

The Impact of the Weblog:
A Case Study of The United States and Iran

A Senior Honors Thesis

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I. Introduction

For better or worse, technology has dramatically changed the way people interact with one another. The creation of an electronic media has revolutionized the way information is gathered and transmitted. The weblog, a type of online journal, stands as the latest in a series of technological developments that has the potential to induce societal change. The possible impacts of the weblog have yet to be defined. But blogs may be changing the nature of the media, politics and society because of their unique form, which allows them to circumvent traditional geographical and financial barriers, presenting new and novel opinions. However, it is equally possible that blogs may be irrelevant if they do not reach a large audience or present new opinions, instead being ignored by the vast majority. Or worse, blogs may be a mechanism to mobilize emotions and stereotypic hatred for out-groups.

The proliferation of weblogs is a transnational phenomenon. Dramatic growth has been documented both in the United States and elsewhere around the world. The impact of the blog may differ depending on the political environment in which it is written. There is little reason to assume that the impact of the weblog will be the same everywhere. To understand the impact, I will examine the nature of blogging in two dimensions that represented opposite poles on a political spectrum. I will compare the blogs in a free democracy with little constraint on the media (United States) with the blogs in a theocratic, heavily censored and restrictive state (Iran). While we can describe the blogosphere and make observations about it, to date we know very little about its impact.

Determining the impact of the blog may prove to be difficult at best because it is not immediately obvious how one would show impact. The anonymity of the Internet prevents easy measurement of audience effects, particularly in Iran. Even if we do not know who reads weblogs, we may be able to determine impact by developing alternative indicators that are easily measurable. I argue that one possible way to examine the possible impact the blog could have is to identify how different the blogs are from the mainstream media in the two societies. Difference between the blogs and media would demonstrate that the blogs offer a unique perspective and consequently have an impact.

If the blogs and newspapers differ, that implies that the blogs are providing original opinions or information that may not be available in the mainstream newspapers. If the blogs and newspapers do not differ, that implies that the blogs are simply duplicating the content in the newspapers and thus probably have less of an impact as judged by this measure. If the blogs and newspapers differ in one environment but not in the other, it implies that the environment is a contributing factor to the overall impact of the blog. Blogs may matter in some places and not in others.

The study discussed below investigates these questions with a content analysis of Iranian and American blogs and newspapers from January 2004 to December 2004. By analyzing the content for difference and similarity, the study suggests that blogs do have an impact but that the environment does determine the extent of the impact.

Before turning to the methodology and results of the study, I will describe the blogosphere and define the key concepts that motivate this inquiry. Then I will describe the data collection process and analyze the results. Afterwards, I will attempt to draw some conclusions about how blogs are or are not changing the world.

II. Concepts

2.1 Blogs and The Blogosphere

The Weblog

A weblog (blog for short) is a hyperlink-driven site typically containing a mixture of hyperlinks, commentary, personal thoughts and essays. The weblog is essentially an online journal that permits the author to write about any given topic as frequently as he or she desires. Entries to the blog are presented in reverse chronological order and at times are archived by the blogger. In addition to the hyperlinks found within the entries, it is typical to see a permanent list of links to other blogs and websites commonly referred to as a blogroll. Weblog subject matter ranges dramatically from the serious to less serious. Unlike mainstream print media (newspaper, magazine) blogs can be updated in real-time creating an inherently greater dynamicism of the medium. In addition, the structure of

blog and blogosphere creates potential for conversation internally (if permitted by the blogger) and externally (demonstrated by the interlinking between blogs).

Predated by various forms of online communities, the term “weblog” was first used in 1997 by Jorn Barger, one of the first bloggers. In 1999, the first hosted weblog tools were developed, sparking the blogging phenomenon. In actuality, blogging gained the most prominence in 2002-2003 in response to the US decision to invade Iraq.

Throughout the Iraqi War, blogging became more and more important and widespread as some bloggers debated the War from a political perspective within the U.S. and other bloggers (soldiers and Iraqis) relayed details of the conflict directly from Iraq. By 2004, blogging had become more of a mainstream activity as demonstrated by a study by The Pew Internet and American Life Project¹ which found more than 8 million people (or 7% of all internet users) had created a blog.

The blogging environment today is both welcoming and deterring to newcomers. The development of stand-alone software packages² and online blog hosting sites³ facilitates easy creation of blogs. At the same time, limited readership and the difficulty of gaining prominence in the blogosphere are oftentimes discouraging and lead to high turn-over (or churn) rates. Blogging has spread throughout the world as a medium for quick, responsive communication spurring debates and challenging the status quo of the mainstream media.

¹ “The State of Blogging” Data Memo, January 2005. PIP Director Lee Rainie. Pew Internet & American Life Project.

² Stand-alone software is downloaded by the user and tends to offer more flexibility templates. Stand-alone software does require the user to find hosting for his or her blog. Examples include Moveable Type, WordPress and Greymatter.

³ Hosted blogging sites offer users the easier and fastest way to start a weblog. Generally the user must set up an account through the site and can begin blogging immediately. Examples of this type include TypePad and LiveJournal. Hybrid forms of the stand-alone and hosted sites exist as well including BlogSpot and Blogger.com.

Mapping the Blogosphere

Understanding the dynamics of the blogosphere requires an estimation of the number of blogs as well an analysis of the factors that influence a blog's popularity and interactions between blogs. The blogosphere is a microcosm of the Internet itself in the sense that each blog is connected to other blogs and vary in popularity as measured by several factors. The overall distribution of inbound links (one measure of popularity) between blogs remains highly unequal but also permits the researcher to examine only the most popular blogs without being unfairly biased.

The first major consideration to make in forming a map of the blogosphere must be an estimate of its size. In January 2005, the self-proclaimed "authority on what's going on in the world of weblogs", Technorati.com⁴ tracked more than 6 million weblogs, up from 4 million in September 2004. The matching engine PubSub.com⁵ tracked more than 8 million blogs in January 2005 an increase from just under a million in April 2004. Of the 8 million blogs, PubSub estimates about 4.5 million are currently active. The National Institute for Technology & Liberal Education's (NITLE) BlogCensus⁶ offers a more conservative estimate of approximately 2.1 million blogs of which 1.4 are estimated to be active. It also notes that of the 2.1 million blogs, roughly 1.3 million are English language blogs indicating that the blog phenomenon appears to be growing throughout the world. The disparity between estimates occurs primarily because of different classification rules and lack of a precise way to account for all blogs. NITLE's Blog

⁴ By April, 2005 Technorati tracked more than 9.4 million blogs demonstrating again the rapid growth of the blogosphere. Technorati is a real-time search engine exclusively for the blogosphere that relies on the links between blogs to determine the "perceived relevance" of each blog.

⁵ By April 2005, the number of tracked blogs increased to more than 9 million. Unlike Technorati (or Google or Yahoo), PubSub is not a search engine meaning that it maintains a collection of user queries (rather than webpages) which it can then match against new documents on the Internet. In theory this means that PubSub can find more up-to-date information than a standard search engine.

⁶ BlogCensus began in May 2003 in an effort to establish a "regularly updated database of all known weblogs."

Census relies on a hierarchical classification system that underestimates the number of blogs in favor of greater certainty about the classifications it does make. In addition, it searches for weblogs using private lists, public URL lists, weblog update sites and individual submissions. By necessity, this methodology misses some weblogs.

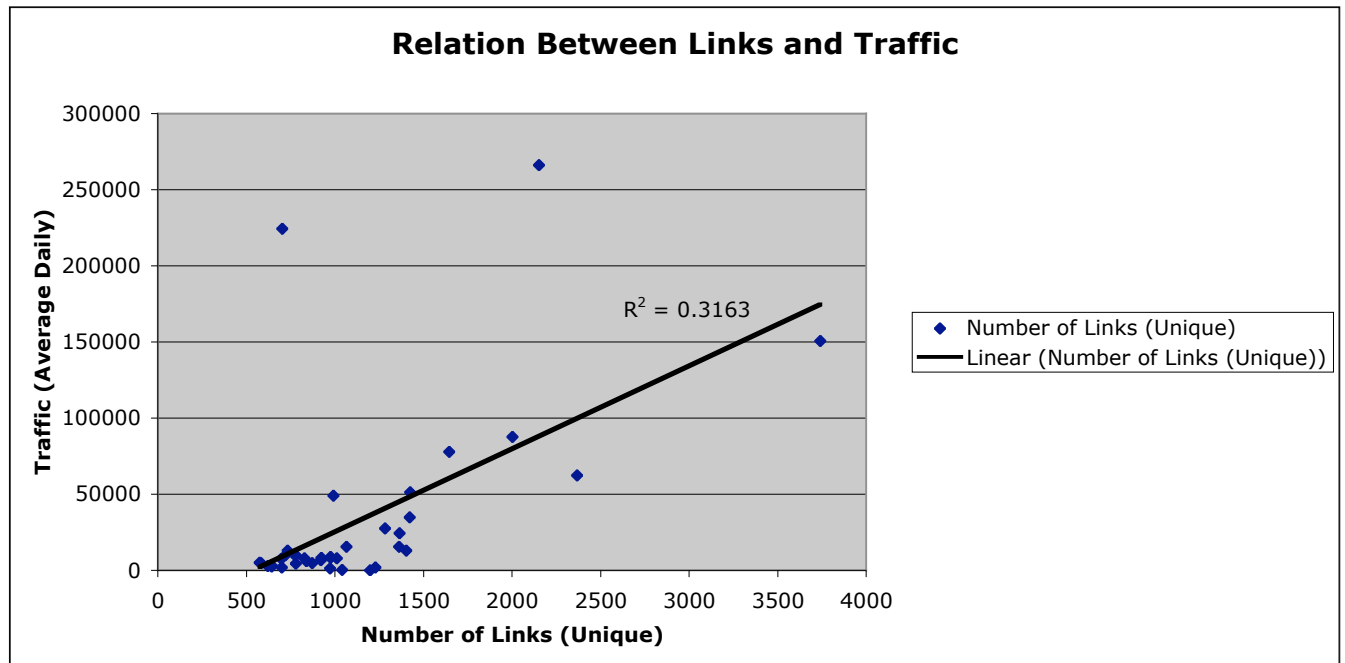
Technorati and PubSub monitor more blogs but it may be that they monitor blogs that are not really blogs or inactive blogs which would produce a higher number. Nevertheless, a precise figure may not be necessary to accurately analyze the impact of the weblog on mainstream media for reasons that will be discussed.

The popularity of a particular weblog can be measured using a combination of factors. Measuring the daily traffic of a blog offers one measure of its popularity but alone may be too crude to understand the dynamics of the system. Additionally, measures of traffic do not distinguish users so one user may visit the same site ten times or ten users might visit the site once and the effect would appear the same. If we measure the number of unique inbound links to a particular blog, we may be able to ascertain the popularity of the blog relative to other blogs. More inbound links implies greater popularity in the blogosphere. But this measure is also imperfect as it implies that all links are equal when they are clearly not. For example, if I have a weblog and MSNBC.com and my next-door neighbor both link to my weblog, it would be wrong to assume that both links are equally important. Links from more popular sites will bring more traffic to my blog. Some blog tracking sites focus on the blogrolls to determine what sites are most popular. Links in blogrolls are more permanent and consequently more important than links found within daily entries. Using these methods of analysis in combination offers the most accurate view of a blog's popularity. If it is possible to determine which blogs are most popular, it is possible to examine them in relation to the mainstream media to determine influence or lack thereof.

