’\textsuperscript{870} was added for emphasis. The use of the modal verb ‘could’ indicates a degree of certainty and combined with the chemical weapons clearly highlights the danger Iran would pose with such capabilities. The second article pertains directly to the election and is a clear indicator that the victory of Khatami was not expected as the headline stated ‘Hardliner poised to win Iran presidency’.\textsuperscript{871} The lead highlights the more democratic nature of Iran today when it reports ‘Iranians choose a new president’ the use of the verb ‘choose’ is indicative of the democratic process. This is contrasted still within the lead with a reference to Iran under Khomeini, in which the autocratic nature is clearly evident, ‘the all-powerful Ayatollah Khomeini ensured that no divisions emerged under his leadership.’\textsuperscript{872} The second paragraph refers to the frontrunners as ‘54-year-old clerics who have pledged their allegiance to Islamic rule’\textsuperscript{873} Islam is clearly foregrounded with use of ‘cleric’ and ‘Islamic rule’ as it is not until the last two paragraphs that the name of the candidates and some key details surrounding their campaign are highlighted. In addition in introducing the third paragraph which focuses on British interests it states ‘For these reasons, the new President is not expected to change foreign policy or overturn decisions such as

\textsuperscript{871} The Times, ‘Hardliner Poised to Win Iran Presidency’, 22 May 1997.
\textsuperscript{872} The Times, ‘Hardliner Poised to Win Iran Presidency’, 22 May 1997.
\textsuperscript{873} The Times, ‘Hardliner Poised to Win Iran Presidency’, 22 May 1997.
Khomeini’s fatwa’. The unchanging static nature of Iran’s foreign policy is reinforced in this statement. In the introduction of Nateq-Nouri in the penultimate paragraph sees him referred to as a ‘hardline cleric’ backed by ‘powerful religious foundation’ supported by ‘Ayatollah Khamenei, the country’s spiritual leader’ and ‘the majority conservative faction in parliament’ these again reinforce the Islamic nature of the character and in turn the country. In the last sentence the two are referred to as ‘Hojatoleslam Nateq-Nouri […] against Hojatoleslam Khatami’.

Framing the election in Islamic discourse is arguably reinforcing Iran as the other.

The change in rhetoric is evident following the victory of Khatami. The paper reports the election as the ‘most stunning political upset since Ayatollah Khomeini ousted the pro-American Shah, and could signal a turning point in the country’s Islamic revolution’. Comparing the election to such a pivotal event as the revolution highlights that the paper now views Khatami as a chance for real change. In the next paragraph it is compared to the Labour victory which had just occurred in the UK. The article does continue to interchange Islamic terms in referring to Khatami for example ‘Sayed’ and ‘Hojatoleslam’. The paper highlights the composition of Khatami’s supporters as ‘intellectuals, women and young, all longing for more freedom’. The use of ‘more’ does assume a degree of freedom already exists. The paper does however offer caution when it highlights ‘he is no liberal in the Western sense’.

---

The second article was headlined ‘Tired of Revolution’. The article is set using negative Islamic discourse, examples include; ‘hidebound religious conservatism’, ‘Nateq-Nouri’s Militant Clergy faction and Mr Khatami’s Militant Clerics outbidding each other in militant Islamic anti-Western rhetoric’; ‘dreary, intrusive and arbitrary constrictions of religious rule’; ‘religion second-guesses politics in Iran’; ‘clergy’s substantial vested interest’. The article then proceeds to describe the complex nature of Iran’s political system as, ‘bizarre’ in reference to the Expediency Council and as a system consisting of ‘Power Games’.

Only one other article pertaining to Iran was reported in the week following the election and it reported the US response to the elections on the 28 May 1997 under the headline ‘US expresses cautious optimism over Iran’s new moderate leader’. The lead which followed, metaphorically expressed the situation as a game ‘America and Iran warily watched each other’s moves yesterday’. The article foregrounds what the US considers are things that must change for Iranian relations to improve: ‘Washington wants signs of change in four specific areas: Iran’s support for terrorism, weapons proliferation, Iranian sponsorship of violent opposition to the Middle East peace process, and human rights.’ These are the same issues highlighted in the Anglo-Iranian section that Jack Straw stated from Britain’s perspective that Iran needed to address. In an attempt at ensuring an objective report the paper notes Iran’s response to the American issues stating ‘Tehran rejects that it supports terrorism and is trying to develop a nuclear weapon,

---

but sees no reason to deny that it opposes the Middle East peace process – referred to by the Iranian media as “the compromise process”. 887

