FACULTAT DE CIÈNCIES DE LA COMUNICACIÓ

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PhD Thesis

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOJAHEDI-E-KHALGH (MEK) NARRATIVE ON TWITTER IN REFLECTION TO IRAN PROTESTS IN NOVEMBER 2019: A HERMENEUTICAL ANALYSIS OF MASH-UP VIDEOS IN TWITTER

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To the people of my country

With the hope for better days and the end of sufferings

Thank you for accompanying me on this path:

Iván Daniel Montero García

Ignacio Riffo Pavón

Sohail Jannessari

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Abstract

This study has a threefold purpose. It investigates the narrative given by the MEK organization on the protests in November 2019 in Iran. To do so, it first offers a historical analysis of the contemporary political history of Iran to discover meta-narratives that are in tension in this society. In the second step, the study investigates the theoretical problem of making connections between the Hermeneutics and Twitter studies by applying to mimetic model suggested by Paul Ricoeur. Finally and in the third step, the study focuses on a corpus of data selected from MEK's Twitter. This data includes 59 tweets from three MEK Twitter accounts. The study interests in finding the nature of the activity of these accounts to find the characteristics of the narrative constructed by MEK organization during the days of protests (nine days) in November 2019 in Iran.

The study, however, focuses on tweets that contain videos. In this way not only it analyzes the tweets in search for the meaning they make and the narrative they construct, but at the same time it looks for methodological aspects of analyzing mash-up videos as a new media genre that has emerged in the recent years due to technological progress and online devices.

The hermeneutical approach of the study is completed by applying to a range of theories from Framing and Pragmatics to structural narrative analysis, conceptual metaphor and meta-narrative analysis. The study suggests a narrative methodology of understanding Twitter (on political movements and its reflections on social media) as well as a methodology of understanding mash-up videos in general. On the next level it shows that MEK narrative has a fairytale structure and is framed by the ideological context it carries. Also the study shows that how meta-narratives are used as essential context for constructing such a narrative.

Keywords: Narrative, MEK, Iran, Hermeneutics, twitter, video analysis, meta-narrative

Resumen: Este estudio tiene un triple propósito. Tiene como objetivo investigar la narrativa dada por la organización MEK sobre las protestas de noviembre de 2019 en Irán. Para hacerlo, primero ofrece un análisis histórico de la historia política contemporánea de Irán para descubrir metanarrativas que están en tensión en esta sociedad. En el segundo paso, el estudio investiga el problema teórico de hacer conexiones entre los estudios de hermenéutica y Twitter aplicando el modelo mimético propuesto por Paul Ricoeur. Finalmente y en el tercer nivel, el estudio se centra en un corpus de datos seleccionados

del Twitter de MEK. Estos datos incluyen 59 tweets de tres cuentas de Twitter de MEK. El estudio se interesa en conocer la naturaleza de la actividad de estas cuentas para encontrar las características de la narrativa construida por la organización MEK durante los días de protestas (nueve días) en noviembre de 2019 en Irán.

El estudio, sin embargo, se centra en los tweets que contienen videos. De esta forma no solo analiza los tweets en busca del significado que dan y la narrativa que construyen, sino que al mismo tiempo busca aspectos metodológicos de análisis de los videos mash-up como un nuevo género mediático que ha surgido en los últimos años debido al progreso tecnológico y los dispositivos en línea.

El enfoque hermenéutico del estudio se completa con la aplicación a una variedad de teorías, desde Framing y Pragmatics hasta análisis narrativo estructural, metáfora conceptual y análisis meta-narrativo. El estudio sugiere una metodología narrativa para entender Twitter (sobre los movimientos políticos y sus reflexiones en las redes sociales), así como una metodología para entender los videos mash-up en general. En el siguiente nivel, muestra que la narrativa MEK tiene una estructura de cuento de hadas y está enmarcada por el contexto ideológico que lleva. Además, el estudio muestra cómo se utilizan las Meta-narrativas como contexto esencial para construir tal narrativa.

Palabras claves: Narrativa, MEK, Irán, Hermenéutica, twitter, video análisis, Meta-narrativa

Resum: Aquest estudi té un triple propòsit. Té com a objectiu investigar la narrativa donada per l'organització MEK sobre les protestes de novembre de 2019 a l'Iran. Per fer-ho, primer ofereix una anàlisi històrica de la història política contemporània de l'Iran per descobrir metanarratives que estan en tensió en aquesta societat. En el segon pas, l'estudi investiga el problema teòric de fer connexions entre els estudis d'hermenèutica i Twitter aplicant el model mimètic proposat per Paul Ricoeur. Finalment i en el tercer nivell, l'estudi se centra en un corpus de dades seleccionats de Twitter de MEK. Aquestes dades inclouen 59 tweets de tres comptes de Twitter de MEK. L'estudi s'interessa en conèixer la naturalesa de l'activitat d'aquests comptes per trobar les característiques de la narrativa construïda per l'organització MEK durant els dies de protestes (nou dies) al novembre de 2019 a l'Iran.

L'estudi, però, se centra en els tweets que contenen vídeos. D'aquesta forma no només analitza els tweets a la recerca de l'significat que donen i la narrativa que construeixen, sinó que a el mateix temps busca aspectes metodològics d'anàlisi dels vídeos mash-up com un nou gènere mediàtic que ha sorgit en els últims anys a causa de l' progrés tecnològic i els dispositius en línia.

L'enfocament hermenèutic de l'estudi es completa amb l'aplicació a una varietat de teories, des Framing i Pragmatics fins anàlisi narrativa estructural, metàfora conceptual i anàlisi meta-narratiu. L'estudi suggereix una metodologia narrativa per entendre Twitter (sobre els moviments polítics i les seves reflexions a les xarxes socials), així com una metodologia per entendre els vídeos mash-up en general. En el següent nivell, mostra que la narrativa MEK té una estructura de conte de fades i està emmarcada pel context ideològic que porta. A més, l'estudi mostra com s'utilitzen les Meta-narratives com a context essencial per construir tal narrativa.

Paraules claus: Narrativa, MEK, Iran, Hermenèutica, twitter, vídeo anàlisi, Meta-narrativa

Introduction

This study has tried to connect two different area of studies together. It aimed to study today's video activism in social-political conflicts on social media platforms, under the light of the Hermeneutics. In recent years we see such form of storytelling based on social movements and protests with distinct motivations. They might relate to the global waves of anti-capitalism in societies with huge gaps between classes, or might deal with identity problems, political corruptions, and inefficient governments. Contemporary video activism is strongly tied up with social media platforms today. The mash-up videos recording from cell phone, thanks to the great advances in internet communications, appear rapidly on Facebook, Twitter and other online social platforms and from there, they get massive circulation in the process of resharing the content by other users. The general question of this study is how these videos are understood by the readers. How they are constructed and how the make meaning. How the dynamics of reader-author contribution in creating and completing the stories on social media platforms work.

The general objective of this study has been to investigate such questions in a theoretical level. To seek for the answers, we have chosen Twitter as a proper platform that is suitable for the purpose of the study. On the next step, we have focused on one recent example of such video activism that reflected events of November 2019 in Iran. During nine days of unrests and protests in different parts of this country, we have paid attention to the MEK's narrative of these events on twitter and in the form of videos.

On the other hand, as the question of the study is strongly related to "understanding", we have found Hermeneutics the starting point and the best perspective in which the question can be studied. Inside the world of Hermeneutics, we are interested in the models, methods, and arguments that are related to narratives. We have tried to show that Hermeneutics of Narrative is very useful in the process of seeking the answers to the questions of the study.

Part I

Engaging with history is one fundamental aspect of any hermeneutical approach, therefore we have dedicated the first part of this study to the historical contexts needed. In a general level, to study video

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activism in any society, the first step would be studying this historical context. This first step, is essential in the next steps where we try to explain the functionality of the videos and the process of meaning-making constructed by them. In the first part, we analyze main events of Iran's contemporary political history where we can discover the meta-narratives that are actively involved in any social-political process in Iranian society. We also, look into the history of media in Iran, from the first printed newspapers to today's online journalism and the important role of twitter in any study on media and politics in Iran. Another historical context is the story behind the MEK organization and the path it has walked from its first days until today.

Part II

Second part of the study dedicates to a theoretical analysis. The question here is fundamental. Is it viable to connect these two areas to each other? What theoretical route will be necessary to move from the Hermeneutic of Narrative (as a philosophical discipline) and reach to a method of analysis suitable for a study of twitter? Therefore, part two of this study endeavors to find such route that makes the final and main analysis of the study possible. Apart from this theoretical analysis based on Paul Ricoeur's narrative model in understanding the time, this part will review other theoretical frame works that the study will apply to, in the final part.

Part III

In the third and final part, the study analyzes 59 tweets from three different twitter accounts belonged to MEK users. These accounts show three levels of activity in this organization with the same strategy. All tweets in the data sample contain videos that carry a message and tell a story. The study analyzed what are these stories telling? How are they constructed? How do they frame the reality? How are they understood by the readers? And how can we discover different aspects of the curving narrative that covers the smaller stories?

To find answers, the study applies to theory of Framing, Hermeneutic of Narrative, theory of film, theory of meta-narrative and a number of linguistic approaches.

The study in classic order

The structure of the thesis does not follow the classic order of such studies. We do not see chapters starting with state of the art, then theoretical framework, methodology, results, discussions and conclusions. One reason is that we have separated two different levels of questions. On the first level, the question has theoretical characteristics (How Hermeneutics of Narrative can contribute in analyzing twitter studies?), on the second level the question has empirical characteristics based on analyzing a corpus of data selection (What is MEK's narrative on Iran's November 2019 protests in twitter? How is this twitter narrative constructed?).

The other reason for this difference in the structure is related to the nature of the theoretical approach of the study. As we have emphasized in several occasions in this study, there are two main pillars in every task of hermeneutics; that is to say in any act of understanding and interpretation (according to philosophical hermeneutics) there are these two essential elements engaged: 1) History/Tradition/culture and 2) Language. This requires a historical analysis to prepare a contextual ground for the later twitter analysis. In this way, we needed a whole part for the history of the agents in the conflict of November 2019 in Iran. On the other hand this history needs to appear before the main analysis to make it clearer.

The third reason is the difference between the types of analyses in the thesis. Apart from the hermeneutical analysis in part II and corpus analysis in part III, we have a meta-narrative analysis based on the historical context as well. Therefore, we changed the logic of the chapters in categorizing the content of the study: 1) about history (historical back ground+ meta-narrative analysis) 2) about theory (theoretical framework+ theoretical analysis) 3) about corpus of tweets (methodology, results and conclusions).

If we want to review the basic elements of the study in the classic form we might come up with this order:

Object/Question of the study:

How and in what extent can hermeneutics of narrative and narrative theory contribute in analyzing the MEK representation of the reality related to Iran's November 2019 protests on twitter?

This long question can be divided to some smaller questions:

-How does hermeneutics of narrative enable us to analyze twitter?

-what is the MEK's narrative about Iran's protests on November 2019 on twitter?

-How is this narrative of MEK constructed by the video-tweets?

-What are the characteristics of MEK's narrative presented in video-tweets?

-How does this narrative make meaning for its reader/viewer on twitter?

Hypothesis:

-Hermeneutics of narrative can establish a theoretical system of analysis for twitter in terms of covering political conflicts.

-A meta-narrative analysis of the contemporary history of Iranian society can give a context on which the MEK narrative is constructed.

-There is an overarching narrative (or a broader narrative) that construct meaning for the flow of huge amount of tweets published on twitter about a certain theme (November protests in Iran)

-Narrative analysis can reveal the characteristics of this broader narrative in terms of characters, plot, motives and genre.

-Narrative analysis is able to function effectively to analyze the video activism published on the MEK's twitter on November 2019.

State of the art

There are numerous studies on twitter in different senses. While one can find studies over sentiments in Twitter such as (Agarwal et al., 2011) and (Kouloumpis et al., 2011) which mostly use tags to analyze negative or positive sentiments users show while they do the microblogging task, there is categories of twitter studies interested in studying the content in the time of crisis or political events. For instance (de Bussy & Paterson, 2012) studied the style of leadership of flood crisis in Australia and (Jungherr et al.,

2016) designed an analysis of politics using twitter, in the German Federal elections in 2013. In some cases it could be both crisis and politics as the study about Iran´s 2009 elections (Burns & Eltham, 2009).

On the other hand there are narrative analysis of twitter in recent years that have expanded the methods of analysis of this platform. (De Fina & Gore, 2017) studied the telling and retelling of big gossip stories on tweeter and the rate of narrative changes in viral news stories. Analyzing Feminist narrative became hot in recent years as for example (Retallack et al., 2016). Golbeck investigated the personality of a user account by its tweets and the narrative it performs (Golbeck et al., 2011) and some new methods of narrative analysis even tried to give a visual analysis (Murtagh et al., 2014).

What this study is interested in, is focusing on three elements that takes the analysis to a corner where there are few works. First element is the methodology which comes from the Interpretative paradigm and qualitative research tradition. While the examples and many more of the studies on twitter are quantitative with the usage of machine processing methods on the texts, our study is willing to go deeper in the account activities and extract the process of meaning making by hermeneutical approach instead of using codes.

The second element is the political group under study. MEK twitter has been very active at least in the last four years and has covered the news and events about politics in Iran from its point of view. However, the number of studies that have analyzed this activity are limited. Except for some analysis of hashtags and following the activities of MEK bots (Najafabadi, 2017) or some political studies that describe partly the MEK activities as in (Khazraee, 2019) there are very few studies about this group in terms of their propaganda on twitter platform.

And the third element which is the most important of all, is the role of videos. All the examples of the studies are involved with the tweets as "texts". By text we mean the words that produce the piece of news story, slogan and so on. The quantitative approach used in the studies mostly use engines and machine processing to make a linguistic analysis. But one can hardly find a twitter analysis on tweets containing videos. This makes the analysis complicated and the usual methods of twitter analysis cannot be utilized.

There are reasons that shows the importance of these video-tweets and make them worth analyzing. First, these tweets can be independent from the language. While a huge amount of MEK tweets during the last two years have been in Farsi, attaching a video as the main message will be understandable for all audiences in the world regardless of knowing Farsi or not. The image talks for itself and transfers the news. Second, these type of tweets follow the most important rule in good story telling/journalism: "Do not tell,

Show!". Videos literally show what is happening on the streets. You can see the real document, understand it and believe the story. The tweets in text or the ones which put links to other web pages and media outlets are less powerful than the ones that represent the action right there in the twitter timeline. Third, using news videos from where the conflict is going on, is now possible more than ever. Both social media platforms and communication devices (cell phones, tablets, …) have improved technologically in the recent years. This has led to some capacities, among them, the possibility to share the films captured on the scene, without any technical complications or difficulty. Even people without enough experience or knowledge of good technology, today can easily publish their pictures and videos on various platforms from social media to messengers. Fourth, there is an emergency of distribution the information as fast as possible, in the period of the events this study is concerned. The Iranian government has shot down the internet and this means the news will not come out easily from inside to the outside world. Therefore, video-tweets as the evidences which reveal the news, are necessary to publish. And finally, there is a trend in using this sort of storytelling. This informative form was used broadly in 2019. Different parts of the world were engaged in unrests and insurgencies. From Hong Kong to Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, France, Catalunya, Chile and the list continues. Covering the unrests and protests in all these cases was one of journalistic tasks on twitter. And video-tweets in this context were the most successful form of information distribution.

Theoretical Framework

The study applies to both quantitative and qualitative approaches but within the hermeneutical paradigm. That is to say, the questions of the study are studied in the theoretical framework of hermeneutics of narrative. But in terms of analyzing the data selection of the video-tweets, it applies to linguistic, narratological, cinematic and communicative approaches to answer its questions. In more detail these are the methods coming from the mentioned theories:

Framing Analysis

Narrative Analysis

Metaphor Analysis

Meta-Narrative Analysis

Film Genre Analysis

Methodology

Apart from the historical and theoretical part (that have theoretical analysis of their own), the methodology designed for the study is a content analysis of a data selection. The data contains 59 tweets selected from three MEK accounts. These tweets all contain videos.

The three twitter accounts are selected based on three levels of operation in MEK organization. We have selected an account of the leadership (@A_Jafarzadeh spoke man of MEK), an account of a MEK media activist (@HeshmatAlavi) and an account belonged to lower ranked ordinary member who has been active during the time (@Wafa_Behnam).