Every blog exists within the greater blogosphere network and is connected to a certain number of other blogs and external sites. Using data collected from the Blogosphere Ecosystem project, we can compare the number of unique inbound links to the average

daily traffic of blogs (figure 1) and can see a general relationship. As the number of links increase, the average daily traffic of the site increases as well.

Figure 1:



There are notable exceptions to the general trend where some blogs seem to have disproportionately high volumes of traffic relative to their inbound links. These disparities can be accounted for by considering the methods previously discussed to analyzing a blog's popularity. The blogs with higher than average traffic levels can be account for by particularly beneficial inbound links and readership that visits the blog more regularly than the average reader visiting blogs.

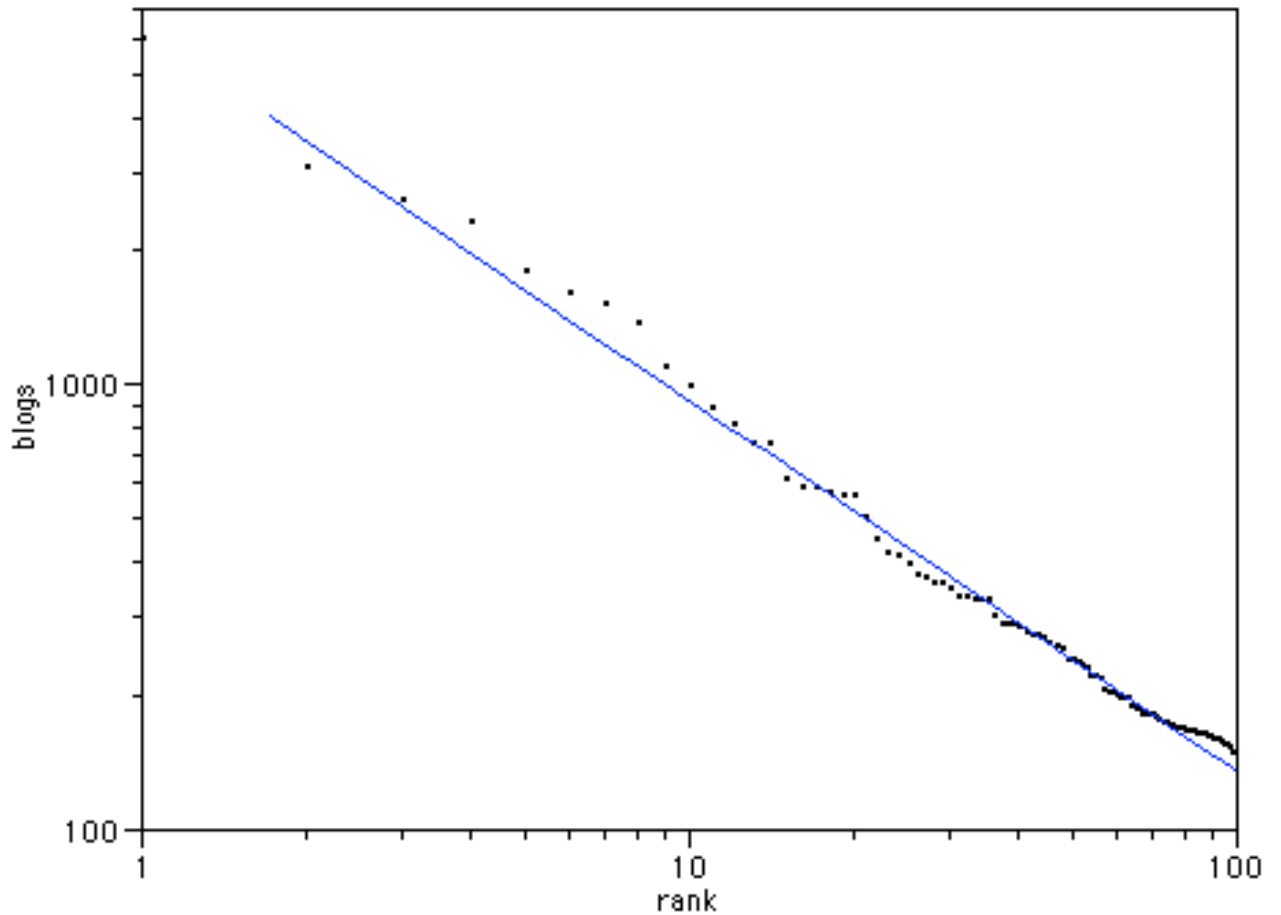
Clay Shirky described the blogosphere patterns with a power law model⁷ whereby the most linked to sites have the greatest share of links. Shirky claims that freedom of choice actually creates unequal distributions because individual choices are affected by other people's choices. The previous choices from others predispose a reader to make the same

⁷ Shirky's findings have been documented on his website dedicated to the Internet: http://www.shirky.com/writings/powerlaw_weblog.html.

choice rather than a different choice. Shirky's model does not explain which blogs will be more popular, it simply predicts some will be very popular and others will not.

Using data collected from the Technorati Top 100 blogs, Kevin Marks plotted the number of inbound links relative to the rank of the blog to demonstrate Shirky's model. The graph displays the disproportionate distribution of links across the 100 most popular blogs.

Figure 2: Incoming Blog Links by Rank



Source: <http://homepage.mac.com/kevinmarks/powerlaws.html>

Shirky's work illustrates that the links in blogosphere fall into a power law model which implies that a few heavily-linked blogs will be greatly outnumbered by the vast majority of lightly-linked blogs. Because of the uneven distribution of links, there will be a small number of extremely popular blogs which will be inherently more influential than small blogs because they are more widely read. Consequently, to analyze the impact of the blog on the mainstream media, it will not be necessary to examine all blogs instead focusing on the most popular blogs alone.

2.2 The Impact of Electronic Media

The rapid growth of the blogosphere has prompted a number of important questions. As with any new media, the natural question to ask seems to be what is the role of the new media in relationship to older media and society. To form reasonable hypotheses about the role of the weblog and the impact it theoretically has on society and the media, we turn to the literature within several disciplines: we start with a review of the literature dealing with the impact of electronic media, in particular the Internet, and then we move to the limited, though informative work done on weblogs themselves.

The literature about the impact of electronic media falls into two broad groups, the optimists and the pessimists. The discussion of electronic media focuses predominately on the impact of the Internet on mainstream media and politics but may be generalized to apply to weblogs as well.

The optimists claim that the Internet will revolutionize both the media and life itself. Browning (1996) and Bennett and Fielding (1999) study the impact of electronic media on voting and political advocacy. Both studies find that the Internet can play a role in increasing political participation by encouraging groups that did not previously participate. Conklin (2003) compares different elements of electronic media in his investigation of the transfer of information and the use of the Internet as a tool for political dissent. Typically the optimists suggest that the Internet has the potential to

revolutionize the political system, which while possibly a valid argument, remains unseen to date.

The pessimists argue that the change in politics and the media due to electronic media will be minimal and possibly detrimental to society. Davis (1999) argues that the impact of electronic media on the American political system will be minimal because the same players that dominate the print and television media will simply move to the Internet and dominate there as well. While Davis's claims are somewhat true, it is unfair to assume that such dominance implies little impact on the political system and media structure. Bimber (2003) argues that the Internet will not necessarily have any impact on politics because it simply facilitates communication between individuals who were already engaged in the political process. Sustein (2001) warns that the Internet may actually lead to the disintegration of communication between people instead favoring discussions between like-minded people only.

The role and impact of the weblog has been the subject of several studies. Each hypothesizes a certain role for the blog and attempt to support the argument with a variety of evidence. Drezner and Farrell (2004) claim that under certain circumstances, important blogs may shape an agenda and shift the attention of the mainstream media if they focus on new or neglected issues. Their conclusions are supported by anecdotal evidence, an analysis of the blogosphere structure and a survey of media elite. Bloom (2003) utilizes the same anecdotal evidence to demonstrate the growing influence of blogs in American politics and political communication. Gillmor (2004) approaches the issue from the communications angle and argues that blogs are the paradigm for a new form of journalism in the digital age. He argues that after September 11th, the face of journalism changed dramatically and the blogger truly came to prominence. McKenna (2004) attempts to assess whether or not blogs are a form of political participation. The study utilized e-mail surveys sent out to bloggers and found that blogging may be a way to improve participation by giving individuals another voice.

The blogosphere offers a wide range of questions yet to be answered. Clearly the jury is still out on the impact (positive, negative or neutral) of electronic media on the political system and mainstream media structure. While various scholars have attempted to address the role of the blog, they frequently rely on anecdotal evidence and consequently exaggerate the overall impact of the blog. To understand the role of the blog, it is necessary to conduct a content analysis of material in mainstream media and the most prominent blogs. In addition, we must compare the role of the blog in two different political environments to understand the nature of the blog's relationship to media and politics. The comparisons will illustrate the dynamic nature of the blogosphere and the impossibility of assigning a singular role to the weblog. In this study, I propose to elucidate the role of the weblog by examining both the relationship of the blog with mainstream media and the political environment in which the blog exists. In an ideal world, it would be advantageous to follow a particular topic as it disseminates through the media and blogosphere. The majority of scholarly papers discussing the blogging phenomenon have done this on a superficial level. To do that type of research correctly, it would require more time and assistance and would still pose a number of problems in terms of finding enough evidence to produce valid results. Instead of a topic-based study, this project will rely on a content analysis that will attempt to examine the diversity of opinion as presented in blogs and the mainstream media. The content analysis will focus on US-Iranian relations in order to allow for comparison between countries. In order to ascertain the state of US-Iranian relations, a series of universal questions will be developed to evaluate each source. Before detailing the research itself, we will turn our attention to the specifics of the blogosphere in the United States and Iran.

2.3 Blogging in the U.S.

Bloggers

The typical blogger in the United States is fairly difficult to describe. The Pew Center study noted that bloggers are likely to be young, male, broadband users who are relatively well off financially, internet-veterans and well educated. But even this classification overlooks the large number of women and minorities that have begun blogging.

Accessibility to software and hosting sites has lowered barriers to entry into the blogosphere. Consequently, the typical blogger could just as easily be a 13-year-old girl writing about life in high school as it could be an established journalist discussing trade developments in the EU. Some bloggers, such as Andrew Sullivan (DailyDish.com) and Joshua Micah Marshall (TalkingPointsMemo.com), were established journalists before starting a weblog. Others, such as University of Tennessee Law Professor Glenn Reynolds (InstaPundit.com), were not.⁸ At times the distinction between the mainstream writers and the independent writers can be important. Some bloggers argue that the act of writing a blog is a political statement in the sense that they feel they are challenging the way news is covered. Others openly display their allegiances to the mainstream by writing columns and blogs concurrently. The vast majority of the politically orientated bloggers remain connected to the mainstream media by linking to stories in the major press outlets. Despite this potentially symbiotic relationship with the media, bloggers are correct in arguing that they have the potential to be heard regardless of traditional financial and geographical constraints. We might ask then, does that imply blogging might have the ability to democratize the media? Once again, we can discern answers to this hypothetical question by examining the content in blogs and the mainstream media over a period of time.

Blog Readers

According to data collected by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, blog readership has increased significantly within the past six months. A January, 2005 memo notes “by the end of 2004 32 million Americans were blog readers....at least some of the overall growth in blog readership is attributable to political blogs.” While such growth is impressive, the study also observes that the majority of Internet users do not read blogs and large number remain uncertain about the definition of a “blog”. The study further concludes that blog readers are “somewhat more of a mainstream group than bloggers themselves” due in part to “greater-than-average growth in blog readership among

⁸ Glenn Reynolds (InstaPundit.com) divides his blog-roll into two categories: big journalism and pure bloggers. For some the differentiation is important, for others not nearly so much.

women, minorities, those between the ages of 30 and 49, and those with home dialup connections.” Growth in blog readership is expected to increase as the number of blogs increases and the population becomes more familiar with the most prominent blogs. The mainstream media has already recognized the blogosphere and in so doing has helped some blogs gain popularity. Even if the majority of Internet users are still unaware of the blogosphere, it should not be taken to mean that blogs are not important because by its nature, the blogosphere is extremely dynamic and growing larger by the day. What may be true today is likely to change tomorrow.