The Guardian

The Guardian carried two articles in which Iran was the focus in the week prior to the election. The first headline of the first article stated ‘Iran’s edict bodes ill for ties with EU’. 888 The article referred to an on-going event in which a Berlin court had accused high ranking Iranian officials of arranging the murder of opponents of the Islamic government. The Iranian government wanted Germany’s government to overrule the decision. 889 An article discussing this story had occurred in coverage of the ILSA but did not feature in the Times either on this occasion or during the ILSA. The second article adopted a headline of ‘Iran’s turbans conceal democratic intent as electors go to the Polls’. 890 The use of the rhetorical trope, metonym, to substitute the clerics for their turbans reinforces the role of Islam in Iran. The lead sets the elections against the backdrop of the Islamic revolution in which it begins ‘Eighteen years after Iran’s Muslim clerics launched a revolution in the name of the Almighty and Islam’. 891 Choosing to refer to the ‘Almighty’ and ‘Islam’ appears as if the two are different entities. Nateq-Nouri was referred as ‘a hardline cleric’ while Khatami who is incorrectly referred to as an Ayatollah is referred to as a moderate. Reporting the supporters of Khatami they are described as ‘young men dressed in Western-style T-shirts and jeans’, and the mayor of Tehran, who is acknowledged as a key player in Khatami’s campaign is described as ‘the slick mayor of Tehran who wears Calvin

Klein suits’. In both cases, the use of westernized clothes to describe Khatami’s supporters indicates they have western values which is seen as positive and reinforces our positive image. However Khatami’s rhetoric is still highlighted as an Us vs Them situation when the paper reported that in ‘a televised debate he declared the best way to fight the West’s cultural onslaught was to strengthen youth from within, not through imposed laws’. This is clearly an issue for Iranian politicians. The game metaphor is evoked again when Nateq-Nouri is described as having ‘powerful cards to play’. The Guardian in this article explains what a ‘Seyed’ is, this contrasts with The Times who despite interchangeably using Islamic terms failed to describe what they mean. Arguably without an explanation these terms remain an alien concept; explanations would inevitably provide better understanding.

As already discussed the Guardian reported the victory of Khatami within a social frame. The headline reported how young Iranians responded to the victory. The paper viewed the defeat of Nateq-Nouri as being a ‘rebuff to the elderly radical clerics of Qom who backed him’. The paper continued to report the incident in the social frame choosing to highlight the issue of the veil through its impact on eight year old girls. This is significant as the veil is viewed by many in the west as an oppressive symbol of Islam, highlighting the issue through the eyes of an eight year old girl reinforces this view. Islamic clothing is referred to as ‘heavy Islamic cover’ which reinforces the oppressiveness of Islam. The Guardian carried one other article in which Iran was the focus and unlike The Times it did not report the American

---

response to the election. The headline stated, ‘More Democracy for Iran’. The terms ‘more’ presupposes Iran has some democracy. The report was attributed to a press agency and reported a direct speech quote from Khatami. The lead highlights Khatami’s stance that more democracy should occur but that it would be within the Islamic style of government.

Reporting of the election provided an opportunity to highlight Iran’s complex political situation. Islamic discourse is often adopted to highlight Iran as the ‘other’. The decision of the Sun and the Mirror not to report this reflects that the election was not viewed as a British interest story.

A Nuclear Issue

IAEA inspectors find traces of uranium at one of Iran’s nuclear sites.

This event appeared to be covered on 27 August 2003 and therefore the headlines on this day as opposed to the following day will be analysed here. Interestingly all four papers reported this event.

The Sun

‘Uranium find at Iran plant’.

The Mirror

‘Fears Iran has “Atomic bomb”’.

The Times

‘Inspectors cast doubt on Iran’s nuclear claims’.

The Guardian

‘Iran faces showdown on nuclear secrets’. 902

The Sun rather surprisingly in the headline reports the uranium find simply as a ‘Uranium find’. 903 It chooses to make no attempts at this stage to link it to a ‘bomb’. The Mirror on the other hand reports it is a scare quote, choosing to put “atomic bomb” in quotation marks to imply it is reported. Also the use of ‘fear’ confers on the reader that someone fears this so maybe they should. 904 The headline clearly sets the tone the paper wants the article to be read in. The Times and the Guardian do not report in the headline what has led the ‘Inspectors to cast doubt’ or to a ‘showdown’ over Iran’s nuclear programme, although the reader is led to presuppose from the headline that something has obviously happened. As the corpus analysis identified the nuclear issue had received much coverage and it peaked in 2003, frequent reporting had been based on claims Iran was developing a nuclear weapon, therefore viewed in relation to previous articles it is arguably alarmist. In addition Iran’s claims in the previous years that its nuclear programme was for peaceful purpose is then put into question. The Guardian also chooses to refer to Iran’s nuclear programme as ‘nuclear secrets’, the use of the noun ‘secrets’, is regularly used in reporting of Iran’s nuclear programme as was highlighted in the corpus based analysis. The decision of all papers to include this event could be argued is a result of growing international concern over Iran’s nuclear programme, as the Anglo-Iranian section highlighted and because on this occasion the actual find of

‘uranium’ means the threat is real and would therefore be of interest to the tabloid readership

**The Sun**

Iran was not the focus of any other reporting in the *Sun* the week before this event occurred. The lead of the article states ‘Uranium inspectors looking for signs of secret Iranian nuclear weapons programme have found traces of highly-enriched uranium’.\(^905\) Again ‘secret’ is used to refer to Iran’s nuclear programme. The *Sun* here modifies the nuclear programme to be a ‘nuclear weapons programme’. Iran categorically denied throughout this period that it was pursing nuclear technology for weapons. The second paragraph notes that it is ‘uranium’ that can be used in ‘atomic warheads’ the choice of ‘warheads’ as opposed to weapons arguably reinforces that they are used in war, whereas weapons remain more ambiguous as either a means for war or simply for defence. The UK has nuclear weapons for defence. The *Sun* does report its source and in the last paragraph states ‘Tehran last night claimed the equipment was “contaminated” when bought by Iran’.\(^906\) Reporting of the word “contaminated” in quotation marks is a method to cast doubt on the claim.

