A Contrastive Analysis of the American and Persian Newspaper Editorials

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Based on the principles of critical discourse analysis this contrastive study sought to investigate the effect of culture on the journalistic style and the strategies used to report news in the American and Persian newspaper editorials. To this end, articles were selected from the New York Times, the Washington Post, Kayhan and Ettelaat, taking Iran's nuclear dispute as the tertium comparationis for the selection of the articles. The analysis involved primarily a demarcation of the micro genres of the selected texts. Based on the principles of the newly developed appraisal theory, patterns of interpersonal rhetoric, devised in the texts to shape public opinion, were investigated. Attitudinal lexis and naming choices and expressions were also examined to discover the different strategies used in the editorials of the two languages to communicate their evaluations of the specified subject matter. Using a Chi-square test, no statistically significant difference was found between the editorials of the two languages for the selected criteria. Given the war of words between the two nations, the selected editorials were found to utilize quite similar strategies to perpetuate their own ideologies and to diminish the effects of the rival newspapers, leaving no room for culture to affect their strategies.

Key Words: critical discourse analysis, orientalism, ideology, newspaper editorials, micro-genre, evaluation

1 Introduction

Contrastive rhetoric research, according to Connor (2008), began nearly 40 years ago with Kaplan's (1966) seminal article on writing by learners of English as a second language. There, he proposed that L2 learners' cultural thinking was reflected in their writings, hence the difference in their texts with the ones written by native speakers of the language. The idea, innovative at the time, was taken up by many teachers and researchers. It had, according to Conner (2008), its inspiration in four major areas: (1) contrastive analysis, (2) Sapir-Whorf hypothesis or the doctrine of cultural relativism, (3) rhetoric and (4) pedagogy. Thus, the international or intercultural rhetoric and rhetoric as persuasion have been the two major constructs guiding contrastive rhetoric

inquiries throughout decades. Whereas the first construct has its focus on multilingual writers, the second deals with the persuasion and influencing of the learners.

Since its introduction, contrastive research has undergone dynamic changes, as reviewed by Kaplan (2005) and Conner (2002; 2004). After the initial focus of the field on the expository essays of L2 learners for the identification of writing problems caused by L1-specific rhetorical strategies, the domain of contrastive studies was expanded to include genre-specific analyses, which came to acquire an important status in the field. Bahatia's (1993) analysis of genre in a professional setting, Conner, Davis and De Ricker's (1995) cross-cultural analysis of job application letters, the study of editorial letters by Flowerdew and Dudly Evans (2002), the exploration of school books by Ansary and Babaii (2002) and Ph. D dissertations by Bunton (1999) are among the influential research conducted on genre analysis.

These studies produced findings that explain the characteristics of the processes and products of specific genres. Such findings indicate, for instance, that the Japanese and Chinese tend to be more indirect than the Americans in their writings. Recognizing rhetorical patterns as an essential component of language, these studies had their major focus on textual or structural regularities with regard to specific genres. They further revealed that rhetorical patterns are arbitrary, rule-governed and socially constructed and transmitted. Contrastive rhetoric research also shows that rhetorical structures differ between languages and cultures and that these differences are dynamic, as they change harmoniously with the society (Wang, 2007).

Implicit in this latter result of contrastive research is the concept of genre as "a socially ratified way of using the language in connection with a particular type of social activity" (Fairclough, 1989). Genres are then "the effects of the action of individual social agents acting both within the bounds of their history and the constraints of particular contexts, and with a knowledge of existing generic types" (Kress, 1989, p. 10). Therefore, in Fairclough's (1989) terms, genres are a tension between centripetal and centrifugal elements, with the centripetal elements referring to the conventionalized language codes and order of discourse within a conventionalized setting. Centrifugal elements on the other hand come from the specificity of particular situations of text production, the "specific communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discoursal resources (Bhatia, 2004, p. 23).

Newspaper editorials as an autonomous genre have been the target of the analysis of several scholars. Dantas-Whitney's (1989) comparison of English and Portuguese newspaper editorials was among the first studies in the field. Beyond introducing such textual elements as nominalization, use of prepositions, third person singular pronouns and locative verbs, the study revealed that English editorials used more formal styles and nominalization,

as compared to those of the Portuguese, which were replete with more personal aspects of texts such as third person singular pronouns and locative verbs.

Focusing on the structural analysis of newspaper editorials, Bolivar (1994) introduced a 'minimum unit of textual analysis' called 'triad', which consisted of three distinct elements, namely the Lead, Follow and Valuate, each performing a particular function in the text. Lead, as she elaborated, introduces the content and the orientation, the Follow responds and the Valuate closes the article with an evaluation. The study, while confirming the existence of the three-part structure in 23 editorials, refused to introduce the triad as a universal characteristic of the newspapers in all languages.

