

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Discursive (De-) Legitimation Construction of Egyptian Revolution in Persian Media

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Abstract—This article seeks to explore discursive strategies applied in Fars News to represent the event of Egyptian revolution as a positive/legitimized action and Hosni Mubarak's regime as the negative/delegitimized other. Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of legitimation is used to show how Fars News applies the legitimation discursive construction, including four main categories of "authorization", "evaluation", "rationalization", and "mythopoesis" to legitimize Egyptian revolution. This article also tries to see how this news agency tries to delegitimize Mubarak's regime by using such discursive strategies. The researchers aim to reveal how Fars News network is using language in order to legitimize or delegitimize a single event. Also, the research will argue how using certain discursive strategies of language can affect people's mind in a way that might be in line with the policies and guidelines of a specific news agency. The study shows that Fars News put more focus on legitimizing Egyptian revolution than delegitimizing Hosni Mubarak's regime, and for the purpose of persuading its audiences to take the revolution as a good event and Mubarak as the evil since it has mostly utilized "authorization" as the most influential legitimating category. And among the subcategories of legitimation, Fars News has made use of "personal authority" more frequently.

Index Terms—CDA, legitimation discursive strategies, Fars News, Egyptian revolution, Mubarak's regime

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent era, the discourse of the media is going to represent the events in dichotomous ways to serve vested interest. In this sense, promoting certain representations using discursive strategies of legitimation has been made it feasible in the discourse of political issues (Chilton, 2004). Different countries through their representative news agencies make their best attempts to deliver pre-packed news so that their people would develop trust in what their favorite government bestow them as realities happening around the world. Bacue and Burgoon (2003) assert "One of the time-honored canons of persuasion is that establishing ethos or credibility facilitates social influence. The more favorably a communicator is regarded, the greater the opportunity to influence others". In doing so, there has to be negative/bad other to justify the actions conducted by the side who claims to be the lawful one. The state-run news agencies, as that of Fars News, are good examples the way the stances of a government affects the way a global news event is represented.

As Van Leeuwen (2008) explains, there are several categories through which an event, as that of Egyptian Revolution and Mubarak's regime, can be illustrated as positive / legitimized or negative / delegitimized. Van Leeuwen (2008) four broad categories in (de-)legitimation are authorization, evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis. Also, these four encompass several subcategories.

Using the discursive categories of (de-)legitimation proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008), this study delves in to some news articles published in Fars News Agency to see how (de-)legitimatory discursive strategies have been applied in (de)legitimizing Egyptian Revolution and Mubarak's regime.

A. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one of the fields of studies in discourse which has been considered since 1970s. As pointed by Van Dijk (2007) "CDA was originally introduced in a seminal book by Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge and Tony Trew, *Language and Control* (1979), and later developed by Norman Fairclough (1989) in the UK, Ruth Wodak (1989) in Austria and Teun A. van Dijk (1993) in the Netherlands (for introduction, see, e.g., Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Van Dijk in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Tannen, Schiffrin, & Hamilton, 2001, p. 352) defines CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context".

These days, scholars as Wodak (2002) believe that CDA is applied to refer more particularly to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication. For analyzing

these units of communication as units of discourse Fairclough(1989) in "Language and Power" determines three levels for CDA, the three stages of CDA are "*description* of text, *interpretation* of the relationship between text and interaction, and *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and social context". Also, Rahimi and Riasati (2011) know discourse as a form of language use and they define discourse analysis as an analytical framework for examining units of communication.

B. Critical Discourse Analysis in Media

According to Habermas's (1973) critical theory, CDA tries to help the analyst understand social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships. The intended ideologies are injected to the minds of the targeted public through written materials we encounter in our daily and professional lives (like newspapers or materials published on the internet). In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis puts focus on how language as a cultural tool mediates relationships of power and privilege in social interactions, institutions, and bodies of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977).

As Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to "show how the apparently neutral, purely informative discourses of newspaper reporting, government publications, social science reports, and so on, may in fact convey ideological attitudes, just as much as discourses which more explicitly editorialize or propagandize" (Anthonissen, 2001), news networks and the medias aim at having their audiences' skepticism about what happens in the world turned into what they desire to be seen, using manipulative discursive strategies like (de-) legitimization of events.

