

**FRAMING THE SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
IRANIAN NEWSPAPERS**

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **FRAMING THE SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IRANIAN NEWSPAPERS**

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After about half century paying subsidy for different goods and services, the Government of Iran planned to reform the subsidy payment program. The Iranian Government embarked on reforming the subsidy programme because it had very adverse impact on the economy due to poor management and distribution policies. Two Governments of Iran and their administration have been engaged in this reform and still after five years, it is still not regulated properly. This research utilised a comparative content analysis of five Iranian Newspapers that is government's newspaper, pro-government and opposition newspaper on how these papers framed the subsidy reform plan. The theoretical framework used in this study is the framing theory and key frames analysed are the extent of coverage, news sources, news frames and news slant. A chi-square and one-way ANOVA analysis were done to evaluate the significant differences in the framing approach amongst the newspapers on all the four key frames. A total of 978 article were analysed, and statistical analysis showed that there were significant differences in all four aspects of the framing amongst the newspapers. The research outcomes clearly showed that the opposition newspapers were critical while the pro-government and government were supportive of the reform

initiatives. The research showed evidence that the press friendly current administration allowed more critical views which were positive in the context of freedom of the press principle.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In March 2008, President Ahmadinejad went on air and announced the subsidy reform plan; it became one of the most critical economic plans in Iran. Since then, in every annual budget bill debate and every election campaign, the subsidy reform plan became an important public agenda item discussed and debated at all strata of the society.

The subsidy reform plan reached new heights in public discussion in April 2016 when the parliament passed a bill to eliminate at least 24 million people from the 75 million who received 45,000 IRT as direct subsidy per month. This bill states that everyone who earned more than 35 million IRT per year (about 11,000 USD); including traders, business person, physicians, dentists, lecturers of universities, government officers, retired people, military people, etc. will not be eligible to receive direct subsidy with effect from July 2016 (Ghaani, 2016).

This governmental initiative to reduce subsidy burden was in the discussion for some time prior to the passing of the parliamentary bill. According to the subsidy reform program passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009, the government was to reduce or cut its subsidy on goods and energy sources. The subsidy reform plan also stated that the government is to pay 50% of revenue from cutting subsidies for goods and energy as subsidy payment directly or indirectly to people who were not high-income earners or registered for this plan. The other half of this income was expected to be generated from commercial businesses and industries.

The government of Ahmadinejad paid a direct subsidy to everyone who had registered for the plan. All registered citizens will receive 45,000 IRT every month. According to a member of parliament, this amount of money was 150% more than what was to be paid. Hence it was clear that it was not obtained from cutting subsidy of goods and energy (Tavakoli, 2012).

Ahmad Tavakoli, one of the prominent members of Parliament, former Minister of labor and economics, in an interview with Etemad newspaper, said that the amount which the government could provide from cutting subsidies was 24,000 billion IRT, and if Ahmadinejad's administration wanted to pay this to all registered people, the estimated amount would be 18,000 IRT per person (Tavakoli, 2015). He said earlier in one of his speeches that the balance was achieved by selling oil (Tavakoli, 2012). The oil minister of Iran, said 27,000 billion IRT from selling oil was going to the sources of paying subsidies (Zangane, 2013).

The critics said that paying this amount of money every month to everyone was not efficient or targeted and the manner in which it was implemented was against the goals of the plan (Sobhani, 2013).

This plan was very costly for the government. Statistics shows that the Iranian government paid a total amount of 200,000 billion IRT (Sadeghi, 2015), since 2010. In the first year of this plan (2010), the earnings from selling oil were 119 billion USD. From March 2015 to March 2016, the government earned only 55 billion USD from selling oil revenue (Ali-Akbari, 2016). The oil revenue was largely due to oil export sanctions placed by the United Nations. Due to this oil sale fell from 2.5 million barrels per day to 1 million (Zangane, 2013).

The new current President Hasan Rouhani agreed to continue with the reform subsidy policy (All President Rouhani Economic Commitments, 2013). However, he was faced with two major

issues; consequences of the policy and the shortage of resources to provide and pay the required amount of subsidy money. As a solution to overcome these challenges, he decided to pay the direct subsidies so as to control its consequences.

Since Iran has been under UN sanctions because of its nuclear programs and coupled with the low oil price, paying direct subsidy money to registered subsidy recipients proved to be a massive burden on the government.

President Hasan Rouhani's *100 days as President* interview on the national television mentioned that the subsidy plan would cost 35000 billion IRT monthly from the government and the reduction in subsidies on energy and goods provided about half of that amount (Rouhani, 2013).

Besides the deficit caused primarily by the subsidy plan, Rouhani's administration was faced with an inflation of over 40% with a 2.2% inflation increment every month. At the same time, Iran's economic experienced a deflation of minus 5.8% (Rouhani, 2013). Deflation is a direct consequence of high expenditure on subsidy payment which is not tied to the production of goods and services.

It was reported in the President's interview that one of the main reasons for the inflation was due to the growth of wealth in Iran. From the year 2005 to 2013 the growth of wealth was observed to be seven times bigger with an increment from 68,000 billion IRT to 470,000 billion IRT. One of the reasons for the growth of wealth was due to debts of Ahmadinejad's government to banks: 74,000 billion IRT, to retirement and social security fund: 60,000 billion IRT, and to contractors: 55,000 billion IRT (Rouhani, 2013). The bulk of the government borrowings from the banks was spent on various projects and coupled with high-level of spending by the people because of the

subsidy resulted in high inflationary condition. This is a direct consequence of spending without growth in the production of goods and services.

Ahmadinejad's government took a commitment to reduce the debt to cover its 400,000 billion IRT projects which started in the provinces and promised to pay 211,000 billion IRT. However, only 30% of the total was paid during his era, and the rest 70% was left for the coming governments. There was also a project of building houses for the poor and this involved expenditure amounting to 43,000 billion IRT which came from the central bank (Rouhani, 2013).

President Rouhani said that he would not reduce the 45,000 IRT but his administration will try and reform the payment method and began the second phase of subsidy reform plan.

The second phase of this plan was another challenge which was faced by Rouhani's administration. In March 2014 he announced that during that year his administration was going to enter the second phase of subsidy reform plan where the prices will be increased softly so as not to interrupt the people's life. However, the government's decision of increasing the prices could lead to a challenge of an increased inflation (Rouhani, 2014). Despite this, President Rouhani tried to support the industry by paying subsidies to industry, which was later called the second phase of subsidy reform plan (Rouhani, 2014).

In order for the government to be able to normalize its price in this phase, it had to increase the price of petrol, gasoline, etc. The Economist reported (2014): "This second round of cutting subsidies on petrol, gas, electricity and staples was due in June 2012. However, the former president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad repeatedly delayed it. However, thanks to the party which was involved in a feud with the parliament."

After increasing the price of petrol and gasoline, President Rouhani in a press conference said that his administration would use the gains from this to support the industries. In an effort to achieve that target, his administration projected 10,000 billion IRT during the second phase.

Last year, the government started to eliminate high-income people from the subsidy registry. According to the government officials, the government managed to eliminate over four million people and later one million were asked to go back to the subsidy plan. The government believed that eliminating 24 million people was not practically possible due to the lack of accurate statistics on people's income (Meidari, 2016). Moreover, the parliament was not satisfied with the numbers achieved by reducing the subsidy recipients, and to make it a firm requirement the parliament passed a bill to eliminate 24 million people.

The experts believed that eliminating 24 million people will help save 13,000 billion IRT for the government (JamSaz, 2016). However, the government of President Rouhani, which is serving its last year of the first period of the presidency and should probably run for the re-election, is against this bill. Many critics of the government believed that the government does not want to implement this plan because it damages the governments' image and reputation in view of the 2017 Presidential election. (Political or economic motives of the Government in opposing eliminating subsidies of rich people, 2016)

In this situation, the bill to eliminate every person who earns about 1000 USD per month has been a conflict between the moderate government of President Hassan Rouhani and the conservative Parliament. This issue has been discussed in the Iranian newspapers widely.

The third phase for Rouhani administration is about eliminating high-income people and pay more to industries.

The subsidy reform plan as explained earlier has become a double-edged sword in that it has caused inflationary and deflationary pressure on the already slow Iranian economy. Cutting down on the subsidy also poses many problems from the political and social perspective however from the viewpoint of good economic management subsidy has to be eliminated to allow the free market mechanism to function and economic growth to take place. Given the critical and complex nature of the subsidy reform plan, this study will content analyze how newspapers in Iran that are independent, government sponsored and government newspapers framed the government initiatives and its impact on the economy and the people. Newspaper as an important medium can influence the direction of government initiatives on the subsidy reform plan substantially. It can also influence the choice between political expediency and economic expediency.

## **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The subsidy reform policy of the government was the most ambitious and drastic economic plan proposed by the government to free the economy from heavy governmental dependence. This policy was a significant attempt to survive the free market mechanism which can ensure sustained economic growth and prosperity to the people of Iran.

The policy was applied in ways such as cutting subsidies from goods and energy and paying money directly to people; however, it resulted in economic, political and social problems.

However, little is known about how the Iranian media have framed this issue. So far, there is only one study on how the Iranian government-owned television programs framed the subsidy reform plan launched by Ahmadinejad's government, and the results of the research did not indicate any critical findings on the subsidy plan.

It is important to understand how the print media, both independent and government-controlled, framed this issue under the more liberal Rouhani's government which allowed greater freedom of expression. The absence of scholarly research (internally or internationally) on the framing of important issues in the Iranian media especially newspapers has resulted in a poor understanding of the role and function of Iranian print media. Besides this, the available media information is largely descriptive in nature. This study will try to fill this gap and provide insight on how the government, pro-government and opposition newspapers frame this issue using established analytical approach.

### **METHODOLOGY: FRAMING ANALYSIS**

To undertake this study on how Iranian newspapers covered this issue on the subsidy reform, the framing approach will be used to study the sources and angles of the news reports. The framing approach is currently the most popular approach used in the study of media reporting.

Griffin (2003) defined framing as the way of grabbing attention to some aspects of reality while overshadow others, which might lead to different reactions. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) on the other hand, explained framing as choosing controlled number of thematically related attributes for inclusion in the media agenda when a particular object is discussed. Besides, Tankard et al. (cited in Weaver, 2007) regarded media framing as the central organizing idea for news content that uses a context and proposes what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.

Entman(1993) also explaining the word framing as an operation used “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating texts in ways such; to promote



a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Framing is based on the assumption of how a characterized news reports issue can have an influence on how the audience understands it. The roots of framing are often traced back from both psychology and sociology (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

This study will use framing theory as its theoretical framework. The framing theory is an offshoot of the agenda setting theory. According to McCombs & Shaw, (1972), Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media places on the certainty and the importance ascribed to these issues by mass audiences. Frank Luntz (1997), wrote a simple sentence which is helpful in understanding the definition of framing; the sentence reads, “It is not what you say, it is how you say it.” Weaver (2007) argues that in the past decade, framing theory “has become much more common in communication research articles compared to agenda setting or priming.” He continued by quoting that “frame can be applied to many different aspects of messages as well as to different types of messages. Also, the framing theory can be studied either by means of systematic content analysis or interpretive textual analysis.”

### **RESEARCH OBJECTIVE**

The objective of this research is compare framing analysis of five Iranian newspaper to find out the extent of their coverage, their news sources, their news frame, , and to determine the slant of these newspapers on the ‘subsidy reform plan.’

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study's objectives are to examine the differentiate of Iranian Newspapers in coverage of the 'subsidy reform plan,' and hope to answer these questions with using a framing analysis:

1. What was the extent of the coverage of the 'subsidy reform plan'?
2. What were the news sources used by newspapers?
3. What was the frame used by the newspapers?
4. What was the slant of news articles?

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

The significance of this study is to fill the gap of the absence of Iranian media content analysis in the English language together with the absence of framing analysis on Subsidy reform plan among Iranian academicians. Through this study, an explanation of the framing analysis and answers to the research questions will be provided.

This study would help to understand how Iranian national daily newspaper, address a national issue such as subsidy reform plan. Another significance of this study is to look how media framing an issue in a more liberal sphere is undertaken.

## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

**Subsidy** in the free dictionary is defined as the general help and donations (financial) made to the people at specific times which consist of a special class of government support (in some cases the entire community) at a particular time, period or emergency to welfare by reducing costs. Subsidies, aids, donations, grants, or financial assistance is equivalent to a data service, although

not from the viewpoint of economic benefits, but of general well-being. Gifts and grants are given by the government to finance its subordinate units and contribute to a public service that is mentioned under the same name

**Opposition Newspapers:** those media which belonging to rivals of the government and opposition's blocks of power called opposition newspapers.

**Government Newspapers:** the media which owned by the government and published under the ruling of the government itself.

**Pro-Government Newspapers:** in this study, this terms called to papers which supporting the government, but the government does not own them.

**Inflation:** Rising prices, across the board defined as Inflation. Inflation usually refers to consumer price, but it can also be applied to other prices such as wholesale goods, wages, assets, etc.

**Deflation:** It simply defined as falling prices. Before 1930 deflation was as likely as Inflation but after 1930, it has been a norm, that avrage price rised in most of developed countries .