**The Mirror**

The *Mirror* carries one article in the week prior to the event in which Iran is implicated through questions. The article reports an attack on a UN building in Iraq under the headline ‘Attack on the U.N.: USA will blame Iranians for blitz’.\(^907\) The use of the work ‘blitz’ invokes images of WWII. The article chooses to set out the attack as if it were a Hollywood film noting ‘it has become the familiar horror movie

---


of the Middle East’. Although strangely it uses the genre of a ‘horror movie’ however the scene it depicts is normally associated with one of an action movie ‘An embassy, an office block, filled with unsuspecting workers and then out of nowhere a truck packed with explosives driven by a suicidal maniac’. Iran is implicated in the papers possible answer to its own question ‘No one really knows who carried out the devastating UN assault. Osama Bin Laden? Pro Saddam Loyalists? OR, more dangerously still, an Iraqi Shia inspired by the Islamic regime in Iran’. Is the religion of Iran more threatening than Osama Bin Ladan? That appears to be the claim the paper is making. The paper refers to America’s Dick Cheney as an ‘American Warmonger’ which follows the readership of the paper and general public opinion in Britain which was opposed to the war. Iran is then linked to suicide bombings in that it claims ‘Suicide truck bombs were first used by the Iranian-backed Hezbollah guerrillas in South Lebanon in 1982’. The lexical use of ‘guerrillas’ is not a term which has been frequently identified in this study. America’s penchant for war however is then reinforced with ‘More suicide trucks bombs are bound to come. And so will the calls in Washington for the next conquest, the march on the Iranian capital’. The headline of the main article has already been discussed. The lead is ambiguous as it reports ‘fears’ but does not attribute these to any source it just states that Iran is ‘secretly developing atomic bombs’. The paper intertextually uses Bush’s label of an “Axis of Evil” to show America’s stance towards Iran.

---

The discovery of uranium coincided with the arrest in Britain of Hade Solimanpour a former Iranian diplomat accused of terrorist attacks in Argentina. Argentina wanted him extradited. As the Anglo-Iranian chapter highlighted he was later released as there was not enough evidence to link him to the attacks. Three articles in total appeared reporting this incident. The first headlined ‘Arrest of ‘terror envoy’ triggers dispute’, the second ‘Iran threatens to hit back over diplomat’s arrest’ and the final article ‘Iran recalls ambassador’. The paper adopts the stance throughout of highlighting Iranian irrationality, the following two examples highlight this; ‘Diplomats said that Iran’s cutting of economic ties could affect Argentinian exports to Iran of wheat, sunflower oil, rice and other foodstuffs,’ and ‘Rebuilding ties with Tehran has been a centrepiece of his [Jack Straw’s] work, which would be badly damaged if there was a bout of tit-for-tat expulsions’. The paper uses a table of events to set this event within a context. This reinforces the volatile nature of the relationship already been referred to. The article also uses intertextuality and highlights another diplomatic incident in which Iran is involved. In this instance, it is with Canada. This reinforces Britain’s position indicating she is not alone. The Canadian incident is shocking as the paper reports ‘Iran is in a heated dispute with Canada over the killing of Zahara Kazemi, an Iranian-born Canadian photographer, who was beaten to death in custody after being arrested by security forces. Canada has withdrawn its envoy to Tehran’. The paper pitted this story highlighting the complexities of Iranian politics. Iran was reported in brief in another

article dealing primarily with smuggling in Iraq. The headline however chose to reinforce Iran’s role. ‘Ruling Shia parties linked to smuggling of terrorists from Iran’.\textsuperscript{922} The focus of the article was the implications for Iraq of smuggling however the headline implies all of them are Iranian terrorists, reinforcing Iran’s links with terrorism.

The main article as already noted did not refer to the uranium find but chose instead to frame it using the opinions of the IAEA inspectors.\textsuperscript{923} The article highlights America’s position as ‘Washington’s allegation that the Islamic authorities in Tehran are secretly building a nuclear bomb’.\textsuperscript{924} The paper choses to modify the authorities as Islamic, highlighting the ‘Islamic threat’ again. Why is the government not just referred to as the government? Iran is an Islamic government but it is also elected. The article concludes with a statement from America which alarmingly claims “‘If Iran proceeded with its programme, it will be ready to make nuclear weapons rapidly and in large numbers,” David Albright the President of the Institute for Science and International Security in Washington, said. “In the worst-case scenario, that could be as early as the end of 2005””.\textsuperscript{925} Utilising this directly quoted speech implies an imminent threat as it gives a date which reduces the abstract future.