As we have high expectations and considerable evidence that discursive devices in today's world have an undeniable effect on the way realities are being represented, this study tries to explore the way in which a news agency uses the specific discursive strategy of (de-)legitimation to represent good and evil.

C. Legitimation

Legitimation is one of the discursive strategies used for manipulating an event in a way that serves the news writer interests. For delegitimizing one bad other as Jan Chovanec(2010) indicates, negative face of them is presented implicitly or explicitly to put them against the good other and persuade the audience not to follow the evil (p.62). Habermas (1988) points to Max Weber's idea that legitimate authority can lead us 'to the connection between belief in the legitimacy of orders [Ordnungen] and their potential for justification, on the one hand, and to their factual validity on the other' (p.95). Weber and Habermas believe that legitimacy is where the facts (facto validity) and norms (normative validity of values) come together and get merged (Steffek, 2003). Although scholars as Habermas, Weber and Wodak are famous writers on the idea of legitimacy, the concept of legitimacy in modern world has been developed by other authors as well as Van Leeuwen whose model of legitimization has been applied in developing this study to see how Egyptian revolution and Mubarak's regime are (de-)legitimized in news reported by Fars News agency.

D. CDA in Language Teaching

Considering the role played by discourse in pedagogical issues, as noted in Cots(2006), one can see the critical approach which can be used in classroom settings in line with a view of education which aims at extension of students' capacity to examine and make judgments about the world around them and, if necessary, to make suitable changes. For providing reasons for the relationships among, society, power, identity, ideology, politics, and culture, CDA has been applied as a fundamental regulation in education (Rahimi&Riasati, 2011). Nevertheless, this view of language and education respectively are all too often absent from foreign language programs.

In opposition to usual utilitarian views of education whose goal is to equip students as thoroughly as possible with just fluency in language, one could see an alternative list by Van Lier (1996), including a set of 'lifelong learning skills' as goals of education: (a) deal with the unexpected, (b) make informed choices, (c) develop sharp observational skills, (d) construct useful knowledge in one's interaction with the world, and (e) be guided by internal values, convictions, and reasons.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Instruments

The corpus of this analysis is composed of some 20 pieces of news chosen randomly from FARS NEWS network published during the Egyptian Revolution. This news agency was chosen because of the fact that it is a true representative of Iran government's views on world's issues and that we usually find Iran as the proponent of Islamic awareness and on the opposite side of dictatorship.

B. Procedure

Through the selection of some 20 pieces of news chosen randomly from Fars News, comparing different ways in which an event like that of Egyptian Revolution is represented to serve vested interests is possible. The concept of critical discourse analysis and the analytical framework of Van Leeuwen (2008) are employed to clarify the representation of Egyptian Revolution in the above mentioned news agency.

C. Data Analysis

Frequencies of using various categories of (de-)legitimation have been counted to show the degree to which systematic use is made out of these various strategies of (de-)legitimation and also to find which one of these strategies is used most frequently.

As in discourse several discursive strategies are being used to achieve (de-) legitimation, Van Leeuwen (2008) analytical framework describes the following discursive strategies used in (de-)legitimizing:

Authorization: It is subdivided to 'personal authority', 'impersonal authority', 'expert authority', 'role model authority', 'authority of tradition' and 'authority of conformity'.

Personal authority: In this type of authority "legitimate authority is vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution, e.g., parents and teachers in the case of children. Such authorities then need not invoke any justification for what they require others to do other than a mere 'because I say so,' although in practice they may of course choose to provide reasons and arguments" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.106).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

به گزارش خبرگزاری فارس، در پاسخ به فراخوان این جنبش مصري، "محمد البرادعي" مدیر کل سابق آژانس بین‌المللی انرژی اتمی نیز از آن حمایت و تأکید کرد که وی با قدرت از این تظاهرات حمایت می‌کند. (Fars News, 89/11/05)

*Here, 'Mohammed ElBradehi' as an authority is expresses that he will support people in Egyptian revolution.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

ابوالعز الحریري تأکید کرد: حسني مبارك مي گوید که می خواهد از قدرت کناره گیری کند اما از بروز هرج و مرج در کشور بیم دارد ما به او می گوییم که اساس هرج و مرج ناشی از ادامه رژیم کنونی است. (Fars News, 89/11/17)

*Here, 'ElHariry' conveyed that Mubarak is the basic reason for the anarchy happening in Egypt.