These tweets that all present videos about the protests in November 2019 in Iran, are the corpus under study. The methods designed for analyzing this data sample, are turned to a list of questions from the data. These questions and their answers are presented at the last part of this thesis.

We have analyzed all parts of the tweets (text and video) as well as the rate of activities of the three users, their topics, stories and interests in publishing videos. The main part of the analysis belongs to the video part. These are the parts that construct the broader narrative and complete the framing process. Also there is a para-linguistic aspect of the process of meaning-making that comes from the videos.

Results and findings

-The study shows that Hermeneutics of narratives is useful in twitter studies and video activism within the social media platforms. In other words, hermeneutics can provide necessary theoretical ground for a toolbox of methods to analyze twitter.

-The study shows that the broader narrative of MEK that presents the protests of November 2019 in Iran, has a fairytale structure. The structure of the narrative and the character analysis demonstrate that the pivot of the narrative is a Hero vs Villain plot with a few supporting roles. These characters are discussed in detail in the results chapter.

-The study shows that this narrative is open-ended because the ending is not in favor of opposition groups especially the MEK. Therefore, we see such storytelling in every social-political tension that happens in Iran. In this sense these narratives with the same structure act like a series with several seasons but without certain ending.

-The study shows that the form of the videos are important because they add an extra level of meaning-making based on the cinematic experiences of the reader of the tweets. There are at least three movie genres that are involved in the task of understanding and interpretation of the video-tweets:

Disaster movies

War movies

Post-Apocalyptic movies

-The study suggests that in contemporary Iranian society, we can distinguish at least three meta-narrative that have always been in tension with each other. These meta-narratives in any historical moment of modern Iran have played their parts. These meta-narratives are:

1. Shia Islam Meta-Narrative (Clerics and traditional merchants)
2. Modernization/Democracy Meta-Narrative (Intelligentsia)
3. Ancient Persian Empire (The king institution and its supporters)

-The study tells us that among the grand discourses or meta-narratives in the contemporary Iranian society, MEK representation (by video-tweets narrative) strongly supports modernization/democracy meta-narrative, while condemns and demonizes the Islamic Republic as the result of political Islam and Shia meta-narrative, and is completely silent in regard with the Persian empire glory meta-narrative.

-The study in different parts understands that MEK also is silent about its role in the future it proposes to the Iranians. That is to say while all other opposition groups outside the country are very clear about their political solution, MEK does not speak with transparency.

Final point

In the past 40 years, Iran has been a word that is repeated in the headlines and news stories. There are several political and cultural reasons for it which is not the concern of this study. The important point is there are few studies about Iran in terms of media analysis that could show the complications of this society and different layers of ideologies existing in it. Iranian society, after about 120 years from the constitutional revolution and the emergence of the modern institutions such as Government, Parliament, university, and so on, has experienced huge political storms. These storms have changed and moved some traditional elements, but at the same time have created several types of contradictions in social-cultural life.

In the recent years, with the emergence of social media platforms, now there is access to this society and complicated problems it is struggling with. There are a number of elements that make a unique case out of Iran. The U.S sanctions and economic problems, the severe tensions between the United States and Iran in the Middle East region, the tensions between Iran and other regional powers such as Turkey and Saudi Arabia, the conflicts in the region (as in Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Yemen), the matter of security for the region that provides a great proportion of the energy supply of the world, and this list can continue. Before the age of social media, and as the result of censorship of the media in Iran, the image of this country was quite flat. But today, although twitter, Facebook and You tube are filtered in Iran, there is an opportunity to learn more about this society by analyzing these platforms.

The main reason that we have chosen Iranian social media as the object of the study is such opportunity. Analysis of Iranian social media reveals so many secrets about this complicated society. This study is only a step towards so many works that are waiting to be done. We analyze the activities of a political group that has committed armed insurgency against both Shah Regime and Islamic Regime, it has its roots in a mixed ideology of Marxism and Islam (both anti-American), it has been a terrorist group announced by the European Union and the U.S, today not only it is not in the terrorist group lists, but also has the U.S as its main supporter, invites European politicians to its conferences, financially supports political parties in Spain, and its members live in a semi-military camp in Albania.

We believe that stories should be told and only by knowing more stories we have the chance to connect to a nation or people. Iranian studies with focusing on social media platforms will have new chances for telling stories. And as Paul Ricoeur says: "To follow a story, is to actualize it by reading it". Social media platforms, especially twitter, is our new way of actualizing the story of Iran, by reading it.

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Part I:
Historical Analysis

Historical review of:

-Politics in Contemporary Iran

-Media in Iran, from paper to digital

-The MEK Organization

-Iran's protests in November 2019

- A Meta-Narrative analysis

In the first part of the study, we will have a quite long review of Iran's contemporary political history. This review of the history is essential because it sheds light on the dynamics of political conflicts, discourses and movements that shaped Iranian society today. The historical view contextualizes the main analysis which is about two things: The MEK, as an opposition group active outside the country, and the narrative they used during the protests of November 2019 on twitter.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the twitter narrative constructed by the MEK representing the protests in Iran. The argument here would be that we are not able to understand twitter activity and the narrative of the MEK, without knowing this group, acknowledging its roots, ideologies and influences. But in order to know the MEK, one needs more background because the existence of this group is the fruit of political and historical changes in Iranian history. We suggest that a period of 120 years of Iranian history would be able to prepare such a background. First, because it starts with the constitutional movement that leads to a revolution in the political structure of Iran. It marks the starting point for the development of modern Iranian society and a journey that has begun since then until today. Secondly, we can recognize three events that are historically significant because they carry the label of "Revolution". In other words we will face radical changes and its consequences during a few years and by means of revolutions. These revolutions are 1) Constitutional Revolution (1905), 2) The White Revolution (1963), and 3) The Islamic Revolution (1978).

The history of Iran after the Islamic Revolution is also presented in this part. The idea is that it has been almost 42 years since the establishment of the Islamic Republic. This period from 1978 until now (2020) seems like the most stabilized period of Iran's modern history. While there are various periods of destabilization in the power structure and political movements that makes it difficult to find any long term period of calmness before the Islamic Revolution, after 1978 we do not see radical changes in power. Such observation is not necessary true. The detailed review of the Islamic Republic's history in this part shows how much all those forces and agents before the revolution, are still there, and have tensions with each other with playing their roles.

The long historical review in this part also seeks for a certain analysis that can only bring out through reading history. In this part we are not only presenting the big picture where the main character of the study (the MEK) is born and raised, but also we are looking for the ideologies with social-political powers that have played the main roles during these 120 years of Iran's history. The result of this searching in the

history is presented in the last section of part I, where a brief meta-narrative analysis tries to demonstrate those forces that have been always involved in any changes.

The logic behind the different sections of this part, therefore, is clear now. Historical review of the modern Iran to achieve a necessary context, History of the MEK which is the group we are studying among many other opposition groups, A review of Iranian media during these 120 years and the periods it has experienced until the emergence of digital media and twitter activities, and finally a review of events that led to the protests in November 2019 in Iran. Part I of this study has the mission to guide the reader from the early years of political tensions in Iran until today, presenting to her the importance of media confrontations and the roots of what the study will bring at Part III where the twitter of the MEK is analyzed. Part I cultivates the seeds that it hopes to harvest later in the analysis of Part III.

1.1 The political system of Iran, a Historical review

Until 100 years ago, the name Iran didn't exist. This country with thousands of years of history was simply known as Persia. With the name Persia some images might come to mind with a sense of mystery and luxury, like Persian carpet, Persian cat and caviar or the stories of a glorious empire who once upon a time had conquered almost half of the world with names like great Cyrus. But what we are going to bring in focus in this work will be limited to the part when that historical and exotic name changed to Iran. This is the name that might be reminder of some very different things. Today Iran is viewed as the paragon of defiance against the west and imperialism and as the defender of the Muslim world and the Palestinians in the face of threats and sanctions. To see how this happened, we will review some important events from the early years of the twentieth century when the modern history of Iran begins until recent time. Understanding the media system in recent Iran has deep roots

in its modern political history. Also, any analysis based on a hermeneutical approach needs to start from such a historical context.

1.1.1 towards Modernization: Constitutional Revolution

The establishment of a constitutional regime in Iran (Persia) was the chief objective of the Revolution of 1905-11. The Constitutional Revolution in Iran encompassed a broad spectrum of ideas and objectives, reflecting diverse intellectual trends, social backgrounds, and political demands. This revolution is the first important moment in the modern history of Iran because of its political achievements and its enduring social and cultural consequences. As a modern revolution, it was aimed at dislodging the old order by means of popular action and by advocacy of the tenets of liberalism, secularism, and nationalism. For the first time in the course of modern Iranian history, the revolutionaries sought to replace arbitrary power with law, representative government, and social justice and to resist the encroachment of imperial powers with conscious nationalism, popular activism, and economic independence. Constitutionalists also tried to curb the power of the conservative religious establishment through modern education and judicial reforms. By centralizing the state, they sought to reduce the power of the tribal and urban notables. The greater sense of nationhood that emerged out of the Revolution has remained essential to the modern Iranian identity.

The Revolution opened the way for cataclysmic change in Persia, heralding the modern era. It saw a period of unprecedented debate in a burgeoning press. We will discuss this important aspect of the revolution later in this chapter. The revolution also created new opportunities and opened up seemingly boundless possibilities for country's future. Many different groups fought to shape the course of the Revolution, and all sections of society were ultimately to be in some way changed by it. The old order, which King Nassereddin Shah Qajar had struggled for so long to sustain, finally died, to be replaced by new institutions, new forms of expression, and a new social and political order.

The revolution revealed hidden social political dynamics underneath the Iranian society. These dynamics -which are still important and during the time till today have shaped great changes in the Iranian society, were the fruit of interactions among some traditional and new social classes.

Traditional forces were first, *Shi'a clergies and Ayatollahs* who had enormous influence on the people. The Tobacco Protest could be mentioned as a reminder of this influence. The "Persian Tobacco Protest" was a Shi'a revolt in Iran against a 1890 tobacco concession granted by Nasir al-Din Shah of Persia to Great Britain, granting British control over growth, sale and export of tobacco. The protest was held by Tehran merchants in solidarity with the clerics. It climaxed in a widely obeyed December 1891 fatwa against tobacco use supposedly issued by Grand Ayatollah Mirza Hassan Shirazi. By January 1892, when the shah saw the mass movement against the concession, he canceled it. The fatwa has been called a "stunning" demonstration of the power of the marja'-i taqlid, and the protest itself has been cited as one of the issues that led to the Constitutional Revolution a few years later. The other traditional force was the merchants of Tehran or the traditional institution called *The Bazar*. The heart of the economy of the Iranian society was in Bazar and there was a strong relationship between these two forces, Shia clergies and the Bazar.

On the other hand, in this era and during the events of the revolution a new social and political group emerged that played a very important role and turned into an irrevocable step towards modernity in Iran. This new force was the Western-educated elite, who joined the indigenous radical elements and helped shape the parliament (Majles) and frame the modern constitution (Amanat, 2017).

Paying attention to this new factor in social and political changes in Iran is significant. This new class who is called 'intelligentsia' by Ervand Abrahamian is the fruit of the demand of being modernized and westernized. This tendency started some decades before the revolution where the question of "why are we Iranians this much benighted comparing to the Europe?" was raised. This class was created to answer to above question and try to solve the problem (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016). Western contact, particularly ideological contact through modern educational institutions, introduced new concepts, new aspirations, new occupations, and eventually a new professional middle class known as the intelligentsia. "The world outlook of these modern educated intellectuals differed radically from that of the previous court intellectuals. They espoused not the divine right of kings but the inalienable rights of man" (Abrahamian, 1982, P. 50).

Two other important players in this political game were the corrupted court of the Qajar ruling the country, and last but not the least, interferences from the governments of Russia and Great Britain who at the time had great influences in the economy and politics in Iran. The interaction among these forces led to changes that could be considered as the beginning of a new phase in the history of Iran. The constitutional revolution was the starting point of the modernization of the Iranian society. New words and concepts were imported to the Persian language and Iranian political culture that had no

historical record in the past. Among those concepts, the most significant is the word 'Nation'. The intellectuals brought some words like *demokrat*, *aristocrat*, *sosiyal* and *parleman* to the political vocabulary of the contemporary Iran. "And most importantly the word *mardom* from the 'people' without any political connotations turned into 'The People' with its democratic and patriotic connotations" (Abrahamian, 1982, P. 51).

We will see that later this period of time in modern Iranian history matters especially from the media perspective. The number of daily papers, newspapers and communication media was impressively high in this era, comparing to the history of media in Iran. The society's tendency through "progress" and becoming modernized was remarkable and the demand to turn Iran into a westernized country was understood as the only way of awakening the nation who was sleeping in its traditions. The quote from Taghizade, one of the intellectuals and key political figures of the time could show this demand: "Iranian must be fond of western culture apparently and inwardly, physically and spiritually"(BIGDELI & PENDAR, 2013). If we want to name a metanarrative that describes this period of time, it would be it. Having progress in the light of western experience that should be imitated completely, because that is what make us strong and modern and successful.

1.1.2 Reza Shah: An Authoritarian modernization

The constitutional revolution failed. The period 1911-1921 was probably the bleakest period in Iranian history since the Afghan invasion in the 1720's. The constitutional movement which had as one of its aims the curtailment of foreign intervention, had ironically increased the hold of foreign powers by bounds. The 1907 Convention had brought home the reality that Iran was in no way independent. Many leaders of the constitutional movement lost hope and reverted either to their self-seeking ways or general apathy (Ghani & Ghanī, 2000). In 1907 Convention, Britain and Russia signed an agreement to regulate their economic and political interests. With respect to Iran, the Anglo–Russian Agreement recognized the country's strict independence and integrity, but then divided it into three separate zones. The agreement designated all of northern Iran, which bordered Russia's possessions in Transcaucasia and Central Asia, as an exclusive sphere of influence for Russian interests. This northern zone was defined as beginning at Qasr-e Shirin in the west, on the border with the Ottoman Empire, and running through Tehran, Isfahan, and Yazd to the eastern border, where the frontiers of

Afghanistan, Iran, and Russia intersected. A smaller zone in southeastern Iran, which bordered British India, was recognized as an exclusive sphere for Britain. The British zone extended west as far as Kerman in the south central and Bandar Abbas in the south. The area separating these two spheres, including part of central Iran and the entire southwest, was designated a neutral zone where both countries and their respective private citizens could compete for influence and commercial privileges (Greaves, 1968).

Inside the country and in the political situation, things were not any better. Between the emergence of the constitutional revolution on August 1906, till its official death on February 1921, three kings and 30 governments replaced each other and at the final point of this period, the dynasty of Qajar ended. The dream for freedom and democracy faded away and by the coup d'état operated by Reza Khan, Iran started a dictatorship which ended up to the rise of Pahlavi Dynasty.

The first crisis after the constitutional revolution was the young king Mohammad Ali shah who unlike his father (Mozafaredin Shah) was not in favor of this game. The result was some years of tensions which came to a civil war. Mohammad Ali Shah, was determined to crush the constitution. After several disputes with the members of the Majlis, in June 1908 he used his Russian-officered Persian Cossacks Brigade to bomb the Majlis building, arrest many of the deputies, and close down the assembly. Resistance to the shah, however, coalesced in Tabriz, Esfahan, Rasht, and elsewhere. In July 1909, constitutional forces marched from Rasht and Esfahan to Tehran, deposed the shah, and reestablished the constitution. The ex-shah went into exile in Russia.

By the middle of 1910, the National Assembly was sharply divided into two rival parties whose armed supporters threatened to turn the streets of Tehran into bloody battlegrounds. By mid-1911, the provinces were embroiled in tribal warfare, and the central government was thereby further weakened. By the end of 1911, British and Russian troops were moving into the main northern and southern cities. By 1915, Ottoman contingents had invaded the western regions and German agents were smuggling arms to the southern tribes. The central government, was very fragile and existed almost only in parts of the capital. By 1920, autonomous governments had installed themselves in other parts of the country from Azerbaijan to Baluchestan. Then, in early 1921, such a savior appeared in the shape of Reza Khan, then a colonel in the Cossack Division and soon to be the shah of Iran. Whereas the revolution of 1905-1909 had replaced the Qajar despotism with a liberal constitution, according to Abrahamian (1982), the coup d'etat of 1921 was to clear the way for the demolition of the parliamentary structures and the establishment of the Pahlevi autocracy.