\textbf{The Guardian}

The \textit{Guardian} like \textit{The Times} reported the arrest of Hade Solimanpour the former Iranian diplomat accused of terrorist attacks in Argentina in three articles.

\textsuperscript{922} \textit{The Times}, ‘Ruling Shia Parties Linked to Smuggling of Terrorists from Iran’, 28 August 2003.
\textsuperscript{923} \textit{The Times}, ‘Ruling Shia Parties Linked to Smuggling of Terrorists from Iran’, 28 August 2003.
\textsuperscript{924} \textit{The Times}, ‘Ruling Shia Parties Linked to Smuggling of Terrorists from Iran’, 28 August 2003.
\textsuperscript{925} \textit{The Times}, ‘Ruling Shia Parties Linked to Smuggling of Terrorists from Iran’, 28 August 2003.
The first article was headed ‘Ex-envoy arrested over bomb attack’, while the second ‘Iran threatens UK over arrest of ex-ambassador’, while the third states ‘Iran’s ambassador quits London: Relations sour over diplomat’s arrest and nuclear plans’. The Guardian chose to refer to the ambassador as ‘ex-ambassador’ while The Times had referred to him as ‘terror envoy’. The first article provides an overview of the case and included no reaction from Iran. The second article like that of The Times uses sources including the Iranian President. The lead has Iran in an aggressive role as it is reported to have ‘threatened “strong action”’ and ‘demanded an apology’. Again Khatami’s government is referred to as ‘reformist’ however Iran is trying to ‘shed its militant image’. The third article claims that the decision to recall the Iranian ambassador was based on the nuclear issue and the arrest of Soleimani. Again the reference to the ‘axis of evil’ speech made by George Bush is included. Britain’s positive representation is continued throughout which contrasted against the American position. The paper reports several trips made by Jack Straw to Iran. The aggressive stance of America is again highlighted in the following example ‘The US is pushing for the IAEA to declare in its report that Iran is in breach of its obligations not to build a nuclear weapon’.

The main article as already noted focused on a ‘showdown’ over Iran’s nuclear weapons. The lead article remains relatively abstract and unlike all the other articles, it reports the incident from the actions of the IAEA and does not

mention a nuclear weapon. The lead instead claims ‘the UN watchdog has demanded that Iran urgently explain evidence that it may have secretly enriched uranium’.  

Selection of ‘may have’ encourages a reading that the UN watchdog is uncertain that this is the case.

Throughout the article in which the IAEA’s position is referred to, mention is also made to some of Iran’s developments in the 1990s however, it is not until the last paragraph that the word ‘bomb’ is used ‘Western governments believe Iran may be close to building a nuclear bomb and that it has received help from scientists in Pakistan, North Korea and elsewhere’.  

No time scale is indicated unlike the one reported in *The Times*. The paper uses a number of sources but crucially, given the article is based on reported IAEA findings, the article reports a statement from the IAEA stating the report is not conclusive proof.

The qualitative analysis reinforces the findings in the corpus based analysis that ‘weapons’ is frequently used to refer to Iran’s nuclear programme and that a nuclear Iran is something which should not be allowed to happen. No question is asked as to why Iran should agree to inspections by the IAEA. The sources used were again predominantly American. The alarmist nature was again evident for example in *The Times* with the ‘worst case scenario […] 2005’.

---

Conclusion

This study identified that whilst coverage of Iran in the period under analysis was dominated by political reporting, it was however a combination of political, social and cultural reporting through which Iran’s representation as the ‘Other’ was reinforced.

The analysis clearly showed that the most dominant theme that characterises the press’s coverage of Iran and positions Iran as the ‘Other’, is the perception that Iran poses a ‘threat’ to the West. Overwhelmingly it was through the guise of nuclear that Iran’s threat was most evident. Results of the corpus based analysis on the headline selected articles highlighted that, the word nuclear was one of the most frequently used words in the overall corpus and the most frequent word related to an event or issue. The presence of other words associated with nuclear including ‘enrichment’ and ‘uranium’ in the wordlist, reinforce that the articles were nuclear focused. The collocate results also showed that the most frequent word which appeared with nuclear was ‘weapons’ with other words such as ‘bomb’ and ‘warhead’ also used but less frequently, this was despite Iran’s claims that the pursuit of nuclear technology was for peaceful purposes. The analysis showed that reporting was also coupled with alarmist headlines and statements which included stating a time frame on bomb production and claims that a nuclear Iran is to be feared. Coverage of Iran’s nuclear programme and the threat it posed was reported throughout the time frame however its peak came in 2003 and 2004 when Iran accelerated its nuclear programme.