Riazi and Assar (2001), however, investigated the findings of Bolivar (1994) in 60 newspaper editorials culled from six currently published Persian editorials. The results of their study confirmed the existence of the same unit of interaction in Persian newspapers.

In the same vein, Ansary and Babaii (2005) analyzed English newspaper editorials to determine their actual rhetorical patterns of text development. They introduced Run on Headline (RH), Addressing an Issue (AI), Argumentation (A) and Articulating a position (AP) as the four obligatory structural or rhetorical elements of English newspaper editorials.

Later in a separate study, Ansary and Babaii (2005) analyzed English newspapers written by Iranian, Pakistani and English writers. Their study aimed, on the one hand, to investigate the macro-generic structures of English newspapers and on the other hand to determine whether there existed any cross-culturally significant difference within the genre. The study suggested that statistically, there is no significant difference in terms of rhetorical elements of structure between editorials written by (non) native editorial writers in whatever sociocultural or sociopolitical context they are produced or disseminated. Common in all were a Run on Headline (RH), Addressing an Issue (AI), Argumentation (A) and Articulating a position (AP), which they had previously identified as the main structural patterns of English newspapers.

Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) analyzed the rhetorical structure of English, Swedish and Finnish business newspapers, based on a modification of Van Dijk's model of rhetorical structure, which consisted of three main elements:

1. The introduction section dealing with the event or a critical state of affairs.
2. The intermediate section (dealing with the consequences of the event and the analysis) divided into two stages: intermediate stage and solution stage.
3. Coda divided into two stages: conclusion and moral.

The findings of the study revealed that the proposed model was the common structural pattern followed in most of the editorials. This brought the researchers to the same conclusion as Ansary and Babaii (2005) that newspaper editorial in general is a unified genre, regardless of the type of journalism in which it occurs. The only variation, they claimed, was in the solution and moral stages of the rhetorical structure of editorials.

However, with their study focusing exclusively on business editorials, such a generalization about editorials in general sounds quite unjustified, particularly when considering Wang (2007), who narrowed down the scope of the study, focusing on newspaper commentaries as a micro genre. Chinese and Australian newspapers were compared in the study. The results suggested that in Chinese newspapers, the use of explanatory commentaries, marked by diversity and individual characteristics of the writers, was more prevalent. Australian newspapers on the other hand relied more on 'media argumentative' commentaries, which were more convergent, as their rhetorical structure was concerned.

Bonyadi (2010) also restricted the scope of his investigation, focusing on the variations in different types of editorials. The study brought under scrutiny the schematic structures of editorials of criticism in American and Iranian English language newspapers. Analyzed in the study were the triads of introduction, body and conclusion, for the identification of their moves and the specific communicative functions they served. Similar to the previous studies, the researcher found little difference among the examined articles regarding their rhetorical structures. However, confirming Wang (2007), the results revealed that what differed in the editorials under study was their degree of directness.

The degree of directness, which in the findings of Bonyadi (2010) was found different in the American and Persian English newspapers, could be attributed to the difference in directness between the individualist and collectivist cultures, ascribed to the two nations, respectively. However, given the focus of the study, restricted on rhetorical structures, no attention was given to the other influences culture could have on the journalistic strategies used in the newspaper editorials of the two languages, and this is, in fact, the gap which the present study aims to fill.

2 Literature Review

Mass communication, nowadays, plays a very significant role in the society. The press, in particular, as a means of mass communication and a form of discursive practice has acquired significant influence (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1988). As a consequence, a considerable amount of research has been conducted, analyzing the language of the newspaper editorials from a variety of perspectives (Bolivar, 1994; Flower, 1991; Van Dijk, 1992; Wang, 2007). Several studies, in this regard, have investigated the ideological functions of

the news media. Ideology is defined here as the symbolic systems of thought that serve to maintain and stabilize particular power relations (Fairclough, 1998; Van Dijk, 1998). In other words, ideologies are "the mental frameworks, [i.e.] the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation" (Hall, 1996, p. 26).

The past quarter century of scholarship on public opinion has shown that the way elites represent their communication in mass media can significantly affect the attitude of the citizens (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Herman and Chomsky (as cited in Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007, p. 142) argue that the media define people's norms and beliefs according to the social, economic and political interests dominating the state. Thus, the media mobilize the public to support the social interests of the elite. Gitlin (2003) asserts, "in liberal capitalist societies, no institution is devoid of hegemonic functions and none does hegemonic work only" (p. 254). He regards such influential media as the networks and the major print media as part of the corporate elite, committed to the maintenance of the existing system. Bennet (1990) introduced the concept of 'indexing' suggesting that the news media limit their coverage of events and issues to elite views.