During Reza Shah's sixteen years of rule, major developments, such as large road construction projects and the Trans-Iranian Railway were built, modern education was introduced and the University of Tehran, the first Iranian university, was established. The government sponsored European educations for many Iranian students. The number of modern industrial plants increased 17-fold under Reza Shah (excluding oil installations), and the number of miles of highway increased from 2,000 to 14,000. He forbade photographing aspects of Iran he considered backwards such as camels, and he banned clerical dress and chadors in favor of Western dress. He broke the power of the tribes, which had been a turbulent element in the nation, disarming and partly settling them. In 1928 he put an end to the one-sided agreements and treaties with foreign powers, abolishing all special privileges. He changed the name of the country from Persia to Iran and more importantly he constitute a unified and organized army out of some the remains of Cossack Brigade and the gendarmerie to be able to suppress any insurgencies.

This period was the time for radical changes with direct orders from the Shah, and at the same time weakening the democratic institutions which were young and fragile. The practice of authoritarian modernization in post-World War I Turkey and Iran was embedded in the perceived failure of the earlier attempts to introduce modernization, both from below as well as above. What happened in terms of radical changes and a specific way of becoming modernized in Iran is very similar to the turkey of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. These two rulers almost went in the same road. The effort of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century reformers had not protected these countries either from separatism of minorities or from occupation by European powers. The setback that the Iranian constitutional movement suffered in the years before the outbreak of World War I, the political disintegration and partial occupation of Persia during the war, the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the threat of imminent disintegration after the war: all of these left the middle classes and the intelligentsia in both countries with no other option than to look for "man of order", who as agent of the nation, would install a centralized, powerful government that would be capable of solving the countries growing problems of underdevelopment, while at the same time safeguarding its unity and sovereignty (Atabaki & Zürcher, 2004).

With this Authoritarian Modernization, Reza shah established the bases of a modern society: rebranding the country, defining the Iranian nation by the flag, National Anthem, precise boundaries, united and central society, national and official language (Persian), and a united army. These 16 years of ruling the country was the introduction chapter of the book of modern Iran. This period of time in

history could be considered as the moment when the metanarrative of Nationalism was born. This narrative later turned into different shapes and covers but never died and became one of the most important metanarratives of the modern history up to today. A narrative which was the fruit of the years of Authoritarian Modernization.

1.1.3 Iranian coup d'état (1953): foreign interference against democracy

In the midst of World War II in 1941, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, breaking the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. This had a major impact on Iran, which had declared neutrality in the conflict. In the summer of 1941, Soviet and British diplomats passed on numerous messages warning that they regarded the presence of a number of Germans administering the Iranian state railroads as a threat, implying war if the Germans were not dismissed. Britain wished to ship arms to the Soviet Union via Iranian railroads, and statements from the German managers of the Iranian railroads that they would not cooperate made both Moscow and London insistent that the Germans Reza Shah had hired to run his railroads had to be sacked at once. The invasion happened very soon. In August 1941 Reza Shah was forced to abdicate, and as a sad result "Iran was occupied by Britain and Russia for the second time in twenty-five years. The irony of this was borne out by the Iranian people with a mix of cynicism and despair" (Amanat, 2017, P. 493).

During the preceding sixteen years, power had been centered firmly round one man. But during the next thirteen years, from the fall of Reza Shah's military monarchy in August 1941 until the rise of Muhammad Reza Shah's military monarchy in August 1953, power was to shift back and forth between five separate poles: the court, the Majles (parlament), the cabinet, the foreign embassies, and the general public. This first part of the reign of Muhammad Reza Shah is an important period in terms of the interactions of different social and political forces. The political system was fragile and - with the lack of self-confidence from the young Shah-, there were room for parties, individuals and political wings to compete and practice the game of democracy. In this thirteen years, however, there were to be as many as 12 premiers, 31 cabinets, and 148 ministers filling 400 cabinet posts. On the

average, premiers lasted eight months and cabinets less than five months (Abrahamian, 1982). This period ended with the Anglo-American coup d'état in 1953.

By the early 1950s, the political crisis brewing in Iran commanded the attention of British and American policy leaders. In 1951, Mohammad Mosaddegh was appointed prime minister. He was committed to nationalizing the Iranian petroleum industry controlled by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). Under the leadership of Mosaddegh and his nationalist movement, the Iranian parliament unanimously voted to nationalize the oil industry—thus shutting out the immensely profitable AIOC, which was a pillar of Britain's economy and provided political clout in the region.

The government of Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq which was ousted in the coup was the last popular, democratically oriented government to hold office in Iran. The regime replacing it was a dictatorship that suppressed all forms of popular political activity, producing tensions that contributed greatly to the 1978-1979 Iranian revolution. According to Gasiorowski, The 1953 coup also marked the first peacetime use of covert action by the United States to overthrow a foreign government. As such, it was an important precedent for events like the 1954 coup in Guatemala and the 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile, and made the United States a key target of the Iranian revolution (Gasiorowski, 1987).

With the experience of being occupied twice by foreign military forces in short period of time and disappointed from losing the sovereignty again and again, Iranian's image of the British government shaped as "the enemy" who never stops interfering in and taking advantage of Iranian's politics and national wealth. In the daily conversations it is still very common to refer to Britain as "The old fox" (the fox metaphor represents the long history of Britain's deceiving policies). Although the English politicians are considered as protagonists of conspiracy theories. It is still very common to hear the expression "This is the English work" to explain Iran's internal and local problems. These two historical memories (The invasions and the Coup) created yet another metanarrative in Iranian contemporary history which considers the west as untrustworthy and unreliable. By the 1960s did Iranian intellectuals start to free themselves from the spell of Europe and engage in a critical dialogue with it, albeit one that was almost as fanatical as their predecessors' in its "anti-imperialism and third worldism" as names it Zia-Ebrahimi in his analysis of Iran's history of nationalism (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016). This anti-westernism way of understanding the world, later can be found underneath many political and social changes in Iran.

1.1.4 Muhammad Reza Shah: New Modernization based on Aryan Nationalism

Sir Anthony Derrick Parsons who was a British diplomat also ambassador to Iran at the time of the Iranian Revolution, tells a story in his book *The pride and the fall: Iran, 1974-79* (Parsons, 1984) where there is an interesting quote from Mohammad Reza Pahlavi saying that Iran was part of Western civilization, separated by an "accident of geography" from its natural partners and equals. The Iranians in his view were Aryan, not Semitic, and their innate talents and abilities had been suffocated by the blanket of the Arab invasion. This could consider as a symbol of what Shah imagined of the country he was ruling upon. Rereading the most important decisions he made in the second round of his reign which lasted 25 years, can clearly reveal this nationalist view of the modernization he had in mind.

In 1953, after the western designed coup d'éta and returning to the country, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi became the central leader in Iran. The constitution was once again put to the side. This Shah was put into place by Western powers and would exercise autocratic control over Iran; similar to his father in 1925. The Shah of 1953 was probably more infatuated with the West and its ideals than his father. Under Mohammad Reza's reign, Iran marked the anniversary of 2,500 years of continuous Persian monarchy since the founding of the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus the Great – concurrent with this celebration, Mohammad Reza changed the benchmark of the Iranian calendar from the Hejri (Islamic calendar that begins from the journey of Prophet Mohammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina) to the beginning of the First Persian Empire, measured from Cyrus the Great's coronation. Mohammad Reza also introduced the White Revolution, a series of economic, social and political reforms with the proclaimed intention of transforming Iran into a global power and modernizing the nation by nationalizing certain industries and granting women suffrage.

He also established the SAVAK, the secret police, domestic security and intelligence service in Iran during the reign of the Pahlavi dynasty. The organization started its mission from 1957 with the help of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). SAVAK was the main pillar of Shah's power. Milani (2011) addresses a blueprint provided by the United States according to which, SAVAK was meant to undertake functions performed by both the CIA and the FBI in the United States.

By 1975, Mohammad Reza had abolished the two-party system of government in favour of a one-party state under the Rastakhiz (Resurrection) Party. This was the merger of all political parties into one. His project as he liked to call it, was "Great civilization". His dream is well pictured in *Majestic Failure: The fall of the Shah* (Zonis, 1991). The idea was a type of nationalism based on the glorious

past and the long history which is going to rise again but in the shape of a modernized powerful country. All this huge project with all the industrial, economic, political and social aspects ended with an event that he never predicted. The great civilization project remained unfinished because of the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Another symbolic quote from Shah, which marks his last 25 years of reign, and brings up the dominant metanarrative of this period is when he, in his speech on the ceremony of 2500 years of monarchy in Iran in front of 62 heads of states, addressed: "O Cyrus! We have gathered in front of thy tomb today, to tell thee: sleep in peace, for we are awake!" (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016, P.154). This period escalates the passion of Aryan nationalism among the Iranians. A very powerful metanarrative which still exists and functions in the Iranian culture.

1.1.5 The Islamic Revolution: The rise of the idea of Islamization of the state

There is a very famous quotation related to Ahmad Kasravi[1], Iranian historian and intellectual who says: "We all owe the Shia clerics a government/state so that Iranians would know what comes out of that and learn". He probably was not giving a prophecy, nor warning people of a religious political system. What he was referring for sure, was speaking about Iran's history and the role of clergies in it. As we saw in previous parts, the Ayatollahs always have been a very important part of the Iranian contemporary history, by meddling in and guiding people. They were points of reference because of their religious position. The Shia religious institution has been a part of social and cultural power, shaping people's mind. What makes the Iranian revolution -that happened in 1979- important, is that Shia clerics took the political power as well. This was the first time in Iranian history that a religious state was born: No more kings, but Islamic Republic.

The Islamic Revolution (1978-1979) was one of the most unexpected and extraordinary events of the 20th century. "In less than six months, a mass movement, without outside support and without

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[1] Ahmad Kasravi (29 September 1890 – 11 March 1946) was a notable Iranian linguist, historian, nationalist and reformer.

weapons, weakened and destroyed a state with an army of 400,000 men, huge financial resources and significant international support" (Halliday, 2007).

The protests, demonstrations and strikes that overthrew the Pahlavi regime began in September 1978 and at the beginning of February, with the Shah in exile, Ayatollah Khomeini returned from France and established a Provisional Government, headed by the liberal Islamist Mehdi Bazargan. Weeks later, after a massive vote in favor in a referendum called for that purpose, an Islamic Republic was proclaimed.

Kepel (2003) describes the Iranian revolution, in its beginnings, as combination of the Islamic tradition with Marxist, Leninist elements and a strong social content and sought support in the lower layers and in radical intellectuals and clerics. According to Fred Halliday (2007) unique in this regard among all modern revolutions, the Iranian revolution was not the work of a political party, or (as in the case of Cuba) of an unidentifiable political movement. Following the Soviet model, after the revolution a "ruling party", the Islamic Republican Party (Hizb e Jumhuri ye Islami) was founded, but never became an effective state organization, and after the terroristic attack to its mainoffice, killing its founder, Ayatollah Beheshti, and tens of its main members in 1981, deteriorated rapidly. The authentic role of a ruling party - that of mobilizing, organizing, indoctrinating and monitoring the Iranian people - was carried out by an informal network of mosque committees, chaired by the clergy loyal to Khomeini or appointed by him, in conjunction with the new services of security created during the revolution and the war with Iraq. We will discuss in more details about this period of time because it is directly related to the story of MEK and its role after the revolution.

During these three years of revolutionary fervor, the political configuration of the republic that has remained almost intact until today was forged. With the elimination of the nationalist, liberal and left-wing sectors, the clergy went on to hold the absolute domination of the country and set out to design the creation of the new republican state, to which two events of enormous importance contributed significantly because they caused the international isolation of the Republic and shocked the Iranian population that still suffers the consequences. The first was the occupation of the American embassy and the second, the invasion of Iraq army and a terrible war.

1.1.6 The hostage crisis: international isolation

On November 4, 1979, a group of young hard-liners who called themselves Students Following the Line of the Imam (Daneshjuyan-e Payro-e Khatt-e Imam) in a dramatic move took over the compound

of the American Embassy in Tehran. They seized sixty-six US diplomats and staff and held them hostage, presumably demanding the shah's repatriation by the United States to stand trial in a revolutionary court.

When Ayatollah Khomeini backed the assault and supported the occupation of the US embassy, the world understood that this is going to be a serious confrontation between Iran and US.

Khomeini's statements were approved and repeated by numerous people from the religious hierarchy, the Assembly of Experts and student committees. The movement allowed the religious hierarchy to radicalize the revolution and end forever the government of the reformer Bazargan, whom they considered too prone to deal with the American "Great Satan." In addition, the political system knew that the euphoria for the success of the challenge to a superpower caused the people to be distracted from the enormous economic difficulties of their country. To increase the tension, Iran turned to the oil weapon and refused to supply crude oil to the United States, which reacted by decreeing an embargo on consumer goods and freezing Iranian bank funds. On April 7, 1980, five months after the beginning of the crisis, Washington, aware of the difficulty in reaching an agreement with Tehran, broke off diplomatic relations with the Republic of the Ayatollahs. The situation worsened in December, with the military threat of the US Navy in Gulf waters and in April 1980, with an attempt to rescue the hostages that ended in failure.

The plan was quite risky. On April 24, six C-130 Hercules transport planes would take off from a base in Egypt, land in the Iranian desert, mocking enemy radars with low flying. There they would be joined by eight helicopters from an aircraft carrier anchored in the Gulf that would carry the command - a group of 90 men who would coordinate with pro-American Iranians. From there to Tehran it seemed simple, but a series of errors in refueling in the middle of the desert and the accident of one of the devices caused severe problems and the operation got aborted. Twelve US military soldiers died in this aborted operation.

Khomeini took advantage of the frustrated rescue operation to exhibit the American discredit to his own and to the Iranians, who once again had a new chapter in the hostage issue with which would inflame their anger from foreign interferences, their increasing patriotism and their faith. Khomeini's great victory over President Carter would come a few months later. The hostage crisis hurt the president so much that he ended up discrediting the Democratic administration less than a year after the White House elections. Carter was criticized that the embassy did not have preventive measures to prevent an assault like that of students and that they could access security cameras by

seizing secret CIA documents. The fiasco in the rescue attempt ended the patience of the Americans. All this facilitated the way for Ronald Reagan to win, almost effortlessly, in the elections of that year. Finally, the day Reagan took possession, Iran freed the hostages after a meticulous negotiation with the Algerian mediation.

1.1.7 The Iran-Iraq War

With the Islamic Revolution, Iran organized the strongest opposition to the United States in the region. Tehran broke ties with Washington after the hostage crisis and after almost 40 years the tensions continue. But another event had yet to take place that came to further strengthen the republic founded by Ayatollah Khomeini to maintain that attitude and increase the population's adherence. It was a war, a long fight against Saddam Hussein's neighboring Iraq. It began on September 22, 1980. That day the Iraqi armored brigades invaded the country. Saddam´s idea was to take advantage of the prevailing internal disorder, where there was a strong struggle between the Tudeh communists and the Islamists.

Saddam wanted to seize the rich oil wells of Juzestán, the main southern province of Iran. The hostage crisis had isolated the country internationally and the US embargo harmed the Islamic Republic, who had US weapons and military technology for which now had no spare parts or US technical personnel. Iraq resorted to chemical weapons that, coupled with the superiority of Baghdad across the spectrum of modern weapons, forced the Iranian command to resort to a large number of infantry troops. In those years Saddam was a faithful ally of the West who received help from the United States and France, and the entire region supported the dictator.

The development of the war was not as Saddam had anticipated. The Iranian resistance was stronger than expected and after the first successes of the Iraqi troops, a phase of "trench warfare" began from 1982 until 1987, which greatly depleted the two sides. This was largely due to an Iran-driven military strategy that no one expected and surprised the entire world. Khomeini ordered the "Basijis" militias to enter into combat. For this, it was decided to train youngsters to send them to the front. His mission, called "human waves" exceeded the imaginable. The Basijis, dressed in a red ribbon on the forehead with which they showed their disposition to martyrdom, entered the fields undermined by the lines Enemies to clear the way and facilitate the advance of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard

Corps (IRGC). The motivating ideological narrative for them was that, the Iraqi president was compared with the Caliph Yazid - forerunner of Sunni Islam, and responsible for the death (martyrdom) of Hussein, grandson of Muhammad and one of the greatest figures of Shiism, in 680 in Kerbala. The mythological idea was to enter into combat, avenge Hussein and end the Yazid of our time (Saddam). This religious narratives, the myth of Imam Hussain, who sacrificed himself and his family to save "the original Islam" from being forgotten, is one of the pillars of the Shia cultural tradition. This narrative became the engine of almost every social movement in the post revolution in Iran.