Expert Authority: In this type of authority "legitimacy is provided by expertise rather than status" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

تحلیلگران معتقدند که به احتمال فراوان مردم مصر و حوادث این کشور نیز دنبال‌مرو حوادث اخیر تونس باشد که علیه استبداد حاکم بر این کشور قیام کردند. (Fars News, 89/11/05)

*Here, 'analysts' as a group of experts show Egyptian revolution as the movement against the current autarchy, so they are delegitimizing Mubarak's regime by calling it autarchy.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/12) همچنین مشاور رسانه‌ای رئیس حزب الوفد نیز در گفت‌وگو با الجزیره تأکید کرد که امروز ثابت شد که مبارك فاقد مشروعیت سیاسی است.

*Here, the media consultant of the chief of ElVafd party as an expert said that Mubarak's illegitimacy was proved.

Role Model Authority: In this type of authority, "people follow the example of role models or opinion leaders." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.107).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

(Fars News, 89/11/05) نیز دنبال‌مرو حوادث اخیر تونس باشد که علیه استبداد حاکم بر این کشور قیام کردند. [حوادث این کشور

*Here, it is said that Egyptian revolution is the consequence of Tunis latest events against autarchy, so Tunis movement is known as a role model for Egyptians.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

*No example was found for this category.

Impersonal Authority: "There is also the impersonal authority of laws, rules, and regulations. The answer to the unspoken "why" question is then "because the laws (the rules, the policies, the guidelines, etc.) say so" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

*No example was found for this category.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/22) تظاهرات کنندگان در میان التحریر اعلام کردند تا زمانی که "حسني مبارك" محاکمه نشود، این میدان را ترک نخواهند کرد.

*Here, the protestors know Mubarak as an offender who must be judged by the court.

The Authority of Tradition: In this type of authority, "the implicit or explicit answer to the "why" question is not 'because it is compulsory,' but 'because this is what we always do'." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

جوانان همانند ملت مصر صبور و منتظر گذر زمانند و اگر حسني مبارك لجوج است باید بداند که ملت مصر دارای پیشینه تاریخی هفت هزار سال پردیاری و اصرار بر خواسته‌هایشان است. (Fars News, 89/11/20)

*Here, it is pointing to seven thousands-year history of Egyptians that they always insist on their demands patiently.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/22) نهضت آزادی‌بخشی که در مصر شاهد و ناظر آن هستیم نفرت همگانی از 30 سال خیانت مبارك است

*This statement says that Mubarak has been a traitor for 30 years, so he has never been a loyalist to his country.

The Authority of Conformity: In this type of conformity, "the answer to the "why" question is not "because that's what we always do," but "because that's what everybody else does" or "because that's what most people do." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.107).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

فعال سياسي مصر در ادامه گفت: ما از همه نيروهاي سياسي كه در زمينه ساقط كردن رژيم مبارك و نظم بخشيدن به وضعيت سياسي کشور تلاش (Fars News, 89/11/20) كند استقبال مي كنيم زیرا همه ما مصري هستيم و بايد درباره اين خواسته ها با يکديگر همكاري کرده و متحد شويم.

*This statement is emphasizing on unity among all Egyptians in stopping Mubarak's regime to get their requests.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/20) وي در تشریح خواسته هاي عمومي افزود: نخست ما مي خواهيم كه حكومت تغيير كند.

*Here, the person for explaining the public demands says, "first of all, we want the government to be changed." So, that is the every body's request.

Moral Evaluation: As Van Leeuwen (2008) states, in moral evaluation we seeks for values rather than some established authority by which some actions are (de-)legitimized. It is subdivided to 'evaluation', 'abstraction' and 'analogy' (p.109).

Evaluation: Here we deal with values and evaluative adjectives. For example we have adjectives such as "normal," "natural," "golden," and so on to legitimize actions (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 110).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

(Fars News, 89/11/18) ما اکنون در برابر انقلاب ملي و اقيمت مصر قرار داريم.

*Here the adjectives "national and real" are used to describe Egyptian revolution positively.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/17) وي افزود: انقلاب مردم مصر همچنان ادامه دارد و ائتلاف مختلف جامعه مصر حقوق سلب شده خود را از حاکمان فاسد خواهند گرفت.

*Here, the adjective "corrupted" is used to describe the rulers of Egypt (Mubarak's regime) negatively.