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **SUBSIDY**

##### **SUBSIDY DEFINITION**

In the world economic history, Adam Smith, the founder of the classical school is known to be a serious opponent of government intervention in economic activity. Before the World Wars, this vision was a dominated idea of the economies in the West. However, when the war started, the emergence of inflation coupled with the severe economic downturn Keynes, another prominent economist, advocated intervention to moderate the economy. This approach resulted in western economies gaining gradual control of the economy and management of fiscal and monetary policy in the public sector through tax(fiscal) and subsidy reforms (What is subsidy?, N.A).

The 2006 report of World Trade Organization has a broader meaning of subsidies: Although the phrase of “subsidy” is used often in economic texts, it is rarely defined. Frequently this term is applied as an antonym to tax, i.e. a government paid money to private sector businesses to reduce production cost.

As WTO believes, a significant number of government programs may be considered subsidies. To classify them, WTO separate these programs into at least three categories: Firstly, the government may transfer funds to producers or consumers, resulting in direct or potential budgetary expenditure or use its power to instruct private entities to make a transfer. Secondly, the government may provide goods or services to sectors like university education, public transport or food stamps at no cost or below market price. Thirdly, regulatory policies may be seen as subsidies,

if they create transfers from one group to another. In this context, regulatory instrument can circumvent forms of direct subsidization, leading to the same effects but at higher welfare costs ("Defining Subsidies," N.A).

In Iran, various definitions of "subsidy" exist. For instance, the Department of Commerce states: "Public subsidy is paid directly or indirectly, economic benefits or granting certain benefits to private institutions, households, and other government departments to achieve the desired objectives of the government accepts" (Cited in Masoudi, 2013). Additionally, Management and Planning Organization states that "any transfer payment subsidies to support low-income groups and improve the distribution of income from the state treasury took place and credited to the Treasury, cash or in the form of goods and services commodity producers households." (Cited in Masoudi, 2013)

## **SUBSIDY IN IRAN**

### **BACKGROUND**

Mrs. Lambton in her book "feudal and farmer" says the history of subsidizing went back to about half a century ago (Cited in Masoudi, 2013). However, even before that, there has been some sort of subsidy like in the ruling of Safavid dynasty about 400 years ago hence there was relief of tax. In Qajar dynasty ruling, there were contributions of seeds by the government. Moreover, in the Pahlavi dynasty in the 1940s, the government buys wheat from farmers at a higher price.

In order to achieve their objective in the first years after the Islamic revolution of Iran which was demanding justice in all areas continues to subsidy although some changes have emerged in

the administration and the distribution of subsidies. Also in the early years after the revolution, some goods such as bread, sugar, and fuel were subjects of subsidy. As Fawzi (2005) stated the government to rebuild the destruction caused by Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) and achieve economic development provided the "First Development Plan." The policy of subsidizing essential products had been imposed to support the low-income class. Broadview of efficient officials during the "Second Development Plan" was inclined from distributing subsidized essential products in order to equilibrium, regulation corporate and industry market as well as the free market. Hence, from early 1990, the reduction and elimination of subsidies had been tangible in the state budget (cited in Masoudi, 2013)

Sadjadi (1994) said in the "Third Development Plan" of targeting low-income groups and decrease, the share of subsidies among high-income groups was imposed, and Nili (1998) stated in the "Fourth Development Plan" the government's task was to improve the subsidy system in order to establish justice and social stability, reduce social and economic inequalities, reduce income distributions, alleviate poverty and exclusion, and empowerment of the poor, through efficiently targeting allocation of resources and subsidizing social security, and implementing poverty alleviation and social justice. From 1988 to 2000, subsidies increased with an average of 1/52 percent. (cited in Masoudi, 2013)

However, according to the "Third Development Plan," the government was supposed to reform subsidies payment. This plan did not alleviate poverty, deprivation and social inequality hence the gap has still been pending. In the frame of thoughts in this area, we are not simply faced with one type of program and policy to support and subsidies low-income groups. Targeting subsidies through paying cash directly are just one of the ways of supporting policies. As it was announced by President Ahmadinejad's, administration targeting subsidies plans includes the

following objectives: economic efficiency, reduce public spending and eliminate balance and control inflation, Optimize consumption, reduce smuggling, corruption, and rent-seeking, narrow the gap in consumption between different income groups and between the urban and rural society (cited in Masoudi, 2013).

### **THE SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN**

In March 2008, Ahmadinejad announced the ‘Subsidy Reform Plan’ in his New Year message. According to an official source, this plan was aimed to reform subsidy policy. It targeted to stop paying government’s subsidy equally to all people in the society. Head of Business Research and Studies Department of the Ministry of Industry, Mine and Trade in July 2008 said that the plan was to try and help low-income groups in the society and to stop paying to high-income groups. Other targets of this plan were to reduce wasted energy, environmental pollution, imports; stop illicit trafficking, modify prices and consumption patterns. In December 2008, this plan was sent to the Parliament, and it was passed as a law in January 2010. In December 2010, they implemented the second phase of cutting the energy subsidies and some consumer goods like sugar, rice, milk, etc. Subsidy policy is an assistance of the government to business or economic sector to improve or prevent a decline. It also pays to control the price of products. Iranian parliament in 2010 passes a subsidy reform plan to replace subsidies on food and energy (80% in total) with targeted social assistance.

According to the government’s official in 2010, Iran spends between 90 billion USD to 100 billion USD per year in subsidies. Of that, 35 billion USD to 45 billion USD is used as fuel subsidies, which include gasoline, heating oil, kerosene, liquefied petroleum gas or LPG, and fuel oil (Taghavi, 2011).



The justification of this plan was the subsidy does not work well, and it could not cover the needs of the poor people. One of the most important problems in the previous system of government policy was the direct relationship with the consumers' beneficiaries of the use of subsidies. It means that groups with higher consumption are more important than subsidies. For example, the consumption of gasoline, diesel, electricity and natural gas is in the upper deciles whereas in the lower deciles it is a lot more than just the consumption. Deciles of income in spite of higher financial strength than lower income groups enjoy a higher level of energy subsidies. As observed, this was violating the objective of social justice in the allocation of subsidies (Masoudi, 2013).

According to the targeting subsidy Organization of Iran; some of the reasons as to why a subsidized government has caused a shortage or loss of performance include the following: 1) a significant increase in the distance between subsidized prices, actual prices and the resulting pressure on public resources to subsidize the state budget, 2) population growth and increased demand for public services and infrastructure with limited resources; 3) not being targeted subsidies and high-income groups benefit more from subsidies, particularly subsidies of energy carriers such as petrol, gas, electricity, etc. 4) disruption of the pattern of household consumption and the harmful effects from high consumption of energy and environmental; 5) technologies emerge wasting scarce resources (energy, water, etc.) and non-competitive products in international markets; 6) the development of administrative system, the state administration and the arrival of incumbency government activities; 7) Providing economic corruption, especially trafficking areas which are subsidized ("Short History of Subsidy in Iran," 2013).

The targeted Subsidies Act, Parliament ratified Article 16, and Article 1, 2 and 3 require the government to reform energy prices. Article 1 stated that domestic sale prices of gasoline, gas oil,

fuel oil, kerosene, LPG and other oil derivatives (including costs of transportation, distribution, taxes and legal) should be reformed gradually till the end of the fifth development plan. The prices after this five-year plan should not be less than 90 percent of the delivery price on board (FOB) in the Persian Gulf.

According to Articles 3,4 and 5, the government has to gradually target subsidy of electricity, water, food items (such as rice, oil, flour, bread, etc.) postal services, railway, and aviation till the end of the fifth development plan.

This law of spending stated: According to Article 7, the government is allowed up to 50 percent of the revenue of cutting subsidies to subsidies in the form of cash and non-cash payments with respect to all households in the country in terms of household income paid to heads of households as well as the second implementation of the comprehensive social security system for a community purpose.

According to article number eight, the government is required to pay 30 percent from cutting subsidies revenue to help industries.

Nasrolahi and Nikpour (2012), stated eight major goals for this plan: 1. Right targeting of subsidy: the main target of subsidy reform plan is to help the low-income class to perform justice. 2. Frugality and avoiding wasting of sources: people being conscious of their ways of using sources (such as water and energy) and avoiding wastage. 3. Increasing nation capitals and economic boom: the subsidy reform plan helps to boost the economy by avoiding wasting of sources. 4. Increasing of quality: by doing subsidy reform plan, people are going to choose more qualified and saving stuff. 5. Supporting of productivity: when subsidy reform plan is implemented, the government could help the production from its saving. 6. Modification of management and

increasing efficiency: when subsidy reform plan takes place, managers of small and private product lines choose to have efficient use of energy which increases quality. 7. Reduce expenses: when subsidy reform plan takes place, producers and manufacturers choose to use the modern technology which helps to reduce their spending. 8. Improving quality and increasing of purchasing power: when the subsidy is being targeted, it helps a different class of people to have more power to purchase (Nasrollahi & Nikpour, 2012).

### **THE SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN UNDER PRESIDENT AHMADINEJAD LEADERSHIP**

Zaman-Zadeh (2011) believed that the subsidy reform plan could significantly boost the economy by modifying the pattern of energy consumption, improving income distribution and increasing the welfare of low-income groups.

On the other hand, Salehi Isfahani (2012) criticized the miscalculation of the Ahmadinejad administration on revenue of energy sales and generous payment as direct subsidies which resulted in the deficit of the budget. He believed that this outcome would open the doors to more critics and weakening of the plan.

He said that this outcome would create inflation and deficit and added: If the deficit became the main concern the inflation could exceed 20%. To worsen conditions, there was a drop in Iranian currency value and the government intervened to control market prices for two years. Salehi Isfahani (2012) believed that these were serious mistakes of Ahmadinejad's administration.

Shargh newspaper (2015) published a report on the consequences of the subsidy reform plan Ahmadinejad's government. It indicated that his administration was supposed to control prices and

inflation and subsidize imported goods, however, this affected local production. This report also stated that paying a direct subsidy to all people contributed to social injustice because everybody was given subsidy including those in higher income levels. The government also did not pay a subsidy to the industry as specified by the law which led to the closing of 5,400 production companies.

### **THE SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN UNDER PRESIDENT ROUHANI LEADERSHIP**

President Hassan Rouhani in his election campaign he promised to continue paying the subsidy directly. Moreover, he agreed to continue reforming and targeting low-income as well as helping the country to produce. He also vowed to give goods as part of subsidy low-income to people.

In his first year, in the second phase of subsidy reform plan, the government continued to pay 45,000 IRT for the people who had registered for the direct subsidy. He said the government had 14,000 billion IRT deficits but coming to the second phase it was about to be resolved. He also put aside 10,000 billion IRT to help the industry. Another plan of the government was to withdraw or remove people who were not in the low-income category from the direct subsidy list of payment.

### **STUDYING FRAMING SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN IN IRAN**

Based on literature review there is only one study on framing subsidy reform plan which was derived from two different news shows. Two Iranian scholars did this study; Nasrallahi and Nikpour in 2013.

The questions used in this study were about the extent of coverage, salient of each index, and Slant (supportive, neutral, and critical) of the news. Moreover, the hypothesis of this study was a) there is significant relationship between each news show and salient of index, b) there is significant relationship between each news show and Slant, c) there is significant relationship between each news show and the news frames, d) there is significant relationship between each news show and the extent of coverage.

Nasrallahi and Nikpour's study used content analysis approach where the unit of analysis for both news show programs was the subsidy reform plan.

Their finding showed there was a significant relationship between the reforming subsidies, approach, and information that TV and radio or any other networks shares. The coverage of news was acceptable. The approach to addressing the relationship between coverage by TV and any other network and subsidies was considered by the officials especially the Iranian leaders.

## **POLITICS IN IRAN**

### **THE RULING LAW**

The system of politics in Iran is named the Islamic Republic and rests on two core principles that are Islam and Republic, and all the institutions in the state regulate on these two principles. In the constitution of Iran, in article number one stated this system is based on belief" and in article number six indicate the country should be governed by base on public opinion and vote through elections. These will include the election of the President, members of parliament, members of boards and other such institutions, or a referendum in cases of other principles which is specified by this constitution law.

The Islamic Republic of Iran as like many other states in the world has the three top branches; parliament, executives, and judiciary, however, still different from other countries since all branches has to work under the ruling of a supreme leader. Article 57 states: “which operate under the absolute rule of the Imam (supreme leader) according to Forthcoming articles of this Constitution, these branches are independent of one another.”

The supreme leader is a mufti, who choose by votes of experts, and these experts were elected directly by the people. The experts would review and consult among themselves concerning all the fuqaha' possessing the qualifications specified in Articles 5 and 109”.

As Article 110 stated, a supreme leader main responsibilities are determine the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran after consultation with the Expediency Council, supervising the general policies of the system, Command referendum, Command of the Armed Forces, war and peace and mobilization, resolving differences between the three wings of the armed forces and regulation of their relations, solve the problems which cannot be solved by conventional methods, etc.

Assigning, discharging, and approving of the resignation of below position is parts of the responsibilities of a supreme leader: A.) six Mufti for the Guardian Council. B.) Head of judiciary. C.) The head of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting. D.) The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff E.) the chief commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps. F.) the chief commanders of the Islamic Republic Army.