One of the most significant works conducted on the editorials from this point of view is that of Flower (1991), which is based on the assumption that " the 'content' in the editorials is not facts about the world, but in a very general sense 'ideas'" (Flower, 1991, p.1). Based on the principles of critical discourse analysis, Flower proposed a critical framework in which editorials are studied in terms of three discourse participants: the source, the addressee and the referent; i.e. the 'I', 'you', 'he/she/they'. In a similar vein, Van Dijk (1998) defined the concept of ideology from a socio-cognitive point of view, contending that the editorials and the "op-ed" articles in the press are opinions and ideologies, which involve mental representations. To study newspaper editorials, he proposed a model, integrating the production, as well as the interpretation of discourse. His theoretical framework constitutes three main factors, namely the social functions, cognitive structures, and discursive expressions and reproductions. Unlike Fowler's emphasis on linguistic strategies of beliefs and values, Van Dijk paid more attention to the production and interpretation of texts; and in his model, ideology is accorded a more important position and has the function of polarizing in and out groups (Lihua, 2009).

Viewing the constructive role of the editorial as a public and political discourse through which a kind of power or force is wielded, Lihua (2009) employed a model of discourse analysis to include the constructive role of evaluation to help elucidate how power is constructed and negotiated in editorial discourse. The model involved evaluation of both attitude and modal expressions and was adopted as a base to analyze and evaluate China Daily newspapers. A similar model will be employed in the present study to

analyze and compare the difference(s) in the approaches taken in Iranian and English newspapers to form public ideologies.

In spite of the critical role of language in media to frame the pubic ideology and perpetuate beliefs that promote the interests of those in power, a few studies have critically analyzed the language of newspapers, particularly in Persian, to determine the ideological concepts in them. Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) through a critical discourse analysis identified the themes of Orientalism in three American newspapers. They further revealed the linguistic, stylistic and argumentative maneuvers employed in the studied newspapers to selectively frame the issues around Iranian nuclear dispute. Still unnoticed in this study were the ideologies Persian editorials perpetuate and the specific strategies they employ to that end. To fill this gap in the literature and further to determine the extent to which journalistic strategies in reporting news are under the influence of culture, the current investigation was conducted.

2.1 Statement of the problem

Newspaper editorials, as the studies conducted so far reveal, seem to follow a universal pattern so far as their rhetorical organization is concerned. In other words, culture, as the studies suggest, does not seem to be a determining factor in the rhetorical structure of texts written in the genre. Disregarded, however, in the field, as pertaining the English and Persian editorials, is the effect of culture on the way the news is reported in the two languages, and thus the different strategies used in the two languages for the formation of ideologies in the readers.

2.2 Objective of the study

The aim in this study was to investigate the specific approaches taken in the Persian and English editorials to frame the public ideologies. In addition, given the claim that newspaper editorials form a universal genre, following identical rhetorical structures, the study sought to determine whether cultural differences affect the particular approaches taken in the editorials of the two languages, which according to Kaplan (1966) belong to different rhetorical groups, direct and oriental, respectively. Given the political clashes between the two nations, the study investigated the Oriental and anti-Oriental ideologies represented in the newspapers of the two languages. To this end, four newspapers were selected, two in each language, from among the most highly circulated ones. The texts were analyzed primarily in terms of the micro genres in which the news occurred and further for the patterns of interpersonal rhetoric they devised to construct and shape public opinion. The

analysis followed the particular purpose of consciousness raising, rather than 'gunning for the media', to use Flower's (1991) words.

2.3 Significance of the study

The significance of the study is revealed as considering the critical role of the news media in the society. Editorials, as Henry and Tator suggest, are the expressions of "the broadest ideological stance of the newspaper's owners and managers" (as cited in Izadi, Saghaye-Biria, 2007, p. 141). Editorials, unlike the news discourse, are "conversations among a society's power elites with the public being less of an addressee than spectators". The significance of the study is further highlighted given the role of the media in framing the public opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

2.4 Research questions

1. In what micro genre(s) do(es) Persian news articles most predominantly occur?
2. In what micro genre(s) do(es) the American news articles most predominantly occur?
3. What strategies do American newspapers use to frame the public opinion?
4. What strategies do Persian newspapers use to frame the public opinion?
5. Do cultural differences have any significant effect on the way news is reported in the two languages?