Abstraction: "Abstraction" is another way in which moral evaluation can be applied. "Abstraction" can be used by "referring to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that "moralize" them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 111).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution and delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/17) سران مصر ثروت و دارايي هاي مردم مصر را به غارت برده اند و ملت مصر حقوق خود را باز پس خواهد گرفت.

*Here by asserting that heads of Mubarak's regime have stolen all Egyptians' properties, the quality of making Mubarak's regime as the bad other and legitimizing Egyptians' revolution in regaining their wasted rights can be distilled.

Analogies: Here the answer to the question "Why must I do this?" or "Why must I do this in this way?" is "because it is like another activity which is associated with positive values", or in the case of negative comparison, "because it is not like another activity which is associated with negative values". (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.111)

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

انقلاب مصر با انقلاب اسلامي ايران تشابهات زيادي دارد و اين در حالي است كه بيگانگان سعي در تحريف اين انقلاب و اقتصادي كردن آن دارند. (Fars News, 89/11/22)

*Here an analogy (a comparison) is made between Egyptian revolution and Iran Islamic Revolution to legitimize it as an Islamic movement not an economic one.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/13) مردم مصر به خائني چون "مبارك" نيازي ندارند.

*Here Mubarak is called the same as a traitor, so he is delegitimized in this way.

Rationalization: "Rationalization that is legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 106)

According to Van Leeuwen (2008), rationalization is subdivided into two main types, *Instrumental* rationalization with three sub-categories for instrumentality: goal-oriented instrumentality, means-oriented instrumentality and effect-oriented instrumentality through which practices are legitimized, *Theoretical* rationality which legitimizes practices by referring to natural order of things in a much more explicit way than the kinds of naturalization found in moral evaluation. Three subcategories associated with theoretical rationalization are: definition, explanation and prediction (p.113).

Goal-oriented instrumentality: In goal-oriented instrumentality "purposes are constructed as 'in people' as conscious or unconscious motives, aims, intentions, goals, etc." (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 114) and "the formula is I do x in order to do (or be, or have) y" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 114).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

(Fars News, 89/11/05) هزاران مصري امروز 25 ژانويه در سالروز تاريخي اين کشور در مبارزه به استعمار انگليس به خيابانهاي قاهره پايتخت مصر ريختند.

*Here asserts that rioters have rushed into streets *in order to* stand against England.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/15) تا سقوط رژيم مبارك، سازش و توافقي صورت نخواهد گرفت.

*Here asserts that Egyptians will continue their protests *in order to* pull Mubarak's regime down.

Means-oriented instrumentality: Here the purpose is constructed as "in the action," and the action as a means to an end. The formula is then either "I achieve doing (or being, or having) y by x-ing" or "x-ing serves to achieve being (or doing, or having) y". (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.114).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

*No example was found for this category.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/12) ميليون ها مصري در سراسر مصر با برگزاري تظاهرات خواستار پايان حكومت حسني مبارك بر اين کشور شدند.

*Here the action (protesting) which is the real purpose, serves as a means to achieve another goal that is getting to the end of Mubarak's regime.

Effect-oriented instrumentality: "Effect orientation, finally, stresses the outcome of actions. Here, purposefulness is looked at from the other end, as something that turned out to exist in hindsight, rather than as something that was, or could have been, planned beforehand. And the purpose is the outcome of an action. The crucial matter in this type of legitimation is that there is no identity between the agent of the action, whose purpose is to be constructed, and the agent of the action that constitutes the purpose itself." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 114)

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

*No example was found for this category.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

حسني مبارك مي گويد كه مي خواهد از قدرت كناره گيري كند اما از بروز هرج و مرج در کشور بيم دارد ما به او مي گوييم كه اساس هرج و مرج حسني مبارك (Fars News, 89/11/17) ناشي از ادامه رژيم كنوني است.

*Here the current existing chaos in Egypt is the outcome of the action (continuance of Mubarak's regime) which is the fundamental reason for the existing disorder among people.

Theoretical rationalization: According to theoretical rationalization, legitimation is "grounded not in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but in whether it is founded on some kind of truth, on "the way things are" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.116).

Typically, there are three forms associated with theoretical rationalization: definition, explanation and prediction.