One of the most significant findings of this study was that in the articles analysed, with the exception of a few articles in the *Guardian*, the papers followed
without question, the political stance of the British government amongst others that Iran cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear weapons programme. While as detailed in the analysis the *Guardian* did question this stance towards Iran, in relation to the overall number of articles it was small. Whilst Iran maintains its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes and the papers did report this in their articles which focused on the nuclear issue, they did not challenge the situation in which countries, who themselves have nuclear weapons, dictate to another fully functioning nation state that it could not if it wished pursue such a weapon. It should also be remembered that one of the main arguments used to justify Britain’s nuclear programme in the 1980s was as a means of deterrence. Is Iran not afforded such security if it desires? The Iranian nuclear issue is the most obvious example of how Western nations through a process of ‘Othering’ are creating a representation of Iran as a ‘threat’. This allows them to pursue a policy towards Iran which actively seeks to dominate and control. The media it appears is assisting.

Terrorism was another means through which Iran was reported as a threat. The corpus based analysis showed that it was an issue throughout the whole time frame. Analysis of the distribution of articles in which Iran and terrorism appeared within the same sentence showed noticeable peaks in coverage with the most notable being in 1995 and 1996 and then another significant rise in 2001 to 2003. The peak corresponds with the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act whilst the other corresponds with 9/11, Bush’s axis-of-evil speech in which Iran was named, war with Iraq and advances in Iran’s nuclear programme. One of the most interesting findings was the change in reference in both papers to the naming of Hezbollah. The analysis showed that the term ‘pro-Iranian Hezbollah’ was used to refer to Hezbollah however use of the term became sporadic from 1992 onwards and was last used in *The Times* in 1999.
and in the weekly *Guardian* after 2002. Whilst analysis showed Iran was still linked to Hezbollah throughout the time frame such a naming strategy intensifies the link.

The results showed that ‘Islamic’ was frequently used in reporting of Iran throughout the time frame. While the two most frequent collocates were ‘republic’ and ‘revolution’ which was to be expected, when the term was viewed in relation to its other collocates it identified that it is also used negatively to reinforce the Islamic nature of most notably groups or characters. For example the use of ‘Islamic’ before hardliners is used to reinforce their Islamic nature. The analysis showed that opposition to Rafsanjani and Khatami were frequently referred to as for example ‘Islamic hardliners’ and ‘Islamic conservatives’ which reinforces their Islamic nature however those who they were opposing were also Islamic. The qualitative analysis of the 1997 Presidential election identified that it was overwhelmingly framed in Islamic discourse.

Women are ‘othered’ in all societies but their position in Islamic societies receives particular attention. The analysis identified that in the reporting of Iranian women, references to their clothing, appearance or participation in society was used in articles to reflect either an example of rebellion or oppression. Examples identified in this study included referring to their hair, eye-make up or lipstick in particular as a sign of their rebellion. Articles referring to women’s participation in sport were also deemed newsworthy and reference was particularly given to their Islamic dress, for example the Iranian women reported in both papers competing in the Asian Games all made reference to their chador.

Issues surrounding Iran’s human rights violations had been stated as a stumbling block to improved Anglo-Iranian relations. Amnesty International and
other such organisations were frequently used as sources in reports to highlight examples of Iran’s human rights violations. The corpus based analysis of the articles in which Iran and human rights appeared within the same sentence showed that some of the most frequently referred words were ‘nuclear’ and ‘terrorism’ which follows government rhetoric that these issues were used to highlight Iran’s threatening behaviour. The distribution of the issue throughout the time frame reinforces that despite periods in which there were attempts to improve relations, human rights remained at the forefront.

As shown lexical choice is an important aspect in the process of ‘othering’ as it can carry value judgements. One such example highlighted in the analysis was the use of the word ‘regime’ to refer to Iran’s government. The choice of regime as opposed to government places a negative value judgement on Iran’s style of government. The analysis identified that ‘regime’ began to be followed by ‘change’ from 2002 in the Guardian and 2003 in The Times which reflects a section of international rhetoric which was calling for ‘regime change’ in Iran.

The analysis identified that the lexical choice of words laden with specific cultural connotations are also used. For example the word ‘allies’ was used in the reporting about the ILSA. The Times used the word ‘axis’ in a report during the coverage of the resumption of Anglo-Iranian diplomatic relations. The Mirror used the word ‘blitz’ in its report of an attack on the UN Headquarters in Baghdad in 2003, Iranian involvement in which was speculated about at the time. All these metaphors invoke images of WWII that are strongly embedded in the British national psyche and could inevitably result in particular associations within the (unsuspecting) readers’ minds.
The analysis showed that naming and reference is a key strategy in the process of ‘othering’, the most obvious example was seen in the naming and referencing of President Khatami. The concordance analysis showed that he was frequently referred to as the ‘moderate reformer’ which places a value judgement on his presidency.