An Assembly of experts who are responsible for choosing a leader is elected by people from candidates who are approved by the Guardian Council as it stated in Article 109: “The law sets out the number and qualifications of the experts, the mode of their election, and the code of procedures

regulating the sessions during the first term. All these are drawn up by the fuqaha' on the first Guardian Council then passed by votes from the majority and then finally approved by the Leader of the Revolution.”

There are two other institutions which work under the supreme leader to help the state to be Islamic. One is the Guardian Council which its duty is “to safeguard the Islamic ordinances and the Constitution” and has 12 people as its members are; the Islamic Consultative Assembly elects six expert clergy (mufti) chosen by the leader, and six jurists, specializing in different areas of law from among the Muslim jurists nominated by the Head of the Judicial Power.

As mentioned in Article 94 “All legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be forwarded to the Guardian Council. The Guardian Council must review them to be compatible with the criteria of Islam and the Constitution. In Article 99 states that “the Guardian Council is responsible for supervising the elections of the Assembly of Experts for Leadership, the President of the Republic, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the direct recourse to popular opinion and referenda. The second institute is the Nation's Exigency Council which shall meet at any time the Guardian Council judges propose a bill of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to be against the principles of Shariah or the constitution, and when the Assembly is unable to meet the expectations of the Guardian Council”.

## **POLITICAL SPHERE**

The principal amendment in 1989 was a paradigm shift in Iran’s political sphere. In its original version, there was a Prime Minister’s Post who was to be appointed by the parliament from people who nominated the President. According to Article 134 of the first version of the Constitution, the

Prime Minister was the president of the Council of Ministers. “Prime Minister supervises the work of the ministers and takes all necessary measures to coordinate the decisions of the government. With the cooperation of the ministers, he determines the program and policies of the government and implements the laws. In the case of discrepancies, or interference in the constitutional duties of the government agencies, the decision of the Council of Ministers at the request of the Prime Minister should be binding provided it did not call for interpretation or modification of the laws. The Prime Ministers were responsible to the Assembly for the actions of the Council of Ministers.” When this post was abolished, the president became the main focus of the executive branch, and the presidential election becomes important. Before that, the presidential election was not crucial as he was chosen among combined neutral candidates with one as the main candidate. Mohammad Ghochani (2015) called this change as a paradigm shift and the start of the second Republic of Iran.

The year 1988 was not only the end of the Iran-Iraq war but also the end of the First Republic (1979-1988) Following this constitutional reforms resulted in a President-led political system, and this was commonly known as the Second Republic which began in 1988 until the present time (Ghochani, 2015).

When Hassan Rouhani became President in 2009, the political power structure became highly polarized. Ahmadinejad (former President) and hardliners stayed on one side whereas on the other side the conservative were in front of them. Moderate figures like President Rafsanjani, President Khatami, Speaker Nategh-Nouri and Hassan Rouhani were in isolated pressure, and the reformists have been fully kept silent under security pressure. When Hassan Rouhani came to power, moderate figures returned to the scene and Iran's political sphere after 2013 presidential elections,



said goodbye to bipolar of conservatives and reformists and a new four powers blocks was born; reformists, moderates, conservatives and radicals (Fakhraei, 2015).

By use of five newspapers, this study will cover all the political blocks to track their records on how they frame subsidy reform plan.

## **MEDIA IN IRAN**

### **MEDIA LAW**

The Iranian constitution on the role of media states that “the public media must take their place in the process of development of the Islamic Revolution, and must serve in the propagation of Islamic culture. In this sphere, they must look for opportunities for a healthy exchange of different ideas, and must rigorously refrain from the propagation and encouragement of destructive and anti-Islamic qualities. In pursuance of the principles of this law which recognized freedom and human dignity as the central point of their objectives, and opens up the path of development and perfection of man as the responsibility of all, the Islamic community must elect sagacious, devout representatives and exercise active supervision over their work to participate in the building up of the Islamic society”.

According to Article 44, the radio and television are owned by the government, but individuals could publish other versions of media. Article 24 reports: “Publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public.” Article 168 also reports that “investigating political and press offenses is conducted openly in the courts of the Judiciary before a jury. The manner and conditions of jury selection

and their authorities and the definition of political offenses are defined by the law on the basis of Islamic criteria.”

## **HISTORY OF MEDIA IN IRAN**

The history of newspaper in Iran can be traced back in May of 1837 when Mirza Saleh Kazeruni who was one of first five educated Iranians in Europe and learners of journalism in Britain; founded a newspaper in Tehran which did not contain any specific name but was called Kaghaz (paper)-Akhbar (news). “This was due to the fact that the end of the Fath-Ali King era was announced in the Tehran newspaper which had no name printed on it in two large sheets of white on each sheet. Mirza Saleh Shirazi managed it” (Eghbal Ashtiani, 2008).

The next paper “vaghaye-etefaghiye” (in English: News) was published in India in the Persian language in Iran. The government owned both of these newspapers. However, the first newspaper which was not owned by the government was called Roozane (daily) Melati (National) and was published in 1866.

Besides the papers that operated in Iran during Naseeruddin-Shah’s era, there were several other newspapers published outside of Iran which played a vital role in the constitutional revolution. Newspapers like Akhtar (means Star) which was published in Istanbul, Qanun (means Law) which was published in London, Habl-of-matin (means solid rope) published in Kolkata, Hekmat (means Wisdom), Soraya (means Universe) and Parvaresh (means Training) all published in Cairo were the main channels to prepare and promote the constitutional revolution. They directly criticized the king and published news of revolutionary incidences in other countries. Years back before the constitutional revolution, the number of newspapers published outside Iran drastically

increased. Due to this, the government had to ban the reading of newspapers and detain many journalists. In response, journalists started to publish confidential papers (Roshan, 2005).

In the context of creating a constitutional revolution, there were several magazines, daily and weekly papers published which also played an important role of connecting revolutionary leaders and individuals aligned to the revolution. Additionally, carrying out the revolution was a critical task hence they named this role the “fourth estate of revolution” (Roshan, 2005).

### **CENSORSHIP OF MEDIA IN IRAN**

It is interesting that the history of censorship in Iran goes back to the first time printed media came to Iran in the time of Qajar dynasty. Naseruddin-Shah administration did not allow a letter to be published against the king. The letter was written by an Iranian scholar, Sheikh Hashem Shirazi, who lived in India. After that, the king ordered for an establishment of an organization to censor all media in Iran (Daryai, 2009).

After a duration of freedom of speech during the Constitutional Revolution, Reza Khan, who became Iranian next king and founder of Pahlavi dynasty, started to impose censorship against newspapers and closed some daily and weekly papers. Also, some journalists and editors were killed during this era.

After 10 years of overthrowing the Qajar Dynasty and beginning of the Pahlavi Dynasty by Reza Khan who called himself Reza Shah, the first pro-Marxist ideology magazine was published. After a while, all the 53 people who were in contact with this paper were arrested, and their leader was tortured and killed while in prison. On the other hand, the other newspapers during this era were writing in favor of Reza Shah (Mortazavi Emami, 2010).

When the allies seized Iran during the Second World War, Reza Shah was removed and his son by Mohammad Reza who replaced him. Also, the number of Iranian newspaper was significantly increased. Although, the government tried to restrict freedom of the press and banned many magazines, newspapers in these 12 years enjoyed a wide freedom of press and speech. After the 1953 coup and overthrowing of the nationalist government of Mohammad Mossadegh, newspapers enjoyed relative freedom. However, after the 1963 unrest in Qom, censorship of the media increased.

From 1978 to 1979 when the Islamic revolution took place, newspapers again enjoyed absolute freedom of speech and press. This freedom continued in the first years of revolution. However, when the Iran-Iraq war started in 1980 and when there were clashes between the government and some militias, the Judiciary detained almost all the newspapers. In the 1980s, there were only six newspapers which had been published. After the 1997 presidential election, again the number of newspapers increased and was allowed freedom of speech and press till 2000 when the judiciary banned 14 newspapers in a day and 120 newspapers in that year. The restriction of freedom of press and expression was continued after 2000.

The yearly Annual Report of Reporters Without Border (2016) showed Iran had a very bad record regarding freedom of media, especially during President Ahmadinejad. The Report states, “despite an improvement in its international relations, Iran is still one of the world’s most oppressive countries as regards freedom of information. Newspapers and journalists continue to fall victim to the power struggles among the regime’s various factions. The 1986 media law (amended in 2000 and in 2009 to include online publications) allows the authorities to ensure that news and information providers do not “endanger the Islamic Republic,” “offend the Supreme Leader” or “disseminate false information.”

According to their website, Iran has improved its place from 172 in 2009 and 175 in 2010 to 169<sup>th</sup> place in 2016 regarding the ability to exercise press freedom. Given the increasing level of press freedom currently it would be most timely to conduct a framing analysis on the Iranian subsidy reform because more views and information is expected in the newspapers.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework for this study is inspired by these two theories: agenda setting theory and framing theory.

### **AGENDA SETTING THEORY**

Agenda setting theory was formulated by Professor Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw after they studied the scandal of Watergate which happened in June 1972 which resulted in five unknown men breaking into the office of Democratic National Committee headquarter but arrested by Police. An investigation by two journalists from the Washington Post about this seemed that a local crime led to the understanding that these people are related to President Nixon's campaign. This shows how the media can be used as a salience way of a story. During the first time of this incident, the story was only published in two paragraphs on page 17. However, when the story was followed up by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein and got covered by Ben Bradlee, editor of Washington Post, in summer of 1972 50% of Americans, they knew the name of Watergate and in April of 1973 90% of Americans were aware of Watergate's significance.

The hypothesis of McCombs and Shaw was "mass media can transfer their salience of their news agenda items to the public agenda," and said, "We judge as importantly to what the media

does.” They also quoted Bernard Cohen, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin, who said the press may not be successful to tell people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

McCombs and Shaw in their research first measured media agenda. They established the position and length of the story as the main criteria of prominence. For newspapers; the front-page headline story, three-column story on inside page, and the lead editorial, for magazine; opening story in the news section or any political issue to which according to the editors devoted a full column, in the television; the placement as one of the first news or any discussion that lasted more than 45 seconds was measured as media agenda.

For the public agenda they did a survey in Chapel Hill and asked undecided voters to outline ‘what each one considered to be the key issues of the campaign regardless of what candidates might be saying’ Then they compared the main issues between public answers and media agenda and found out that ‘the rank of the five issues on both lists was nearly identical.’

There are other studies that confirm and complete the consequence of Chapel Hill study. Ray Funkhouser, a Professor at Pennsylvania State University, did an extensive historical review of stories in the news using magazines from 1960 to 1970. He charted the rise and fall of media attention on issues and compared it with annual Gallup poll responses to the question about “the most important problem facing America.” The results make it clear that the twin agendas are not a mere reflection of reality and that the actual environment and the pictures in our minds are in two different worlds.

In another research, three political scientists, Shanto Iyengar, Mark Peters and Donald Kinder, taped a current network of the newscast and showed a different version of news to the three

different groups of New Haven resident where each group of viewers elevated the issue that they showed in their version of the news.

Coming to 1990s every article which referred to this theory suggested that the media takes some issues more salient and pay more attention to matters they regard as more important. Nevertheless, in mid-1990s McCombs said media has not only told us what to think about but also have more effect on us and influence the way we think and set frames for us. James Tankard, the mass communication specialist, said: “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.” He suggested that the media not only sets the agenda for issues, events or candidates are most important but also transfer the salience of specific attribute belonging to those potential object of interest.

Another significant question is who sets the agenda for agenda-setter? As we know the news does not select itself so, it is important to understand who sets the agenda. One viewer said “news editors” or “gatekeepers” are the key setters of political dialogues. An alternative viewer said candidates and office holder’s set the agenda for themselves because they are the ultimate sources of salience issue. Another viewer gave credit to the public relation professionals saying that even the most leading newspapers in the world get half of what they print straight from public relation’s office. Interest groups or pressure groups which demand center stage for their overriding concerns are the other sources which set agendas for media. “It seems that media pays attention to those who grab it.” The last agenda-setters for the press are the news events which compel that the editors do not have a choice but to feature them. For example; the explosion of oil in the Gulf of Mexico/Arab Spring in the Middle East/ fights of ISIL in Syria are incidences of where news editors do not have a choice to cover them.

In another research, Scott Althaus and David Tewksbury who are researchers at the University of Illinois predicted that traditional print media would be more efficient than new electronic media in setting a reader's agenda. They argued that "people who are reading a newspaper know that editors consider a long, front-page article under a banner headline more important than a short story buried on an inside page. Not only are these comparative cues absent on the computer cues, but also online readers can click on links to similar stories and never see accounts of events that paper readers see as they go through pages."

### **FRAMING THEORY**

The concept of 'framing' has been constructed along the three disciplinary perspectives: psychological, sociological, and communicational. In communicational perspectives, framing is looked like a "strategy of constructing and processing news discourse," (e.g., Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Tuchman, 1978) focused on the practical applications of media frames. Tuchman (1978) noted that media frames are persistent patterns by which news media organize and present the news. The patterns are structural systems for arranging the symbolic content of news.

In the discipline of communication, the framing theory has been used to describe the process of selecting and highlighting particular aspects of reality by the media (e.g., Durham, 1998; Entman, 1991, 1993; Gamson, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Norris, 1995; Tuchman, 1978). Gitlin (1980) defined the concept of news frames as "persistent patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which journalists routinely organize discourse whether verbal or visual" (p. 7).