Political Blogs

Political blogs have formed their own unique niche in the blogosphere. The Pew Center Study found that roughly 1 in 10 Internet users actively read a blog during the 2004 presidential campaigns. It was during the 2004 elections that bloggers began to be recognized by major media sources. In fact, some prominent bloggers were invited to the national conventions in order to provide coverage for their readers. The politically orientated blogs span the ideological spectrum and focus on a wide-range of issues. They are often, but not always, responsive to the stories in the mainstream media. The structure of the political blogs vary widely in the manner they present information and the way they focus on a particular theme or expand themselves to address a variety of themes within their columns. The nature of the medium is such that either style is both possible and successful.

Role of the Blog

Just as the writers vary widely, the role of the weblog varies widely as well. The role of a particular blog depends heavily upon the motivations of the author. A woman writing about her day trip to knitting shops in New York City clearly has different intentions than the soldier in Iraq relating his combat experiences. Anecdotal evidence has suggested that the blogosphere in America works as a watchdog over the mainstream media by fact-checking and drawing attention to overlooked stories. Daniel Drezner argued that “blogs can socially construct an agenda or interpretive frame that acts as a focal point for

mainstream media, shaping and constraining the larger political debate.”⁹ Essentially Drezer claims that despite relatively small numbers, blogs are influential because certain important people in the media believe they are important. There is also the possibility that blogs may be a way to locate and mobilize support for a political cause. Perhaps the weblogs are simply a forum to discuss the issues in the mainstream media or otherwise important issues to a group of people. The reality is that each of these roles is equally possible and likely. This perhaps most accurately illustrates the dynamic nature of the blogosphere.

2.4 Blogging in Iran

Bloggers

Just as the typical blogger varies widely in the United States, the same holds true in Iran. Iran has a population of about 70 million with about 70% under the age of 30. Internet users total about 4-5 million people. Some have estimated more than 75,000 active Iranian weblogs. Toronto-based Iranian, Hossein Derakhshan, has actively promoted blogging in Iran by writing out the steps necessary to start a blog and encouraging Iranians to use the available software to create their own blogs.¹⁰ Bloggers in Iran write in both English and Farsi, though the Farsi blogs do outnumber the English-language blogs. In April 2005 the BBC reported that an Iranian journalist, Massih Ali-Nejad, had been banned from the conservative-controlled parliament after she exposed parliament member’s pay rates and bonuses.¹¹ Ali-Nejad turned to blogging in response to the conservatives’ ban and now continues to write about the Iranian MPs. Mohammad Ali Abtahi, former vice president of legal and parliamentary affairs, has also recently turned

⁹ Daniel W. Drezer, “The Power and Politics of Blogs” (August, 2004), presented at the 2004 American Political Science Association. Drezer cites the Trent Lott resignation as evidence of the blogosphere’s influence. His study relies explicitly on an analysis of the links in the blogosphere and a survey of media elite preferences.

¹⁰ Derakhshan (aka Hoder) has not only promoted blogging in Iran but has used the Iranian experience to write articles about forming a local blogosphere in other communities. He argues that the Iranian blogosphere can serve as a template for blogospheres in third-world countries. <http://www.hoder.com/weblog/>

¹¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4414895.stm

to blogging. Iranian students and journalists have start blogging in large numbers, encouraged by the opportunity to share their lives and perceptions with the world.

Blog Readers

If it is difficult to describe blog readers in the United States, it may well be impossible to describe readers in Iran where government censorship threatens dissenters and the forms of media that allow dissension. At the same time, however, the rapid growth of the Iranian blogosphere suggests that at least some blogs were widely read and discussed, sparking the proliferation of new blogs. Blogrolls provide another indication of readership. Iranian blogs often link to other Iranian blogs, suggesting that bloggers themselves may be the most prominent blog readers. Some American bloggers also appear to be interested in Iranian blogs as they link to a particular entry or even add the Iranian blog to their own blogroll. Unlike the American blogs, it appears to be less common for Iranian blogs to contain a site meter that might offer some indication of how many readers looked at a particular blog. Thus determining exactly how many are reading blogs in Iran seems impossible at the moment.

Political Blogs

While political blogs do exist, it is much more common for blog writers to be political in their entries about every-day life. A study by the OpenNet Initiative on Internet censorship in Iran found that the largest ISP in Iran blocked a number of weblogs and political, religious or social sites, not just pornographic material.¹² In at least one instance, Iranian bloggers have promoted a particular cause by both incorporating the

¹² “Internet Content Filtering in Iran: Verification of Reported Banned Websites” Posted August 13, 2004. <http://opennetinitiative.net/bulletins/004>. The OpenNet Initiative is a collaboration dedicated to researching Internet censorship and the impact it has on “state sovereignty, security, human rights, international law, and global governance.” While the study examined all types of filtering, it confirms the accusation that the Iranian government has been blocking some weblog and consequently implies a certain level of concern about their potential impact in Iran.

issue into their existing blogs and creating a separate blog explicitly for the issue.¹³ In this sense the blog is a way to mobilize support for a political issue that may have been overlooked or intentionally ignored in the major media outlets. If the blog offers a way to dissent, the blog must be inherently political.

Role of the Blog

A heavily censored, state-controlled mainstream media have created an environment for the Iranian weblog to be potentially more important than the American weblog. Some have suggested that the Iranian weblogs have become the free-media. Indeed the weblog serves both social and political functions concurrently by bringing people together within the country and exposing the outside world to Iranian culture. The blog acts as a forum to unite people and bring new, often controversial, ideas to light. The blog also allows the world an opportunity to view Iranian culture as presented directly from the Iranian citizen, not filtered through the state monopolized media. The Global Voices Project of the Berkman Institute of Harvard University Law School has focused on highlighting the bloggers that write in multiple languages (bridge bloggers) arguing they offer the best possibility for exposing the world to different cultures.¹⁴ In this sense, the weblogs may be a way for Iranians to interact with other cultures and challenge the existing stereotypes of the country. In February 2005, the BBC reported that the Iranian government had been responding to the blogging phenomenon by arresting the most prominent and controversial bloggers.¹⁵ The response of the Iranian government indicates that a portion of the government fears the growth of the blogosphere and the implications that may have for the current government.

¹³ The blog *Iranians for Peace* is devoted to “the Iranian people who are against a military attack on Iran.” Other bloggers have supported the movement and added the *Iranians for Peace* logo onto their blog sites.

¹⁴The Global Voices Project is dedicated to promoting “conversation taking place online by involving speakers from around the world, and developing tools, institutions and relations to help make these voices heard.” The Project started out of a 2004 Harvard conference on Internet and Society. <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/globalvoices/>

¹⁵Boyd, Clark, “The Price Paid for Blogging Iran” February 21, 2005 on BBC.com. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/4283231.stm>

2.5 Determining Blog Impact

In the broadest terms, this project will compare the perspectives of the new media (blogs) and the old media (newspapers) within the United States and Iran. The variable, diversity of opinion (d), shall be measured using a series of questions designed to reflect the general perceptions of each media source. I expect that the diversity of opinion in the US blogs and newspapers will be comparable because there are few restraints on the US media. In contrast, I would expect the Iranian newspapers to have a very low diversity of opinion and the Iranian blogs to have a higher diversity of opinion due to the political environment within Iran. In symbolic notation:

$$N_1: (d_{\text{blog-US}} = d_{\text{newspaper-US}}) < (d_{\text{blog-Iran}} > d_{\text{newspaper-Iran}})$$

If this proves to be the case, it demonstrates that the blogs in Iran are playing a unique role that the blogs in the United States are not playing. This is not to say that blogs in the United States are irrelevant, simply that the role of the blog does depend on the environment in which it exists. Furthermore, it would raise the question whether or not the weblogs can assume the role of acting free media in a society that has gone to great lengths to restrict free speech. If on the other hand, we see that the diversity of opinion in blogs and newspapers in both Iran and the U.S. are comparable, it would suggest that blogs are not filling an important role:

$$N_0: (d_{\text{blog-US}} = d_{\text{newspaper-US}}) = (d_{\text{blog-Iran}} = d_{\text{newspaper-Iran}})$$

The nature of US-Iranian relations should be revealed through a series of particular issues including Iranian nuclear aspirations, terrorism threats, the US role in the Middle East (with particular concern over the Iraq War) and American relations with Israel. The way these issues are portrayed in each medium will reveal how the two media understand and convey US-Iranian relations from both an Iranian and American perspective. If a population's perception of another country is the result of the image the media creates, discrepancies between images are incredibly significant in shaping the way we act and react to other populations.

The topic of interest was strategically selected because of its highly sensitive nature. If this test shows difference, it is particularly significant because it implies that one would be likely to find difference in less sensitive areas. Discussion of US-Iranian relations is likely to be susceptible to nationalistic sentiment and government censorship. As such, lack of difference should not be dismissed as lack of significance. It may be entirely possible that the media may intentionally avoid the topic due to social and political pressures that constrain their ability to express their views in a manner that would be acceptable in the specific environment.

I developed a set of rules to code the articles and entries. The questions were designed to evaluate the overall perception of US-Iranian relations presented implicitly or explicitly. I considered three basic aspects of the relationship: view of self, view of other and suggested course of action.

Self Test

To determine the view of self, I coded statements that referenced the home country or the actions of the home country as positive or negative. I tallied the number of positive and negative statements and indicated this number on the code sheet. Positive statements came in a variety of forms, but were relatively uncommon. For example, in an *Iran Daily* article, Iranian President Mohammad Khatami is quoted stating Iran is moving closer towards democracy.¹⁶ Criticisms of the government or actions of the country were recorded as negative statements. The *Brooding Persian* begins one of his entries noting “a country which finds it practically impossible to keep its public restrooms clean has no business pursuing nuclear power” before proceeding to explain Iran’s problems.¹⁷ Since each comment is recorded individually, there will be no measurement about the positivism or negativism of a particular statement. I have avoided this because I believe it would lead to highly subjective measurements.

¹⁶ “Freedom, Independence Historic Demands of Iranians,” *Iran Daily*. August 28, 2004.

¹⁷ *Brooding Persian*, August 22, 2004.

Other Test

In order to determine the view of other, I used the image scheme proposed by Herrmann and Fischerkeller¹⁸ to create a coding mechanism tailored to the US-Iranian situation. This portion of the analysis is meant to ascertain how the blog or newspaper portrays the foreign country. Each article or entry was categorized as one of three stereotypes (enemy, colony, or imperial), a complex stereotype or no stereotype indicated (described in table 1).

The enemy stereotype was characterized by statements that indicate a fear about the intentions of the foreign state and a belief of comparable capability. While this image may not have made sense in the past, the threat of terrorism and the potential for the Iranians to acquire nuclear technology has opened the possibility for American sources to apply the enemy image. Editorials in American newspapers that argued the need to strong hand Iran to give up its nuclear aspirations in order to prevent an Iranian attack on Americans are prime examples of the enemy image. From the Iranian perspective, the enemy image made little sense unless the Iranians argued that America had comparable power in the Middle East (because American power had been limited by the Iraq War), it was possible to apply it. Iranian sources that implied an American attack on Iran would be just like the Iran-Iraq War might be utilizing the enemy image.