Episodes like the one described here are a source of pride for a large part of the Iranian population and have had a significant impact on the current history of the country. As we will see later the impact that the horror of war and the martyrdom of Basij produced on society, have been skillfully used by the republic to strengthen itself. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad himself frequently resorts to this paramilitary body and speaks of "Basij culture" and "Basij power" in numerous acts of recognition in which he appears with the black and white scarf around his neck, a pledge of the militia (Küntzel, 2006).

The Iraqi attack was presented as part of a broader series of attacks by outside powers, from the East and the West, carried out during the last century. The fact that the Iranians believed that Saddam had been encouraged by the West and by Israel to launch his attack, or even that he had been ordered to do so, and the real help given to Baghdad both by the East and by the West after 1982 , confirmed the view that the war was part of the long imperialist hostility against Iran and the Iranian people. As an example Ayatollah Khomeini in a letter to "the Muslim army and the Muslim nation" of Iraq (in the very beginning days of Saddam invasion) writes:

You know that on the orders of their world-devouring masters, Saddam Husayn and his heathen comrades, that totally devoted servant of Zionism and Imperialism, have attacked Iran and the Iranian people- who drove the heathens out of Iran by their cries of" Allahu Akbar" and the support of dear Islam- and are mercilessly killing your brothers-in-faith. You are aware that this war is a war between heresy and Islam, and between the Holy Qur'an and atheism. For this reason, it is necessary for you

and us, and all the Muslims of the world, to defend dear Islam and the Holy Qur'an, and send these

traitors to hell. [2]

The war ended without a clear winner and approximately one million dead for both countries. Ayatollah Khomeini accepted the ceasefire (Security Council's resolution 598) on August 20, 1988. In his addressing the nation he described this decision as: "drinking from the poisoned chalice". The eight years of war were much more decisive than the Revolution itself, in shaping the Islamic Republic (Halliday, 2007). If during the Revolution there were several thousand dead, during the war they were counted by hundreds of thousands.

The war led to the creation and consolidation of a series of military and security organizations that were to play a role at least as important as that of the regular armed forces in the war itself. While it is true that the regular army was reconstituted after the Iraqi invasion of September 1980, it never regained its preponderance during the Shah. The Guardians of the Islamic Revolution (Sepah-e-Pasdaran) or IRGC, a new official armed force established in principle to face the opposition forces within Iran itself now had about 350,000 members, and the Mobilization of the Oppressed (Basij) militia were the two main groups in this regard; but the war with Iraq also led to the reorganization and strengthening of the various internal police groups and intelligence services that the Islamic Republic had established after the fall of the Shah. At the same time, a new elite of militants, sons of the revolution, often of very modest origin, with very little or no international experience, and extremely loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini and his message, emerged as basic cadres of the revolution.

1.1.8 Postwar and reconstruction: president Rafsanjani

After the war, the tensions in the Islamic Revolutionary Party (IRP) became much more evident. The party has been said to be distinguished by "its strong clerical component, its loyalty to Khomeini, its strong animosity to the liberal political movements, and its tendency to support the revolutionary organizations". Policies it supported included the state takeover of large capital enterprises, the

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[2] http://emam.com/posts/view/2454, Message to the Iraqi people and Iraqi army, September 24th 1980

establishment of an Islamic cultural and university system, and programs to assist the poor (Bakhash, 1985).

The first leader of the party was Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti who two years later (1981) was killed along with more than 70 members of the party during a terroristic attack. After him, Mohammad javad Bahonar took the leadership. He was at the same time the president of the government. He as well was killed along with the prime minister and a number of the cabinet members during another terroristic attack. MEK (Mojahedin-E-Khalgh organization) was responsible for both operations. Ali Khamenei was the final leader of the party. On first of June 1987, Khamenei (who was at the same time the elected president) and Rafsanjani (one of the founders of the party and the president of the parliament) wrote a letter to Ayatollah Khomeini asking permission to dissolve the party due to the fractions they saw in the party, which he agreed to. The main disputes were the members of the Islamic Left and the conservatives. The disappearance of the single party motivated the emergence of two political formations with very similar names: the "Combat Clerical Society", controlled by the conservatives, and the "Association of Combat Clerics", led by members of the Islamic Left. This formation has a great significance in the Iranian political dynamics after the revolution. In fact this formation was repeated several times in several shapes in the political history of the Islamic Republic. Some times as Right wing vs Left wing competition, and later as we will see, with Reformist Vs Conservative.

A year after the war, in 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1934-2017) won the presidential elections. Until then he had held the post of President of Parliament. He was one of the personalities always present in Iranian politics and the most influential in the country. He was minister of the interior in 1981 and president of the first Parliament, he is also a religious leader, ayatollah and the Imam of Friday's prayer in Tehran (until 2009). Rafsanjani came to the presidency thanks to an alliance between conservatives and pragmatists, who sought the final elimination of the radical left that remained present since the revolution.

As president, Rafsanjani's first task was to recover the economy. For this matter, he promoted liberalizing measures and embarked on the state in a reconstruction task that required a liquidity that the public coffer lacked. Eight years of war had destroyed much of the national industry, the important seaports had been ruined and the oil facilities had suffered extensive damage. The per capita income fell 40% since 1979 and the isolation of the country added to US sanctions prevented the entry of foreign capital to invest in key sectors such as oil and gas. Oil revenues fell in 1994 from

16,000 million dollars a year to 12,000, as a result of the collapse of oil prices. The external debt exceeded 30,000 million, the Iranian Rial was devalued and lost in a year more than 60% of its value. All this accompanied by a vertiginous increase in inflation caused the increase in unemployment and social tensions that led to multiple labor demonstrations and incidents in different regions of the country.

The new government promoted two five-year plans to improve production, increase investment, recover infrastructure and raise private capital, both Iranian and foreign. He approved an ambitious privatization plan, opened the Tehran Stock Exchange and created free trade areas in Kish and Qeshm, the islands of the Persian Gulf. Among the most unpopular measures was the reduction of state subsidies, but could not be carried out in its entirety, nor did the plans to sell public corporate assets bear fruit, due to the scandals and corruption that accompanied many sales operations. The few reforms that could be carried out were noted in industrial growth, based on export promotion, and in the application of a more liberal trade policy that benefited the private sector.

Rafsanjani also had to deal with opposition from leftist groups who were suspicious of the liberal court policies promoted by the president and from the other side with the imposition of new sanctions by the Clinton administration in 1996. "The Iran Libya Sanction Act" reduced foreign investment in the country, especially in the important oil sector, obsolete and with little extraction and refining capacity.

Meanwhile, the groups linked to the Islamic Left, gradually lost weight in the system. The results of the elections to the fourth parliament in 1992 was a domination by pragmatic conservatives. That is when the most important political change in this group occurs. Many Islamic leftists became defenders of democracy or Human Rights. Keddie (2006) explains this as the results of the big political change that took place in the world. According to him Left Islamists became Reformists after attending the collapse of the USSR and the changes in many countries of the Soviet orbit (Keddie & Richard, 2006). They took refuge in the university, in culture or became part of specific political groups that in the future would support Mohamed Khatamí's candidacy for the presidency of the Republic.

Rafsanjani's other major concern was Iran's position in the world. For this, it promoted a recomposition of the country's foreign relations along with a reduction in tension with the United States. And he had opportunities to offer that image of moderation. During the Gulf War after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Iran remained neutral, which facilitated the resumption of relations with several Arab countries. His neutrality was rewarded. Iraq was held responsible for the aggression

against Iran in 1980 and forced by the international community to bear the expenses incurred by the war.

In his eight years of presidency called "reconstruction government", approach to the United States was impossible. As stated, the sanctions approved by the Clinton administration widened the distance between the two countries. Washington justified this policy of isolation with accusations against the Islamic Republic for sponsoring international terrorism or its opposition to the peace process between Arabs and Israelis. The third reason was the White House's fear of developing a military nuclear program that poses a threat to the stability of the region.

After leaving the presidency, Rafsanjani was appointed as head of the Discernment Council and in the December 2006 elections he was elected member of the Assembly of Experts, the body responsible for electing the Supreme Leader and with capacity for his removal. On September 4, 2007, he was elected as provisional president of this important institution which remained in the front line of Iranian policy until was replaced in 2011. As we will see later, in 2005 he again appeared as a candidate in the presidential elections but lost in the second round, loudly, before the ultra-conservative Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

He died on January 8th 2017 due to a heart attack. He was 82 when he passed away. The president of the government (still in charge till 2021) Hassan Rouhani is a former member of his political team from the first days of the revolution and very close to his points of view in economy and politics.

1.1.9 The reform time: Presidency of Mohammad Khatami (1997-2005)

A revolutionized society who fought to survive and defend its borders for eight years, stand against the US sanctions and economic problems in the reconstruction period, now had reached to a point in which needed a reform. The man who became the symbol of this big change, was Mohammad Khatami. The president who had the endorsement never seen in the electoral history of the Republic. Seyed Mohamad Khatami was born in Ardakan (Yazd) in 1944 in a religious and influential family, his father was a respected ayatollah who led the Friday pray in the city of Yazd. He was a student of Khomeini in Qom and graduated in Philosophy at the University of Isfahan. In 1970 he completed postgraduate studies in Science at the University of Tehran and later returned to Qom to complete his religious studies in the high level. His mixed, religious and secular training has made him an

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intellectual, especially after his stay in Hamburg where he deepened in western philosophy through the Frankfurt School.

As a politician he started young. In the seventies he linked to the revolutionary project from the leftist groups that followed Khomeini and founded the Association of Muslim Students. He was a deputy in the first Parliament, director of the prestigious Kayhan newspaper and Minister of Culture in 1982 in the government of Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi. Rafsanjani also charged him with that responsibility during his presidency that Khatami took advantage of to favor freedom of artistic expression in the country. That was what forced him to resign in 1992, taking various positions of responsibility in the administration. However, its popularity was already evident among youth, women and intellectuals who began to value it as an alternative to religious conservatism. With this background, the intellectual and reformist politician appeared in the 1997 presidential elections. He won against the candidate of the conservatives who at the same time was presented as the best choice by the right wing politicians and even the public radio television of the state. This may be the reason behind his huge victory. A message from mass voters to the top, demanding for a change.

During the electoral campaign Khatami made a flag of three concepts that excited his followers:
- Islamic Democracy, as a complement to the Khomeinist concept of "velayat-e faqih".
- Trust in civil society.
- Rule of law in the country.
Khatami used a new language, talked about promoting press freedom, creating political parties and a transparent government to end corruption.

But electoral success did not ensure a quiet or trouble-free mandate. During the eight years that his presidency lasted, Khatami had to face an infinity of internal crises, and this despite the fact that the economic policy applied during the first years, began to offer satisfactory results soon. The economic boom came thanks to the support of parliament, where the reformists were a majority. This support was more than necessary because the executive's plans affected the banking system, for example by proposing simplification to set interest rates, and included, for the first time in the country's history, compliance with liberalizing obligations in the economy that proposed the International Monetary Fund (IMF), of which Iran has been a member since 1945.

There were privatizations in banking, an ambitious fiscal reform, the Fund for the Stabilization of oil incomes was created, an "account" to manage the huge oil revenues, a money with which to face possible declines in the future price of crude oil, the main source of income in the country. In spite of

everything, the reformist effort was not enough. When Khatami left the presidency, the public sector remained the main economic actor of the state. The privatization process was insufficient and budgets continued to depend on revenues from the selling of hydrocarbons and subsidies continued to account for much of state spending.

The political project of Khatami based on democracy, civil society and the rule of law was a failure. The reason was a severe resistance from the conservative sector. This type of "change" for the hardliners close to the supreme leader ayatollah Khamenei, was kind of a red line because it would mean to let the idea of an Islamic state go away. Hence, a number of political and social problem were created to weaken the new government and its objectives. The case of "chain murders"[3] which shocked people for years, the assassination of other allied personalities near to Khatami such as Said Hajarian, political advisor to the president and editor of the reformist newspaper Sobh-e Emruz[4], suppressing the demonstrations of the students in 1999, harassment of the political veterans like the mayor of Tehran who were defenders of Khatami and accusing them to corruption and taking them to the court, and the fact that the Council of Guardians vetoed 111 proposed laws presented by Khatami to the parliament, out of 297 were some examples of what conservatives and the institutions controlled by them did in order to stop the reform project and warning to the entire reformist elite (Farndon, 2007, P. 96).

The conservative institutions states above, are mostly those whose chairmen are appointed directly by the supreme leader. The most important ones are: the whole system of judiciary, the head of the Public radio and television organization, heads of all the armed forces in the country especially IRGC (Sepah-e-Pasdaran) and half of the members (ayatollas) of the Council of The Guardians of the Constitution. This council has two important missions: first, confirming the laws approved by the parliament (to make sure they are not against the constitution and the religious rules), and second, qualifying all candidates of parliamentary or presidential elections. To show the power of this council one should observe its function during the 2004 parliament (Majlis) election. This council vetoed massively the reformist candidacies. Of the 8,172 applications submitted, only 4,419, 57.08% were approved(Zaccara, 2014). The results of the election was predictable. The conservatives returned to the majority of the Majlis again.

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[3] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-46356725
[4] https://www.nytimes.com/2000/03/13/world/gunman-in-iran-seriously-wounds-a-top-reform-figure.html

The eight years of Khatami as the face of reform in the Islamic Republic was a period of confrontation of two meta-narratives that we had seen before. While the slogan and the desire for a civil society and the rule of law, was the same thing intellectuals were looking for in the time of Constitutional Revolution, and they lost that battle to the dictatorship of Reza Pahlavi, this time the other powerful meta-narrative, the Shia religious ideology, was strongly on the way.

1.1.10 Conservatives regain power: Ahmadinejad's first term (2005-2009)

The victory of ultraconservative Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the presidential elections of June 2005, caused surprise and alarm inside and outside Iran. How a politician unknown to most citizens was able to go to the second round with the support of nearly six million voters, and sweep his opponent with an advantage of more than seven? (Ahmadinejad went on to the second round after getting 5,710,354 million votes after Rafsanyaní who was voted 6,159,453 Iranians).

There are several reasons that explain this result. To begin with, the Iranians came to these elections amid a deep sense of disenchantment with the reformists led by Mohamed Khatami. The cleric who promised more freedom, economic progress and better relations with the West, but couldn't really make it and was disappointing. However, the economic situation did not improve, the promised freedoms never materialized, and efforts to approach the West were truncated when President Bush included Iran in the "axis of evil", an expression coined by the US president during the Union speech on January 9, 2002, which included North Korea and Iraq.

The brief electoral campaign served to verify the enormous distance of the reformists with the population and their real problems. The inability of Khatami to provide the Iranians with more freedom eventually focused on the economic situation. The electoral offers of the reformist campaign were addressed to the wealthy bourgeoisie of the country or to the international community, but little or nothing they said about how to overcome the economic crisis or curb real estate speculation that increased in major urban centers and threatened to make the middle classes disappear. This is when Ahmadinejad enters the scene. The mayor of Tehran addresses the most modest population groups, the poor and the unemployed. He introduces himself as an independent politician and a

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fighter against corruption. He endeavored to offer an image of a fair man, who comes from the street people, close to the poor ones and who was committed to social justice, honesty in politics and the distribution of the country's wealth among the poor.

Together with the image of the man from village, Ahmadinejad, presented himself as a defender of Islamic and revolutionary values, the same ones defended by the powerful groups that supported his candidacy: the IRGC (Sepah Pasdaran), the Basij paramilitary group and almost the entire conservative camp, a combination of religious extremists, military and paramilitaries eager to turn Iran into a hegemonic power in the region. With this combination of "populist fundamentalism," Mahmoud Ahmadinejad took over the presidency of Iran in June 2005.