One of the most unexpected findings of this study was that it highlighted that the British press also ‘Othered’ America in its coverage of Iran. Looked at through Van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’ it appears that Britain and Europe were continually reported in a positive light in contrast to the ‘outgroup’, which in this case was America. This was most noticeable throughout the coverage of Iran-Libya sanctions act, which as the chapter on Anglo-Iranian relations highlighted, threatened the economic interests of Europe and resulted in a period of hostility between Europe and America. The reporting of the nuclear issue again led to claims of hostility between America and Europe over how to respond to Iran’s increasing nuclear programme. This is another example of the press following government policy as the reporting reflects the British government’s efforts to pursue a policy focused on improving bilateral relations at the economic, social and political levels. In addition the Iran-Libya sanctions act was instigated in a period when Europe was pursuing a policy of ‘critical dialogue’.

Analysis of the papers showed that Iran is on occasions responsible for its own contradictory, threatening and what could arguably be termed irrational images. This occurred predominantly when statements generally referring to international situations would be reported by one section within the Iranian government and the position would then be contradicted in another article by those frequently aligned
with Ayatollah Khamenei. The Rushdie situation was highlighted in the analysis as one such example.

The analysis identified that there was a significant difference between the two papers in their use of attributed press sources. The *Guardian* as was identified in the corpus based analysis used significantly more press attributed stories than did *The Times*. This is arguably one reason which explains the variation in quantity between the two papers. The qualitative based analysis in particular highlighted that the papers do not always report the same events. The *Guardian* was identified as reporting a more varied range of short articles which corresponds with the findings in the corpus based analysis.

In addition the analysis showed that the papers also reported the same event but highlighted it from a different position. *The Times*, for example, as was noted carried an article about a report from the IAEA on Iran’s nuclear programme the paper chose to slant the article to report Iran negatively as a liar, whereas the reporting of the same event in the *Guardian* chose to highlight a positive aspect of Iran’s action over its nuclear programme. This clearly highlights that the paper plays a key role in influencing how an event is read through the position it chooses to adopt on an issue.

This was highlighted again in more detail in the qualitative analysis of the resumption of diplomatic relations in which *The Times* chose to adopt a more reserved stance in its reporting of Iran. For example the paper had highlighted that relations had been resumed because Britain had ‘needed to’ rather than it had ‘wanted to’. In contrast the *Guardian* had adopted a more favourable stance on the issue.
In the four events analysed, the tabloids decision not to cover the Iran-Libya Sanctions act or the election of Khatami indicates that the tabloids coverage of Iran is based on its human interest value and more specifically to the question of whether the story has a direct link to British interests. This finding concurs with the overwhelming consensus that exists, namely that the tabloids report international news stories only when they are viewed as of interest to their readership.

It is evident from my research findings that the British media follows government policy and is reflective of the state of Anglo-Iranian relations in general, something which can be traced in the coverage in particular of the nuclear issue. The distribution of the whole corpus identified noticeable peaks in 1990 and 1991, again in 1998 and the most noticeable was in 2003. This coincides with noticeable peaks in Anglo-Iranian relations, in the early years Iran was actively seeking an improvement of relations with the West which as was highlighted in the background chapter was a result of Iran’s need for economic reforms, in addition the issue of Iran’s influence over the hostage situation in Lebanon lead to increased coverage as did the Rushdie affair particularly in relation to coverage of the resumption of diplomatic relations. The wordlist analysis supports this claim as words associated with these events featured as the most frequently used. The peak in 1998 corresponds with attempts by Khatami to further pursue improved relations with the West. The peak in 2003 corresponds with rapid advancements in Iran’s nuclear programme and the reporting of condemnation by Western nations. Any changes in Anglo-Iranian relations will clearly be reflected in the press.

The analysis identified that in the articles analysed here, the Guardian clearly carries more coverage of social and cultural issues in the weekday papers. The byline analysis of the articles highlighted that these were frequently attributed to Iran’s
resident correspondent. The important role of the resident correspondent was clearly identified as it provides coverage of issues which may not normally be reported. However as this study highlighted the correspondent is also constrained by Iranian rule and as was noted both the Guardian and The Times had correspondents who had to leave Iran for reporting which the Iranian government objected to. Such a control inevitably impacts on the representation of Iran if the correspondents face such strict rules in what and where they can report.

In addition the analysis identified that Iran’s complex political system was frequently referred to in articles which were social and cultural in focus. Anniversaries of the Revolution and the American Embassy Siege also provided the opportunity for coverage of Iran’s current political situation. However it is argued that such reporting recalls events which were viewed negatively in general by the West and positions current Iran within the context of these events.

In this study I argue that the British press ‘Other’ Iran through reporting and generally reflecting British policy towards Iran at the time. The findings suggest that in general the coverage of Iran is not based on overt examples of the traditional Saidian notion of Orientalism. There was as this study identified examples of stereotyping of Islam and reinforcing its Islamic nature but it was not as blatant as would be expected in possibly times of open hostility between Iran and Britain. The Runnymede Trust and others analysing coverage in the press including the American press after 9/11 noted the presence of what could be termed traditional ‘orientalist’ images in their reporting of Islam. However unlike America, Britain at the time had not experienced such an atrocity in which the perpetrators were defined by their Islamic connection.
However I would argue that what this study highlighted in reporting of Britain’s policy towards Iran is that it remains based on power. The conditional demands placed upon Iran by Britain in which Iran must address the issues of terrorism, human rights and nuclear is arguably an attempt to reinforce an imbalance of power. The inclusion of human rights in the issues which must be addressed is interesting in that it is an internal Iranian affair whilst the others directly affect the international community. It could be argued that including human rights is an attempt to reinforce a policy which arguably seeks to control another state. The human rights issue provides a clear means through which to highlight Iran negatively as arguably barbaric in its practices. The analysis highlighted reports of hangings and claims by Amnesty International of high numbers of executions. The policy of implementing sanctions to prevent Iran achieving its nuclear ambitions is a clear example of a policy which is based on power and an attempt to maintain the status quo.