The colony image was more likely to be applied by American sources than the enemy image. It was characterized by statements that suggest the foreign country is inferior and needs the help of the more powerful nation. Sources that focus on the opposition groups and advocate supporting a resistance tend to fall into this category. A December *Washington Post* article addressed the Bush administration's aspirations to encourage regime change in Iran, characterizing key administration members as taking the "moral

¹⁸ Herrmann and Fischerkeller. "Beyond the enemy image and spiral model: cognitive-strategic research after the cold war" *International Organization* 49 (Summer 1995), 415-450.

high ground.”¹⁹ The colony image relies on an assumption that there is both a viable opposition and that it is superior to the existing government.

The imperial image is the most likely image Iranian sources would apply to the United States. The basic perception is that the great power is seeking to exploit the weaker state for economic or political gain. While this could mean direct exploitation (removing oil resources), it may also include indirect exploitation (forcing democracy on a country in order to protect a regional ally from a perceived threat). In most cases, the more indirect form of exploitation was foreseen by Iranian sources.

When judgments about the other state’s intentions and capabilities were made but not easily classified into one of the stereotypes, the article or entry was classified as complex. If the three stereotypes represent one end of the spectrum, the complex image represents the other and implies a greater understanding of the foreign nation. In the case when the articles or entries seemed to make no judgment, they were to be classified as no stereotype.

Table 1 compares the characteristics of each image and provides specific examples as may have occurred in the case of Iranian-US relations. While the table is not meant to be exhaustive, it does provide a rough approximation of the standards used to code the source material. For a more complete detailing of the coding rules, both for this question and other questions, please refer to Appendix A for the actual rules used in the study.

¹⁹“Facing Iran” in *The Washington Post*, Editorial Section, December 6, 2004.

Table 1:

Image Type	Characteristics	Example
<i>Enemy</i>	Capability judged to be comparable, hostile intentions towards home state, able enact complex plots.	Iranian threats to pursue a nuclear weapons program may be understood under this context, particularly if the perception is that Iran will use the weapons to target American allies or strategically important locations.
<i>Colony</i>	Inferior capability, ineffective or incapable leadership, intervention necessary, reliance on an opposition group within the country.	Proposals for American intervention in Iran in order to bring democracy to the country are typically utilizing the colony image.
<i>Imperial</i>	Superior capability but motivation for involvement characterized as less-than altruistic, more likely to be self-serving.	Iranians who argue that the US will invade Iran in order to secure oil reserves or to force democracy on the country are nearly always using an imperial image.
<i>Complex</i>	Intentions, capabilities and decision-making processes judged to be complicated and difficult to reduce to simple explanations.	Any writer who acknowledges that there are many factors that contribute to the government's decisions are more often than not providing a complex image.

Action Test

Finally I proposed three basic policy options available to each country and attempted to code each article's preference, if one existed. The three policy options were engagement, resistance and confrontation. From the American perspective, each policy option is possible. Currently the Bush administration has chosen to pursue a policy of resistance, characterized by diplomatic efforts and the constant threat of sanctions. The European coalition has attempted to pursue a policy of engagement as they have negotiated with the Iranians and offered incentives for compliance. Though rarely considered a viable option

by policy analysis, some have nevertheless suggested military confrontation to compel the Iranians to concede to American demands. For the Iranians, lack of capability removes military confrontation as a possible or likely policy option. The Iranians do have the option to either be cooperative with the Americans or to resist the Americans. To date, the Iranians have resisted American pressure to stop developing a nuclear program. When multiple policy options were proposed, the article or entry was to be coded as a separate “multiple” policy proposal. In this portion, the concern is both the variety of options suggested and the specific type of option suggested by the blogs and newspapers.

III. Data

Using the aforementioned concepts to inform my research, I then set about forming a data set to analyze in order to inform my hypothesis that blogs in the United States have a smaller impact than blogs in Iran because of the role they have each assumed in their home countries.

American Sources

Initially I selected three of the most prominent, politically-orientated American weblogs (based on the number of hits the site received and the number of inbound links) with archives and collected all entries which mentioned Iran or Iranian within the calendar year of 2004. The blogs included Joshua Micah Marshall’s *TalkingPointsMemo*²⁰, Andrew Sullivan’s *DailyDish*²¹ and Glenn Reynolds’ *InstaPundit*²². Next I selected three

²⁰ Marshall writes freelance articles for a number of major newspapers and magazines including *Washington Monthly*, *The Boston Globe*, *The New Yorker* and *Slate*. Talking Points Memo began in November 2000 and addresses all types of political stories with a particular interest in foreign policy. The blog tends to follow major stories as they unfold in the mainstream media. Marshall’s blog is generally considered to be a liberal blog. TalkingPointsMemo.com.

²¹ Former editor of *The New Republic*, Sullivan writes about a broad range of topics in his blog including homosexuality, faith, politics and culture. Sullivan’s blog tends to be more conservative and offers more opinion than the other two blogs. AndrewSullivan.com.

²² Glenn Reynolds teaches law at the University of Tennessee and writes his blog InstaPundit as a hobby. Reynolds warns his readers that the information he presents is

elite American newspapers and conducted a search for articles with Iran or Iranian in the headline during the calendar year of 2004. The articles were selected from *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Because of the large number of articles in the major newspapers, I sampled fifty articles from each newspaper using a random digit chart. Each article and entry was assigned a number and set aside to be coded.

Iranian Sources

Language barriers prevented me from using Persian-language newspapers or blogs. However, there are a good number of English-language Iranian blogs and several online Iranian newspapers with English-language archives. I found four English-language Iranian weblogs with archived material and collected all of the entries which mentioned the United States or Bush. I used four instead of three as I had used with the American blogs because it proved difficult to find Iranian blogs with archives. When I did find several blogs with archives, they had very few total entries relative to the American blogs which produced very few relevant entries overall. I used *BroodingPersian*²³, *Iranian Prospect*²⁴, *To Write or Not To Write*²⁵ and *Iranian Diaries*²⁶. I found two Iranian

simply that which he finds to be most interesting at the time. He tends to lead readers to other sources with little to no commentary at times. InstaPundit.com.

²³Written without a particular thematic, *BroodingPersian* offers “guarded observations” presumably about Iranian life. The blog began in December, 2003 and receives about a hundred hits per day. <http://broodingpersian.blogspot.com/>

²⁴Omid Memarian maintains *Iranian Prospect* and focuses on democracy, civil society and youth in Iran. Memarian is an Iranian journalist who spent two months in prison after conservatives in Iran arrested him and claimed he threatened civil society. Memarian’s blog began in August, 2003. <http://omidmemarian.blogspot.com/>

²⁵*To Write or Not to Write* is written by another “bridge blogger” (in addition to the English-language blog, Okhtay maintains a Persian blog and a Turkish blog). The blog began in December 2003 and offers perspectives from a young Iranian. <http://oxtay2.blogspot.com/>

²⁶*Iranian Diaries* proclaims to offer “thoughts and ideas about everything, with an Iranian attitude.” Started in January 2004, the blog offers a limited number of interesting entries that cover a wide range of topics. <http://iraniandiaries.blogspot.com/>

newspapers with online, English-language archives: *Iran Daily*²⁷ and *The Islamic Republic News Agency*²⁸. I collected as many articles that referenced America or Bush. Unfortunately the archives for both sources were limited which permitted me to collect articles from only a part of the calendar year. Each entry and article was assigned a number and set aside to be coded.

Table 2: Sources

Articles from 1/1/04 to 12/31/04, Source (Number)

US		Iran	
Newspapers	Blogs	Newspapers	Blogs
LA Times (45)	Daily Dish (17)	Iran Daily (62)	Brooding Persian (16)
NY Times (50)	InstaPundit (44)	Islamic Republic News Agency (22)	Iranian Diaries (5)
Washington Post (50)	Talking Points Memo (42)		Iranian Prospect (10)
			To Write or Not to Write (6)

In total, I collected 375 articles of which 230 were from newspapers and 145 were from weblogs. Using the articles and entries I collected, I then coded each using my coding scheme (detailed in appendix A) and entered the data onto an excel sheet which noted the date, form and country of origin in addition to the aforementioned categories of self, other and action (data set found in appendix B). With the data, I then conducted various statistical tests to determine the relationship between weblogs and mainstream media in Iran and the United States.

²⁷Iran Daily archives were only available from August through December of 2004. However, they did include opinion pieces as well as the standard news items. <http://www.iran-daily.com/archive.htm>

²⁸ While the archive offered no indication that it was not complete, in doing a search for articles of the calendar year, only articles from October through December appeared to be available. Additionally they were limited to standard news items only. http://www.irna.ir/index.php?option=com_newssearch&Itemid=243&lang=en.

Self Test

The Self Test was an attempt to record any positive or negative statement made by an author in the home country about the government or actions of the home country. Each article, regardless of how many positive or negative statements were made, is recorded as one item in the following table.

Table 3: Self Test

Frequency of Self Observation (Observed/Total)

US		Iran	
Newspapers	Blogs	Newspapers	Blogs
11/145	10/105	2/85	8/37

Proportionally, the Iranian blogs made the most statements about self, while the Iranian newspapers made the least. American newspapers and blogs were comparable in the frequency of their statements. I expected bloggers (both American and Iranian) to be most critical of their home countries but it turned out that they tended to be more subtle about their criticisms. For example, in the Iranian blog *To Write or Not to Write*, the author writes of Iranian leaders “today they don’t accept anyone from outside their own circle of trust and all the positions and ministries are given to them in turn!”²⁹ Another Iranian bloggers writes “approximately all of Iranians hate Khamenei, and hate his followers who see him – or pretend to see him – as a divine leader.”³⁰ Nearly all of Iranian blog criticism was directed towards the Mullahs that control the government. American blogs were somewhat reluctant to criticize the American government. The *Daily Dish* asks “Isn’t Bush ignoring Iran?”³¹ while *Talking Points Memo* challenges the administration with the comment “the key....was the new administration’s abiding belief in the centrality of states as *the* actors in international affairs. That assumption not only preceded 9/11 but, perversely, *survived* it.” Interestingly, while the Iranian bloggers tended to comment on the negative impact of the government on the Iranian population,

²⁹ *To Write or Not to Write*, “2 in the morning and very tired!” September 1, 2004.

³⁰ *Iranian Diaries*, “To cast or not to case votes; that’s the question” January 15, 2004.

³¹ *Daily Dish*, September 18, 2004.

the American bloggers were more likely to see the negative impact of the government's actions not so much for the population but for the United States as a world power.

I expected the Iranian newspapers to be more positive about the Iranian government but they tended to be reserved with judgment. The *Islamic Republic News Agency* made no positive or negative reference to the actions of the Iranian government. *Iran Daily* described a speech by President Khatami, paraphrasing his comments and writing that “freedom, independence and advancement are three historic demands of Iranians.” The article continued on to discuss the accomplishments of the government without any negative judgment or counter arguments.³² This example illustrates the overall trend in Iranian newspapers to avoid making political statements and when political statements were made, they were generally favorable to the government. American newspapers did contain more judgments about self, but in way similar to the American blogs. In a *Washington Post* article about an album of children's lullabies performed by people living in states deemed by the Bush administration to be evil, Joe Heim writes “if President Bush intended that ‘axis of evil’ be applied to the governments of these countries and not the people, it is a message that is neither understood nor accepted by many...”³³ Again, the negative comment focused on the ramifications for populations around the world, not the American people.