Definition: in which one activity is defined in terms of another, moralized activity. For a definition to be a definition, both activities must be objectivated and generalized, and the link between them must either be attributive ("is," "constitutes," etc.) or significative ("means," "signals," "symbolizes," etc.) (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 116).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

(Fars News, 89/11/18) سيدحسن نصرالله قيام مردم مصر را قيامي برخاسته از بطن مردم اين کشور دانست

*Here the Egyptian revolution is defined and legitimized as something from amongst of people.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/17) رژيم مبارك، مانعي بسيار بزرگ در راه پيشرفت ملت مصر و تحقق خواسته هاي آن است.

*Here Mubarak's regime is being defined as an obstacle against Egyptians wills and demands and is delegitimized subsequently.

Explanation: In explanation, it is not the practice which is defined or characterized, but one or more of the actors involved in the practice. Here the answer to the "why" question is: "because doing things this way is appropriate to the nature of these actors." Explanations describe general attributes or habitual activities of the categories of actors in question (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.116).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

با اين حال حضور جوانان مصري در اين انقلاب از اهميت ديگري برخوردار است و به همين دليل است كه ما مي گوييم در برابر يك انقلاب واقعي (Fars News, 89/11/18) قرار داريم كه نتيجه خواست و اراده و عزم ملت مصر است.

*Here a feature/attribute of Egyptian revolution is explained a real revolution and is legitimized because it is the result of the demands and wills of Egyptian nation in which the participation of the youth has got significant.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

نخست ما مي خواهيم كه حكومت تغيير كند سپس انتخابات برگزار شود چرا كه پارلمان كنوني ديگر مشروعيت ندارد و به دنبال تقليب گسترده فعاليت خود را شروع كرد (Fars News, 89/11/20)

*Here people are willing to change the government because in their opinion, the current parliament has started its work with cheating people and is not legitimized any more.

Prediction: Although predictions have a ring of authority about them, they are meant to be based not on authority, but on expertise, and they can therefore be denied by contrary experience, at least in principle" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.116).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

وفيق مصطفى افزود: انقلاب مردم مصر همچنان ادامه دارد و انتشار مختلف جامعه مصر حقوق سلب شده خود را از حاکمان فاسد خواهند گرفت.

(Fars News, 89/11/17)

*Here the expert is predicting that Egyptian people will get their wasted rights from the corrupted rulers. In this way, it is legitimizing Egyptian revolution in demanding their rights.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

وي گفت: سران مصر ثروت و دارايي هاي مردم مصر را به غارت برده اند و ملت مصر حقوق خود را بازپس خواهد گرفت و هيچ يك از مسئولان رژيم مبارك نخواهند توانست از اين وضعيت فرار كنند. (Fars News, 89/11/17)

*Here the expert predicts that there will be no way out for heads of Mubarak's regime and people will get their lost rights. It means that heads of Mubarak's regime and therefore Mubarak are delegitimized as the thefts of people rights.

Mythopoesis: Van Leeuwen (2008) asserts that another way to legitimize a practice is through storytelling (p.117). Regarding to Van Leeuwen's (2008) categories of legitimation, mythopoesis is subcategorized as moral tale, cautionary tale, single determination and over determination. Mythopoesis applies narratives in which "outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.92).

Moral tale: "In moral tales, protagonists are rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices or restoring the legitimate order" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.117).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

(Fars News, 89/11/22) مردم مصر به دليل سرنگوني مبارك در شادي و خوشحالي هستند.

*Here joy and happiness as the result of Mubarak's destruction is the reward of Egyptians' revolution.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

*No example was found.

Cautionary tales: "Cautionary tales, on the other hand, convey what will happen if you do not conform to the norms of social practices. Their protagonists engage in deviant activities that lead to unhappy endings" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.118). Here the unhappy ending is the salient matter that happens due to the protagonist's misconduct (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.118).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

*No example was found.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

در حالي كه مردم مصر به دليل سرنگوني مبارك در شادي و خوشحالي هستند، تظاهرات كنندگان در ميان التحرير اعلام كردند تا زماني كه "حسني مبارك" محاكمه نشود، اين ميدان را ترك نخواهند كرد. (Fars News, 89/11/22)

*Here Mubarak is downed at last, and because of his actions during his governance, people are willing him to be judged.

Single determination: Regarding mythopoesis, when we have a narration which represent events (whether to legitimize or delegitimize them) in a fairly straightforward way then we are dealing with single determination (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.118).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

*No example was found.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

(Fars News, 89/11/12) ميليون ها مصري در سراسر مصر با برگزاري تظاهرات خواستار پايان حكومت حسني مبارك بر اين كشور شدند.