Van Dijk argues that ‘Contemporary racism is a complex societal system in which peoples of European origin dominate peoples of other origins, especially in Europe, North Africa, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. This relation of dominance may take many forms of economic, social, cultural and/or political hegemony, legitimated in terms of, usually negatively valued, different characteristics ascribed to the dominated people(s)’. It could be argued therefore that Britain’s policy towards Iran fits with the concept of ‘new racism’ and the media, through their reporting, reflect this. Another label to describe Anglo-Iranian relations is that it could be categorised as Islamophobic given the prevalence of Islam in Iranian society. However when reviewed in the context of Anglo-Iranian relations throughout history Islam cannot be used to justify the policies Britain pursued. I

argue therefore that in the case of this study what is occurring is the process of Othering in which characteristics or policies of the ‘Other’ are highlighted as different or a threat to ‘Self’ which allows policies to be pursued which maintain an imbalance of power between the two. The nuclear issue, for example, through which Iran is represented as a threat provides justification for policies which prevent Iran pursuing such a programme and shifting the balance of power.

Following the release of Roger Cooper, *The Times* carried an article by Sir Anthony Parsons who was the British ambassador to Iran in the 1970s in which he actually provided justification to explain Iran’s behaviour and he blamed Britain’s past involvement in Iran as the cause, he concluded that, ‘My hope is that Iranians will at last realise that we British changed our spots years ago. All we want is a normal relationship with Iran: “British imperialism”, with all its connotations, exists now only in Iranian minds.’ A review of relations between Iran and the West in the last twenty years with sanctions and speculation of war over Iran’s nuclear programme plus other conditions placed on relations between Britain and Iran does not indicate that Britain has ‘changed its spots’.

I can conclude that Iran was predominantly represented in this study through a prism of particular features including links with Islam, terrorism and most notably the nuclear issue. Whilst there were some revealing articles offering insights into aspects of Iranian social and cultural life, in comparison articles which are reported in the weekday print press are dominated by political reporting. In addition even insightful articles reinforce the representation of Iran as the ‘Other’ as the nature of the press is to offer articles which are deemed of ‘interest’ to the readership and this creates a representation of Iran through the lens of what is deemed of interest to the

---

938 *The Times*, ‘Spy? Copper is Iran’s True Friend’, 4 April 1991.
British reader. Whilst coverage of Iran in the papers analysed here generally reflected government policy towards Iran, it was the lack of debate over the nuclear issue which is the greatest cause for concern. What ought to have prevailed in the newspaper coverage was balance and context particularly in a situation which could have unimaginable consequences. The time frame under analysis marked a period in which attempts had been made on both sides to improve relations. The end of President Khatami’s presidency arguably marked a new phase in Anglo-Iranian relations.939

---

939 This study was completed at a time when diplomatic relations between Iran and Britain had been terminated.
Bibliography

Newspaper Sources
The Guardian
The Mirror
The Sun
The Times


Bell, Allan, ‘The Discourse Structure of News Stories’ in *Approaches to Media Discourse*, eds Allan Bell & Peter Garret (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 64-104


Brewer, Paul R., Joseph Graf & Lars Willnat, ‘Priming or Framing: Media Influence on Attitudes toward Foreign Countries’, Gazette, 65 (2003), 493-508


Cameron, Deborah, ‘Style Policy and Style Politics: a Neglected Aspect of the Language of the News’, Media, Culture & Society, 18 (1996), 315-333


Clayman, Steven E., ‘From Talk to Text: Newspaper Accounts of Reporter-Source Interaction’, Media, Culture & Society, 12 (1990), 79-103


Conboy, Martin, The Language of the News (London: Routledge, 2007)

Cottam, Richard W., *Nationalism in Iran* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1979)


Frost, Diane, ‘Islamophobia: Examining Casual Links between the State and “Race Hate” from “Below”’, International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 28 (2008), 546-563


Glasgow University Media Unit ‘Media Effects and the Active Audience’ http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/sociology/units/media/effects.htm


Hafez, Kai, ‘Let’s Improve “Global Journalism”’, Journalism, 10 (2009), 329-331


Halliday, Fred,’Islamophobia Reconsidered’, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22 (1999), 892-902


Jempson, Mike, ‘Cleaning Up in our Own Backyard’, *British Journalism Review*, 15 (2004), 36-42