According to Entman (1993), “to frame” is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in ways such as promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”

As Chul Woo Kim explained in his study “news frames as attributes of the news texts are embedded in the keywords (Fowler, 1991), metaphors (Entman, 1991), symbols (Lasswell et al., 1952), exemplars (Gamson, 1989), sources of information (Durham, 1998), and stereotyped visual images (Bennett & Lawrence, 1995).” These are framing devices in the news texts (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The frame of texts is a central organizing strategy of the news. News texts can make certain information salient by placement, repetition or association with culturally familiar symbols (Hall, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Thus, the news text contains the frames. News frames can also relate to the characteristics of the news text itself. Along the same line, Pan and Kosicki (1993) argued, “... the framing analysis is not constrained within the content-free structuralism approach of news discourse. Rather it accepts both the assumption of the rule-governed nature of text formation and the multidimensional conception of news texts. ... The validity of framing analysis does not rest on researcher’s original readings of news texts. Rather it retains the systematic procedures of gathering news texts data to identify the signifying elements.” (p. 58)

The essence of news framing is selecting to prioritize some facts, events, or developments over others, thereby promoting a particular interpretation (Entman, 1993; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). “Frame calls attention in some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements which may result to audiences having different reactions” (Entman, 1993, p. 55). News stories are typically organized in a way that emphasizes certain aspects of an issue.

Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) pointed out that besides studying the impacts of framing, one should also find out the process of how a frame is built.

Tuchman (1978) in his study of daily newsroom routines noticed that the culture of a workplace has great influential on journalists.

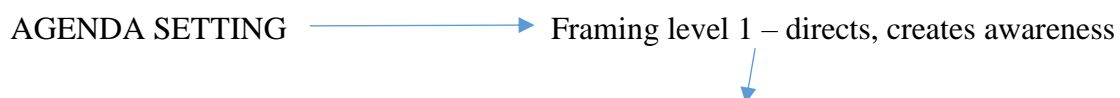
While Zhou and Mou note that internal factors are what scholars are most interested in when it comes to the frame-building process, external factors, like news framing, should not be excluded. Carragee and Roefs (2004) claim that actors and claim-makers shape these media frames through a series of competition. Media frames place borders around the issue, distinguishing it from what is around it.

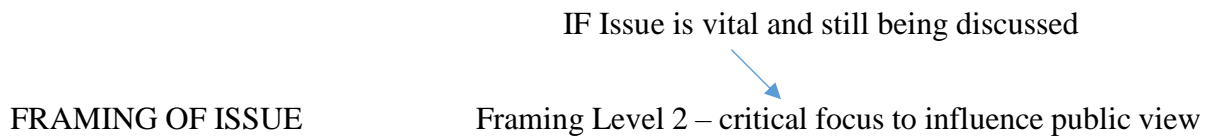
Norris, Kern & Just refer to news frames as structures for interpretation that a media worker utilized to set a particular phenomenon into their context's broader. Gitlin (1980) explains the purpose of news frame is "making the world beyond direct experience look natural."

In the context of Iranian subsidy program, newspapers in Iran did provide prominence of this government initiative, and this can be interpreted as agenda setting which essentially was to create awareness of the program. However, when the recently elected government undertook reforms on the subsidy program, there was a lot of news coverage on this issue, because of the enormous impact of the subsidy program on the Iranian economy.

It can be sad that agenda setting theory is the first level of framing while the Framing theory is a second and higher level of framing. This is illustrated below.

*Figure 1: Framing level*





And given the new government which is more liberal, according to Annual report of Reporters without Borders (2016), Iranian newspapers could now express issues more openly. Hence, with more press freedom, it can be expected that newspaper will discuss more the key attributes of the subsidy reform policy to influence public agenda. Based on this, the most appropriate theory for this study is a framing theory.

## **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In developing the conceptual framework several past types of research on framing were reviewed and are as follows:

Semetko & Valkenberg (2000) in their remarkable paper “Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news” in 2000 investigated the prevalence of five news frames identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects and developed these five frames by analyzing the content of 2,601 newspaper stories and 1,522 television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meetings of European heads of state in 1997.

In this paper, they reviewed the literature about the nature of news in the U.S. and Europe which it confirmed that the aforementioned frames largely account for all the frames that have been found in the news. They identified and categorized these news frames in their paper:

**Conflict** frame underlines conflict among and between parties, individuals, institutions or groups as a means of representing audience interest; reflects disagreement among and between parties, individuals, institutions or groups; reproach of a party, group, individual, or institutional; dichotomies or labels the good and bad; news item mentions to two or more sides of an issue or a matter; news items indicate to winners and losers.

**Consequences** frame publishes an issue, problem or event regarding the consequences on parties, individuals, institutions, groups, or the country; covers the result of a court case.

**Responsibility** frame express an issue, problem or event in a way to regard responsibility for its cause or solution to the government or a party, group, individual, or institution; news items suggest the issue or problem which requires urgent action.

**Morality** frame puts a problem, event or an issue in the context of religious doctrines or moral perceptual; underlines participation and sodality.

**Human Interest** frame brings an event, issue, or problem to a context of emotional perspective or human face to make the news for an audience personal, dramatized or emotionalized to gain him/her interest.

This study will use the above items to analyze news frame to identify salience framed in each article on subsidy reform.

Frame on **extent of coverage** was applied from a study by two Malaysian Academicians, Yang and Ishak (2012) in their paper “framing the keris polemics; a comparative analysis of Malaysian newspaper” They studied an ethical issue in reference to a UMNO Youth chief, Mr. Hishammuddin Hussein who wielded a keris (traditional Malay sword) at the General Assembly meeting which was widely televised and reported in the media. After a poor performance of the

Barisan National government in the 2008 general elections, he accepted the keris wielding incident as one of the factors for the poor election performance and apologized to the non-Malays. The objective of Yang and Ishak's paper was to examine the comparison on the coverage of keris by Malaysia Newspapers. By employing the framing theory, the research studied four media which were; The Star and the Sin Chew Daily Utusan Malaysia and Malaysiakini. They covered 297 articles regarding the Keris polemics which were all gathered from the four newspapers.

To study the extent of coverage, the researchers looked at some articles (measured by counting numbers of articles in each paper during the whole period), types of articles (such as straight news, interview, opinion, etc.) and size of the article (measured by count words).

The elements identified in news coverage will be used in the framing analysis of the Iranian Subsidy reform plan.

Slant as another news frame is used by many researchers. Entman (2007), in his inspiring article "Framing bias: media in the distribution of power," discuss media biasness and news slant.

Entman defined bias in three category: "Sometimes, it is applied to news that purportedly distorts or falsifies reality (distortion bias), sometimes to news that favors one side rather than providing equivalent treatment to both sides in a political conflict (content bias), and sometimes to the motivations and mindsets of journalists who allegedly produce the biased content (decision-making bias)." He in this article choose to focus on two of these definitions content bias and decision-making bias.

Entman believed Cohen's definition of media effect where it did not tell people, "what to think," but "what to think about" is misleading and if media can direct people on what to think then they also could be successful in guiding them "what to think about." He argues that it be

important for elites to influence people's thinking because it is one sort of power because as Nagel said "the best succinct definition of power is the ability to get others to do what one wants" (cited in Entman, 2007). Moreover, framing is the toll that political actors shape the texts to influence or put the agendas and discussion as first thing that people think about.

He argued biasness should be differentiated from news slant. "Slant characterizes individual news reports and editorials in which the framing favors one side over the other in a current or potential dispute. Mainstream news organizations contend that they treat competing frames equivalently, ensuring that their reports do not slant," and added "The slanted news is not, as journalists tend to insist, the rare exception."

Entman (2010) in his other article "Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in the news of Campaign 2008" discussed the meaning of slant: "Slant occurs when a news report emphasizes one side's preferred frame in a political conflict while ignoring or derogating another side's. One-sided framing emphasizes some elements and suppresses others in ways that encourage recipients to give attention and weight to the evaluative attributes that privilege the favored side's interpretation. This is the essence of slanted news."

From the above discussion, news slant can either be supportive of a group or individual or biased or critical and between this two extremes news slant can also remain neutral. In summary, news slant can, therefore, be supportive, critical or neutral.

The focus of "Framing the Relationship between Government and NGOs in Selected Malaysian Chinese Daily Newspapers" by Kee, Ibrahim, Basri, and Nie (2011) was on how information flowed from the news sources to the journalists. Their research seeks to study framing by looking at different news sources and different approaches that were being used.

De Vreese (2005) to describe the importance of news source in framing process underlined the process of constructing news frames in the media as building “structural qualities of news frames.” He explain the external and internal factors in determining the news frames. And a continuous communication between the journalists and the sources is one of the external factors, which will result in the frames that are manifested in the text.

As Carragee & Roefs (2004) suggested, the studies on news framing should not be reduced to mere effects of media, but the larger context of politics and social power should be included. While the media played a major role, the role of the news source in the information chain is also important because, in real world, the first level of framing happens between the sources and the journalists.

Druckman & Parkin (2005) examined the influence of the editorial source to the outcome of elections. They found news slanted in certain ways by the editorial itself would affect the voter’s decision. This finding indicate the importance of understanding that the news slant from the sources can actually impact the public opinion on certain matters in the society especially issues related to political issues.

From the above discussion news sources pertaining to the subsidy reform plan will be included in this study on the Iranian subsidy reform plan. News sources provide a diversity of views and opinions which will be useful and challenging when undertaking the framing analysis.

The frames used in this study of Iranian papers framing of the subsidy reform plan is as follows:

*Table 1*

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Source</b>
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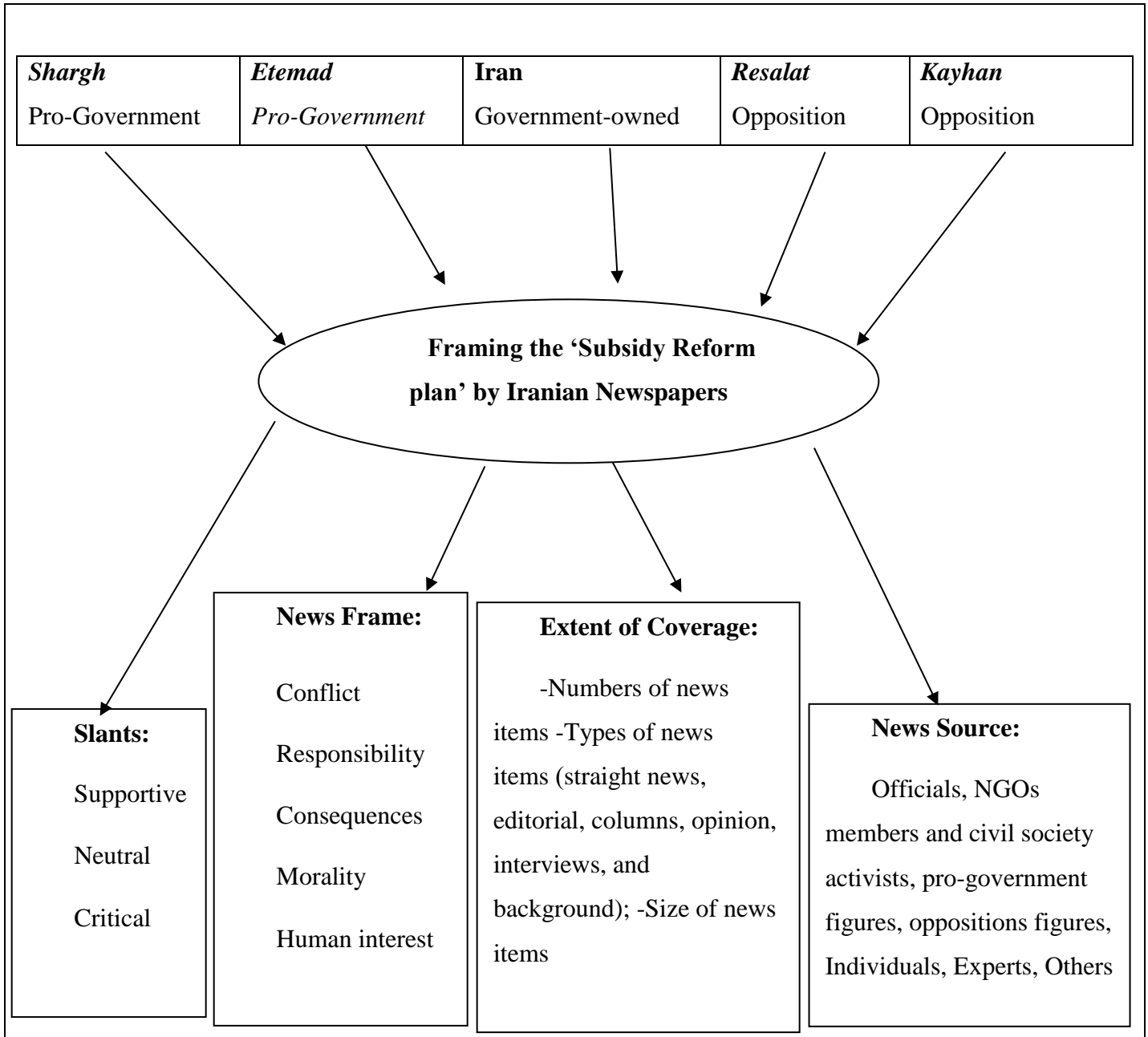
<b>News Frame</b> (Conflict, Responsibility, Consequences, Morality, Human Interest)	Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)
<b>Extent of Coverage</b> (Number of news items Type of news items (straight news, editorial, columns, opinion, interviews, and background and Size of news items)	Yang and Ishak (2012)
<b>Slant</b> (Supportive, Neutral, Critical)	Entman (2007 & 2010)
<b>News sources</b> (Officials, NGOs members and civil society activists, pro-government figures, oppositions figures, Individuals, Experts, Others)	Kee, Ibrahim, Basri, and Nie (2011)

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The framing of subsidy reform plan by Iranian newspapers will be examined from four different categories: the extent of coverage, news sources, news frames and slants of articles. The definitions and explanations of these four elements are in the next chapter. Based on the literature review the research framework shown in figure 2 was developed for this study.



Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



## SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The literature review done in this chapter which discussed definition of subsidy, the history of subsidy in Iran, subsidy reform plan law, performance of two administrations on subsidy reform policy, history of media and censorship of media in Iran, political sphere and constitutional law.

Also, in this chapter provided the theoretical framework, which is based on Agenda Setting and Framing theory, and elements to construct the conceptual framework. Four main items were identified for the conceptual framework namely News Frame, Extent of coverage, News Slant, and News Sources.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this study is to compare the analysis of coverage of five newspapers towards their approach to the government through subsidy reform plan.

In 2008, the government of Iran introduced its plan to reform subsidy policy. In this plan government of Iran had to cut subsidies for goods and energy so as to pay the share of subsidy directly to the people and render it efficiency and target. However, Ahmadinejad's administration decided to pay it to all to the people. Later in 2013 it became one of the main issues in the presidential campaigns, and when Hassan Rouhani became the president, he reformed the plan and did its second phase.

This dissertation would study the framing of this plan during his era by Iranian Newspaper from three different perspectives; government's view, opposition's view and pro government's view.

#### **CONTENT ANALYSIS**

This study will utilize the content analysis methodology to analyze articles of selected newspapers from government's perspective, opposition's point of view and pro-government approach.

As indicated in Chapter 2, Iranian politics have four main blocks in Iranian politics; Reformist, Moderates, Conservatives, and Radicals. These five newspapers cover all of these views. *Shargh* and *Etemad* are reformist papers which have held itself as pro-government. *Kayhan* and *Resalat* are radical and conservative papers, and plays the role of opposition. Moreover, lastly the *Iran* Newspaper belongs to the government, and it represents the views of the alliance of moderate and conservatives in the government.

The circulation of these papers is not known, but they are chosen by looking at their background and their strengths in the public sphere of Iran.

#### **RESEARCH DESIGN:**

The design of this research will contain:

#### **PERIOD OF STUDY**

The time frame of this study is from 8<sup>th</sup> December 2014 to 20<sup>th</sup> April 2016. This period contained submission of two budget bills of March 2015 until March 2016 and March 2016 until March 2017 by President Rouhani to the parliament and discussion in the parliament and media and also the implementation of the second and third phase of subsidy reform plan. In this time frame, Rouhani administration was faced with the consequences of raising petrol price, conflict about cutting subsidies for high-income people and responsibility of paying the share of industry from revenue of cutting subsidies.

### **CODING INSTRUCTION:**

A. The extent of coverage will be measured by:

1) Number of articles: it measured by counting numbers of articles in each paper during the whole period

2) Types of articles: The unit of analysis was the article, which included

1. **Straight News:** a kind of article which it gives facts is a special form such as an inverted pyramid.
2. **Editorials:** a form of an article which is written by members of editor team and it represent newspaper's idea.
3. **Columns or Opinions:** a form of article which is written by people who are not members of editor team.
4. **Calls and Letters:** it refers to audience's message in the form of letter or call, which it published in the newspaper.
5. **Interviews:** any form of news articles which it covers talks of a specific person in Q&A, press conference, etc.
6. **Background:** it is kind of report that covers the history of the issue or previous actions which took place, and not current issues.
7. **Repots:** that is kind of article which besides presenting facts and giving information including more items like describing the atmosphere, etc.

3) Size of articles: it measured by word counts

B) News sources will be coded by:

1. **Officials:** government officials or members of parliament were categorized under this code.
2. **Experts:** Economists, lecturers, and professionals who have experiences or ideas in this.
3. **Pro-government figure:** a political activist or politician who belong to reformist, moderate or conservative (in an ally with the government) blocks of power.
4. **Opposition figure:** a political activist or politician who belong to conservatives or radicals blocks.
5. **Individuals:** people who do not represent any of the power blocks.
6. **NGO members or civil society activists:** members of any unions and institute who do not belong to government have been categorized under this code.
7. **Others:** those who are not classified in any of the above.

C) News frames were adopted and modified as conflicts, human interest, economic consequences, moral and responsibilities. These news frames were identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The following items are the frames used in this study:

1. Conflict
2. Consequences
3. Responsibility

4. Morality

5. Human interest

D. The classification for the slant are:

1. **Supportive** government's action toward subsidy reform plan
2. **Neutral** toward government's action in subsidy reform plan.
3. **Critical** government action towards subsidy reform plan.

### UNIT OF STUDY

The newspapers chosen for this study are; *Iran Daily*, a newspaper which was published by the government, *Shargh* and *Etemad* are pro-government papers, and *Kayhan* and *Resalat* are in opposition side. These newspapers are daily and national. There is no any official statistics about the circulation of any of them.

1. ***Shargh*** (means East) is a reformist paper. This newspaper was founded in 2003 and banned four times.
2. ***Etemad*** (means trust) is founded in 2002 by a reformist figure. In 2010, it was banned two times because it was publishing news about Iranian green movement leader who was under house arrest. It also published an interview with controversial figures that were close to President Ahmadinejad.
3. ***Iran*** daily was founded in 1995. It was launched under Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) which owned by the government of Iran.

4. ***Kayhan*** (means the universe) This newspaper was one the oldest papers in Iran which were founded in 1943. The daily paper belonged to a huge institute which published other magazines both weekly and monthly. The budget of this institute came from the government where the supreme leader directly appointed the manager.

After the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei, this newspaper was managed by the hardliners and support radical blocks in Iranian politics.

5. ***Resalat*** (means prophecy) was one of the conservative papers which and was founded in 1985 by members of Motalefe party, who are supporters of Islamic Revolution from Iran traditional market since the 1960s, and it present ideas of an anti-left coalition of the Iranian government in the 1980s.

### **SAMPLE SIZE**

The articles will be pulled from the respective newspapers online archived by using ‘subsidy reform plan’ as the keyword.

In this study, the five newspapers; *Shargh*, *Etemad*, *Kayhan*, *Resalat*, and *Iran* were published between from 8<sup>th</sup> December 2014 to 20<sup>th</sup> April 2016 would be studied so as to have enough an extended of coverage.

### **INTER-CODER RELIABILITY**

To examine the reliability of this study, asked an Iranian Ph.D. graduated and Art lecturer to 10% of data, (based on Wimmer and Dominick), randomly (based on Riffe.Lacy and Fico) and



find out the percentage agreement. It shows that in about 88% of types of news, about 96% of sources, 100% of slant and news frame, both coder has an agreement.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

Data analysis is a process by which the study data is simplified for the purpose of interpreting, discovering findings and drawing conclusions, (Fraenkel, et al., 2012) Careful data analysis is crucial for answering research questions in a study as well as for fulfilling the study objectives (Blessing & Chakrabarti, 2009). To analyze the data collected from the articles, this study will use the SPSS software. There are two tests which will be run by using the SPSS:

1. one way ANOVA would be used with the aim of understanding if there are any significant differences between the numbers of articles and the size of articles.

2. Pearson Chi-Square test would be run to analyze the data collected from the five newspapers. A Chi-square test is used to understand if there is any significant difference between the types of articles, news sources, news frames and slant with other different newspapers.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

A total of 978 news articles were published on the ‘subsidy reform plan’ between December 8, 2014, and April 21, 2016, and each article was analyzed using a quantitative content analysis. As can be seen in table 2 between the five national newspapers, *Etemad* (n=259, 26.5%) had published the largest amount of articles followed by *Kayhan* (n=205, 21.0%). The third largest was from *Iran* (n=199, 20.3%) and *Shargh* (n= 191, 19.5%) took the fourth position. Lastly was *Resalat* (n=124, 12.7).

Table 2

Paper			
No.		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Shargh	191	19.5
	Etemad	259	26.5
	Iran	199	20.3
	Kayhan	205	21.0
	Resalat	124	12.7
	Total	978	100.0

## EXTENT OF COVERAGE

### TYPES OF ARTICLE

Based on the frequency of appearance of articles in Table 3, the *interview news* with 427 articles (43.7%) was the most frequent type of news article. Followed by *reports* from 313 articles (32.0%). *Straight news* with 124 articles (12.7%) was in the third place. *Opinion* with 67 articles (6.9%) was in the fourth position. *Letters and calls*-with 18 articles (1.8%), *background* with 16 articles (1.6%) and *editorial* with 13 articles (1.3%) are located in the bottom list (Table below).

Table 3

Types

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Background	16	1.6
	Editorial	13	1.3
	Interview	427	43.7
	Letter calls	18	1.8
	Opinion	67	6.9
	Reports	313	32.0
	Straight News	124	12.7
	Total	978	100.0

The table below shows that *Etemad* scored the highest number of reports (101) and interviews (95). However, it had only one letter and call, and two editorials. The table indicates that this newspaper had published 34 straight news, 16 opinions, and ten backgrounds.

*Iran* newspaper had no editorial, one background, two letters, and calls. On the other hand, it published 83 interviews, 59 reports, 31 straight news and 23 opinions.

The table shows that *Kayhan* has the highest number of letters and calls (eight), no background articles and only one editorial on the subsidy reform plan. A total of 90 articles of *Kayhan* were interviewed, and 84 of them were reports. *Kayhan* also published 19 Straight News.

*Resalat* had scored the highest number of editorials and published seven articles. There were one background, two letters and calls and three opinions. Also, it had 74 interviews, 23 reports, and 14 Straight News.

Table 4

		PAPER					
		Etemad	Iran	Kayhan	Resalat	Shargh	Total
TYPES	background	10	1	0	1	4	16
	editorial	2	0	1	7	3	13
	interview	95	83	90	74	85	427
	Letters- Calls	1	2	8	2	5	18
	opinion	16	23	3	3	22	67
	report	101	59	84	23	46	313
	Straight News	34	31	19	14	26	124
Total		259	199	205	124	191	978

**WHAT WAS THE EXTENT OF THE COVERAGE OF THE ‘SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN’?**

*Table 5*

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum
Shargh	191	404.822	469.3815	33.9633	337.829	471.815	16.0
Etemad	259	466.116	450.9414	28.0201	410.939	521.293	17.0
Iran	199	376.749	471.9182	33.4534	310.778	442.719	22.0
Kayhan	205	311.356	266.0146	18.5793	274.724	347.988	17.0
Resalat	124	223.371	179.0948	16.0832	191.535	255.207	15.0
Total	978	372.744	408.2046	13.0529	347.129	398.359	15.0

Maximum	
Shargh	3686
Etemad	2353
Iran	4246
Kayhan	1605
Resalat	1078
Total	4246

To understand the extent of the news coverage of subsidy reform plan, One-way ANOVA test was used. According to Field (2009), One-way ANOVA is a test which is run to tell whether three or more means are the same, so it tests the null hypothesis that all mean group is equal.

The p-value as it shown in Table 6 for the Levene’s test for equality of variance is 0.00. As Field (2009) said this test is designed to test null hypothesis that the variance of the group is the same. If the value of significant is less than 0.05, then it can be said that the variance is significantly different, which it means Levene’s test is significant and had violated one of the assumptions of ANOVA.

Since in this test, the p-value is less than 0.05, and it has violated the homogeneity of variance assumption, Welsh and Brown-Forsythe (Table 7) can be assumed, which in both the p-values of the test is 0.00, which is less than 0.05.

Since the p-value is less than 0.05, there is a significant difference in the extent of coverage of the subsidy reform plan among these five papers.

*Table 6*

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Size			
Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
18.625	4	973	.000

Table 7

Robust Tests of Equality of Means

Size				
	Statistic <sup>a</sup>	df1	df2	Sig.
Welch	17.881	4	473.677	.000
Brown-Forsythe	10.197	4	799.364	.000

Post hoc test, which consists pairwise comparisons that are designed to compare all different combinations of the treatment groups. In this test in Table 8 comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated the mean scores for these five newspapers in the context of news coverage to be:

*Shargh* (M=404.822, SD=469.3815) was significantly different from *Resalat* (M=223.371, SD=179.0948). *Shargh* did not differ significantly from *Etemad*, *Iran*, and *Kayhan*.

*Etemad* daily (M=466.822, SD=450.9414) was significantly different from newspaper *Kayhan* (M=376.749, SD=471.9182) and *Resalat* (M=223.371, SD=179.0948). *Etemad* did not differ significantly from newspaper *Etemad* and *Iran*.