*This statement has no personal narrative and only is stating that millions of Egyptians from all around the Egypt are demanding the end of Mubarak's regime by protesting.

Overdetermination: Overdetermination is divided in to "inversion" and "symbolization".

Inversion: In "inversion" we have "actors and/or actions inverted in terms of specific semantic features" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.118).

Examples:

No example was found.

Symbolization: Here, stories/narrations "use symbolic actions, specific actions that can nevertheless represent more than one domain of institutionalized social practice" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, 119).

Examples:

To legitimize Egyptian revolution:

مردم مصر نيازمند رهبري كسي چون "جمال عبدالناصر" هستند كه هيچگاه به سازش با رژيم صهيونيستي تن نداد و نماد يك رهبر مقاومت عربي بود. مردم لبنان و مصري هاي مقيم اين كشور با استفاده از عكسهاي جمال عبدالناصر كه براي همه عربيها نماد ملي گرايي و مبارزه با صهيونيستها بوده،

خواستار حمايت ملتهاي عربي از اندیشه‌هاي ملي‌گرايانه وي هستند تا سکوت دولتهاي عربي در قبال تجاوزهاي پيايي رژيم صهيونيستي و نيز سرکوب خبرگزاراي فارس: الهلباوي در گفت و گو با شبکه بي بي سي فارسي در پاسخ به اين سؤال مجري که وزير امور خارجه مصر اظهارات رهبر انقلاب را رد کرده گفت: وزير خارجه کنوني مشروعيت ندارد ضمن اينکه وي بايد از رهبر ايران بدليل موضع‌گيري که در قبال انقلاب مصر داشته سپاسگزار باشد. (Fars News, 89/11/17)

*Here "Jamal Abdolnaser" is mentioned as a symbol of a nationalist leader, and Egyptians want a leader like Jamal Abdolnaser rather than a traitor like Mubarak.

To delegitimize Mubarak's regime:

خبرگزاراي فارس: الهلباوي در گفت و گو با شبکه بي بي سي فارسي در پاسخ به اين سؤال مجري که وزير امور خارجه مصر اظهارات رهبر انقلاب را رد کرده گفت: وزير خارجه کنوني مشروعيت ندارد ضمن اينکه وي بايد از رهبر ايران بدليل موضع‌گيري که در قبال انقلاب مصر داشته سپاسگزار باشد. (Fars News, 89/11/17)

*Here the use of the word "foreign affair minister of Egypt" who is delegitimized by "Elhalbavy" symbolizes all those individuals who are present in Mubarak's government and Mubarak himself.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This article seeks to achieve two goals. The first goal investigated in this study is how Fars News agency attempts to legitimate the Egyptian revolution. The second one is how Fars News agency attempts to delegitimize Mubarak's regime.

The texts of 20 pieces of news about Egyptian revolution were read and analyzed by applying 20 subcategories of legitimization frame work of Van Leeuwen (2008). Number of each these 20 subcategories of legitimization were counted in order to show the frequency of each category used by Fars News to (de-) legitimize such a single event. The result of this analysis is shown in table 1.

TABLE 1:
FREQUENCY OF EACH VAN LEEUWEN'S LEGITIMIZATION CATEGORY USED BY FARS NEWS IN 20 PIECES OF NEWS ABOUT EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

Rows	(De-) legitimization categories	Legitimation of Egyptian revolution		Delegitimation of Hosni Mubarak's regime	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Personal	23	22%	12	13%
2	Expert	12	11%	6	7%
3	Role model	5	5%	0	0%
4	Impersonal	0	0%	3	3%
5	Tradition	3	3%	4	4%
6	Conformity	7	7%	9	10%
Total		50	48%	34	37%
7	Evaluation	9	9%	9	10%
8	Abstraction	15	14%	10	11%
9	Analogies	6	6%	1	1%
Total		30	29%	20	22%
10	Goal oriented	3	3%	4	4%
11	Means oriented	0	0%	5	5%
12	Effect oriented	0	0%	2	2%
13	Definition	3	3%	3	3%
14	Explanation	5	5%	2	2%
15	Prediction	5	5%	4	4%
Total		16	15%	20	22%
16	Moral tale	6	6%	0	0%
17	Cautionary tale	0	0%	7	8%
18	Single determination	0	0%	8	9%
19	Inversion	0	0%	0	0%
20	Symbolization	3	3%	2	2%
Total		9	9%	17	19%
Overall		105	100%	91	100%