3 Research Method

3.1 Data collection

For the purpose of this study, two American and two Persian newspapers were selected. New York Times and the Washington Post were the American sources and Kayhan and Ettelaat the Persian ones. Selections were made for a number of reasons. Regarding the American newspapers, the New York Times serves as an intermedia agenda setting function for other news sources, particularly with regard to the coverage of international issues and events (Golan, 2006). The Washington Post, though not a national newspaper, is the leading newspaper in the nation's capital (Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2006). Among the Persian sources, Kayhan and Ettelaat were selected because they are among the most highly circulated newspapers, with Ettelaat being the oldest Persian newspaper and Kayhan, the one directly under the supervision of the Supreme Leader of Iran (Wikipedia).

To establish a tertium comparationis at the newspaper level, articles were selected from the four sources discussing similar issues about Iranian politics, particularly its nuclear programs.

3.2 Data analysis

Following the principles of critical discourse analysis, this study aimed to investigate the differences between English and Persian editorials in the way they report the news and thus the different approaches they adopt in the formation of public ideologies. To this end, primarily based on a rough reading of the texts and more importantly following the categorization of expositions and media commentaries set forth by Martin and Peters, Hoey, and White (as cited in Wang, 2007, p. 89), the newspaper commentaries were classified into micro-genres based on the social functions they served. Table1 presents the micro-genres and their social functions.

Table 1. Micro-genres in Newspaper Commentaries and their Social Functions

Micro-genre		Functions
Media	Explanatory	To explain what/how/why
Exposition	Exposition	
	Argumentative	To persuade that something is the case
	Exposition	
	Hortatory	To persuade that something should be the case or should be done
	Exposition	
	Problem/Solution	To illustrate a problem and propose solutions to it
Media challenge	To question, argue against or challenge an existing opinion on an existing issue of public interest	
Media discussion	To survey or present (at least) two opinions on an issue of public interest	

Having identified the micro-genre of each text the frequency was estimated in each newspaper, and using a Chi-square test, the preferred model of persuasion in each language was determined. The analysis further involved Lihuna's (2009) attitude evaluation in an attempt to identify and compare the

normalizing techniques used in the editorials of each language to most effectively influence their intended audience. The examination of attitudes involved the appraisal approach suggested by Martin (2000). The naming and lexical choices were taken as a clue to the writer's attitude (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007).

3.2.1 Attitude analysis

According to Lihuna (2009), attitude in the editorials is mainly focused on judgment and appreciation, corresponding to the fact that editorials aim to comment on behaviors and events. Among the types of judgment, social esteem of capability and social sanction of propriety occur most frequently. The former is used to praise people's achievements and the latter is normally employed to severely criticize people. Lihuna (2009) contended that editorial writers mainly prefer to use explicit appreciation of things and events and implicit judgment of behavior. However, to what extent this tendency is a matter of cultural inclination was the issue left untouched in the preceding studies, which the present research sought to investigate. To this end, judgments were analyzed in the selected texts in terms of capability, propriety and valuation.

3.2.2 Judgment: Capability

Judgment of capability can be positive or negative, and this kind of judgment can be either invoked or inscribed. An inscribed attitude is explicitly expressed in the text, whereas an invoked appraisal or an evaluative response can only be projected with reference to events or states (Martin, 2000b).

3.2.3 Judgment: Propriety

As in Lihua (2009), this research also finds judgment of propriety as manifested in the selected editorials. This category is used to describe one of the characteristics of persons. It belongs to the category of social sanction and seeks to answer the question 'is he or she beyond reproach?'

3.2.4 Appreciation: Valuation

Valuation, unlike capability and propriety, relates to things and events rather than people. In other words, social value or valuation is a kind of category of appreciation concerned with situations, objects, processes or events.

Concerning the representation of attitudes, Lihuna (2009) suggested, editorials either represent them directly as authorial attitude or attribute them

to other sources. This involves in textual representations, as Fairclough (1989) contends, the use of Direct Discourse (DD), Indirect Discourse (ID) or Free Indirect Discourse (FID), where the secondary discourse appears without being explicitly marked as such and seems to be primary speech. Nevertheless, in most cases, Lihuna (2009) indicated, attitude is unmediated and so, with the author as the only source, the authority of the editorial is enhanced. Therefore, in investigating the effect of culture on the journalistic strategies used in each language, the preferred mode of discourse, DD, ID or FID, was also taken into account in this study as another criterion for the analysis of the texts.

Further indicative of editorial attitudes were the lexical items and naming choices in the texts, which were analyzed to determine the ideological affiliation of the selected newspapers and more specifically the directness or indirectness of their preferred approach in expressing their attitudes and judgments. As Flower and Kress (as cited in Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007, p. 149) suggest, "the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation".