Other Test

The Other Test attempted to ascertain the opinion of the writer about the other country (US or Iran). Here the options were a set of images ranging from the most stereotypical to the most complex. Each article could only have one possible image.

Table 4: Other Test

Frequency of Other Observation (Observed/Total)

US		Iran	
Newspapers	Blogs	Newspapers	Blogs
40/145	34/105	7/85	15/37

³²*Iran Daily*. “Freedom, Independence Historic Demands of Iranians” August 28, 2004.

³³ Heim, Joe, “‘Axis of Evil’ Lullabies: A Nod to Peace” in *The Washington Post*, October 26, 2004.

Again, the largest proportion of observations were in Iranian blogs, the least in Iranian newspapers and comparable numbers in American blogs and newspapers. In a *New York Times* Editorial, David Sanger subtly indicates that the Iranians are a real cause for concern when he writes “the Iranians defied the International Atomic Energy Agency by saying they were resuming the enrichment of uranium, although they insist their project is intended only to produce electric power and is not, as the United State has chard, part of a bomb project.”³⁴ From the Iranian standpoint, the same images appeared in both the blogs and newspapers without much variation. *Iran Daily* reported a speech by Ayatollah Khamenei in which he “called on the Muslim world to promote unity and stand against the global arrogance of the US ‘anywhere and in every manner’” revealing the perception that the Americans have sought to impose their rule on countries around the world, particularly in the Middle East.³⁵ This sentiment is reflected in the Iranian blogs as well, despite their departure from the general opinions presented in the Iranian newspapers. For example, the *Brooding Persian* expresses reservation about U.S. actions as he describes Americans as “our self appointed savors [who] insist on continuing their crusade to re-make us in their own image.”³⁶ It may be that the stereotype holds true to reality more than it should and consequently the attitudes reflected in the Iranian blogs and newspapers are similar because there is that element of truth.

Action Test

The Action Test was a reflection of the policy preferences dictated by the author of the article or entry. The policy options were limited to engagement, resistance and confrontation. Articles with multiple policy preferences were coded as a separate “multiple” category. While the policy options were fairly limited, they were designed to be different enough to allow each article to be classified as one or another. When the multiple category was used, it was not meant to imply an entirely different policy option such as ignoring the other country entirely. Table 5 shows the distribution of statements advocating a particular policy option.

³⁴ Sanger, David. “What Can and Cant’ Be Done About North Korea and Iran” in *New York Times*, September 26, 2004.

³⁵ *Iran Daily*, “US Seeks Domination Over Muslim World” September 14, 2004.

³⁶ *Brooding Persian*, “Expatriates & Bush” February 22, 2004.

Table 5: Action Test

Frequency of Action Observation (Observed/Total)

US		Iran	
Newspapers	Blogs	Newspapers	Blogs
40/145	3/105	1/85	8/37

In this category, the observations were less pronounced. While Iranian blogs had more coded articles than Iranian newspapers, the percentages were not as high relative to the other media, as had been the case in the self and other tests. Some Iranian bloggers tended to be more outspoken about their policy preferences. The *Iranian Diaries* author writes “As an Iranian who wants a smooth life with at least a middle welfare, I want my country to have relations with America, and even Israel. Trying to get isolated in the global, small village of today world is just foolish and nonsense.”³⁷ US newspapers were much more likely to make policy preferences than US blogs were, mostly likely because the newspapers tended to reflect the current administration’s policy preferences more often than blogs did. In a New York Times editorial, Senator John Kyl writes “it is refreshing to see an aggressive critic of President Bush...acknowledge that the multilateral coalition of France, Britain and Germany has failed to prevent Iran from pursuing nuclear weapons.”³⁸ Kyl’s statement reflects a perception that Iran is aggressive and that the U.S. must do something to stop the Iranians from pursuing nuclear power. Most often the policy preferences were made explicit when they were very similar to the policy the administration pursued or when they were dramatically different from the policy the administration pursued.

³⁷*Iranian Diaries*, “Tired of the mullahs” January 4, 2004.

³⁸Kyl, John. “Iranian Nuclear Threat” in *The New York Times*, August 11, 2004.

IV. Analysis

Self Test

The first test attempted to ascertain the writer's perception of their home country by measuring the positive and negative statements within the article or entry. While positive and negative statements were rare, most likely attributable to the media's efforts to remain unbiased, they did occur enough to provide revealing results about the relationship of the blogs and newspapers in the United States and Iran. Table 6 compares the frequency of statements about self between American and Iranian newspapers and blogs. It also illustrates the proportion of those statements which were positive and the proportion of those statements which were negative. While the overall percentages were typically low, the distribution of positive and negative tended to be very one-sided suggesting that when statements are made, they will nearly always be similar to previous statements made in the particular source.

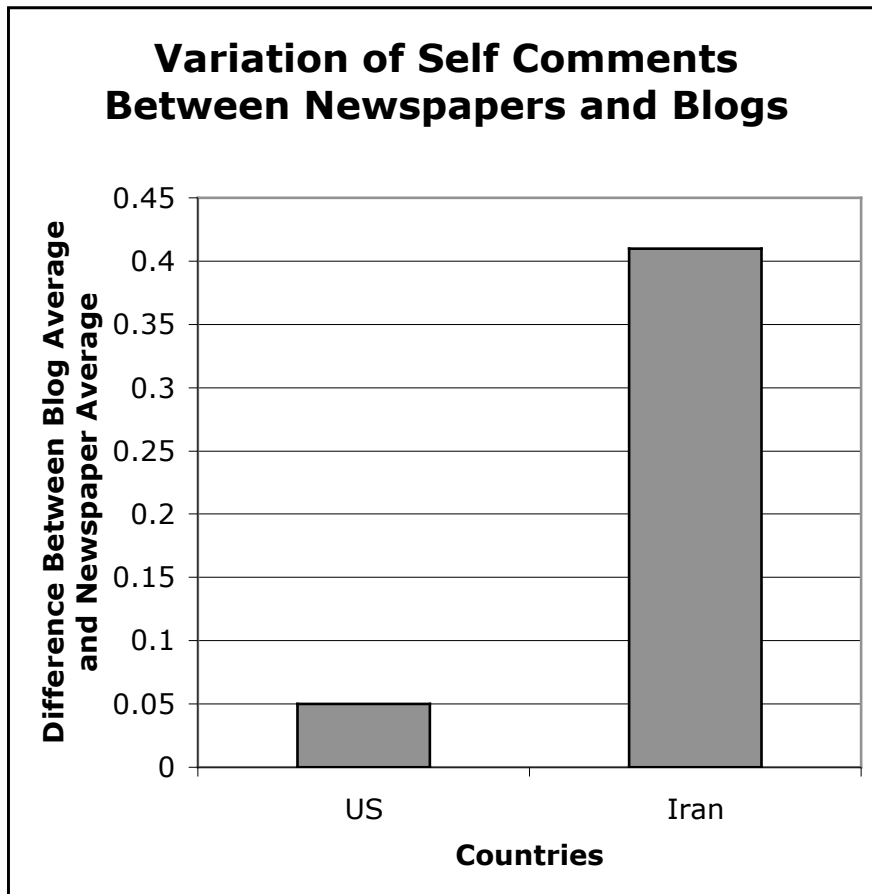
Table 6: Distribution of Positive and Negative Statements About Self

	Percentages of Articles Containing Positive or Negative Statements	% of Articles with Positive Statements (Out of Total Articles with Statements)	% of Articles with Negative Statements (Out of Total Articles with Statements)
US Newspaper	8%	0%	100%
US Blog	9.50%	10%	90%
Iranian Newspaper	2.40%	100%	0%
Iranian Blog	21.60%	0%	100%

When the average of all statements made in blogs and newspapers were compared between the United States and Iran, there was no significant difference. Combining blogs

and newspaper to compare the American and Iranian sources gives slightly misleading results. When we compare the averages of American weblogs with the averages of American newspapers, there is very little difference. Both sources were slightly negative on average. In contrast, when we compare the averages of Iranian weblogs with the averages of Iranian newspapers, there is a more significant difference. On average, Iranian newspapers were more likely to be positive while Iranian weblogs were more likely to be negative about the Iranian government. The difference between the average of all statements made in newspapers and all statements made in blogs is show in figure 1, which illustrates that greater variation is found in Iran.

Figure 1:



The test illustrates that the weblogs in Iran are providing a different view of the Iranian government than the newspapers which we can deduce have been compelled by the

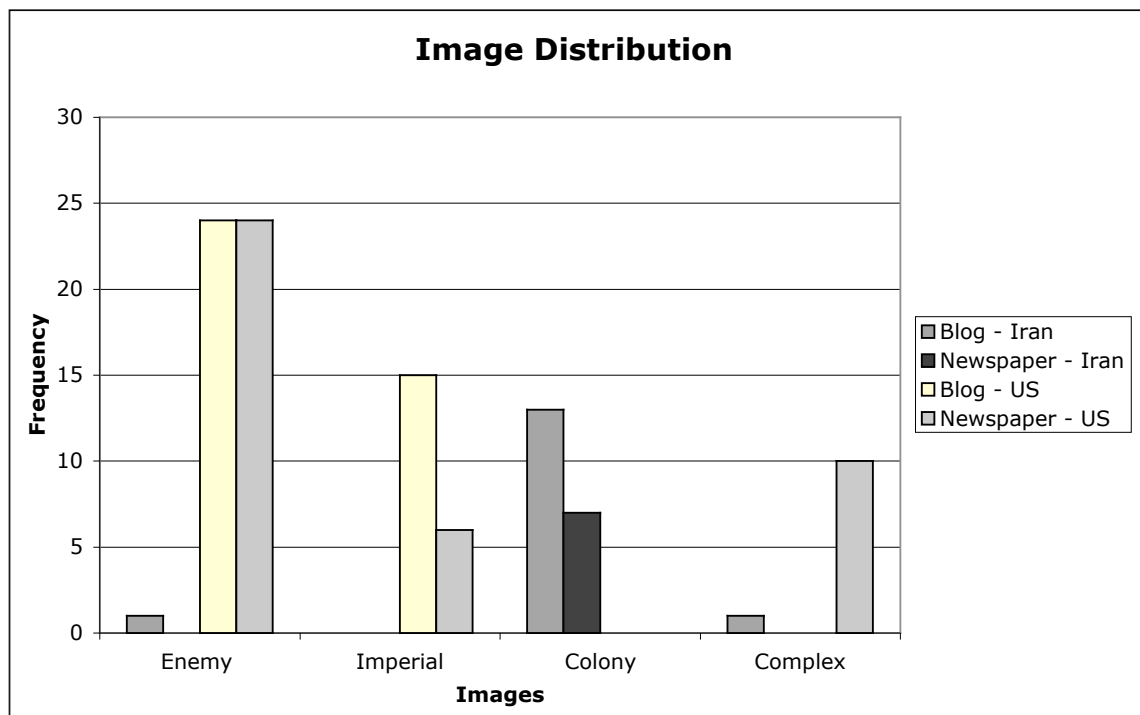
government to only publish sanitized or favorable articles about the government. The similarity of averages in American blogs and newspapers suggests the blogs in America are providing similar opinions to the newspapers, rather than presenting entirely different opinions.

Other Test

The other test was an attempt to reveal what type of images were most prevalent in the media. In theory, each image represented a stereotype which further implied a simple understanding of a country's intentions and capabilities. In contrast with the stereotypes, there was the possibility of a complex image that acknowledges a complicated decisional process and set of intentions that cannot be disseminated into one simple stereotype.