The three main components of Ahmdinejad's strategy were:

- Populism in politics and economics
- Repression and social control
- And the confrontation with the West

Another important element used for this was religion. He seemed to be obsessed with the imminent return of the Hidden Imam. Iranian leaders have always had a tendency towards the mystical. Even the last Shah related his dreams in which he encountered Shia Imams, but in Ahmadinejad, the tendency had reached startling proportions, and according to Ansari (2017) a central theme of his mysticism often being the especial role of Ahmadinejad himself.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad introduced him self to the world by some radical issues such as questioning the Holocaust as an excuse for Zionists to create the state of Israel, activating the nuclear program with a high speed and also the process of uranium enrichment. The issue had been suspended during Khatami's time to ease global economic pressure on Iran, but the new head of the state considered Iran's undeniable enrichment right. Thereby sanctions against Iran raised to its highest level in the history of Islamic Republic. In his very own tone, he questioned the international forums, and important political events of the last century and isolated the country more and more. Instead, it expanded its relations with countries with anti-Western policies. During his presidency, he met with Hugo Chavez several times and was friend with heads of the state in Bolivia and Cuba. He also due to his anti-American slogans became a popular figure in the Middle East and among the Muslim masses (Ansari, 2017, P. 58).

1.1.11 Iranian Green Movement: Ahmadinejad's second term (2009-2013)

Ahmadinejad's period of presidency was full of unpredictable phrases, decisions and events. But presidential elections in 2009 which led to his second round in power was the biggest one that turned into a political crisis. Iran's tenth presidential election was held on 12 June 2009, with incumbent Mahmoud Ahmadinejad running against three challengers. His main rival Mir-Hossein Mousavi was supported by all the reformist politicians and groups. The next morning the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), announced that with two-thirds of the votes counted, Ahmadinejad had won the election with 62% of the votes cast, and that Mir-Hossein Mousavi had received 34% of the votes cast. There were large irregularities in the results and people were surprised by them, which resulted in protests in Tehran and some other cities and the emergence of the opposition Iranian Green Movement. Mousavi issued a statement accusing the Interior Ministry, which was responsible for conducting the election, of widespread election fraud and urged his supporters to engage in peaceful protests. He also lodged an official appeal with the Guardian Council for new and more transparent elections. On the other side, Ahmadinejad made his victory speech in which he called the protesters "dust and dirt". The tension continued. The supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei announced there would be an investigation into vote-rigging claims. The Guardian Council (which has the duty of Monitoring the way elections are conducted) announced it would recount 10% of the votes and concluded there were no irregularities at all, dismissing all election complaints. The Green Movement of Iran continued its protests until 14 February 2011 and after getting radicalized demanding a total regime change was suppressed. The leaders of the movement, Mir-Hossein Mousavi and Mahdi Karubi have been in house arrest since then (Karimi, 2018).

Let's end this part of the eight years of Ahmadinejad with an image that in a symbolic and iconic way shows the political and populist strategies he took during his presidency. In 2010, the British Museum loaned the Cyrus Cylinder to the National Museum in Tehran for exhibition. The Cyrus Cylinder was discovered in 1879 in the ruins of Babylon in today's Iraq. Its surface has inscriptions carved in clay that Cyrus the Great, commisoned after his armies conquered the Neo-Bobylonian Empire. For the followers of the Aryan meta-narrative in Iran, this object has a great importance for it shows how peaceful and at the same time powerful the Great Cyrus was and that for them this means literally the first chapter of "Human Rights" in the history of human kind. This nationalist point of view to the

pre-Islamic history of Iran is completely in contrary with the Islamic narrative of the history according to the Islamic republic.

Mahmud Ahmadinejad seized the opportunity to appeal to the cult of pre-Islamic Iran still very much alive in the country, especially among those who oppose the Islamic Regime. Ahmadinejad attempted a fusion of the Iranian and Islamic components of Iranian identity that have been as incompatible. When unveiling the Cylinder at a grand ceremony, the president presented Cyrus as "the king of the world" and his controversial chief of staff, Esfandiar Rahim Mashaei, later equated him with a prophet. The ceremony turned outright grotesque when Ahmainejad adorned as actor in full Cyrus-the-great outfit with a black and white Keffiyeh, which is an item that the pro-regime Basij militia wear in solidarity with Martyrs of the Eight years of war defending the country against Sadam Hussain invasion (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016).

1.1.12 From the peace with US to the worst tensions: Presidency of Hassan Rouhani (2013 –)

This is the fifth period of changing the policies in international relations and domestic policies in Islamic Republic of Iran. The first eight years was dedicated to war with Iraq and defending the country and the revolution. The second round of eight years in the time of Rafsanjani, the country tried to rebuild itself with reconstruction plans he proposed based on liberal ideas and creating a private sector to rebuild the economy. The third period of eight years was marked by the civil society, freedom of press and human rights discourses. President Khatami who still is the most important figure in the reformist camp, was the symbol of this project. His government was not successful in making those wishes come true. Then it was another eight years for the conservatives to have the chance of managing the country based on their principles coming from the roots of the Islamic Revolution. Ahmadinejad and his populist government tried to establish an "Islamic government" which will put the the values of Shia Islamic culture first. He also tried to create a type of Iranian nationalism using every element he could find in the history. From the other side and with the radical anti-western policies, he made the country more isolated. At the end of this period, the country was problematic in international relations, unstable economically, involved with social problems and

under heavy sanctions from the West regarding its nuclear program issue. Here appeared Hasan Rouhani with the slogan of "Wisdom and Hope".[5]

Rouhani is one of the faces that have been active in the process of the Islamic revolution helping the leader of this Islamic movement. He was arrested many times in the 1960s and 1970s as a follower of Ayatollah Khomeini. Having PhD from Glasgow Caledonian University, in law studies, He was a member of the parliament for 5 consecutive periods. He was known to be very close to Rafsanjani and in Khatami's government titled as the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council. Iranian media referred to Rouhani as the "diplomat sheik".

The effort for Rouhani and his government was to open the negotiation doors to the West, making a deal about the nuclear issue, ending the sanctions and absorbing new foreign investments from international corporations, and rebuilding the broken economy. The first four years of his presidency was dedicated to managing this project. The negotiations with the world took 2 years to get to the agreement. On July 14, 2015, The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JPCOA) was signed between Iran and the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States—plus Germany) together with the European Union. Under JPCOA, Iran guaranteed to reduce the amount of Uranium enrichment and other nuclear activities with the supervision of the IAEA, in return receives relief from U.S., European Union, and United Nations Security Council nuclear-related sanctions.[6]

It took only two years until US left the agreement. When Donald trump won the elections and became the new president of the United States, he officially announced that will leave the JPCOA because he thinks it is a "Bad deal" and that is "defective at its core". [7] The immediate impacts of the return of sanctions on the Iranian economy are apparent–oil production and GDP growth are collapsing, Iran's currency is weakening, and inflation is picking up. According to the CSIS report[8] Iran's efforts have been insufficient to offset the economic shock from re-imposed sanctions. Many foreign companies announced their intention to exit the Iranian market or forego new investments, unwilling to risk losing access to the U.S. market and exclusion from the dollar-based financial system. The sanctions

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[5] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23565996
[6] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33521655
[7] https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/president-trump-says-iran-deal-defective-core-new-one-will-require-real-commitments/
[8] https://www.csis.org/analysis/economic-impact-iran-sanctions

have decreased the rate of oil production from 2.5 million bpd (barrels per day) in April 2018 to 100,000 bpd in July 2019[9].

The results of this western economic blockage, has been the growth of poverty especially in rural sections. The World Bank has reported that Iranian rural population has been disproportionally affected[10]. There were two major protests against the government's economic decisions in the recent two years as the results of the difficult situation of sanctions. The first one occurred in January 2018 in at least 50 cities in the country which led to violence in a number of locations and state media reported that at least 21 people have been killed in clashes with security forces. Hundreds also got arrested. The second unrest happened in November 2019 after the government of Rouhani announced to hike petrol prices as part of efforts to blunt the effects of crippling US sanctions on the country's economy. The changes were aimed at raising funds for cash handouts to Iran's poorest citizens, but many Iranians already grappling with rising inflation were quick to protest against the new policy[11].

At the time of writing this thesis, Rouhani's government will continue until 2021. His moderate government is ruling the country in different levels of crisis. The sanctions are still there without any sign of decreasing, Trump administration ads to the number of institutions and persons who are banned, there are severe tensions in the Persian Gulf with US and its allies against Iran, US has listed IRGC as a Terrorist group (It is the first time Washington has formally labelled another country's military a "terrorist group.") and the "Maximum Pressure" plan of US over Iran is still going on.

1.2 A history of media in Iran

This short review of media history in Iran is supposed to give two perspectives related to the part III of the study. First, one could see how the pattern of ups and downs of Iranian political history is similar to the pattern of changes in the history of media in this country. Every time there has been room for more political freedom, the media has developed rapidly. Secondly, we should understand the use of

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[9] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-oil-iran-exports/hit-by-sanctions-and-rising-tensions-irans-oil-exports-slide-in-july-idUSKCN1UP1UD
[10] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48119109
[11] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/iran-protests-600-words-191118060831036.html

digital media in the same context for older media. If there is a strong tendency in using twitter, Instagram and other social media in the Persian language world, it is the fruit of a long time of pressure and limitation on official and national media where people do not feel like finding their voices. Therefore, every social and political debate has been shifted to social media platforms where there is chance to express oneself and hear the others.

We start this part with starting point of the first newspaper in Iran and we will review the main characteristics of different media platforms, from the printed media to audiovisual and finally digital media.

The first nameless newspaper of Iran was published in May 1837 under the support of an informed technocrat by the name of Mirza Saleh Kazerouni (Shirazi). But this paper was only a historical moment without causing changes in Iranian society or creating discourses. Even the paper called "Vaghaye Etefaghie" that published regularly from 1850 during the first years of the reign of Nasere-aldin shah of Qajar, was entirely a state owned paper and people had nothing to do with its makeup and reading. The history of journalism and media in Iran begins with the intellectual movement that led to the constitutional revolution.

1.2.1 Newspapers

On August 4th 1906 the ailing king signed the decree for the constitution and passed away a short time later. The autocratic crown prince who came to the throne set out to reverse the reforms of his father. Within the period of the sanction for the constitution up to July 1908 when the autocratic king backed out on the constitutionalism, 44 new publications came out and began to converse with the public opinion. The best and the least restricted period of press activities in Iran was during the infancy of constitutionalism. During this period most of the papers, specially the four publications of Hablol Matin, Mosavat, Sour Esrafil, and Rouhol Qodos had become so rash as to severely attack the king himself, the aristocracy, the feudal lords, governors and governors general, big time businessmen, the clergy and the parliament members of the constitutional assembly without any considerations and restrictions.

The doom finally came when in 1908 the Russian Cassock Liakhov was detailed to attack the house of the nation (the parliament) and put an end to constitutionalism altogether. Journalists were the first and the main targets of the royal court's wrath. Mohammad Ali Shah, ordered the execution of pro-

constitutional journalists and then there were no other papers left except for a few who were trying to justify the king's violence and cruelty.

The suppression of the press continued with more tensions during the sixteen years of Reza Shah Pahlavi as the king. He had his people attack the press offices and then changed the press law and refused license for publication to the press bosses. But history suddenly turned towards a direction that changed all the glory and glamour of the autocracy of Reza shah. Iran was occupied by Allied Forces in 1941.

The golden era of Iranian journalism and media starts from this year and ends in 1953 after the American coup against the government of Mohammad Mosadegh. The departure of the American, British and later on the Russian forces from Iran was accompanied with the appearance of all kinds of political parties from one extreme to another and with all sorts of tendencies. The leftist and non-leftist political parties set up their own press publications. Just like the constitutional era, or even more rapidly and more profusely, a constellation of the press made their debut after the days of suppression. Anyone with the least conditions applied for a license to publish and he received what he had asked for. Only during two years (1951 until 1953) when Mosadegh was the prime minister, 373 publications were actively involved in the political process (Khiabany, 2009, P.89).

This era ended with the coup against Mosadegh government, the return of Pahlavi II to the power and the starting of a new period of suppression against the press that later led to the Islamic Revolution in 1978.

The waves of revolution brought some changes. Another period of freedom for the press began which lasted very short when the invasion of Iraq started on September 1980. During these 20 months, from the fleeing of the Shah on January 1978 till the beginning of the war, 253 new publications came to existence. From the total 358 publications active in this period, 60 percent belonged to political organizations very few of whom supported the Islamic Republic (Shahidi, 2007). But this "spring of freedom" didn't last long and was shut down when the Iraq war began.

There was yet another period of development and "spring of freedom" when reformist president, Kahatami came to office on 1997. This period in his first round of presidency led to massive number of publications and changes in the press law. During these years the number of publications rose to more than 850, with total circulation exceeding two million copies a day (Shahidi, 2007). This period terminates after four years of ups and downs, challenges and pressures from the conservative camp and powerful figures near to Ayatollah Khamenei.

Today, Iran has 246 newspapers[12] with the permissions of publishing daily. These including both national, regional, and local newspapers which range in purpose and content. While most focus on news and political analysis, some are focused on sports, economics or entertainment.

Iran is at the 165th place in the World Press Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders in 2017. Out of total 180 countries. The control on the activity of the press is very strict and dozens of publications, most of them reformists, have been suppressed over the years. But at the same time new dailies and magazines from the same side of the political spectrum have been created often replacing with part of the same staff the ones that had been closed. Within the red lines that nobody is allowed to cross- opposition to the system of the Islamic Republic, the Supreme Leader, and Islam- the political debate in the press may be surprisingly lively and open and criticism of public figures, including members of the government and of the parliament, is not uncommon. (Zanconato & Sabahi, 2017)

1.2.2 Radio and Television

The State has monopoly over all television and radio broadcasting, as stated by article 44 of the Constitution. This activity is managed by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB)*,* whose Director General is appointed by the Supreme Leader. Article 175 of the Constitution states that the appointment and dismissal of the head of the IRIB "rests with the Leader". IRIB, known in Iran with the name *Seda va Sima* (Sound and Vision), has 13,000 employees and branches in 20 countries, and is among the largest media organizations in the Asian and Pacific region, offering both domestic and foreign radio and television services in several languages.

Television is the leading medium through which people have access to the news, and the control of IRIB guarantees the Supreme Leader and his allies a powerful political tool that they can use also against other high level officials. During the campaign for the presidential elections of 2009, for example, the request of former President Rafsanjani, a leading figure in the Islamic Republic since its foundation, to have access to the television to answer the accusations of corruption raised against him and his family by President

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[12] Statistics of the ministry of Culture published in Ensaf news Agency in 2019
http://www.ensafnews.com/170480/%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%85%DB%8C%D9%86-
%DA%AF%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B4-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%AA%DB%8C%D8%B1%D8%A7%DA%98-
%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-%D9%87%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AF/

Ahmadinejad during a televised debate, was rejected. "State television is also known for airing programs aimed at smearing and discrediting opposition activists and critical journalists and has a record of airing forced confessions by dissidents" (Zanconato & Sabahi, 2017, P.5).

The State Television operates 17 national channels (including *News*, *Sports*, *Science*, *Economy*, *Documentaries*, *Quran* and *Youth*), 30 provincial channels and 9 international channels, with programs in eight foreign languages. Among the international channels there is *Al Alam* in Arabic, launched in 2003 with a style similar to that of the major pan-Arab satellite news TVs like *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*. *PressTV*, the all-news channel in English, is another international channel and has started its programs in 2007. *Sahar* is a multilingual channel that started its activity in 1990 and broadcasts programs in Kurdish, Urdu, Azeri, Bosnian and French. *Jam-e Jam* (the same name of the newspapers published by IRIB) broadcasts Farsi programs for Iranians living abroad, including TV series and films, sometimes with English subtitles. Other international channels are *iFilm*, whose production is based on Iranian films and TV programs, with Arabic and English subtitles or language options, *Al Kosar*, in Arabic, and *Hispan TV*, in Spanish.

In the last decade, a tendency of watching satellite TV with Farsi content (entertainment and news) has been common among Iranians. These Televisions are all outside Iran. Among the channels broadcasting in Farsi into Iran from abroad, the most watched are *BBC Persian*, funded by the UK government, *Voice of America-Persian News Network* (VOA PNN), funded by the United States, *Manoto TV* based in London, and News TV channel *Iran International* also based in London. There are no recent and precise figures on the number of viewers for either of these channels. According to a BBC Media Center article, *BBC Persian* had an audience of 11.4 million in 2013[13].