3.3 Analysis of lexical and naming choices

Different alternatives for naming include extreme formality observed, for instance, in the use of complete, unabbreviated title of an official, as in "President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad", neutral naming choice, as in Mr. Ahmadinejad, or naming choices that reflect the user's bias (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007).

Having analyzed the attitudes in the data, a frequency was counted of the number of the preferred strategies used to form ideologies in either of the two languages. A Chi-square test then determined whether there existed any statistically significant differences between the two languages in this respect.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Analysis of micro-genres

4.1.1 American news articles

The American set of data comprised 26 articles culled from the New York Times and Washington Post newapapers. The micro genres found in the American data appears in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Micro Genres in the American Newspapers

Micro-genre / Newspaper	Media Exposition				Media Challenge	Media Discussion
	Explanatory Exposition	Argumentative Exposition	Hortatory Exposition	Problem/ Solution		
NYT	0	9	6	0	0	0
WP	0	8	3	0	0	0
Total	0	17	0	0	0	0

As the results indicate, among the American articles analyzed in this study, most of the texts fall either into the media of argumentative (17 out of 26) or exposition genres (8 out of 26). The argumentative micro-genre aimed to establish a claim about Iran's nuclear programs. Typical rhetorical structure of such texts can be defined as Thesis ^ Orientation ^ Arguments ^ Conclusion (Wang, 2007). This generic structure was most prevalently observed among the top news in the newspapers reviewed. As an example, one of the most recent of such articles, appearing in New York Times (February 15, 2012), will be analyzed below. A very similar article had appeared in Washington Post under the title "Iran threatens to cut some oil exports to Europe, touts nuclear advances", hence its selection to be analyzed for the aim of this study.

The article so started: "*A string of aggressive gestures by Iran this week-assassination attempts on Israelis living abroad, that were attributed to Tehran, renewed posturing over its nuclear program and fresh threats of economic retaliation-suggest that Iranian leaders are responding frantically and with increasing unpredictability, to the tightening of sanctions by the West*". Presupposing that Iran has been the cause of such assassinations, the article went about supporting the thesis (claim) that such frantic reactions had been due to the tightening of sanctions by the West. The first argument, provided to support the thesis was a quotation from Muhammad Sahimi, an analyst and a professor at the University of Southern California, asserting that "*Iran is saying, 'If you hit us, we will hit back, and we are not going to sacrifice our nuclear program'.*" Further confirmation was provided by referring to Catherine Ashton and Victoria Nuland. The conclusion to the article was a citation from Benjamin Natanyahu indicating that all countries should "*draw red lines against Iranian aggression*".

Prevalent among the OPED articles, however, was the micro genre of hortatory exposition, intending to coax the readers to accept the decisions they claim should be made about Iran's nuclear program. In this micro genre the writers followed the rhetorical structure of Thesis ^ Thesis Reiteration ^

Arguments ^ Conclusion. For further clarification of the point, an article will be analyzed below from the New York Times (February 2012).

The article, entitled "Achilles' Heel", started with the thesis that "*Iran's foothold in Syria enables the mullahs in Tehran to pursue their reckless and violent regional policies–and its presence– there must be ended*". This was the point to which the writer intended to take the readers; to admit Iran's threatening position in Syria and to conquer that exiling them from the country is the best solution to their awakening. To this end, several arguments were made to convince the audience. "*Ensuring that Iran is evicted from its regional hub in Damascus would cut off Iran's access to its proxies (Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza) and visibly dent its domestic and international prestige, possibly forcing a hemorrhaging regime in Tehran to suspend its nuclear policies. This would be a safer and more rewarding option than the military one*". Having convinced the reader to see this scenario as a daydream, through such arguments, the article concluded that Syria has created a third option and that they do not have the luxury of ignoring it.

As the analysis suggests, persuasion was a common denominator of all the American articles analyzed about Iran's nuclear program, thus making Argumentative and Hortatory micro genres the main genres to which the texts could be assigned. None of the articles reviewed was categorized as explanatory exposition, problem and solution, media challenge or discussion. Moreover, Direct and Indirect Discourse were the major types of discourse appearing in the articles, and where ID was used, a full address was given to the source.

4.1.2 Persian news articles

For the purpose of this study, 26 Persian articles were analyzed to identify the micro-genres that occurred in the texts. Table 3 summarizes the results of this analysis.