Figure 4 presents the distribution of stereotypes in blogs and newspapers in the United States and Iran.

Figure 4:



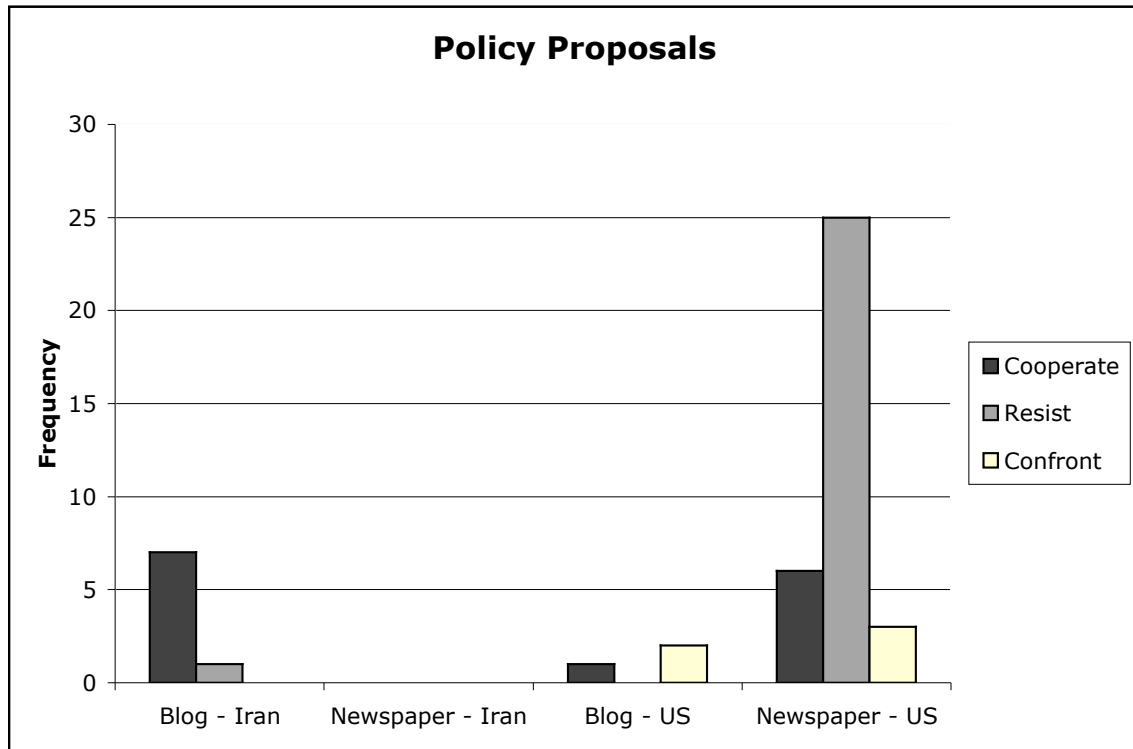
The table indicates that blogs and newspapers were equally likely to reinforce stereotypes about the other country. American blogs and newspapers contained the same two stereotypes: enemy and colony. The Iranian blogs and newspapers consistently contained an imperial image of the United States as expected. The complex image was most likely to be in the American newspapers and almost non-existent in both Iranian newspapers and all blogs. For example, in a Washington Post article, the author writes “..something deeper is going on in Iran – a wide-ranging repudiation of the mingling of religion and politics, and a growing movement for secular democracy.”³⁹

Action Test

The action test was designed to determine the policy preference of the author in regards to the other nation. The test assumed three basic options available to both countries ranging from most cooperative to most aggressive. Here we hoped to ascertain the range of policy proposals presented in the media and to determine if the policy proposals presented in weblogs differed from the proposals presented in newspapers. Figure 5 shows the distribution of policy proposals by blogs and newspapers in the United States and Iran.

³⁹Molavi, Afshin, “In Iran, Daring to Dream of Democracy” in *The Washington Post*, March 7, 2004.

Figure 5:



The chart illustrates that American newspapers were most likely to make a policy proposal, most often reflecting the policy currently pursued by the administration. In contrast, Iranian newspapers did not make policy proposals. Sheer numbers aside, there was not a significant difference between policy proposals in Iran and America. Blogs in Iran were more likely than newspapers to make policy proposals. More importantly, the policy proposal most often suggested by Iranian blogs, to cooperate with the United States, differs from the policy pursued by the Iranian government. Cooperation was not suggested by the Iranian newspapers, implying that the Iranian blogs are again presenting a different, unique proposal. The American blogs suggested the same policies as the American newspapers, albeit in different frequencies. The test is significant not only because it shows Iranian blogs to be presenting novel ideas not found in the Iranian press, but also because it challenges pre-existing notions of Iranian sentiment towards the United States as has been portrayed by the Iranian media.

V. Conclusion

At the outset of this paper, I raised several important questions about the role of the weblog as a mechanism to change both the media and the nature of politics. To determine the impact of the blog, I relied on a content-analysis of material from American and Iranian sources in order to determine if there was a difference in the way a particularly sensitive issue was discussed. While the results are preliminary, my research indicates that blogs have the most impact in environments where they assume a unique role as in the case of Iran.

For decades, scholars have suggested that the media will allow the world to communicate with one another in order to overcome differences. While this type of optimism is far from realistic, the case of the weblog suggests that perhaps it is not as farsighted as it seems. The content-analysis demonstrated that Iranian blogs are in fact presenting a different perspective than the Iranian newspapers. This perspective is important because it is more cooperative and conciliatory with the United States than the perspective presented in the Iranian newspapers which at best is aggressive towards the United States.

The research also confirmed that when judged based on diversity of opinion, American blogs are not filling a unique role. While that should not be taken to mean that American blogs are unimportant, it does imply that the role of the blog depends on the environment in which it is written. In both the United States and Iran, participation is stimulated by need. In the US, bloggers have become fact checkers for the mainstream media. In Iran, bloggers have become a balance to the state-controlled media.

Naturally, there are a number of unanswered questions that would require another research project to answer. Unfortunately, there were some substantial limitations to this study. While it was relatively easy to acquire American sources, it was challenging to find similar Iranian sources primarily because English-language versions were limited at best. The language barrier does create a formidable obstacle at this point though I'd anticipate that as technology improves and website translation becomes more accurate and widespread, it will cease to be such a problem. As earlier mentioned, choosing to do

a content-analysis in the manner that I chose does not provide the whole picture. Given more time and money, it would be interesting to examine a set of particular stories and the way they are conveyed in each medium. Additionally, the data set, particularly from the Iranian side, was limited. It would be advantageous to repeat this project using non-English Iranian sources. Perhaps the perspectives would change and reveal that the English-language blogs have a predisposition to be more conciliatory with the United States. The comparison between the American case and the Iranian case does reveal interesting points about the blogosphere but it might be that it is too simplistic of a view and has a tendency to overshadow the effects of the American blogs. A different test of impact would need to be devised to again attempt to ascertain the role of the blog in America.

Twentieth-century academic John Dewey wrote extensively about the relationship of the media and society. Dewey envisioned a transformation from a great society to a great community aided by technology. He believed that even though technology existed to communicate with one another, it had not been used to bring people together.

Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common.
-John Dewey⁴⁰

Dewey argued that communication was the way to world peace. Even though many of his ideas date back more than one hundred years, they still resonate today as the world becomes increasingly interconnected through technological improvement.

While Dewey's vision embodies a sense of idealism about the ability of the world's populations to cooperate, it also acknowledges that reality and possibility are not the same but something for which to strive. With every new media development, from the printing press to the radio to the television and finally the Internet, there will always be a group of optimists ready to argue that this new media will change the world. At the same

⁴⁰Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1915) 4.

time, there will always be a group of pessimists ready to argue that this new media will not change the world at all. In the end, neither group will probably win the argument, but it might prove advantageous to explore their arguments if for no other reason than to understand the potentials that new media offer society and the shortcomings that might prevent it from doing so.

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VII. Appendices

Appendix A – Coding Rules

Basic Rules – Each item to be coded shall consist of a single article in a newspaper or single entry in a weblog. Every item will be selected randomly and assigned a number for use on the coding sheet. The type of item, the source of the item, the date of publication and the country of origin will be recorded prior to coding.

The entire article or entry shall be considered when coding. This may or may not include quotations from other documents, country leaders and analysts. In the event that the

quotations within the article or entry present one perspective exclusively, the quotations should be considered. If the quotations within the article or entry present multiple or disagreeing perspectives, the coder should attempt to rely exclusively on the author's writing. If the author does not present his or her own viewpoints, the coder should rely on the images presented within the article or entry as created by others' statements or evidence about a particular issue.

The coding of each article or entry shall have three basic facets: SELF, OTHER and ACTION. Each element shall be coded independently of the others in order to prevent the outcomes of one element from influencing another.

SELF: Refers to the characterizations the author makes about the home country or the actions of the home country within the article or entry.

Characterization of the home country will primarily occur in two instances: adjectives, which directly describe the country and actions the country takes, and verbs that indicate action on the part of the country.

Each adjective and verb will be classified as positive, negative or neutral depending upon the manner in which the word was utilized. This part of the analysis is concerned with the home country only. The following examples illustrate positive, negative and neutral word usage.

Positive –

The *generous* American people.
The United States *liberated* Iraq.

Negative –

The *deceitful* American people.
The United States *invaded* Iraq.

Neutral –

The *war-torn* American people.
The United States *went to war with* Iraq.

Only positive and negative statements are to be counted. Neutral statements shall be disregarded. The coder shall write down the number of positive statements (represented by a positive number) and the number of negative statements (represented by a negative score). Both the positive and negative figures shall be recorded on the scoring sheet. In the event that an article or entry contains no positive or negative statements, the coder shall record a zero.

Positive Statement (+1)

Negative Statement (-1)

Neutral Statement (0)

The coding sheet shall be marked as follows:

“positive statements, negative statements” OR “0”

OTHER: Refers to the characterizations the author makes within the article or entry about either the target country or actions of the target country. The likely characterizations will differ between countries. Rather than using a simple positive, negative descriptive scheme, this portion of the analysis will use a more complex stereotype image scheme. While the coding options will be the same for each country, it is highly unlikely that every stereotype will be manifest within the newspapers or blogs of a single country. Each stereotype represents an extreme, albeit unrealistic perception of the target state. As such, the descriptions below are meant to offer various possible indications of the stereotypes and should not be followed in their entirety. The article or entry may not embody every characteristic detailed within a stereotype but still may be classified as the particular stereotype. In the event that none of the characterizations are used, the no image classification shall be applied. In the event the characterizations appear to disagree with each other, the complex classification should be used. The goal of this segment is to determine whether or not the authors are relying on stereotypes of the target countries or not and further to identify the particular stereotypes being used most often.

11 Enemy Image - An article or entry shall be classified as utilizing the enemy image when the author explicitly or implicitly views the target to have sinister motivations, capabilities equal to that of the home state and a simple, uniform decisional process that allows the target country to act quickly against the home state. The author may also suggest that the target state will collapse in defeat if the home state applies strong force. American sources must make a connection between Iran and terrorism and ideally suggest that Iran intends to commit terrorist acts on the United States in order to apply the enemy image. Iranian sources that fit this description must make reference to the capability of the US in the Middle East rather than the overall capability of the US military. The enemy image is only rational for Iranian sources if US capability is seen from a relative perspective.