Kitzinger, Celia, & Sue Wilkinson, ‘Theorizing Representing the Other’, in *Representing the Other: Feminism & Psychology Reader* eds Sue Wilkinson & Celia Kitzinger (London: Sage 1996), 1-32


Lessing, Doris, ‘Never the Whole Truth’, *British Journalism Review*, 1 (1990), 18-22


Map of Press Freedom


http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/4385


Mousavian, Hossein, *Iran-Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009)


Neumann, Iver B., ‘Self and Other in International Relations’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2 (1996), 139-174

Oxford English Dictionary
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00307897?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=metonymy&first=1&max_to_show=10

Oxford English Dictionary
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00331221?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=oligopoly&first=1&max_to_show=10


Philo, Greg, ‘Can Discourse Analysis Successfully Explain the Content of Media and Journalistic Practice?’, *Journalism Studies*, 8 (2007), 175-196


Response of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs May 2004


Robins, Philip, Memorandum Submitted to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Second Report ‘British-Iranian Relations’
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm


Rundle, Christopher, ‘Iran-United Kingdom Relations since the Revolution: Opening Doors’, in *Iran’s Foreign Policy: From Khatami to Ahmadinejad*, eds Anoushiravan Ehteshami & Mahjoob Zweiri (Berkshire: Ithaca Press, 2008), 89-104

Runnymede Trust, ‘Islamophobia: a Challenge for Us All’


Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Third Report ‘British-Iranian Relations’
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/80/8005.htm

Semanti, Mehdi, ‘Islamophobia, Culture and Race in the Age of Empire’, *Cultural Studies*, 24 (2010), 256-275


Shaw, Martin, *Civil Society and Media in Global Crisis: Representing Distant Violence* (London: Pinter, 1996)


Wright, Dennis, ‘The Restoration of Diplomatic Relations with Iran, December 1953’ in *Anglo-Iranian Relations Since 1800*, ed. Vanessa Martin (Oxton: Routledge, 2005), 161-166

Zebiri, Kate, ‘The Redevelopment of Orientalism Themes in Contemporary Islamophobia’ *Studies in Contemporary Islam*, 10 (2008), 4-44
Appendix 1

A summarised report\textsuperscript{940} submitted in September 2005 by the Director General to the IAEA Board of Governors is cited below.

‘a. Failure to report

(i) the import of natural uranium in 1991, and its subsequent transfer for further processing;

(ii) the activities involving the subsequent processing and use of the imported natural uranium, including the production and loss of nuclear material where appropriate, and the production and transfer of waste resulting therefrom;

(iii) the use of imported natural UF\textsubscript{6} for the testing of centrifuges at the Kalaye Electric Company workshop in 1999 and 2002, and the consequent production of enriched and depleted uranium (DU);

(iv) the import of natural uranium metal in 1993 and its subsequent transfer for use in laser enrichment experiments, including the production of enriched uranium, the loss of nuclear material during these operations and the production and transfer of resulting waste;

(v) the production of UO\textsubscript{2}, UO\textsubscript{3}, UF\textsubscript{4}, UF\textsubscript{6} and uranyl carbonate (AUC) from imported depleted UO\textsubscript{2}, depleted U\textsubscript{3}O\textsubscript{8} and natural U\textsubscript{3}O\textsubscript{8} and the production and transfer of resulting wastes; and

(vi) the production of natural and depleted UO\textsubscript{2} targets at the Esfahan Nuclear Technology Centre (ENTC) and their irradiation in the Tehran Research Reactor (TRR), the subsequent processing of those targets, including the separation of plutonium, the production and transfer of resulting waste, and the storage of unprocessed irradiated targets at the Tehran Nuclear Research Centre (TNRC).

b. Failure to declare:

\textsuperscript{940} A detailed version of the report was originally submitted in November 2007 by the Director General to the IAEA Board of Governors.
(i) the pilot enrichment facility at the Kalaye Electric Company workshop; and

(ii) the laser enrichment plans at TNRC and the pilot uranium laser enrichment plant at Lashkar Ab’ad.

c. Failure to provide design information, or updated design information, for:

(i) the facilities where the natural uranium imported in 1991 (including wasted generated) was received, stored and processed (the Jabr Ibn Hayan Multipurpose Laboratories at TNRC (JHL); TRR; ENTC; waste storage facility at Esfahan and Anarak);

(ii) the facilities at ENTC and TNRC where UO$_2$, UO$_3$, UF$_4$, UF$_6$ and AUC from imported depleted UO$_2$, depleted U$_3$O$_8$ and natural U$_3$O$_8$ had been produced;

(iii) the waste storages at Esfahan and at Anarak, in a timely manner;

(iv) the pilot enrichment plants at TNRC and Lashkar Ab’ad and locations where resulting wastes had been processed and stored, including the waste storage facility at Karaj; and

(v) TRR, with respect to the irradiation of uranium targets, and the facility at TNRC where plutonium separation had taken place, as well as the waste handling facility at TNRC

d. Failure on many occasions to cooperate to facilitate the implementation of safeguards, as evidenced by extensive concealment activities.\textsuperscript{941}