Table3. Micro-genres in Persian Newspaper Articles

Micro-genre / Newspaper	Media Exposition				Media Challenge	Media Discussion
	Explanatory Exposition	Argumentative Exposition	Hortatory Exposition	Problem/ Solution		
Kayhan	2	0	4	0	10	0
Ettelaat	9	0	0	0	1	0
Total	11	0	4	0	11	0

As can be seen in the above table, the analysis showed that the predominant micro genres used in these Persian commentaries are 'explanatory exposition' (11 out of 26), 'hortatory exposition' (4 texts) and 'media challenge' (11 texts). Within the explanatory genre, the authors' personal voices did not appear widely within the texts, as a result of the frequent use of IF discourse, giving a sense of non-involvement to the topics under discussion. A topic was introduced at the introductory section of the articles, specifying at the same time the orientation of the editorials. Two different approaches were observed regarding the organization of the information within the body paragraphs of the texts. In some texts, an account was provided of the reactions of different authorities or opposing groups and countries, while in some others a narration or recount of past events formed the body of the texts. Concerning the concluding section, Persian explanatory expositions ended, establishing further the government's standpoint, which was determined in the introduction. Such texts seemed to follow the aim of informing the public of the new political issues, while reminding them of the past or exposing them to various reactions to them.

'Media challenge' was the other dominant micro-genre found in Persian editorials. The aim in such texts was most typically to challenge a particular reaction or claim made by the Westerners against Iran. Having introduced the issue, the writers determined their orientation, or more specifically that of the government, given the absence of any personal pronouns in the texts. The thesis was then challenged through several rebuttals proposed, which was then followed by a confirmed antithesis, serving as the conclusion to the text. Thus, the rhetorical structure of Persian media challenge texts followed the basic pattern of Thesis ^ Orientation ^ Thesis challenged ^ Rebuttals ^ Antithesis.

Noteworthy in the analysis of the Persian data was the distinction observed in the preferred genre in the two newspapers. While most of the explanatory exposition genres were found in Ettelaat (9 texts), Kayhan adopted a more critical approach, writing most predominantly in the genres of media challenge (8 texts) or hortatory exposition (2 texts).

4.1.3 Contrastive analysis of micro genres in American and Persian editorials

On analyzing the genre of newspaper commentaries on Iran's politics, specifically its nuclear programs, in the two social settings, it was found that American articles appeared most predominantly in the Argumentative and hortatory exposition, while Persian editorials occurred in the genres of media discussion and explanatory as well as hortatory exposition. American articles, in fact, appeared to aim in most cases to raise the audience against Iran's politics and nuclear programs, while their Persian counterparts, in the case of explanatory expositions, adopted a noninvolvement voice. This could be

attributed in part to the cultural differences of the two countries, with Iranians being regarded as more collectivist and indirect, in contrast to the individualist Americans who are deemed to be direct and explicit in their assertions. However, given the explicit valuation words used in Kayhan about the two countries, such a possibility becomes quite far-fetched. A Chai-square test was run to determine whether the observed differences were statistically significant, the results of which showed no considerable difference (p < .05). However, to better examine the effect of culture on the journalistic strategies of the two countries, used to foster their political ideologies, the data were analyzed to inspect any probable differences in the way attitudes were expressed in the editorials of the newspapers representing two cultures.

4.2 Attitude analysis in American and Persian news articles

Attitude was analyzed in the data in terms of the explicit or implicit judgments the two countries made about their own and each other's political deeds and purposes. Owing to the pressure of space, some of the most occurring examples will be discussed below.

4.2.1. Valuation judgments in American editorials

Parallel to the persuading micro-genre, American newspapers used to discuss against Iran and its nuclear programs, biased naming and lexical items were also adopted, explicitly attributing negative values to the Iranian government and its political intentions. Iran's government, oftentimes referred to as "mullahs" (New York Times, 2012; Washington Post, 2012), was argued as not to be trustworthy with nuclear technology:

> "*Iran is saying 'If you hit us, **we will hit back** and we are not going to sacrifice our nuclear program*'." Iranian governmental activities have been manifested as aggressive and freaky, intended to enhance its control over the world: "*All nations should draw **red lines** against **Iranian aggression**". "Iranian-controlled Hezbollah forces from Lebanon have joined in **butchering** Syrians who have risen up against Mr. Assad*" (New York Times, February 7 2012). "*As investigators unearthed new evidence **implicating Iran in the attacks** this week in Thailand, India and Georgia,...*" (New York Times, February 15 2012) "*...**belligerent moves by Iran**...*" (ibid). "*Iran is intent on **assuring its hold on the country regardless of what happens to Mr. Assad**...*"

Such negative attitudes about the country were further reflected in the warnings given in the two newspapers against Iran, its political intentions and nuclear programs. Sample examples are as follows. "*Ensuring that Iran is evicted from its regional hub would cut off Iran's access to its proxies (Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza) and visibly dent its domestic and international prestige, possibly forcing a hemorrhaging regime in Tehran to suspend its nuclear policies*". "... **rid the world of the Iranian menace** to **international security and well-being**".