1.2.3 Digital media

The use of internet and digital media has had a rapid grow during the recent years. In the year 2000 there were only 250,000 users in Iran. The number in 2016 has reached to 56.7 million (the population of the country is 82 million people). Yet in 2019 these numbers have grown even more. The observation of

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[13] https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2013/persian-arabic-audiences-rise

Hootsuite, an online platform of managing and analyzing social media activities offers such statistics for last year:

The development of digital infrastructures in the second round of the government of president Rouhani (between 2017 until 2020) has created new opportunities for communication progress and information access. In this back ground one can understand better the new wave of protests against the government in Iran. Through the messengers and social media platforms, the information today is accessible more than any period of Iran's history.

As it had happened before with the first satellite TVs broadcasting into Iran, the authorities got alarmed for what they saw as a new attempt of the United States and other Western powers to disseminate moral corruption and encourage political rebellion. By the mid-2000s they started to respond with new initiatives to strengthen the control of the Web and blocking tens of thousands of sites. These efforts have continued after the appearance of social media that have played a central role in the street protests of 2009.

From this year until now, major social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook and You tube have been blocked.

1.2.4 The importance of Telegram

The messenger called Telegram is one of the interesting points where politics and media meet each other. Any media study about Iranian communication outlets in the recent years without paying attention to the role of Telegram would be incomplete.

Since 2013, Telegram has replaced email, chat, forums, blogs, news websites, e-commerce, social networks, dating services and, for many, even television. With Telegram, Iranians keep in touch with family and friends, read the news, shop, and discuss soccer, babies, marriage and politics. It's the best of Twitter and the most viral videos on YouTube. People use it to download music and films, and, of course, to flirt. They also use it to read speeches from the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who blasts out content over his official channel.

Part of the reason Telegram is so popular is it's easy to use. Another reason is more political: Since the pro-reform protests in 2009, the hard-liners in Iran's government, working through their allies in the judiciary and security services, have effectively blocked nearly all foreign-based blogging and publishing platforms, social media and messaging apps.

Telegram, founded by Russian-born Pavel Durov, was slick, fast and secure. When it added a blog-like feature that allowed everyone to easily publish and share text, videos and audio files, its popularity took off. But it joined to other social media platforms destiny in 2018. Telegram is now blocked in Iran.

The reason behind that can be found in the events that happened some months earlier, during the electoral campaigns for the presidential election 2017. During the campaign, state television favored the conservative candidate, but Mr. Rouhani had little unrestricted access to any medium other than Telegram and Instagram, especially for live coverage of his increasingly combative campaign. Instagram Live and Telegram became the president's equivalent of broadcast television, with tens of thousands of viewers.[14]

In late December 2017, a wave of protests swept across Iran. The demonstrations, which were largely leaderless and sometimes violent, targeted the reformist president and the hard-line supreme leader alike. Telegram had been used to spread the calls for the protests, and some channels were encouraging violence and vandalism. Mr. Rouhani agreed to block the app temporarily. The ban shook the entire

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[14] https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/15/opinion/iran-telegram-app.html

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population. It was lifted after only two weeks, as the president had promised. But the hard-liners had found a crack. And soon it happened. Telegram was blocked permanently.

1.2.5 VPN resistance and the rise of twitter

Although hundreds of web sites are filtered, all social media platforms are blocked (Instagram is an exception), and messengers like Telegram are banned, people still use them. The solution to this problem has been VPN connections. A VPN, or Virtual Private Network, allows the user to create a secure connection to another network over the Internet. VPNs can be used to access region-restricted websites, shield one's browsing activity from prying eyes on public Wi-Fi, and more. In very simple terms, a VPN connects one's PC, smartphone, or tablet to another computer (called a server) somewhere on the internet, and allows her to browse the internet using that computer's internet connection. So if that server is in a different country, it will appear as if that user is coming from that country, and she can potentially access things that she couldn't normally.

The last numbers we know about the usage of social media platforms in Iran is the statistics presented by Statcounter.com

Pinterest	Instagram	Facebook	YouTube	Twitter	LinkedIn
48.36%	26.14%	11.25%	7.28%	4.82%	0.97%

Social Media Stats in Islamic Republic Of Iran - May 2020

If we combine the information of the two tables about the internet access situation in Iran (estimating the number of Iranian social media users 47 million), it will give an overview of the number of social media users in this country. It should be taken in consideration that the first two cases Pinterest and Instagram) are not blocked in Iran. In other words, despite being blocked, more than 5 million Iranians used VPN to communicate on Facebook in 2020.

Social Media Platform	Number of users in Iran (May 2020)
Pinterest	22,729,200
Instagram	12,285,800
Facebook	5,287,500
You Tube	3,421,600
Twitter	2,265,400
LinkedIn	455,900

Also there are reports that shows at least 42 million people in Iran use Telegram as their usual messenger [15](despite being blocked).

While the official media (printed and IRIB) are empty of transparent political debates and freedom of speech, everything has shifted to social media platforms that are "safer than the street". This debate in the last three years has changed its platform from Facebook to Twitter. The diagrams of the numbers of users in these two platforms has changed significantly. Comparing Facebook and Twitter stats in 2016 and 2019 shows how Persian language online debates has had a shift of platform.

[15] https://cointelegraph.com/news/unofficial-iranian-telegram-applications-leak-data-of-42m-users
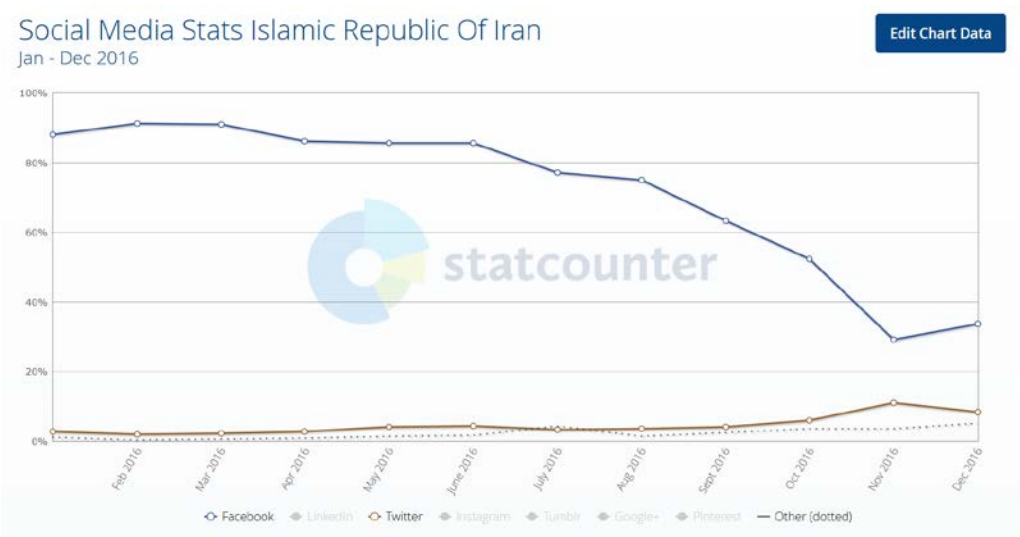
Social Media Stats Islamic Republic Of Iran
Jan - Dec 2019
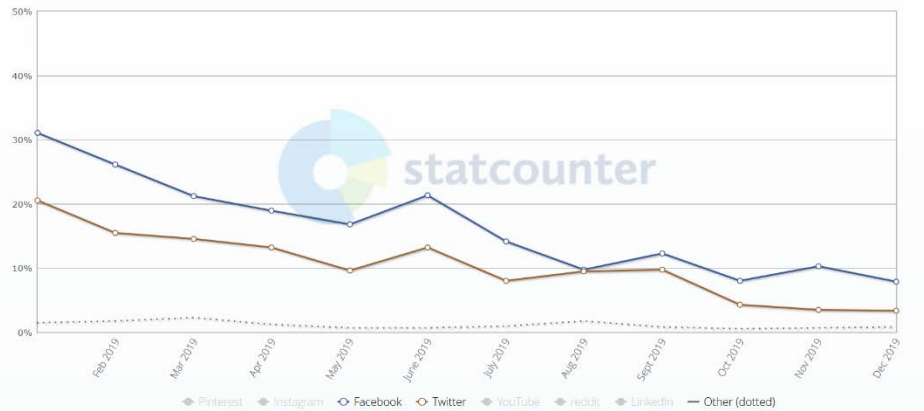
This means that although the number of Facebook users are more than Twitter users in general, the real game is going on Twitter. The war among different opposition groups, pro-regime activists, monarchists, leftists, MEK and other anti-Islamic Republic groups is happening on this platform. The significance of this online war would be more explicit if only one pays attention to Trump's Twitter account and its messages that are sent towards Iranian authorities. In return, The Supreme Leader, The president, cabinet ministers, and several members of the parliament have Twitter accounts although the platform is blocked and announced illegal.

Farsi (Persian) language twitter is now an essential media that reflects the political tendencies, main discourses and significant national and international confrontations.

1.3 A historical review of the Mojahedin-e-Khalgh (MEK) organization

1.3.1 The Ideology

The group's origins date to the mid-1960s, when a small circle of mostly middle class university students pored over revolutionary and religious tracts, creating a unique Islamo-Marxist ideology and eventually forming the Mojahedin-e Khalq, meaning "Holy warriors of the people." Most of the early leaders (a group of fifteen) were young, they were university educated, particularly in engineering colleges within Iran; and they were the sons of the traditional, the provincial and the religious-minded bazzari middle class. Their ideology can be described best as a combination of Islam and Marxism. As Ruhani and Haqshenas (two earlier leaders of the group) stated years later "our original aim was to synthesize the religious values of Islam with the scientific thoughts of Marxism… for we were convinced that true Islam was compatible with the theories of social evolution, historical determinism, and the class struggle" (Abrahamian, 1992, P. 92).

With such ideology, Mojahedin officially declared that the only way of fighting against poverty and imperialism is armed struggle. After recruiting among young intellectuals, the Mojahedin sent some of its members to train in desert camps in Jordan and Lebanon belonging to the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In 1971, the group sought to launch its revolution by bombing a major power plant that supplied Tehran with electricity. But the Shah's notorious security services foiled the plot, and around half the group's early membership ended up in the Shah's prisons. The next year, nine leaders were executed. As a result of these executions, Mojahedin designed a series of armed attacks in Tehran. On 30-31 May 1972, on the occasion of President Nixon's state visit, they exploded time bombs in the Iran-America Society, in the US Information Office, in the Hotel International, in the offices of Pepsi Cola, General Motors and the Marine Oil Company, and forty five minutes before Nixon's scheduled arrival there, in Reza Shah's mausoleum. They also tried to gun down General Harold Price, the chief of the US Military Mission in Iran, and although the attempt failed, the attack and the burning of his car attracted attention. The list of attacks by Mojahedin is long. These armed operations took heavy toll from them. In addition to

the nine executed in 1972, the organization lost 32 members between 1972 and 1975, and another 42 between 1975 and 1979. But they left the impression that they are now important enough to watch closely by the regime.

In mid-1975 the Mojahedin suddenly shook the whole opposition, secular as well as religious, by publishing an anti-Islamic tract. The Manifesto declared that the organization was discarding Islam in favor of Marxism-Leninism because this ideology was the real 'Scientific philosophy' of the working class. From then, there were two rival Mojahedin organizations. One was the Muslim Mojahedin (that accused its opponents of gaining control through a bloody coup d'etat. The other was the Marxist Mojahedin which initially took the full name of the organization. What we know today as the MEK, is the first branch (Muslim Mojahedin) which later changed themselves to the present formation.

1.3.2 The fight against Shah´s Regime

Yet the group continued its small-scale strikes against the monarchist regime and its allies. Between 1973 and 1976, the Mojahedin (Marxists) assassinated six Americans in Iran: three military men and three civilian contractors with the American manufacturing conglomerate Rockwell International. In return, Shah's regime tried to find their safe-houses and operation teams. Some important figures of Mojahedin were killed during these clashes with the police and SAVAK. By the late 1970s, however, the Mojahedin rallied around Massoud Rajavi, a charismatic figure sporting a thick mustache and coiffed black hair who was one of the group's only surviving early leaders who had remained loyal to the initial Islamic-Marxist ideology of the organization. From February 1979, Rajavi's circle of trusted followers headed all the key positions within the Mojahedin. A thirteen months war began.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Mojahedin with the new leadership reorganized itself and defined new missions to participate a role in Iran's politics. But the ideological difference between Mojahedin and the council of Revolution consist of clerics with traditional Islamic views, made things complicated. When in 1980 Ayatollah Khomeini barred Rajavi from the presidential election by declaring that those who had failed to endorse the Constitution could not be trusted, the Mojahedin had turned into secular opposition to the Islamic Republic.

1.3.3 The fight against the Islamic Republic

This political opposition soon became an enemy. When Mojahedin saw that they have no place in the new system, they chose to see the Islamic Republic as the enemy. By late 1980, the Mojahedin was accusing Khomeini's companions, especially the IRP (Islamic Republic Party), of 'monopolizing power', 'hijacking the revolution' and plotting to set up a 'fascist one party-dictatorship'. In return, clerics close to Khomeini were openly labeling the Mojahedin as 'monafeq[16]' or 'kafer[17]'. They claimed that the Mojahedin were the paid agents not only of USA and USSR but also of the 'international Jewish-communist conspiracy'.
On 28 June 1981 the IRP headquarters was blown up, killing Behshti (the director of the party and one of key members of the revolution council) and some seventy of his close supporters. The Islamic Republic used the incident to wage war on the left opposition in general and the Mojahedin in particular. The number of announced executions climbed sharply reaching 2500 by December. Rajavi fled to Paris and denounced all high rankings officials as 'collaborators of tyranny' and targets for 'revolutionary justice'. From this date. Mojahedin were carrying out daily attacks, assassinating officials, throwing bombs at komiteh (IRGC cells) centers, IRP offices and homes of clerics. They assassinated four high rank clerics and Imam-Jome (Friday prayer Imam) and heads of the IRP in Shiraz, Mashahd, Tabriz and Yazd all by suicide attacks. Another bomb was exploded in the prime minister which killed President Rajai, Prime Minister Bahonar and Vahid Dastjerdi, the Chief of Iranian Police. Rajavi and his followers fled into exile, initially to Paris, where his sway grew more authoritarian and he married his third wife, Maryam, appointing her co-leader.

1.3.4 Mojahedin in exile, cooperating with Saddam Hussein

The next decision of Rajavi as the leader of Mojahedin, changed everything: By 1986, Rajavi began forging his next alliance, with Saddam Hussein. He relocated to Iraq and reorganized the 7,000 members who followed into an army, which Hussein supplied with heavy weapons and tracts of land, including a desert base that would be called Camp Ashraf. The group joined the Iraqi dictator's bloody war against Iran,

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[16] Munafeq (hypocrite) is a person who in public and in community shows that he is a Muslim but rejects Islam or propagate against it either in his heart or among enemies of Islam.
[17] Kafer is an Arabic term meaning "infidel", "rejector", "denier", "disbeliever", "unbeliever", "nonbeliever". The term refers to a person who rejects or disbelieves in God as per Islam.

engendering much antipathy among Iranians. The failure of the 1981 insurrection, the flight of the leadership into exile, the destruction of much of the rank and file during the reign of terror, the subsequent serving of ties its social roots, the internal cjanges that took place in Paris; these combined to transform the Mojahedin into an inward-looking sect. this transformation was completed in 1987 when Rajavi formed 'the National Liberation Army of Iran' in Iraq. Now the organization had all the main attributes of a cult. Rajavi was even titled as 'The Present Imam' strikingly similar to that of Imam-e-Zaman (Imam of the Age) which Shiis throughout the ages had used to describe their expected Messiah.