12 Colony Image - An article or entry shall be classified as utilizing the colony image when the author focuses on leadership of the target state and characterizes it as radical, extremist or evil. This perception of the leadership is accompanied by descriptions of a highly organized, top-down political structure. The colony image differs from the enemy image mainly in its perception of the target state's capability. If the author views the target state's capability as inferior to the home state, the colony image is more appropriate than the enemy image. In that sense, there must be reference to helping the target state by bringing democracy or ridding the country of political oppression.

13 Imperialist Image - An article or entry shall be classified as utilizing the imperialist image when the author views the target state with strong cynicism particularly about the supposed motivations of the target state's involvement with the home state. The author may express fears about the target state becoming secretly involved in the domestic

politics of the home state. The author will perceive the target state as looking to exploit the home state. For example, an Iranian statement about supposed US intentions to take Iranian oil would be classified as an imperialist image.

14 Complex – When the descriptions of the target country appear to have the characteristics of multiple images and acknowledge a more complex, multi-faceted decision-making process within the target country, the article or entry shall be classified as complex. In a sense, the complex perspective is the opposite of the stereotypes and may be the most realistic portrayal of a target state.

66 No Image – In the event that the author offers no characterization of the target country, the article or entry shall be classified as no image.

ACTION: Refers to any type of policy either advocated or expected by the author for the home country in relation to the target country. While the policy options will vary between countries, a single set of code options will be utilized. If the author does not either state a policy preference or discuss the likely policy preference of the government, the article or entry shall be classified as no policy proposal.

21 Cooperate – Policy shall be classified as engagement when the author suggests cooperation with the target state. Cooperation may come in a variety of forms including economic (trade), cultural (student exchanges) or political (alliances) agreements. This policy option may be characterized as an attempt to normalize relations between states and will most likely make reference to positive incentives and cooperation.

22 Oppose – Policy shall be classified as oppose when the author suggests compelling the target state to abandon plans to expand, increase power or act in a way contrary to the wishes of the home state. Any type of negative incentives such as trade sanctions or embargos would be classified as opposing policy.

23 Use Force – Policy shall be classified as force when the author suggests attacking or invading the target state. The level of force suggested and the reasons for use of force may vary dramatically but the intent should be to inflict harm upon the target state. Advocates of regime change might fall into this category if they suggest intervening in the target state's domestic affairs but not if they simply desire regime change internally.

24 Multiple Proposals – This category shall be used for items which indicate more than one policy proposal. For example, articles that suggest first applying sanctions and then invading a country would be classified as multiple proposals.

99 No Policy Proposal – In the case of sources that offer either an unclear proposal or no proposal at all, the classification of no proposal shall be applied.

Appendix B – Data Set

US Papers									
Story #	Source	Date	Country	Blog/Paper	SELF		OTHER	ACTION	
1	LAT	12/16/04	1		2		0	12	9'
2	LAT	12/23/04	1		2		0	66	9'
3	LAT	12/13/04	1		2		-4	11	2.
4	LAT	12/13/04	1		2		0	11	2.
5	LAT	12/10/04	1		2		-2	14	9'
6	LAT	12/10/04	1		2		0	66	9'
7	LAT	12/5/04	1		2		0	12	9'
8	LAT	12/3/04	1		2		0	66	9'
9	LAT	12/2/04	1		2		0	66	9'
10	LAT	12/2/04	1		2		-2	66	9'
11	LAT	12/1/04	1		2		0	66	9'
12	LAT	11/30/04	1		2		0	11	2.
13	LAT	11/29/04	1		2		0	66	2.
14	LAT	11/28/04	1		2		0	14	2
15	LAT	12/27/04	1		2		0	66	9'
16	LAT	11/26/04	1		2		0	66	9'
17	LAT	11/23/04	1		2		0	66	9'
18	LAT	11/22/04	1		2		0	66	9'
19	LAT	11/22/04	1		2		0	11	2.
20	LAT	11/21/04	1		2		0	11	2.
21	LAT	11/20/04	1		2		0	11	9'
22	LAT	11/20/04	1		2		0	66	2.
23	LAT	11/19/04	1		2		-1	66	2.
24	LAT	11/18/04	1		2		0	11	9'
25	LAT	11/17/04	1		2		0	66	2.
26	LAT	11/16/04	1		2		0	66	9'
27	LAT	11/15/04	1		2		0	66	9'
28	LAT	11/15/04	1		2		-1	14	9'
29	LAT	11/7/04	1		2		0	66	9'
30	LAT	11/8/04	1		2		0	66	9'
31	LAT	11/5/04	1		2		0	14	9'
32	LAT	11/2/04	1		2		0	66	2.
33	LAT	10/21/04	1		2		0	11	9'
34	LAT	10/17/04	1		2		0	66	9'
35	LAT	10/15/04	1		2		0	11	2.
36	LAT	10/16/04	1		2		0	66	9'
37	LAT	10/6/04	1		2		0	66	2.
38	LAT	10/6/04	1		2		0	11	9'
39	LAT	11/3/04	1		2		-3	14	9'
40	LAT	10/26/04	1		2		0	66	9'
41	LAT	10/22/04	1		2		0	11	2.
42	LAT	10/25/04	1		2		0	66	9'
43	LAT	10/25/04	1		2		0	66	9'

44	LAT	11/16/04	1	2	0	14	2
45	LAT	10/7/04	1	2	0	66	9
46	NYT	12/26/04	1	2	0	66	9
47	NYT	12/15/04	1	2	0	66	9
48	NYT	12/14/04	1	2	-1	66	2
49	NYT	12/1/04	1	2	0	11	2
50	NYT	11/26/04	1	2	0	66	9
51	NYT	11/25/04	1	2	0	11	2
52	NYT	11/23/04	1	2	0	66	9
53	NYT	11/22/04	1	2	0	66	9
54	NYT	11/21/04	1	2	0	11	2
55	NYT	11/17/04	1	2	0	66	9
56	NYT	11/14/04	1	2	0	66	9
57	NYT	11/8/04	1	2	0	66	9
58	NYT	11/7/04	1	2	0	66	9
59	NYT	10/26/04	1	2	0	66	9
60	NYT	10/25/04	1	2	0	66	9
61	NYT	10/22/04	1	2	0	11	2
62	NYT	10/19/04	1	2	0	66	9
63	NYT	10/12/04	1	2	0	66	2
64	NYT	9/26/04	1	2	0	11	2
65	NYT	9/20/04	1	2	0	66	9
66	NYT	9/19/04	1	2	0	66	9
67	NYT	9/19/04	1	2	0	66	9
68	NYT	9/18/04	1	2	0	66	9
69	NYT	9/14/04	1	2	0	66	2
70	NYT	9/12/04	1	2	0	66	9
71	NYT	9/10/04	1	2	0	66	2
72	NYT	8/23/04	1	2	0	66	9
73	NYT	8/11/04	1	2	0	11	2
74	NYT	8/4/04	1	2	0	66	2
75	NYT	7/20/04	1	2	0	66	9
76	NYT	7/8/04	1	2	0	66	9
77	NYT	7/3/04	1	2	0	66	9
78	NYT	6/19/04	1	2	0	66	2
79	NYT	5/9/04	1	2	0	66	9
80	NYT	2/25/04	1	2	0	66	9
81	NYT	2/21/04	1	2	0	66	9
82	NYT	4/6/04	1	2	0	66	9
83	NYT	4/1/04	1	2	0	66	9
84	NYT	3/11/04	1	2	0	66	2
85	NYT	2/2/04	1	2	0	66	9
86	NYT	1/7/04	1	2	0	66	9
87	NYT	2/15/04	1	2	0	66	9
88	NYT	2/8/04	1	2	0	66	9
89	NYT	2/5/04	1	2	0	66	9

90	NYT	2/4/04	1	2	0	66	9'
91	NYT	1/31/04	1	2	0	66	9'
92	NYT	1/21/04	1	2	0	66	9'
93	NYT	1/13/04	1	2	0	12	2.
94	NYT	1/3/04	1	2	0	66	9'
95	NYT	1/1/04	1	2	0	66	9'
96	WAP	12/19/04	1	2	0	66	2.
97	WAP	12/13/04	1	2	0	66	2.
98	WAP	12/6/04	1	2	0	12	2
99	WAP	12/5/04	1	2	0	14	9'
100	WAP	11/29/04	1	2	0	12	9'
101	WAP	11/20/04	1	2	0	12	2.
102	WAP	11/16/04	1	2	0	66	9'
103	WAP	11/8/04	1	2	0	11	2.
104	WAP	11/7/04	1	2	0	66	9'
105	WAP	11/4/04	1	2	-1	66	9'
106	WAP	10/31/04	1	2	-1	66	9'
107	WAP	10/26/04	1	2	-3	14	9'
108	WAP	10/26/04	1	2	0	11	2.
109	WAP	10/25/04	1	2	0	14	9'
110	WAP	10/16/04	1	2	0	66	9'
111	WAP	9/23/04	1	2	0	66	9'
112	WAP	9/20/04	1	2	0	11	9'
113	WAP	9/19/04	1	2	0	66	9'
114	WAP	9/17/04	1	2	0	66	9'
115	WAP	9/16/04	1	2	0	66	9'
116	WAP	9/2/04	1	2	0	66	2.
117	WAP	7/21/04	1	2	0	66	9'
118	WAP	7/20/04	1	2	0	66	9'
119	WAP	7/14/04	1	2	0	66	9'
120	WAP	7/10/04	1	2	0	66	9'
121	WAP	7/3/04	1	2	0	66	2.
122	WAP	6/30/04	1	2	0	66	9'
123	WAP	6/25/04	1	2	0	11	2.
124	WAP	6/22/04	1	2	0	11	9'
125	WAP	6/17/04	1	2	0	66	9'
126	WAP	6/2/04	1	2	0	66	9'
127	WAP	5/22/04	1	2	0	66	9'
128	WAP	5/17/04	1	2	0	66	9'
129	WAP	4/18/04	1	2	0	66	9'
130	WAP	4/11/04	1	2	-2	66	9'
131	WAP	3/7/04	1	2	0	14	9'
132	WAP	3/5/04	1	2	0	66	9'
133	WAP	2/22/04	1	2	0	66	9'
134	WAP	2/20/04	1	2	0	11	2.
135	WAP	2/20/04	1	2	0	66	9'

136	WAP	2/12/04	1	2	0	66	9'
137	WAP	2/6/04	1	2	0	66	9'
138	WAP	2/5/04	1	2	0	66	9'
139	WAP	2/1/04	1	2	0	66	9'
140	WAP	2/1/04	1	2	0	66	9'
141	WAP	1/31/04	1	2	0	66	9'
142	WAP	1/17/04	1	2	0	11	9'
143	WAP	1/12/04	1	2	0	66	9'
144	WAP	1/11/04	1	2	0	66	2.
145	WAP	1/2/04	1	2	0	66	9'

US Blogs

Story #	Source	Date	Country	Blog/Paper	SELF	OTHER	ACTION	
147	DD	3/5/04	1	1	1	-1	66	9'
148	DD	3/5/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
149	DD	5/18/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
150	DD	5/29/04	1	1	1	0	11	2.
151	DD	6/8/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
152	DD	7/20/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
153	DD	7/21/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
154	DD	7/23/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
155	DD	7/6/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
156	DD	9/18/04	1	1	1	-1	11	9'
157	DD	10/29/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
158	DD	11/29/04	1	1	1	0	11	2.
159	DD	11/30/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
160	DD	12/13/04	1	1	1	0	12	9'
161	DD	12/28/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
162	DD	11/28/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
163	DD	11/29/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
164	IP	1/8/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
165	IP	1/8/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
166	IP	1/13/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
167	IP	1/19/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
168	IP	2/12/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
169	IP	2/19/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
170	IP	2/19/04	1	1	1	1	12	9'
171	IP	2/19/04	1	1	1	0	12	9'
172	IP	2/19/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
173	IP	2/20/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
174	IP	2/20/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
175	IP	2/22/04	1	1	1	0	12	9'
176	IP	2/28/04	1	1	1	0	66	9'
177	IP	3/3/04	1	1	1	0	11	9'
178	IP	3/9/04	1	1	1	0	12	9'
179	IP	3/16/04	1	1	1	0	12	9'