Iran's nuclear programs, so represented in the editorials of the two newspapers as untrustworthy and a serious threat to the world, advance the formation of Orientalism as an ideology against the Orient (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007). Hartley regards Orientalism as a discursive conception of the Orient that involves a binary opposition, finding "the West as central in modern enlightened thought and the Orient as the mysterious Other" (2002, p. 170). Such a representation of Iran as a threat to the international security entails, according to Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) a major theme of Orientalism. The ideology is further promoted through the confrontation of Israel with Lebanon, as highlighted in some of the examples above. Furthermore, the theme of West versus Iran is another Orientalist theme observed within the analyzed texts, for instance: "… *Israel and the West must prevent [Iran] at all costs*" (New York Times…), "… *the United States, Israel and many Western nations*" are suspicious that "*Iran is developing nuclear weapons*" (Washington Post February 2012).

4.2.2 Capability judgments in the American editorials

The diction of the two American newspaper editorials was further found to promote negative assumptions about the capability of Iran. The following examples, culled from some of the most recent issues of the New York Times and Washington Post, can more explicitly clarify the point. "*The Obama administration **dismissed the latest threats from Iran**…*" (Washington Post, February, 2012). "*What we see is **provocative acts**, **defiant acts**, statements that are designed to **distract attention** from the **demonstrated impact that the sanctions are having**…*". "*the State Department **played down the nuclear accomplishments**, describing them as '**hyped**' and '**not terribly impressive**'*". "***Iran** appeared to have made **only a modest step** in its efforts to create…*". "*… Iran tends to **speak loudly** but **carries a small stick**…*". "*Their alleged terror attacks projected **incompetence** more than fear, **their announced nuclear progress** is likely **exaggerated** and their threat to preemptively cease oil exports to Europe turned out to be another **bluff**"* (New York Times). "*The Iranians have for many months been putting out calendars of accomplishments, and based on **their own calendars they are many, many months behind**". "Ahmadinejad"s remarks appeared **calibrated** mostly for a*

domestic audience". This backwardness attributed to Iran makes another theme of Orientalism, so defined by Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007).

However, at times, positive capability comments were observed about Iran in the two newspapers, which were, of course, quotations from authorities of the Iranian government, repressed by the negative remarks that followed.

4.2.3 Attitude analysis in Iranian editorials

Persian newspapers were analyzed to identify their preferred strategy in this war of words. The aim was to determine whether cultural differences between the two nations affected the journalistic strategies they adopted to construct ideologies. What follows is the results of the analysis.

Iranian newspapers appeared to ward off the Orientalist ideologies attributed to them in the American editorials through the humiliating evaluations they made about the Americans, Westerners and the opposition groups, and further by elevating their own accomplishments and a unified representation of the conservative parties. In fact, in addition to downgrading their rivals, the strategy adopted by the Americans, Iranian newspapers sought to avert the Orientalist and negative attitudes raised against them through the positive evaluations they made about the national incidents and government authorities and by fostering an ideal view of the nation state. Such strategies are significant for the national audience to promote their self-esteem and patriotism (Lihua, 2009).

However, these strategies were overtly noticeable within the micro-genres of 'hortatory 'Exposition' and 'media discussion'. In the case of media exposition, which aims mainly to inform the readers of the new incidents and expose them to various perspectives in that regard, the concept of "indexing" (Bennet, 1990) alone advanced the formation of such ideologies. Rather than casting value judgments on the polices and events in the voice of the writers themselves, the newspapers, constraining their range of coverage merely to the news of interest to the national polices, tended to establish ideologies supporting the government. The Appendix section will provide sample examples of value representations in Persian newspapers.

4.2.4 Contrastive analysis of attitude representations in Persian and English newspapers

Having analyzed the ideological representations in the editorials of the two languages, frequencies were counted of the number of times each type of evaluation was observed in the selected texts. A Chi-square test was then run to determine whether there existed any significant differences between the two cultures as concerning their preferred type of stylistic strategies to form

public ideologies. The results revealed no significant differences (p < .05). This finding could be accounted for in terms of the fact that the two nations, downgrading each other tended to promote their own interests and ideologies. Regarding the preferred micro-genres in each language, due to the limited number of explanation expository texts in the Persian data, and further the closeness of the 'media discussion' and 'argumentative expository' genres, no considerable differences can be said to exist between the two languages in this respect. Such results come in contrast to the findings of Wang (2007) who found Chinese and Australian texts significantly different in terms of micro genres used owing to their cultural differences. However, the insignificant findings of this study could be justified as considering the political clashes and war of words between the two countries, which result in the use of more or less similar rhetorical and stylistic strategies to promote their own political interests.