*Iran* daily (M=471.749, SD=471.9182) was significantly different from newspaper *Resalat* (M=223.371, SD=179.0948). *Iran* daily did not differ significantly from *Shargh*, *Etemad*, and *Kayhan*.

*Kayhan* newspaper (M=376.749, SD=471.9182) was significantly different from newspaper *Etemad* (M=466.822, SD=450.9414). Newspaper *Kayhan* did not differ significantly from *Shargh*, and *Iran* and *Resalat*.

*Resalat* newspaper was significantly different from newspaper *Shargh* (M=404.822, SD=469.3815), *Etemad* (M=466.822, SD=450.9414) and *Iran* (M=471.749, SD=471.9182).

*Resalat* did not differ significantly from newspaper *Kayhan*.

Table 8

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Size

Tukey HSD

(I) Paper	(J) Paper	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Shargh	Etemad	-61.2938	38.2876	.497	-165.930	43.342
	Iran	28.0732	40.6638	.959	-83.057	139.203
	Kayhan	93.4659	40.3713	.141	-16.865	203.797
	Resalat	181.4510*	46.2963	.001	54.928	307.974
Etemad	Shargh	61.2938	38.2876	.497	-43.342	165.930
	Iran	89.3671	37.8421	.127	-14.051	192.786
	Kayhan	154.7597*	37.5276	.000	52.201	257.319
	Resalat	242.7449*	43.8387	.000	122.938	362.551
Iran	Shargh	-28.0732	40.6638	.959	-139.203	83.057
	Etemad	-89.3671	37.8421	.127	-192.786	14.051



	Kayhan	65.3926	39.9490	.474	-43.784	174.569
	Resalat	153.3778*	45.9285	.008	27.860	278.896
Kayhan	Shargh	-93.4659	40.3713	.141	-203.797	16.865
	Etemad	-154.7597*	37.5276	.000	-257.319	-52.201
	Iran	-65.3926	39.9490	.474	-174.569	43.784
	Resalat	87.9851	45.6698	.304	-36.826	212.796
Resalat	Shargh	-181.4510*	46.2963	.001	-307.974	-54.928
	Etemad	-242.7449*	43.8387	.000	-362.551	-122.938
	Iran	-153.3778*	45.9285	.008	-278.896	-27.860
	Kayhan	-87.9851	45.6698	.304	-212.796	36.826

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## SOURCES

As shown in Table below, the officials were the most frequent source for the Iranian newspapers with 615 articles (62.5%). Experts followed with 118 articles (12.1%). NGO members or civil society activist with 45 articles (4.6%), pro-government with 28 articles (2.9%), opposition with 27 articles (2.8%) and individual with 20 articles are in the bottom list. A total of 125 articles (12.8%) were observed to be from other sources

Table 9

Source		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Officials	615	62.9
	Experts	118	12.1
	NGO Civil	45	4.6
	Individual	20	2.0
	Others	125	12.8
	Pro-Government	28	2.9
	Opposition	27	2.8
	Total	978	100.0

From the table below, *Etemad* emerged to be in the lead with 165 officials' sources. Followed with are *Iran* with 137, *Shargh* with 116 numbers, and *Kayhan* with 112 and *Resalat* with 85 officials in their articles. *Shargh* using experts as its source was 40 times; *Iran* was 35 and *Etemad* was 27. *Kayhan*, on the other hand, was 12 times and *Resalat* with four times sourcing experts in their articles.

*Kayhan* leads in sourcing individuals, NGO members and civil society activist; meanwhile there was not much of difference between other newspapers in sourcing individuals. In sourcing NGO members and civil society activists, *Shargh* and *Etemad* followed with 13 times and ten times respectively. *Resalat* and *Iran* were at the bottom of the list with four and three times of sourcing NGO members and civil society activists.

Table 10 shows the results of *Resalat* with 15 times sourcing opposition in its article and *Kayhan* with nine times being at the top of the list. Followed with is *Iran* with two times and *Etemad* with one time. Lastly, *Shargh* did not mention any opposition figure in their articles.

*Kayhan* mentions 13 pro-government figure or paper in its articles and *Etemad* with ten times following its lead. *Iran*, four times and *Resalat* only one-time sourcing pro-government figures. *Shargh* did not mention any pro-government figures. Moreover, *Etemad* sourcing 44 other sources followed by *Kayhan* 36 times, *Shargh* 17 times, *Iran* 15 times and *Resalat* 13 times.

Table 10

		PAPER					
		Etemad	Iran	Kayhan	Resalat	Shargh	Total
SOURCE	expert	27	35	12	4	40	118
	individual	2	3	8	2	5	20
	NGO-Civil	10	3	15	4	13	45
	officials	165	137	112	85	116	615
	opposition	1	2	9	15	0	27
	other	44	15	36	13	17	125
	Pro-Government	10	4	13	1	0	28
	Total	259	199	205	124	191	978

### WHAT WERE THE NEWS SOURCES USED BY NEWSPAPER?

To answer this question, chi-square test had been run. The chi-square test is run to understand the relationship between two or more categorical variables.

The results showed that ‘6 cells (17.1%) have expected count less than 5’. This means that the results have violated the assumption, as all our expected cell sizes were smaller than 5 (in our case greater than 2.57).

The value of 0.021 is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05, so it is concluded that our findings are significant. This means that the sources which were quoted in each paper are significantly different from others.

A chi-square test of independence (with Yates continuity correction) indicated a significant association between papers and sources status,  $\chi^2 (1, n =436) = 0.021, p =0.56$ .

Table 11

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Paper * Source	978	100.0%	0	0.0%	978	100.0%

Paper \* Source Cross tabulation

Paper	Shargh	Count	Source					
			Officials	Experts	NGO-Civil	Individual	Other	Pro-Government
		Count	119	21	9	5	24	3
		Expected Count	120.1	23.0	8.8	3.9	24.4	5.5
		% within Paper	62.3%	11.0%	4.7%	2.6%	12.6%	1.6%

		% within Source	19.3%	17.8%	20.0%	25.0%	19.2%	10.7%
	Etemad	Count	161	24	13	9	35	13
		Expected Count	162.9	31.2	11.9	5.3	33.1	7.4
		% within Paper	62.2%	9.3%	5.0%	3.5%	13.5%	5.0%
		% within Source	26.2%	20.3%	28.9%	45.0%	28.0%	46.4%
	Iran	Count	125	19	11	2	28	5
		Expected Count	125.1	24.0	9.2	4.1	25.4	5.7
		% within Paper	62.8%	9.5%	5.5%	1.0%	14.1%	2.5%
		% within Source	20.3%	16.1%	24.4%	10.0%	22.4%	17.9%
	Kayhan	Count	129	38	7	4	22	2
		Expected Count	128.9	24.7	9.4	4.2	26.2	5.9
		% within Paper	62.9%	18.5%	3.4%	2.0%	10.7%	1.0%
		% within Source	21.0%	32.2%	15.6%	20.0%	17.6%	7.1%
	Resalat	Count	81	16	5	0	16	5
		Expected Count	78.0	15.0	5.7	2.5	15.8	3.6
		% within Paper	65.3%	12.9%	4.0%	0.0%	12.9%	4.0%
		% within Source	13.2%	13.6%	11.1%	0.0%	12.8%	17.9%
Total		Count	615	118	45	20	125	28
		Expected Count	615.0	118.0	45.0	20.0	125.0	28.0
		% within Paper	62.9%	12.1%	4.6%	2.0%	12.8%	2.9%

% within Source	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
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		Source		
		opposition	Total	
Paper	Shargh	Count	10	191
		Expected Count	5.3	191.0
		% within Paper	5.2%	100.0%
		% within Source	37.0%	19.5%
	Etemad	Count	4	259
		Expected Count	7.2	259.0
		% within Paper	1.5%	100.0%
		% within Source	14.8%	26.5%
	Iran	Count	9	199
		Expected Count	5.5	199.0
		% within Paper	4.5%	100.0%
		% within Source	33.3%	20.3%
	Kayhan	Count	3	205
		Expected Count	5.7	205.0
		% within Paper	1.5%	100.0%
		% within Source	11.1%	21.0%
	Resalat	Count	1	124
		Expected Count	3.4	124.0
		% within Paper	0.8%	100.0%
		% within Source	3.7%	12.7%
Total		Count	27	978
		Expected Count	27.0	978.0
		% within Paper	2.8%	100.0%

% within Source            100.0%            100.0%

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Table 12

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.354 <sup>a</sup>	24	.032
Likelihood Ratio	40.144	24	.021
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.199	1	.074
N of Valid Cases	978		

a. 6 cells (17.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.54.

**FRAME**

There were four frames used in this issue. As shown in Table 13 responsibility was the most frequent frame with 456 articles (46.6%). Consequences the second frequent frame had 349 articles (35.7%) and conflict frame was in third place with 151 articles (15.4%). Human interests had the fourth frame with only 22 articles (2.2%). Morality was not a frame in this study hence was excluded from the table. The above table indicates that *Kayhan* had used conflict as the most frames towards the subsidy reform plan whereas *Etemad* newspaper mostly used the consequences frame. There was no much difference in using Responsibility compared to human interest frames.

Table 13

Frame		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Conflict	151	15.4
	Consequences	349	35.7
	Human interests	22	2.2
	Responsibility	456	46.6
	Total	978	100.0

Table 14

		FRAME				Total
		Conflict	Consequences	Human Interests	Responsibility	
PAPER	Shargh	22	93	7	69	191
	Etemad	24	119	7	109	259
	Iran	22	70	1	106	199
	Kayhan	50	43	5	107	205
	Resalat	33	24	2	65	124
	Total	151	349	22	456	978

### WHAT WAS THE FRAME USED BY THE NEWSPAPERS?

A chi-square test had been run, and it showed in Table 15 that '4 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5'. This means that the result has not violated the assumption as all our expected cell sizes are greater than 5 (in our case greater than 2.79).

The value of 0.00 is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05 so it can be concluded that our result is significant. This is to mean that the frames which were quoted in each paper were significantly different from each other.



A chi-square test of independence (with Yates continuity correction) indicated a significant association between papers and sources status,  $\chi^2 (1, n = 436) = 0.00, p = 0.56$ .

Table 15

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Paper * Frame	978	100.0%	0	0.0%	978	100.0%

Paper \* Frame Cross tabulation

		Frame				Total
		Conflict	Consequences	Human Interests	Responsibility	
Paper Shargh	Count	22	93	7	69	191
	Expected Count	29.5	68.2	4.3	89.1	191.0
	% within Paper	11.5%	48.7%	3.7%	36.1%	100.0%
	% within Frame	14.6%	26.6%	31.8%	15.1%	19.5%
Etemad	Count	24	119	7	109	259
	Expected Count	40.0	92.4	5.8	120.8	259.0
	% within Paper	9.3%	45.9%	2.7%	42.1%	100.0%
	% within Frame	15.9%	34.1%	31.8%	23.9%	26.5%
Iran	Count	22	70	1	106	199

	Expected Count	30.7	71.0	4.5	92.8	199.0
	% within Paper	11.1%	35.2%	0.5%	53.3%	100.0%
	% within Frame	14.6%	20.1%	4.5%	23.2%	20.3%
Kayhan	Count	50	43	5	107	205
	Expected Count	31.7	73.2	4.6	95.6	205.0
	% within Paper	24.4%	21.0%	2.4%	52.2%	100.0%
	% within Frame	33.1%	12.3%	22.7%	23.5%	21.0%
Resalat	Count	33	24	2	65	124
	Expected Count	19.1	44.2	2.8	57.8	124.0
	% within Paper	26.6%	19.4%	1.6%	52.4%	100.0%
	% within Frame	21.9%	6.9%	9.1%	14.3%	12.7%
Total	Count	151	349	22	456	978
	Expected Count	151.0	349.0	22.0	456.0	978.0
	% within Paper	15.4%	35.7%	2.2%	46.6%	100.0%
	% within Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

---

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	84.536 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	86.376	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.101	1	.147
N of Valid Cases	978		

a. 4 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.79.

### SLANT

Furthermore, as it shown in Table 16, 523 articles (53.5%) were neutral, and the most frequent slant which was used by the media was; 279 articles (28.5%) for critical and 176 articles (18.0%).

*Table 16*

#### Slant

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Supportive	279	28.5
Neutral	523	53.5
Critical	176	18.0
Total	978	100.0

In addition, *Kayhan* led in critical approach whereas *Resalat* newspaper followed as second. *Iran Daily* took the most supportive approach towards the government, and *Etemad* and *Shargh* follow its lead. Most of the articles of *Shargh* and *Etemad* are neutral towards the government.

### WHAT WAS THE SLANT OF NEWSPAPER?

In order to understand the differences in slant used by the newspapers, the chi-square test was run and as it shown in Table 17 that ‘0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5’. This means that the results have not violated the assumption as all our expected cell sizes are greater than 5 (in our case greater than 22.31).

The value of 0.00 is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05, so it can be concluded that our result is significant. This means that the slant which was used in the newspapers is significantly different from each other.

A chi-square test of independence (with Yates continuity correction) indicated a significant association between slants and newspaper status,  $\chi^2 (1, n =436) = 0.00, p =0.56$ .