Table 1 shows the frequency by which each category of legitimization is employed in collected news texts. By analyzing the news texts in the framework of discursive strategies of legitimization developed by Van Leeuwen (2008), according to the results shown in table 1, Fars News agency has legitimized Egyptian revolution with the overall frequency of 105 and delegitimized Hosni Mubarak and his regime with the frequency of 91. It means that Fars News has put more attempts in legitimizing Egyptian revolution than delegitimizing Mubarak's regime. It seems that this news agency is going to delegitimize Mubarak regime by presenting Egyptian uprising as a legitimized action.

The most frequent category of legitimization used by Fars News agency in representing Egyptian revolution and Mubarak's regime is authorization (48%). And among the subcategories of legitimization, personal authority (22%) and abstraction (14%) are the most frequent ones. So, in Fars News point of view, personal authority and abstraction are the most influential discursive strategies of legitimization which have more effect on news audiences.

On the other hand, strategies as inversion (0%), effect oriented (2%), and impersonal authority (3%) have the least usage in collected news texts. It means that such discursive strategies have less or no effect on the audiences to serve Fars News vested interests. So there is no reason for this news agency to focus on strategies which have little effect on the news readers.

According to table 1, some of the subcategories are only employed in either legitimizing or delegitimizing. For example, single determination, means oriented, and effect oriented strategies are applied in delegitimizing Mubarak's regime with the frequency of 8, 5, and 2 respectively, but they are not used for legitimizing Egyptian revolution at all. On the other hand, role model and moral tail are used only for legitimacy purpose, and they are not effective in delegitimizing representations of an event.

IV. CONCLUSION

The analyzed pieces of news in this article show how in Fars News the notion of 'Revolution' is attributed to Egyptian people as the good others who are looking for the democracy and their certain rights, and how this news agency shows Hosni Mubarak as the evil other of this event. For this reason, the first purpose was to find discursive strategies applied to delegitimize Mubarak's regime, policies and all his government. And the second one was to find discursive strategies applied to legitimize Egyptian revolution. Since the situation of Egypt in the world of Islam is an unprecedented one, and Iran is known the pioneer and proponent of Islamic awareness in the region, it was very important for a news agency like Fars News to legitimize this revolution as the result of a public movement by people whose majority are Moslems, and put more emphasis on the legitimate movement of Egyptian nation in the form of an uprising against Mubarak's regime.

Fars News to represent Mubarak and those who followed him, constitutes 'evil' to them and shows them as 'bad-others' who have killed and injured innocent people, wasted people rights and played the role of Israel and America puppet. Moreover, for making its arguments against Mubarak and his government coherent, Fars News mostly has used personal authority (13%) and abstraction (11%) in delegitimizing Mubarak and his regime. To utilize the language in order to legitimize people who rushed in to the streets to ask their rights, democracy and Islamic government, again among other discursive strategies, personal authority (22%) and abstraction (14%) have played the significant roles. Hence, Fars News agency looks at these two strategies as the most effective ones in representing its interest to its audiences.

As the social construction of evil/Mubarak's regime is essential for the social construction of good, those who consider themselves as members of the good-group/protestors define themselves in terms of positive representations and as those who certainly have the right to judge good and bad while those who must be excluded and distinguished from the righteous circle are defined in terms of negative/bad characters (Achugar, 2004). In the same track Fars News has repeatedly mentioned Mubarak and his regime as the symbol of dictatorship and the puppet of Israel and America, and referred to Egyptian revolution as a movement looking for human rights and democracy. Fars News Sometimes and even often repeats 'Mubarak and his regime' along with other countries' names like Israel and America so that the reader believes that Fars News is delegitimizing not only Mubarak but also Israel and America. Fars News has also tried to show some similar points between Iran Islamic Revolution and Egyptian Revolution in order to represent it as an Islamic movement and against the U.S. and Israel interests.

Having another look on table 1, you may wonder why some categories are more frequent than others. The reason is the influence that each of them can have on the news readers. All these results and conclusions are showing the power of language. This study reveals how a news network can use language and its discursive strategies systematically in order to achieve its social and political vested interests.

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