The narrative that the organization was offering to its members now was based on hatred. It had developed an all-consuming hate for the clerical regime and, at the same time, the burning conviction that its own radical version of Shiism was the one and only true interpretation of Islam. As Abrahamian (1992) puts it, the organization had begun to see the world as divided into two contradictory forces: on one side was the Mojahedin, the vanguard of the select, and those willing to accept its leadership; on the other side was Khomeini, the forces of darkness, and anyone refusing to accept the Mojahedin leadership. On 26 July 1988, the MEK, with the support of the Iraqi military, started Operation Forough Javidan (Eternal Light) in central Iran. The Mujahedeen worked with the Iraqi Air Forces, advancing towards the Iranian city of Kermanshah and advanced rapidly, seizing and destroying the towns of Qasr-e Shirin, Sarpol-e Zahab, Kerend-e Gharb, and Islamabad-e Gharb. The MEK met scant resistance from the limited numbers of Revolutionary Guards, which were promptly defeated, pushing 145 km deep into Iran towards the provincial capital city of Kermanshah and the road to Tehran seemed to be wide open. But then the counter attack of the Iranians came when Iranian paratroopers landed behind the overstretched MEK lines. Iranian Air Force F-4 Phantoms bombed Mujahedeen convoys on the Kermanshah highway, followed by Army Aviation helicopters using anti-tank missiles. The MEK advance had been abruptly and completely halted.

In spite of all this, the Mojahedin did not give up, and on 18 October 1991, the NLA (National Liberation Army) organized a parade which started at the organization's headquarters in Ashraf. This parade, which was attended by dozens of foreign reporters who had been invited to watch it, took place after the failure of Operation Eternal Light and after Iraq had informed the Mojahedin that, at least in the near future, they would no longer take any actions against Iran. The tension between two sides, as Cohen (2018) describes, turned into an intelligence war.

1.3.5 From Iraq to Albania

After the First Gulf War, Saddam Hussein reportedly used the Mojahedin as a militia to quell sectarian and ethnic uprisings, alienating many Iraqis. "Take the Kurds under your tanks, and save your bullets for the Iranian Revolutionary Guards," Maryam Rajavi told her followers during the attacks.[18]

In the meantime, the Mojahedin turned to attacking the Iranian regime abroad. In April 1992 the MEK carried out attacks on Iranian embassies in 13 different countries, demonstrating the group's ability to mount large-scale operations overseas. That year, then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright designated the Mojahedin a Foreign Terrorist Organization, among 29 other groups, barring it from fundraising in the U.S. In the run-up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the White House cited the group's presence in the country to claims that Saddam Hussein was harboring terrorists. But when the U.S. arrived at the Mojahedin's camps, after conflicting reports of an initial tensions, the group's leadership waved a white flag, then signed a ceasefire — paving the way for its members to receive protection under the Geneva Conventions. Massoud Rajavi has not been publicly seen since, and Maryam Rajavi became the sole face of the group to the outside world until today.

For years, the Mojahedin languished at Camp Ashraf — guarded by U.S. forces — and refused to be moved, except en masses. The U.S. military eventually handed over control of its perimeter to the Iraqi government, and in July 2009, Iraqi security forces raided the camp, resulting in the deaths of at least nine, according to Amnesty International. Dozens more were allegedly detained and tortured. Another raid took place in April 2011. The Mojahedin claimed 34 were killed and more than 300 injured.

On January 2009 The European Union, and in 2012 the U.S. agreed to remove the Mojahedin from the terrorist list; a key factor would be the group's cooperation in relocating to a former U.S. military base called Camp Liberty, closer to Baghdad. The United Nations facilitated the move to Liberty, with plans for eventual third-country resettlement. Most of the few thousand remaining ex-fighters relocated, but about 100 stayed behind. In September 2013, according to *Foreign Policy*, Iranian-backed Shia militias reportedly killed at least 50 Mojahedin, about half of those still at Ashraf. In 2013, the United States requested that the MEK relocate to Albania, but the organization initially rejected the offer. The MEK eventually accepted

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[18] https://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/13/magazine/the-cult-of-rajavi.html?pagewanted=all

to move about 3,000 members to Albania, and the U.S. donated $20 million to the U.N. refugee agency to help them resettle[19]. By 2018, over 4,000 MEK members had entered Albania according the reports[20].

1.3.6 Political and intelligence activities in exile

The most important intelligence attack of the MEK against the Islamic Republic, was in the case of Iran's nuclear program. The MEK revealed the existence of Iran's nuclear program in a press conference held on 14 August 2002 in Washington DC (which Iran still is involved with consequences of it in a long series of tensions with the West). MEK representative Alireza Jafarzadeh (whom we have analyzed his tweets in this study) stated that Iran is running two top-secret projects, one in the city of Natanz and another in a facility located in Arak, which was later confirmed by the International Atomic Energy Agency[21]. In 2012, NBC News' Richard Engel and Robert Windrem published a report quoting U.S. officials, who spoke to NBC News on condition of anonymity, that the MEK was being "financed, trained, and armed by Israel's secret service" to assassinate Iranian nuclear scientists. A Senior State Department Official stated that they never said the MEK was involved in the assassinations of Iranian nuclear scientists[22]. Former CIA case officer in the Middle East, Robert Baer said that the perpetrators "could only be Israel", and that "it is quite likely Israel is acting in tandem with" the MEK[23].

The Mojahedin in the recent years have tried to have ties with lobbies, western politicians and think tanks. In their annual gatherings some famous politicians appear giving speeches. Faces close to President Trump's administration like John Bolton (former National Security Adviser) and Rudy Giuliani (former Mayor of New York and President Trump's advocate) have been among these guests.

In these annual conferences held in Paris every summer, some Spanish ex-politicians have been present as well. Two former presidents, the popular José María Aznar and the socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and the former vice president and president of the State Council, María Teresa Fernández de la Vega have been among the guests participating in MEK events[24]. In the last gathering of MEK in July 2019 (for the first time in Albania) the Spanish guest of the conference was Alejo Vidal-Quadras, former Vice

[19] https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/mar/18/us-iranian-dissidents-accept-albanian-asylum-offer/
[20] http://telegraf.al/kronike/deri-me-tani-ne-shqiperi-kane-ardhur-4000-muxhahedine/
[21] https://mepc.org/iran-nuclear-alleged-studies-documents-evidence-fraud
[22] https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/09/198470.htm
[23] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/12/iran-nuclear-scientists-attacks
[24] https://iran-interlink.org/wordpress/aznar-zapatero-financed-by-terrorists-mojahedin-khalq-mek-rajavi-cult/

President of the European Parliament[25]. These two names beside each other, now create curiosity when the news[26] came out about the financial support of the MEK in establishing the VOX party by Vidal-Quadras in 2013.

1.3.7 Mojahedin and media

In terms of media, The Mojahedin were active from the first days of the victory of the revolution in 1979. The paper Mojahed, the publication belonged to the organization, reached to the circulation 500,000, in mid-1981, far surpassing that of Jomhuri-e-Eslami, the organ of the Islamic Republic Party. The first issue was published On July 23, 1979 and continued until their exile.

Radio *Sedaye Mojahed* (the voice of Mojahed) was aired in 1984. The Mojahedin installed an antenna for the Voice of Mojahed Radio in the mountains of Iranian Kurdistan (Naficy, 2011). This radio has been fully active since then covering the news in Mojahedin's narrative, weather they were in Iraq, France or Albania.

Simaye Azadi (Face of Freedom), also known as *Iran National Television* (INTV) is a satellite television channel by Mojahedin (MEK) and National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI). It was launched in 1987 and is broadcast from Europe, containing subjects relating to Iran and MEK. It mostly broadcasts news, but also has documentaries, music, and social and cultural specials.

The official web page of the organization is https://www.mojahedin.org/ but the group is very active on other digital platforms such as Telegram, You Tube, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.

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[25] https://www.ncr-iran.org/en/news/live-updates-annual-free-iran-conference-at-the-mek-s-headquarters-in-albania/
[26] https://elpais.com/politica/2019/01/20/actualidad/1548013991_549728.html

1.4 Iran Protests on November 2019

We review shortly the events, decisions and policies that led to massive demonstrations in November 2019 in Iran and the heavy suppression from the side of the Islamic Republic. This would be the last piece of the history back ground needed for the analysis in this study.

1.4.1 The beginning

The Supreme Council of Economic Coordination, which includes President Hassan Rouhani, Judiciary Chief Ebrahim Raisi and Parliamentary Speaker Ali Larijani, had approved the plan to increase fuel prices. The new rules stipulated:

-Each private vehicle will be limited to 60 liters of fuel per month at 15,000 rials (about $0.32) per liter — a 50 percent increase from the previous price

-Taxis and ambulances would be limited to 500 liters per month at 15,000 rials ($0.32) per liter

-Any purchases beyond the 60-liter ration will cost 30,000 rials ($0.63) per liter — a 300 percent increase

On November 15, President Rouhani told his cabinet that the fuel price increase would help those under the most economic pressure. "No one should imagine that the government has done this because it is economically struggling; not at all, not a Rial of this will go to the treasury," he said. The increase was projected to raise some €2.27 billion per year that would increase subsidies for 18 million families, or about 60 million Iranians with lower incomes[27]. More than 70 percent of Iran's 83 million people were

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[27] https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-iran-gasoline-rationing/iran-gasoline-rationing-price-hikes-draw-street-protests-idUKKBN1XO2ZE

eligible for assistance. Between mid-2018 and mid-2019, the cost of red meat and poultry rose 57 percent, dairy and eggs by 37 percent, and vegetables by 47 percent[28].

Even with this hike in the prices, fuel was still cheaper in Iran than almost anywhere else in the world, due to government subsidies. After decades of low prices and use of inefficient vehicles, consumption of fuel has soared in Iran. In 2019, state media reported that Iranians were buying 90 million liters per day on average. During the cabinet meeting, Rouhani stressed that Iran's fuel consumption was too high but that it could be curtailed by "changing the culture and manufacturing good cars."

Such a decision has not been a unique one. On 2007 and under President Ahmadinejad, The government first introduced rationing and then a hike for those who wanted to buy more than the monthly portion. At the time, Iran was under U.S. and U.N. sanctions for work on its controversial nuclear program. Domestic demand for fuel was also rising. That change in policy also triggered rioting. Rationing ended in 2015, after a landmark nuclear deal, which included sanctions relief, was arranged between Iran and six world powers. In December 2017, President Rouhani proposed increasing fuel prices by 50 percent as part of his administration's budget. But parliament blocked it after protests broke out nation-wide due to deteriorating economic conditions.

1.4.2 The announcement

In a surprise overnight announcement on November 15, Iran hiked gas prices—by up to 300 percent—and introduced a new rationing system. The government's will to raise funds to help the poor class, led to a huge backfire. Protests erupted across the country. The sudden move followed rising inflation and biting U.S. sanctions, which had already raised the prices on basic goods.

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[28] Six charts that show how hard US sanctions have hit Iran

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48119109

By November 17, at least 87,000 people had joined demonstrations across some 100 towns and cities, according to semi-official Fars News Agency. Iranian officials said at least 12 people died, but reports suggested the count could be higher. In some towns and cities, protestors clashed with police.

Protests first broke out in oil-rich Khuzestan province, in Iran's southwest. But they quickly spread to other regions, including Mashhad, a conservative stronghold and Iran's second largest city, in the northwest. Demonstrators reportedly chanted anti-government slogans, including, "Have shame Rouhani, Leave the country alone!" Protests in the central city of Sirjan, in Iran's largest province of Kerman, turned violent when a gas station was set ablaze. In Tehran, protestors blocked a central highway.

On November 27, Interior Minister Abdolreza Rahmani Fazli said that up to 200,000 people had participated in the protests. He outlined the scale of the damage to property: 731 banks burned, 140 government sites burned, 70 gas stations burned, and 50 security force bases attacked. By December 16, at least 304 protesters had been killed, according to Amnesty International. The United Nations estimated that some 7,000 people were arrested. Iran rejected reports by outside groups.

On June 1, 2020 the head of National security commission of the Iranian Parliament announced that the number of killed people during November protests is 230[29]. This was the first time since last November that an official person in the Islamic Republic spoke about the victims of the events and the numbers. This authority also said that the number of wounded protesters has been 2000 while the number of wounded police and security agents has been 5000.

1.4.3 Internet shut down

The situation in Iran became difficult to monitor on November 16, when the government appeared to nearly shut down internet connections for the general populace, according to NetBlocks. The Supreme National Security Council reportedly ordered providers to switch over to the nationwide "intranet," which only allows access to websites that have their servers inside the country. Previously, in January 2018, the

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[29] https://www.dw.com/fa-ir/%D8%B0%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%AB-%D8%A2%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86-%DB%B2%DB%B3%DB%B0-%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%B6-%DA%A9%D8%B4%D8%AA%D9%87-%DB%B2-%D9%87%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D9%86%D9%81%D8%B1-%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%AD-%D8%B4%D8%AF%D9%86%D8%AF/a-53651186

government also shut down the internet for a day or two during protests sparked by economic woes. The new protests appeared to be the most serious since the sporadic demonstrations in December 2017 and January 2018, in which 22 people died. The Internet shut down lasted until November 23. During this time the country was disconnected from the world.

1.4.4 Time line of the events

Nov. 15: Iran imposed rationing and raised the price of fuel. It announced the change overnight, which caught many citizens by surprise. The National Petroleum Products Distribution Company set new rules for fuel sales. The government's goal was to raise funds to help the poor, but it backfired. Hundreds of people filled the streets in multiple cities including Mashhad, Ahvaz, Behbahan, Mahshahr, and Omidiyeh to protest the overnight increase in fuel prices.

Nov. 16: Protests reportedly devolved into violence in several cities. In video posted on social media, protestors set fires and police forces used tear gas and water cannons to disperse them. An official in the city of Sirjan, reported that one person was killed when protestors tried to set fire to an oil depot.

In this day also NetBlocks, a cyber-monitoring firm, reported widespread internet disruptions and outages in Iran. The company said internet connectivity had dropped to just seven percent of ordinary levels before protests began. "The ongoing disruption is the most severe recorded in Iran since President Rouhani came to power, and the most severe disconnection tracked by NetBlocks in any country in terms of its technical complexity and breadth," it reported.

Nov. 17: At least 87,000 people had joined demonstrations across some 100 towns and cities, according to Fars News Agency. Security officials said protestors had ransacked nearly 100 banks and stores across the country. Some 1,000 people were reportedly arrested by security forces.

The Iranian Intelligence Ministry said that it had identified protest leaders. "The main elements behind the disturbances of the past two days have been identified and appropriate action is being taken," the ministry told Tasnim news agency (Agency close to the IRGC).

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei backed the government's decision to raise fuel prices and blamed "hooligans" for the unrest. "Some people are no doubt worried by this decision ... but sabotage and arson is done by hooligans, not our people. The counter-revolution and Iran's enemies have always supported sabotage and breaches of security and continue to do so."

President Hassan Rouhani said the Iranian people were entitled to protest. But he warned that unrest would not be tolerated. "The government will not allow anyone at all to [create] chaos and insecurity, but all have the right to protest, speak and criticize," Rouhani said in a cabinet meeting.

The Trump administration offered support to the Iranian protestors. "We condemn the lethal force and severe communications restrictions used against demonstrators. Tehran has fanatically pursued nuclear weapons and missile programs, and supported terrorism, turning a proud nation into another cautionary tale of what happens when a ruling class abandons its people and embarks on a crusade for personal power and riches," said a White House statement.

Nov. 18: The government announced that 12 protestors had been killed in clashes with security forces. But activists claimed that at least 40 people had died. Government Spokesman Ali Rabiei said that violent protestors had taken police hostage during demonstrations. He also announced that the government would soon unblock internet access across the country. Rabiei noted that attendance in demonstrations had dropped by 80 percent compared to the previous day.

But videos of demonstrations were still circulated on social media.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) warned that they would take "decisive action" against protestors if the unrest continued. "If necessary we will take decisive and revolutionary action against any continued moves to disturb the people's peace and security," the IRGC said in a statement.

Nov. 19: Iran's judiciary spokesman told a news conference that protests had subsided. "Calm has been restored in the country," he reported. But videos posted to social media showed that protests continued in several cities. Three members of the security forces were reportedly stabbed to death near Tehran overnight, according to ISNA news agency.

The U.N. human rights office condemned violence against protestors and urged the government to reign in security forces. The United Nations estimated that dozens of demonstrators had been killed. U.N. human rights spokesman Rupert Colville also called on Iran to restore internet service across the country, which had been cut off since November 16.

The State Department's special representative for Iran, Brian Hook, issued a statement in support of the protestors. "The United States hears you, and we support your struggle for a better future," he said.