180	IP	3/16/04	1	1	0	12	9'
181	IP	4/5/04	1	1	0	66	9'
182	IP	4/8/04	1	1	0	66	9'
183	IP	4/12/04	1	1	0	66	9'
184	IP	4/15/04	1	1	0	66	9'
185	IP	4/17/04	1	1	0	66	9'
186	IP	4/22/04	1	1	0	11	9'
187	IP	4/25/04	1	1	0	66	9'
188	IP	5/4/04	1	1	0	66	9'
189	IP	5/14/04	1	1	0	66	9'
190	IP	5/16/04	1	1	0	12	9'
191	IP	5/17/04	1	1	0	12	9'
192	IP	6/2/04	1	1	0	66	9'
193	IP	6/15/04	1	1	0	66	9'
194	IP	6/29/04	1	1	0	11	9'
195	IP	7/6/04	1	1	0	11	9'
196	IP	7/7/04	1	1	0	66	9'
197	IP	7/7/04	1	1	0	12	9'
198	IP	7/19/04	1	1	0	11	9'
199	IP	8/8/04	1	1	0	66	9'
200	IP	8/11/04	1	1	0	66	9'
201	IP	9/23/04	1	1	0	12	9'
202	IP	9/26/04	1	1	0	66	9'
203	IP	9/26/04	1	1	0	66	9'
204	IP	9/29/04	1	1	0	66	9'
205	IP	10/2/04	1	1	0	12	9'
206	IP	11/30/04	1	1	0	66	9'
207	IP	12/6/04	1	1	0	12	9'
208	IP	12/20/04	1	1	0	66	9'
209	TPM	1/15/04	1	1	0	66	9'
210	TPM	1/29/04	1	1	0	12	9'
211	TPM	2/1/04	1	1	0	66	9'
212	TPM	2/23/04	1	1	0	66	9'
213	TPM	3/22/04	1	1	0	66	9'
214	TPM	3/37/04	1	1	-1	11	9'
215	TPM	4/6/04	1	1	0	66	9'
216	TPM	5/2/04	1	1	0	66	9'
217	TPM	5/4/04	1	1	0	66	9'
218	TPM	5/20/04	1	1	0	66	9'
219	TPM	5/21/04	1	1	0	66	9'
220	TPM	5/21/04	1	1	0	66	9'
221	TPM	5/21/04	1	1	0	66	9'
222	TPM	5/22/04	1	1	0	66	9'
223	TPM	5/22/04	1	1	0	66	9'
224	TPM	5/23/04	1	1	0	66	9'
225	TPM	5/24/04	1	1	0	66	9'

226	TPM	5/28/04	1	1	0	66	9'
227	TPM	6/2/04	1	1	0	66	9'
228	TPM	6/2/04	1	1	0	66	9'
229	TPM	6/2/04	1	1	0	66	9'
230	TPM	6/3/04	1	1	0	66	9'
231	TPM	6/3/04	1	1	0	66	9'
232	TPM	6/3/04	1	1	0	66	9'
233	TPM	6/6/04	1	1	0	66	9'
234	TPM	6/17/04	1	1	0	66	9'
235	TPM	6/21/04	1	1	0	12	9'
236	TPM	6/30/04	1	1	0	66	9'
237	TPM	7/2/04	1	1	-1	66	9'
238	TPM	7/10/04	1	1	0	66	9'
239	TPM	7/18/04	1	1	0	66	9'
240	TPM	7/22/04	1	1	-1	66	9'
241	TPM	8/18/04	1	1	-1	11	9'
242	TPM	8/28/04	1	1	0	66	9'
243	TPM	8/31/04	1	1	0	66	9'
244	TPM	9/2/04	1	1	-2	11	9'
245	TPM	9/3/04	1	1	0	66	9'
246	TPM	10/7/04	1	1	-1	66	9'
247	TPM	10/19/04	1	1	-2	66	9'
248	TPM	11/8/04	1	1	0	66	2
249	TPM	11/15/04	1	1	0	66	9'
250	TPM	11/17/04	1	1	0	66	9'
251	TPM	12/12/04	1	1	0	66	9'

Iranian Papers

Story #	Source	Date	Country	Blog/Paper	SELF	OTHER	ACTION	
252	ID	8/24/04	2		2	0	13	9'
253	ID	8/24/04	2		2	0	13	9'
254	ID	8/25/04	2		2	0	66	9'
256	ID	8/27/04	2		2	0	13	9'
257	ID	8/27/04	2		2	0	66	9'
258	ID	8/28/04	2		2	2	66	9'
259	ID	8/28/04	2		2	0	66	9'
260	ID	8/28/04	2		2	0	66	9'
261	ID	8/31/04	2		2	1	66	9'
262	ID	8/31/04	2		2	0	66	9'
263	ID	9/1/04	2		2	0	66	9'
264	ID	9/1/04	2		2	0	66	9'
265	ID	9/1/04	2		2	0	66	9'
266	ID	9/3/04	2		2	0	66	9'
267	ID	9/3/04	2		2	0	66	9'
268	ID	9/4/04	2		2	0	66	9'
269	ID	9/5/04	2		2	0	66	9'

270	ID	9/6/04	2	2	0	66	9'
271	ID	9/7/04	2	2	0	66	9'
272	ID	9/7/04	2	2	0	66	9'
273	ID	9/8/04	2	2	0	66	9'
274	ID	9/10/04	2	2	0	66	9'
275	ID	9/10/04	2	2	0	66	9'
276	ID	9/10/04	2	2	0	66	9'
277	ID	9/11/04	2	2	0	66	9'
278	ID	9/11/04	2	2	0	13	9'
279	ID	9/11/04	2	2	0	66	9'
280	ID	9/13/04	2	2	0	13	2.
281	ID	9/13/04	2	2	0	66	9'
282	ID	9/13/04	2	2	0	13	9'
283	ID	9/20/04	2	2	0	13	9'
284	ID	9/20/04	2	2	0	66	9'
285	ID	9/21/04	2	2	0	66	9'
286	ID	9/24/04	2	2	0	66	9'
287	ID	9/24/04	2	2	0	66	9'
288	ID	9/25/04	2	2	0	66	9'
289	ID	9/25/04	2	2	0	66	9'
290	ID	9/26/04	2	2	0	66	9'
291	ID	9/26/04	2	2	0	66	9'
292	ID	9/28/04	2	2	0	66	9'
293	ID	9/28/04	2	2	0	66	9'
294	ID	10/2/04	2	2	0	66	9'
295	ID	10/3/04	2	2	0	66	9'
296	ID	10/6/04	2	2	0	66	9'
297	ID	10/8/04	2	2	0	66	9'
298	ID	10/16/04	2	2	0	66	9'
299	ID	10/17/04	2	2	0	66	9'
300	ID	10/17/04	2	2	0	66	9'
301	ID	10/19/04	2	2	0	66	9'
302	ID	10/20/04	2	2	0	66	9'
303	ID	10/23/04	2	2	0	66	9'
304	ID	10/29/04	2	2	0	66	9'
305	ID	10/30/04	2	2	0	66	9'
306	ID	11/28/04	2	2	0	66	9'
307	ID	11/30/04	2	2	0	66	9'
308	ID	12/4/04	2	2	0	66	9'
309	ID	12/10/04	2	2	0	66	9'
310	ID	12/11/04	2	2	0	66	9'
311	ID	12/13/04	2	2	0	66	9'
312	ID	12/15/04	2	2	0	66	9'
313	ID	12/20/04	2	2	0	66	9'
314	ID	12/21/04	2	2	0	66	9'
315	IRNA	10/26/04	2	2	0	66	9'

316	IRNA	10/28/04	2	2	0	66	9'
317	IRNA	10/30/04	2	2	0	66	9'
318	IRNA	11/1/04	2	2	0	66	9'
319	IRNA	11/2/04	2	2	0	66	9'
320	IRNA	11/3/04	2	2	0	66	9'
321	IRNA	11/3/04	2	2	0	66	9'
322	IRNA	11/3/04	2	2	0	66	9'
323	IRNA	11/4/04	2	2	0	66	9'
324	IRNA	11/4/04	2	2	0	66	9'
325	IRNA	11/4/04	2	2	0	66	9'
326	IRNA	11/5/04	2	2	0	66	9'
327	IRNA	11/5/04	2	2	0	66	9'
328	IRNA	11/8/04	2	2	0	66	9'
329	IRNA	11/9/04	2	2	0	66	9'
330	IRNA	11/10/04	2	2	0	66	9'
331	IRNA	11/11/04	2	2	0	66	9'
332	IRNA	11/15/04	2	2	0	66	9'
333	IRNA	11/21/04	2	2	0	66	9'
334	IRNA	12/3/04	2	2	0	66	9'
335	IRNA	12/16/04	2	2	0	66	9'
336	IRNA	12/30/04	2	2	0	66	9'
337	IRNA	12/30/04	2	2	0	66	9'

Iranian Blogs

Story #	Source	Date	Country	Blog/Paper	SELF	OTHER	ACTION
338	IrD	1/4/04	2	1	-2	66	2
339	IrD	1/15/04	2	1	-2	66	2
340	IrD	1/29/04	2	1	0	66	2
341	IrD	2/4/04	2	1	-4	66	2
342	TWNW	5/30/04	2	1	0	66	9'
343	TWNW	6/9/04	2	1	0	13	9'
344	TWNW	6/24/04	2	1	0	13	9'
345	TWNW	9/1/04	2	1	-1	66	9'
346	TWNW	10/2/04	2	1	0	66	9'
347	TWNW	10/26/04	2	1	-2	66	9'
348	BP	1/2/04	2	1	-1	66	9'
349	BP	1/5/04	2	1	0	13	9'
350	BP	1/6/04	2	1	0	66	9'
351	BP	2/22/04	2	1	0	13	9'
352	BP	2/24/04	2	1	0	13	9'
353	BP	3/15/04	2	1	0	66	9'
354	BP	4/9/04	2	1	0	13	9'
355	BP	5/1/04	2	1	0	13	2.
356	BP	6/9/04	2	1	0	14	9'
357	BP	6/20/04	2	1	0	66	2
358	BP	6/28/04	2	1	0	13	9'

359	BP	7/4/04	2	1	0	13	9'
360	BP	7/22/04	2	1	0	66	9'
361	BP	7/24/04	2	1	0	11	9'
362	BP	8/12/04	2	1	0	13	9'
363	BP	8/22/04	2	1	-1	13	9'
364	BP	11/5/04	2	1	0	13	9'
365	IrP	2/1/04	2	1	0	66	9'
366	IrP	2/29/04	2	1	-1	66	9'
367	IrP	3/25/04	2	1	0	66	2
368	IrP	3/31/04	2	1	0	66	9'
369	IrP	4/12/04	2	1	0	66	2
370	IrP	4/12/04	2	1	0	13	9'
371	IrP	5/29/04	2	1	0	66	9'
372	IrP	7/19/04	2	1	0	66	9'
373	IrP	7/19/04	2	1	0	66	9'
374	IrP	8/20/04	2	1	0	66	9'
375	IrP	9/1/04	2	1	0	66	9'