Table 17

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Paper * Slant	978	100.0%	0	0.0%	978	100.0%

Paper \* Slant Cross tabulation

		Slant				
		Critical	Neutral	Supportive	Total	
Paper	Shargh	Count	38	119	34	191
		Expected Count	54.5	102.1	34.4	191.0
		% within Paper	19.9%	62.3%	17.8%	100.0%
		% within Slant	13.6%	22.8%	19.3%	19.5%
	Etemad	Count	39	166	54	259
		Expected Count	73.9	138.5	46.6	259.0
		% within Paper	15.1%	64.1%	20.8%	100.0%
		% within Slant	14.0%	31.7%	30.7%	26.5%
	Iran	Count	15	112	72	199
		Expected Count	56.8	106.4	35.8	199.0
		% within Paper	7.5%	56.3%	36.2%	100.0%
		% within Slant	5.4%	21.4%	40.9%	20.3%
	Kayhan	Count	122	76	7	205
		Expected Count	58.5	109.6	36.9	205.0
		% within Paper	59.5%	37.1%	3.4%	100.0%
		% within Slant	43.7%	14.5%	4.0%	21.0%
	Resalat	Count	65	50	9	124
		Expected Count	35.4	66.3	22.3	124.0
		% within Paper	52.4%	40.3%	7.3%	100.0%
		% within Slant	23.3%	9.6%	5.1%	12.7%
Total		Count	279	523	176	978
		Expected Count	279.0	523.0	176.0	978.0
		% within Paper	28.5%	53.5%	18.0%	100.0%
		% within Slant	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	238.765 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	241.475	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	83.948	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	978		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 22.31.

### WHAT WAS THE SLANT OF NEWS ARTICLE?

In order to answer this question, the chi-square test was run, and it showed in table 18 '5 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5'. This is to mean that the result has violated the assumption as all our expected cell sizes were not smaller than 5 (in our case greater than 23.8).

The value of 0.00 is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05, so it can be concluded that the result is significant. This means that the slant used by each news article was significantly different from the others.

A chi-square test of independence (with Yates continuity correction) indicated a significant association between slants and the article states,  $\chi^2(1, n=436) = 0.00, p = 0.56$ .

Table 18

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Types * Slant	978	100.0%	0	0.0%	978	100.0%

Types \* Slant Cross tabulation

		Slant			
		Critical	Neutral	Supportive	Total
Types Background	Count	3	10	3	16
	Expected Count	4.6	8.6	2.9	16.0
	% within Types	18.8%	62.5%	18.8%	100.0%
	% within Slant	1.1%	1.9%	1.7%	1.6%
	Residual	-1.6	1.4	.1	
	Std. Residual	-.7	.5	.1	
Editorial	Count	9	1	3	13
	Expected Count	3.7	7.0	2.3	13.0
	% within Types	69.2%	7.7%	23.1%	100.0%
	% within Slant	3.2%	0.2%	1.7%	1.3%
	Residual	5.3	-6.0	.7	
	Std. Residual	2.7	-2.3	.4	
Interview	Count	121	217	89	427
	Expected Count	121.8	228.3	76.8	427.0
	% within Types	28.3%	50.8%	20.8%	100.0%
	% within Slant	43.4%	41.5%	50.6%	43.7%

	Residual	-8	-11.3	12.2	
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.8	1.4	
Letters Calls	Count	18	0	0	18
	Expected Count	5.1	9.6	3.2	18.0
	% within Types	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Slant	6.5%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%
	Residual	12.9	-9.6	-3.2	
	Std. Residual	5.7	-3.1	-1.8	
Opinion	Count	19	23	25	67
	Expected Count	19.1	35.8	12.1	67.0
	% within Types	28.4%	34.3%	37.3%	100.0%
	% within Slant	6.8%	4.4%	14.2%	6.9%
	Residual	-.1	-12.8	12.9	
	Std. Residual	.0	-2.1	3.7	
Report	Count	98	168	47	313
	Expected Count	89.3	167.4	56.3	313.0
	% within Types	31.3%	53.7%	15.0%	100.0%
	% within Slant	35.1%	32.1%	26.7%	32.0%
	Residual	8.7	.6	-9.3	
	Std. Residual	.9	.0	-1.2	
Straight News	Count	11	104	9	124
	Expected Count	35.4	66.3	22.3	124.0
	% within Types	8.9%	83.9%	7.3%	100.0%
	% within Slant	3.9%	19.9%	5.1%	12.7%
	Residual	-24.4	37.7	-13.3	
	Std. Residual	-4.1	4.6	-2.8	
Total	Count	279	523	176	978
	Expected Count	279.0	523.0	176.0	978.0
	% within Types	28.5%	53.5%	18.0%	100.0%



% within Slant    100.0%    100.0%    100.0%    100.0%

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Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	128.251 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	131.854	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002	1	.968
N of Valid Cases	978		

a. 5 cells (23.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.34.

### Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter the results of the content analysis were presented on the extent of coverage, sources, slant and frames of news among these five newspapers. To test the differences between the newspapers on all items, one way ANOVA test and chi-square test was applied, and it showed there are significant differences between these five newspapers on the four main aspects of the extent of coverage, slant, sources, and frames.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### DISCUSSION

This research study collected and coded a total of 978 news articles on the Iranian subsidy reform from five national mainstream newspapers. Results from the one-way ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences in all four aspects of this framing study that is the extent of coverage, sources, news frames and slant.

In terms of numbers of articles and count the pro-government newspapers published the most number of articles on the subsidy reform. The pro-government papers (Shargh, Etemad, Iran) published 66.3% while the opposition newspapers published 33.7% of the total number of articles on the subsidy reform. Although the pro-government newspapers published the most article, it also must be noted that 1/3 of the total articles came from the opposition newspapers and this is a substantive amount of just two newspapers. It can be inferred that the current press freedom which did not exist under the former government encouraged opposition to publish without fear. Under the ruling of previous government, it was not easy to express critics on crucial issues. For example, it was hard to publish an interview with key opposition's figures who had critical views on former government.

The analysis also revealed that there is a clear divide in terms of news frames and slants. The pro-government papers were highly supportive of the government initiatives to remedy the subsidy reform issues. In contrast, the opposition newspapers like Kayhan were critical of the government.

Based on this it can be inferred that newspaper ownership is a key factor that influences how issues are framed.

As an example, *Kayhan* Newspaper published the highest number of conflict frames and critical approaches towards President Rouhani's government (122 articles). In addition to that, *Kayhan* had the highest score in presenting calls and letters from individuals, interviews of NGO members, civil society activists and experts who expressed their dissatisfaction. This newspaper also highlighted the dissatisfactions and critics published in the pro-government papers about this issue.

*Kayhan* newspaper also published multiple articles from the members of parliament to salience conflict between government and parliament regarding cutting subsidies of high-income people in criticizing of government approach to this issue. Although, when responsibility frame was used in this newspaper, it tried to keep its critical approach balanced and reminded the government to pay the share of the subsidy to industries to improve productivity.

*Resalat* newspaper, on the other hand, represented conservative blocks in Iran and had the second highest number of articles with a critical approach (65). The newspaper had published most numbers of editorials to show its strong critical position towards the current government although its extent of coverage was at bottom list.

*Resalat* had the highest number of sources in opposition figures. However, it used the responsibility frame to salience the governments' duties towards this plan. Also, *Resalat* emerged to be the second highest user of conflict frame, and it showed how they are concerned about the performance of Rouhani administration on this issue.

On the other hand, *Iran* daily had the most extent of coverage with the highest number of supportive articles towards the government. Since *Iran* daily is owned by the government, it showed the importance of this issue for government and explained the cause of their supportive approach towards government's performance.

*Iran* daily published one of the largest numbers of opinions which were mostly applied by experts. It demonstrated the importance of solid sources in the governments' paper. It used this way of communication with its audience so as to impact with them more.

*Iran* daily used responsibility and consequences frames and had a positive approach toward the government. The newspaper tried to remind the result and performance of former government to compare it with the current administration. Also, in regards to the conflicts between the government and parliament about cutting subsidies for high-income people, *Iran* daily published columns from officials to show the government's position on this issue. It has been mentioned in the *Iran* daily that the articles have one of the highest number of officials cited.

As a pro-government paper, *Etemad* newspaper had been released with the highest number of articles and results. *Etemad* newspaper used background articles to show the consequences of this plan which showed heritage from the last government to the current administration on this plan. The newspaper also had the highest number of reports in its articles which were to show the responsibility of the government.

*Shargh*, another pro-government paper, had cited the highest number of experts, NGO members, and civil society activists in its articles and used interviews and opinion types of articles when providing solutions.

All the pro-government newspapers tried to keep their professional distance from the government. Although their extent of coverage is at the highest, they had the highest numbers of neutral articles, salience responsibility, and consequences. Even during the conflict between the government and the parliament, they still managed to stay in their neutral positions.

The finding of this research describes how important the political side is on each paper in their framing this plan. *Kayhan* and *Resalat* represent opposition political sides, and they tried to salience dissatisfaction and unsuccessful parts of this plan under Rouhani administration. On the other hand, in many articles *Kayhan* and *Resalat* showed how Rouhani administration did not fulfill its commitment to the industry and cutting subsidies for high-income people and conflicts which were caused among the figures of the government, conflict between the government and the parliament, dissatisfaction among individuals, NGO members and civil society activists regarding government performance.

The figures which are sourced in these paper articles show the differences among the political views. *Iran*, *Shargh* and *Etemad* as government and pro-government's paper mostly cited government officials whereas, *Kayhan* and *Resalat* mostly presented views of members of the parliament and least compared to other papers gave space to the government.

Also, the opposition paper and pro-government papers showed how important the inherited problems from Ahmadinejad's government and what consequences of Rouhani's government was faced with. They tried to show how tough the mission of Rouhani administration solved the problems and provided suggestions for solutions.

In general, it has been concluded that the Iranian newspapers are affected by their political sides despite the fact that some papers still tried to stay professional.

The results of this study in comparison to the study by Nasrollahi and Nikpour (2012) showed that the Iranian print media are more open to critic the government. Compared to the Iranian television study on this issue showed all items were either supportive or neutral.

## **CONCLUSION**

To conclude, the framing approaches used to assess the publication of articles on subsidy reform there were clear differences between the pro-government newspapers and opposition newspapers in terms of news frame, slant, coverage, and source. This resulted in both pro-government and critical views on the subsidy reform being published which provides both views for public consumption and discussion. This is a positive development in the direction towards greater press freedom compared to the earlier days where opposition newspapers were allowed to voice for the single purpose of toppling existing ruling government and once the goal is achieved the newspapers were shut down mercilessly. The articles reviewed showed that there is evidence that newspapers are focused more on the issue at hand and not inclined towards politicizing it for purely political reasons.

## **LIMITATIONS**

This study has two limitations. One was on the timeframe and the number of papers which were included in this study.

This study used only five newspapers hence it was not possible to show a complete view of Iranian media sphere on this issue. There are many more papers which could have been included, but due to the limitation of time, this study covered only five newspapers.

Secondly is the timeframe of the study. This is due to the subsidy reform plan which started from 2010 and is still an on-going issue. Due to lack of time, this study only covered from December 2014 to April 2016.

### **SUGGESTION**

It is recommended that future studies track on the development of this issue in the media as and consider more newspapers including online news portals. This will provide further insight on whether the press freedom is allowed to expand and to what extent the newspapers can influence public opinion on key issues.