5 Summary and Conclusion

This study involved primarily a contrastive analysis of English and Persian editorials in an attempt to determine whether culture affected the generic and stylistic strategies used in the editorials of the two languages to formulate ideologies. Three main research questions were posed regarding the specific rhetorical and stylistic strategies used in either of the two languages and whether there existed any significant differences between the two, which could be attributed to their distinct cultural values. 'Hortatory' and 'argumentative exposition' were found as the dominant micro-genres used in the American news articles. The two genres indeed follow the objective of persuading the audience to accept a particular proposition or conquer that things should be the way it is argued in the texts. Persian articles however, appeared in a wider variety of micro genres. Texts occurred mainly in the genres of 'media discussion', 'hortatory' and 'explanatory exposition'.

To determine whether such generic differences were statistically significant, a Chi-square test was run, which with a p <.05 did not show any considerable differences.

Data were further analyzed for the specific stylistic strategies used in the editorials of the two languages to form public ideologies. The aim was to detect any probable effects of culture. Negative judgments were detected in the American articles, which were found to promote the ideology of Orientalism against Iran and its nuclear programs. In response, Persian newspapers were revealed to not only overtly downgrade the American and Western policies against Iran, but also to explicitly elevate their own findings in an attempt to revert the negative ideology of Orientalism advanced against them. The Chi-squared test here did not reveal any considerable differences between the two languages either. This similarity was attributed to the

political differences and the war of words between the two nations, discharging any probable effects of culture on their preferred journalistic strategy.

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A Contrastive Analysis of the American and Persian Newspaper Editorials

Appendix

A. Judgment of Capability in Kayhan, Ettelaat, New York Times and Washington Post

Judgment: Capability Newspaper	Negative	Positive
Keyhan	Agha moosheh, Barayash tareh ham khord nemikonand (3), Agha moosheh ke az zendegi sir shode bood, be darookhaneh raft va goft: Agha marge man darid? T=25 Arezoohayash ra bar bad rafte mibinad.	Jebhe ye mottahed e Osoolgarayan, Esteghbal e ghatebe ye Ommate Hezbollah
Ettelaat	Goroohak haye monhaleh ye kharej neshin, Soghoot kardegan (Anasore tondro) T= 12	Ghodrat namayee navabeghe Irani, Tavanaee e Iran dar shekare havapeymaee e jasoosi tahdidi ast ke khatare an kamtar as dastyabee e in keshvar be selahe hasteie nist.5
Washington Post	Stopped working, speeds are excruciatingly slow, become unusable, Tehran's nuclear and other industrial facilities suffer periodic cyber attack, but	Tehran has the facilities to protect itself from the threat. Iran considers itself to have been waging a complicated cyber war since 2010.
New York Times	President M. A. & Iran's supreme leader lashed out at the west, condemning the recent assassinations of Iranian scientists,	Iran has discovered two espionage viruses. The malware did no harm to Iran's nuclear or industrial sites (ID), Iran's nuclear facilities posses the technology and skills to deal with malicious software.

B. Judgment of Propriety in the Selected Editorials

Propriety Newspaper	Negative
Keyhan	Bedehkartarin keshvare jahan (America), estisale (America), Rejime ghasebe Sahyonisti

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C. Valuations in the Selected News Articles

Valuation Newspaper	Negative	Positive
Kayhan	Rejim e fasede Arabestan, Roozi sharmavar dar tarikh e America, Rasanehaye velengar:	Razmayesh e moghtaderane ye Iran
Ettelaat	Notgh e marge moosh (Rajab Marzooie): Ghanoon Asasi be onvane misagh e melli ejra nemishavad, Bi eghbali e motlagh, Scenario e khasmaneh doshman, Siasat e sakhtgirane ye hasteie ye America	Ejra ye bi tanazol e Ghanoon e Asasi (3), Rooh e arman khahi
Washington Post	Fiery speeches (Ahmadinejad), unveiled controversial advances in nuclear fuel programs,	Stars cause minor damage (quoted of Iran), a key component in the production of nuclear fuel, There has been no destructive feedback in the country
New York Times	Social media helped power-uprisings across the Middle East, The crackdown on Internet freedom comes amid tension in Iran over a series of mysterious assassinations and explosions that have been blamed on U.S. or Israeli spies. Reckless and violent regional policies, Iranian-controlled forces from Hezbollah forces from Lebanon have joined in "butchering" the Syrians who have raised against Mr. Asad. Iran is intent on assuring its hold over the country, regardless of what happens to Mr. Asad. 'Sadly', the opportunities presented by Syria's meltdown seem to 'eluding' Israeli leaders.	Islamic republic's increasingly effective firewall,