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**پاسخ آتشاه به تلاش برای اختلاف افکنی میان روحانی و مقام معظم رهبری**

آتشاه پاسخ به تلاش برای اختلاف افکنی میان روحانی و مقام معظم رهبری

سال سوم، شماره ۲۹۲، ۱۳۹۴ - ۲۰۱۵ خرداد



**روزنامه شَرَق**



**مقام معظم رهبری: استکبار در برابر افزون خواهی گستاخانه استکبار بسازند**

بانکه افکار سیاسی استکبار مظهر اصلی استکبار است. استکبار در برابر افزون خواهی گستاخانه استکبار بسازند

۴ خرداد ۱۳۹۴ - ۲۹ خرداد ۱۳۹۴



**جدال بر سر هاشمی به روایت شاهد عینی**

حسن الله کریم دربار و حاشیه فرام آید

سؤال شما انگیزه پاسخ نویی ایجاد نمی کند

مجلس دهم افتتاح شد

**زنگ امید در بهارستان**

پشتکار و صبوری گزینه های اصلاح طلبان برای نواب رئیس



**احمدی یزاد اگر بر تبه شد نامزد شود**

سید جلیان

۲ خرداد



**قائلیاب برخی اعضای شورایها به پای گیری متهم گرد**

۲ خرداد



**مهراب مهرابی با هرگز خود را شادست**

۲ میلیارد ۵۵۰ میلیون تومان

۲ خرداد

**نخن خودمانی با منتخبان مردم**

نخن خودمانی با منتخبان مردم

۲ خرداد

**منازعات فرادستان و ضعف در اجرا**

منازعات فرادستان و ضعف در اجرا

۲ خرداد

**چه خبر است؟**

چه خبر است؟

۲ خرداد

**ایمانی نشی**

ایمانی نشی

۲ خرداد

**برای مسئولیت نشی**

برای مسئولیت نشی

۲ خرداد

**هاکوپیان**

هاکوپیان

۲ خرداد

**ناسمین پارسه**

ناسمین پارسه

۲ خرداد

**وژه نامه اقتصادی**

وژه نامه اقتصادی

۲ خرداد

**انالله و انالله**

انالله و انالله

۲ خرداد

**برادر یزاد گوار**

برادر یزاد گوار

۲ خرداد

**اعتقاد**

عزتیه ۲۲ شهریور  
شماره ۱۳۱  
سال ۱۳۹۱  
قیمت: ۶۰۰۰ تومان

گفت‌وگو با غلامحسین کرمانجی درباره ترکیب هیات ریسه

هدف حذف نیروهای تندرو بود که به آن رسیدیم

از سوی اعضای اکثر تشکیل شده  
شماره انگشتی در آزمون سنجش

سید محمد باقر حسینی  
فرمانده کل سپاه پاسداران

سید محمد علی حسینی  
فرمانده جبهه مقاومت

سید علی حسینی  
فرمانده تیپ فدایی

سید احمد حسینی  
فرمانده تیپ ۷۱

روایت عدلخوا  
از رقبای مجلس دهم

# فراموش نکنید!

۱۷۲ رأی برای بهر ریاست  
سید محمد باقر حسینی  
عاشق ایرانی

۱۰ رأی مسوولانه  
صلاح‌الدین باقری  
عاشق ایرانی

۱۵ رأی واقعی ناکند  
فرانسیس اشرفی  
نایب رئیس اول پارلمان

۲ رأی مده نامرئمن  
نمازاد فرانسویز  
نایب رئیس دوم پارلمان

اکرمی در تعلیق اصفهان  
سهمزاد از هیات ریسه

۱۵ رأی برای بهر ریاست  
سید محمد باقر حسینی  
عاشق ایرانی

۱۰ رأی مسوولانه  
صلاح‌الدین باقری  
عاشق ایرانی

۱۵ رأی واقعی ناکند  
فرانسیس اشرفی  
نایب رئیس اول پارلمان

۲ رأی مده نامرئمن  
نمازاد فرانسویز  
نایب رئیس دوم پارلمان

اکرمی در تعلیق اصفهان  
سهمزاد از هیات ریسه

# ۱۰۳ نفر

## رای متعهدانه و مسوولانه بیشتر اعضای فراکسیون امید به عارف چراغ راه اصلاح طلبی در پارلمان شد

منتخب اول تهران با فلاحتی پس از اعلام نتایج انتخابات هیات ریسه، ریاست مجلس را به سرلیست امید ۱۰۳ نفر برگزید

عزتیه ۲۲ شهریور  
شماره ۱۳۱  
سال ۱۳۹۱  
قیمت: ۶۰۰۰ تومان

عزتیه ۲۲ شهریور  
شماره ۱۳۱  
سال ۱۳۹۱  
قیمت: ۶۰۰۰ تومان

### تفسیر آن رای و این انتخاب

چون در هیات ریسه و انتخابات هیات ریسه، اعضای فراکسیون امید با رأی ۱۰۳ نفر، رای متعهدانه و مسوولانه دادند و عارف چراغ راه اصلاح طلبی در پارلمان شد.

### مجلس دهم، سیاست امید و روش اعتدالی

چون در هیات ریسه و انتخابات هیات ریسه، اعضای فراکسیون امید با رأی ۱۰۳ نفر، رای متعهدانه و مسوولانه دادند و عارف چراغ راه اصلاح طلبی در پارلمان شد.

### مساله را با یک نکتیم

چون در هیات ریسه و انتخابات هیات ریسه، اعضای فراکسیون امید با رأی ۱۰۳ نفر، رای متعهدانه و مسوولانه دادند و عارف چراغ راه اصلاح طلبی در پارلمان شد.

از کیوسگ های  
مطبوعاتی  
بخواید

شماره پنجم  
منتشر شد

کرگانه را بخوانید

جدیدترین مدل های پوشاک فصل  
در فروشگاه های

مکسیم maxim COLLECTION

روباله نموس و پارکینگ، آسانسور، سیستم تهویه مطبوع

مهری آزادی های مصروفی  
هنها و مراکز گردشگری

مهری آزادی های مصروفی  
هنها و مراکز گردشگری

**شاخص بورس از ۳۳ هزار واحد عبور کرد**  
 بورس جهانی گواهی داد که ایران یکی از پویاترین بازارهای مالی در منطقه آسیا است. شاخص بورس تهران در روز دوشنبه ۳۳ هزار واحد را گذراند.

**کمیته عالی برای تعیین سقف قیمت مسکن**  
 هیأت عالی برای تعیین سقف قیمت مسکن در تهران تشکیل شد. این هیأت متشکل از نمایندگان دولت، بانک مرکزی و نهادهای ذیربط است.

**۷ هزار نفر در سازمان محیط زیست استخدام می شوند**  
 دولت ۷ هزار نفر را در سازمان محیط زیست استخدام می کند. این استخدام در قالب طرح جوانی خدمت کشور انجام می شود.

**سازمان محیط زیست به ۳۰ هزار نفر اطلاعیه داد**  
 سازمان محیط زیست به ۳۰ هزار نفر اطلاعیه داد و از آنها خواست که در استفاده از خودروها احتیاط کنند.

**مهر و ماهی در بازار آزاد**  
 قیمت ماهی در بازار آزاد کاهش یافت. این امر به دلیل افزایش عرضه و کاهش تقاضا است.



روزنامه رسمی جمهوری اسلامی ایران  
 شماره ثبت: ۳۰۰  
 شماره نشریه: ۱۱۱۱  
 نشانی: تهران، خیابان ولیعصر، پلاک ۱۱۱  
 تلفن: ۰۲۱-۸۸۰۰۰۰۰۰

# ایران

**استقلال یک گام تا قهرمانی تیم فصل**  
 تیم فوتبال استقلال در بازی اخیر با نتیجه مثبت ظاهر شد. این تیم در مسیر قهرمانی فصل قرار دارد.

**مسابقات فوتبال در تهران**  
 مسابقات فوتبال در تهران با حضور تماشاگران بسیار پر رونق برگزار شد.

## ایران از برخورد خجسته با اصلاح قانون انتخابات گزارش می دهد

**مصایب طرح شتابزده هیأت رئیسه مجلس**  
 یک منبع گمنام اعلام کرد که هیأت رئیسه مجلس مصایب طرح شتابزده اصلاح قانون انتخابات را در جلسه دوشنبه به اطلاع اعضای هیأت رئیسه رساند. این منبع افزود که این طرح به دلیل عجله در تصویب، مشکلات متعددی دارد.

**معاون وزیر امور خارجه: گواهی نامه صلاحیت حرفه ای شرط استخدام دولتی و خصوصی**  
 معاون وزیر امور خارجه اعلام کرد که از این پس برای استخدام در دستگاه های دولتی و خصوصی، داشتن گواهی نامه صلاحیت حرفه ای ضروری است.



**پاکستان به احمدی نژاد افتخار می کند**  
 پاکستان به احمدی نژاد افتخار می کند. این افتخار به دلیل دستاوردهای او در زمینه توسعه کشور است.

**مرگ بالینی پادشاه عربستان**  
 پادشاه عربستان در حالت مرگ بالینی قرار دارد. این خبر باعث تألم و تأثر فراوانی در منطقه شده است.

**کتاب آشنایی با ریاضیات**  
 کتاب آشنایی با ریاضیات، نوشته دکتر علی کوشا، به تازگی در بازار کتابها عرضه شده است. این کتاب به زبان ساده و روان به مبانی ریاضیات می پردازد.

**کتاب آشنایی با فلسفه**  
 کتاب آشنایی با فلسفه، نوشته دکتر سید مرتضوی، به تازگی در بازار کتابها عرضه شده است. این کتاب به زبان ساده و روان به مبانی فلسفه می پردازد.

**کتاب آشنایی با تاریخ**  
 کتاب آشنایی با تاریخ، نوشته دکتر حسن حبیبی، به تازگی در بازار کتابها عرضه شده است. این کتاب به زبان ساده و روان به مبانی تاریخ می پردازد.

**دامتاران خشکسختی بر اکران روبا**  
 دامتاران خشکسختی بر اکران روبا. این موضوع به دلیل کمبود بودجه و مشکلات فنی است.

**سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر**  
 سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر. این امر به دلیل مشکلات جاده ای و کمبود سوخت است.

**پایه ای گسترده اشتغال در رتبه شهروندان**  
 پایه ای گسترده اشتغال در رتبه شهروندان. این امر به دلیل تلاش های دولت برای ایجاد فرصت های شغلی است.

**سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر**  
 سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر. این امر به دلیل مشکلات جاده ای و کمبود سوخت است.

**پادشاه عربستان دچار مرگ بالینی شد**  
 پادشاه عربستان دچار مرگ بالینی شد. این خبر باعث تألم و تأثر فراوانی در منطقه شده است.

**سروش گشت**  
 ۸۸۴۷۶۸۵  
 خاصی نور پرواز  
 ۸۸۹۹۳۰۶  
 گروه هتل های  
 زنجیره ای مهر

**اگر قصد دارید سفر دارید**  
 اگر قصد دارید سفر کنید، به جازبه بخرید. این تبلیغ برای سفرهای تابستانی است.

**آژانس ها، تورها و هتل های معتبر را در ایران**  
 آژانس ها، تورها و هتل های معتبر را در ایران. این تبلیغ برای خدمات سفر است.

**سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر**  
 سخت گیری در مسیر انکوری بوشهر. این امر به دلیل مشکلات جاده ای و کمبود سوخت است.

**پادشاه عربستان دچار مرگ بالینی شد**  
 پادشاه عربستان دچار مرگ بالینی شد. این خبر باعث تألم و تأثر فراوانی در منطقه شده است.

**تجمع پلاک های ریزدانه، لازمه نوسازی بافت های فرسوده است.**  
 شماره پانصد و هفتاد و یک - ۰۲۱-۸۸۰۰۰۰۰۰ - شماره شرکتی - ۰۲۱-۸۸۰۰۰۰۰۰  
 وزارت راه و شهرسازی - شرکت ماهر تخصصی عمران و شهرسازی تهران

رسالت خبرگزاری اقتصادی و اجتماعی
دولتی ها در انتخابات شکست خوردند
اصلاح طلبان و اصلاح لاریجانی را
اکثلیت و اکثریت را شفاف کرد

ساماندهی شرایط اقتصادی، دستور کار جدی مجلس دهم

تیمور مرموز سازی یعنی در مجلس زمین را حقوق را برسد
مجلس سکن است
مجلس سکن است
مجلس سکن است

تگرانی آمریکا از آزادی فلوجه

نیویورک تاکنون آمریکا از نقش ایران در نبرد فلوجه نگران است
پسین مجلس شورای اسلامی، بیان کرد که کشور ما در این نبرد...

لاریجانی با رای ۱۷۳ رأی رئیس موقت مجلس شد

رئیس مجلس دهم، علی لاریجانی، با رأی ۱۷۳ رأی در جلسه علنی مجلس دهم...

آگهی مناقصه عمومی
شهرداری نظرآباد
شهرداری نظرآباد
شهرداری نظرآباد

آگهی مناقصه عمومی
شهرداری نظرآباد
شهرداری نظرآباد
شهرداری نظرآباد



تکفیری ها نه فقط دین ندارند که انسان هم نیستند

کیهان

تخفیف ۲۵ درصدی بلیت قطار برای سالمندان در ماه رمضان

تخفیف ۲۵ درصدی بلیت قطار برای سالمندان در ماه رمضان

رهبر انقلاب در پیامی به منتخبات ملت تاکید کردند اقتصاد مقاومتی و فرهنگ اسلامی اولویت فوری مجلس دهم

مجلس را سنگری استوار در برابر افزون خواهی گستاخانه استکبار بسازید



فرانکسبون نامیدی رویش داشته این ۶۳ نفر هم سببش!

اخراج ۲۵ هزار کارمند مخابرات آمریکا پس از اعتراض به کمی حقوق



استوره خلیج فارس



فریاد هنرمندان ۵۰ کشور در آتشای هولوکاست

آگهی تغییرات شرکت گروه توسعه اقتصادی پاس سهامی خاص به شماره ثبت ۴۷۳۰۳۲ و شناسه ملی ۱۴۰۱۴۹۶۱۵۰۷

به استناد برقراری هیئت مدیره مورخ ۱۳۹۷/۱۰/۱۵... آگهی تغییرات شرکت گروه توسعه اقتصادی پاس سهامی خاص به شماره ثبت ۴۷۳۰۳۲ و شناسه ملی ۱۴۰۱۴۹۶۱۵۰۷

آگهی تغییرات شرکت آریس طب سهامی خاص به شماره ثبت ۳۴۴۲۰ و شناسه ملی ۱۰۲۲۰۳۳۲۳۸

آگهی تغییرات شرکت آریس طب سهامی خاص به شماره ثبت ۳۴۴۲۰ و شناسه ملی ۱۰۲۲۰۳۳۲۳۸

آگهی مناقشه عمومی دومرحله‌ای ۹۵/۱۰۶

مناقشه عمومی دومرحله‌ای ۹۵/۱۰۶ (نوبت دوم) مناقشه عمومی دومرحله‌ای ۹۵/۱۰۶ (نوبت دوم)