Nov. 20: President Hassan Rouhani claimed victory over protesters during a cabinet meeting. He said that the "spontaneous" pro-government rallies held throughout the country were the "greatest sign" of the power of the Iranian people. State media aired footage of rallies in several cities. "The Iranian people have again succeeded in an historic test and shown they will not let enemies benefit from the situation, even though they might have complaints about the country's management," Rouhani said.

Foreign nationals were among protestors detained, according to a report by Fars news agency. Security sources claimed that German, Turkish and Afghan dual nationals were trained by foreign intelligence agencies to infiltrate the protests and create instability in the country.

Iran summoned Swiss ambassador Mark Leitner, who represents U.S. interests in Tehran, to the foreign ministry to protest Washington's support for the demonstrations. The ministry accused the United States of encouraging rioters.

Nov. 21: Iran began to restore internet access across the country after a near-complete shutdown that began November 16. Officials said that the internet was restored in "some areas and, according to reports

so far, fixed line internet has been restored in Hormozgan, Kermanshah, Arak, Mashhad, Qom, Tabriz, Hamadan and Bushehr provinces, and parts of Tehran." Internet for mobile phones still was down.

Nov. 22: The IRGC arrested around 100 protest leaders, who could face "severe punishment," according to the head the judiciary, Ebrahimi Raisi. "Approximately 100 leaders, heads and main figures of the recent unrest were identified and arrested in various parts of the country by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps," said judiciary spokesman.

Nov. 23: Tehran warned that there would be consequences for countries in the region that allegedly helped foment unrest in Iran the previous week. "Some countries in the region should know that they will not have an easy life in the region if clues are found that show they intervened to create unrest in Iran," said Vice President Eshaq Jahangiri.

The internet finally was connected for all users in all regions of the country.

Nov. 25: Thousands of Iranians reportedly held rallies across the country in support of the government. Crowds chanted "Death to America" and "Death to Israel" in the demonstrations, which were widely covered by state television. They accused the United States and Israel for stoking unrest following the increase in fuel prices. The protests had turned violent. Demonstrators burned banks while security forces used tear gas and live ammunition to disperse crowds. More than 100 people were reportedly killed.

1.5 A Meta-Narrative analysis of the historical context

Before entering into the analysis phase of this chapter in a meta-narrative perspective, it would be necessary to have a definition of this term that serves most in this thesis. The term meta-narrative has different interpretations regarding to the field of study from literature studies to historical philosophy. But at the same time this could produce misunderstanding if we do not specifically determine in which meaning we are using the terminology and what is it exactly referring to.

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The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research defines the term as: Meta-narrative can be understood in two ways: (1) as a narrative *about* narrative or (2) as a narrative *above* narrative. An example of the former definition would be the movie Shadow of the Vampire (2000) directed by E. Elias Merhige which is fictionalized documentary account of the making of the classic vampire film Nosferatu (1922) directed by F. W. Murnau. It is a narrative about that vampire narrative (in which the story is about how the German director was eager to give a realistic image of the character and for this reason had cast a real vampire to play the role). One might think of another example in the classic *A Thousand and One Nights*, that is a narrative of Shahrzad, the Persian princess who every night would tell a story for the ruthless king to make him wait for more stories and not to kill her.

Postmodern thinkers have identified meta-narratives that function not only as explanations but also as mechanisms of social control. These meta-narratives which may include classic texts, archetypal accounts, or grand cultural epics form the basis for the totality of a society's belief. In this case meta-narratives function in society as universal and absolute truth. Example of this type of meta-narrative might be the Bible, the Quran or even the Red Book of Mao. In this sense meta-narrative becomes very close to the concept of ideology.

Jean-Francois Lyotard, who developed the concept of meta-narratives, asserted that the most pervasive of all stories was the emancipation narrative, which asserted that the whole of history makes sense and furthermore is a history of progress toward some greater good. Lyotard (1984) argues that in the present post-industrial society most people are placed in the role of consumers while the major part of society is employed in the services sector. Individuals are becoming less and less attached to one occupation or place of residence. In all societies the circulation of information and access to it have become crucial. There has also been a remarkable increase in the power of the mass media that uninterruptedly produce images serving as substitutes of a direct view of the world, thereby creating a virtual reality for the receivers. In place of a unified cultural canon there is now a pluralism of cultures, ideologies and language-games, out of which none are favored. As a result, we are dealing with a social identity crisis because such traditional social entities as the nation, class, church or state have become disintegrated. This state of affairs is designed to lead to the decay of all metanarratives which have so far enabled individuals to integrate different episodes of their existence into one whole. Lyotard, therefore, claims that the majority of people have lost the nostalgia for the meta-narratives.

Lyotard's thesis on meta-narrative has been criticized in different aspects. Brzechczyn (2008) has reviewed these critiques and pointed out the fundamental one which says although there is some truth in his claim about the disappearance of nostalgia for meta-narratives, this loss of nostalgia seems to be socially conditioned and as such it seems to be more of periodical than stable character. In a period of social stabilization, the demand for meta-narratives is decreasing. Social life becomes repetitive and predictable. People no longer look for explanations of their social reality in the philosophy of history because they are perfectly able to find their way in the reality themselves. But in times of crisis or social upheavals, when – as Arnold Toynbee puts it in a metaphor- history speeds up, the situation looks entirely different. It is then that people lose their social orientation and do not know what tomorrow will bring.

Another definition of the term meta-narrative appears in the work of John Stephens and Robyn McCallum. In their book Retelling stories, Framing Culture, they define the term as such: "The implicit and usually invisible ideologies, systems and assumptions which operate globally in a society to order knowledge and experience". (Stephens & McCallum, 2013, P.3)

This notion of meta-narratives based on the analysis of transportation and transformation of cultural ideas, values and morals from generation to generation in a society might take us closer to the concept. Stephens and McCallum are in search of the way traditional stories change in time while they are retold over and over. In this process of retelling, while the historical conditions of a society cause changes in the form of living the ordinary life, the stories change their messages as well. They argue that the ideological effect of a retold text happens in a relationship between these things:

- -The already given story
- -The meta-narratives that constitute top-down framing
- -Bottom –up discoursal process

In this perspective, meta-narrative has these characteristics: 1) it is an assumption or ideology 2) it operates for the whole given society 3) it is involved with the knowledge and experience 4) it is tied within the culture and is essential for the process of historical meaning-making 5) it is related to a kind of dominated discourses within the society (Stephens & McCallum, 2013, P.4).

In this study, we will apply to these terms whenever we use meta-narrative and the analysis on its base.

An example of a meta-narrative in this sense could be identified with the dominant discourse distributed in mainstream media regarding the 9/11 events, with use of language like terrorism and trauma Structured by the media and government to persuade and control society, leading to influencing the reproduction of ideologies like nationalism in the United States and societies acceptance for the anti-terrorism laws, that resulted in increased civilian surveillance and lack of privacy for individuals in one side, and stereotyping the Muslim culture/minority group, which led to an us verse them Ethnocentric attitude in the United States and formed mainstream societies Essentialist perspective of this culture, resulting in societies acceptance of the 'War on Terror'. And the meta-narrative of Terrorism formed, reproduced, and dominated in the American culture from 2001 until now.

We can see the retelling of the historical narratives under the umbrella of certain meta-narratives. In the case of Iran, which is the object of the study, we might bring the story of the coup d'eta in 1953 against the government of Mohammad Mosadegh, which resulted to the fall of the government, destroying the politic and active life of the prime minister, returning the Shah after he had fled, and establishing a dictatorship. This narrative can be interpreted in many different ways and with certain set of language choices that create different meanings. While religious part of the society where happy about Mosadegh for his effort on nationalizing the oil industry (taking it back from the British/foreigners), they weren't there completely at the moment of the coup to defend their beloved prime minister. Did they betray him? Did they hesitate for an unknown reason to help him resist the coup? Were they waiting for something? Did the religious leader of the time changed his mind? The same questions can be asked from other sides of the story. From the supporters of the Shah, till the politicians of the parties, journalists and activists. Today answering to those questions (in the lack of enough historical documents) is related to the meta-narrative that frames a particular narrative and creates meaning. The meat-narrative of Great Persian Kingdom constructs a sort of meaning out of this narrative that is perfectly distinct from what other meta-narratives might offer.

1.5.1 Meta-narratives in contemporary Iran

In the first section of this chapter we reviewed briefly the political history of Iran from the first years of the XX century until the recent years. It is not difficult to notice that during these 100 years how ideologies created discourses, and discourses were in severe tensions with each other in different layers of Iranian

society. The country has been under influence of the foreign powers, occupied, suffered from the lack of identity and unity, experienced periods of dictatorship and fought for achieving democracy whenever there were any room for it. The contemporary history of Iran during these 100 years have been speeding up in a non-stop way.

In the hotter moments of this history we may observe with more clarity the meta-narratives in tension. Some of these meta-narratives are older and therefore are rooted deeper in the meaning making process among people. Some are the fruit of modernization and the relationship with new scientific tendencies brought to the country by the young generations who were sent to Europe in the first decades of the twentieth century. The question would be: How is it possible to extract these meta-narratives from the history? What are those ideologies and assumptions that carry the knowledge of the people and at the same time are used to create social control and structures?

Answering to this question is not this study's concern. It requires a methodology of studying social-historical texts during this period of time. But what we could do for now, is recognizing the most influential social-political forces in Iranian contemporary history. These forces, with their distinct interpretations of the truth, will lead us to discover if not all, at least the most important meta-narratives.

We can distinguish at least these social-political forces:

-Clerics and religious leaders

-Bazzari class (traditional and rich merchants)

- Intelligentsia (intellectual west-educated people with open mind)

-The king institution and its supporters

-Foreign governments and their networks in Iran

The political process in the contemporary Iran, has been the fruit of interactions, tensions and struggles among these forces. On the other hand, during this history we see periods of destabilization that ends to civil war, foreign occupation or coup. We suggest that in our search for the meta-narratives, we focus on those periods of Iran's history where there is stability. With this approach we can analyze the structure that has been shaped around a dominated ideology. This domination and social control, means that a meta-narrative functions strongly and give meaning to all discourses.

From the emergence of the constitutional revolution in 1907 until the Reza Pahlavi coup in 1921 we do not see any moment of stability in the country. Different forces are in tension and the Qajar kings are not able to bring the balance back to the society. From 1926 (crowning of Reza Shah) till 1941 when he is forced to leave the throne, we see the first period of stability. The second period occurs in the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi from 1953 to 1978. And the third period starts from 1978 until now. In all these three periods, we see more than 15 years of no power crisis and therefore enough stability in Iranian society. In the table below we have extracted the dominated ideologies of the time:

Period of the History	Dominated ideology
Reza Shah Pahlavi (1926-1941)	Authoritarian Modernization: Trans-Iranian Railway, modern education, first Iranian university, a unified and organized army
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1953-1978)	Aryan Nationalism: anniversary of 2,500 years of continuous Persian monarchy since the founding of the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus the Great, changing the benchmark of the Iranian calendar from the Islamic to the beginning of the First Persian Empire, introducing the White Revolution, a series of economic, social and political reforms with the proclaimed intention of transforming Iran into a global power (as it was once in ancient times)
Islamic Republic (1978-)	Authoritarian religious republic: New constitution according the Islamic laws, Shia theocracy, challenge with the west and U.S, conservative vs reformist formation of politics, missile program, nuclear program, space program

Based on the table, we may extract at least these three meta-narratives that exist in the contemporary Iranian society. These meta-narratives have been in tension during recent 100 years. Sometimes one has had the chance to dominate others, sometimes two have united against one; but we can discover the influence of them in all political, social and cultural events in Iranian society.

4. Shia Islam Meta-Narrative (Clerics and traditional merchants)
5. Modernization/Democracy Meta-Narrative (Intelligentsia)
6. Ancient Persian Empire (The king institution and its supporters)

Conclusions of the part

In this part we reviewed Iran´s modern history from the constitutional revolution (1905) until the current years. The aim for such a review is to provide a historical context that we will need for the main analysis in part III. Apart from Iran's history, we also historically reviewed three other fields: Iran's media system from newspapers to digital platforms and especially twitter, the MEK story from first years till now, and the back ground in which the protests in November took place.

-We can summarize Iran's modern history in regards with the history of media and the periods in which there is free newspaper and publications in the following order:

Political event	Length of the period
Constitutional Revolution	1905-1909
The first part of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's reign	1941-1953
Islamic Revolution until the beginning of war	1979-1981
First round of Mohammad Khatami presidency	1997-2001

-As we see in the meta-narrative analysis, there are few periods of time that the country is not in severe challenge with internal crisis or foreign interferences. There only three periods of stability that have lasted more than 15 years.

-The meta-narrative analysis shows that there are at least three ideologies that are in tensions during Iran's contemporary history. These ideologies and the historical events following them have shaped meta-narratives that can be recognized in a historical analysis.

Part II:
Theoretical Analysis

Theoretical frameworks of the study:

-Theory of Framing

-Theory of narrative structure

-Theory of metaphor

-Theory of film genres

2.1 From Hermeneutics towards twitter understanding

The general objective of this part is to answer to a very important question: Is it possible, theoretically, to start from the Hermeneutics and move towards twitter studies? How can we imagine such a path between these two different areas? And more importantly what theoretical instruments do we need to establish a system of analysis for twitter fragmented stories and video activism?

We will need the answers to the above questions because in the last part of the study, where we have gathered a data sample of video-tweets of the MEK, this theoretical analysis provides us a methodological ground. This part (II) links our historical context of Iran (as macro-stories) - another ground that we need for the final analysis- to the micro-stories of the specific events in November 2019. The narrative hermeneutics analysis based on Paul Ricoeur's theory of Time and Narrative, also provides a theory of reception that will help us answer the questions of the study related to understanding MEK's narrative by twitter audience.

On the other hand in this part, we will prepare all theoretical frame works that are needed in this study. From the twitter theory to Framing and from hermeneutics to narrative theory.

We will start from the most basic and fundamental theoretical ground of the study: Hermeneutics.

2.1.1 Hermeneutics, from procedures to philosophy

Modern hermeneutics begins with F. D. E. Schleiermacher who systematized hermeneutics, developing it from a group of disparate disciplines meant to apply to different fields of discourse to a set of procedures applicable to all. Schleiermacher also insists on a methodical practice of interpretation including grammatical interpretation, which attends to an author's language, and psychological or technical interpretation, which attends to an author's intentions. The ambition of hermeneutics, moreover, is to be a methodology, a term that acquired new connotations under Schleiermacher's hand, for hermeneutics was increasingly assigned the task of regulating the act of understanding "methodologically". Schleiermacher's hermeneutical project though, was to establish a system that creates that methodology.

For him, the problem was "what remains to be understood, and is always being misunderstood, is precisely what the author wanted to say"(Grondin, 1997, P.72).

In moving to philosophical hermeneutics, Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer refocus away from the procedures conducive to understanding and towards the conditions under which understanding occurs: namely, in the context of our ongoing projects and purposes and the interrelations they involve. For Gadamer, these conditions lead to a rethinking of the Enlightenment's criticism of tradition and prejudice. The context of understanding is a historically developed one. Indeed, Heidegger and Gadamer conceive of the so-called hermeneutic circle of whole and part not as a method for coming to a definitive understanding of a text, as Schleiermacher does, but rather as a reflection of our historical circumstances. We are the result of the effective histories of the very texts and discourses we seek to understand. To the extent that we are, however, we participate in their traditions and are oriented or prejudiced by the assumptions they hand down to us. The problem with a Schleiermachian reliance on interpretive method, then, is that it pretends to an objectivity that it cannot attain and thereby gives up on the possibility of acknowledging and interrogating prejudice. Schleiermacher's focus on intentions is equally problematic. To the extent that we concentrate only or primarily on the intentions or thoughts behind an author's or speaker's expression, we fail to take their expressions up as possible insights or valid claims. In contrast, philosophical hermeneutics asks us to take works of literature seriously with regard to their subject matter, and to engage dialogically in a process of clarifying an issue or subject matter for ourselves. In short, we miss much of what we can learn about a subject matter if we look to intentions over content. Likewise, we miss much of what we can learn about ourselves if we look to method and forgo dialogue. This is the thesis developed by Gadamer et al. (2004) in his magnum opus *Truth and Method*.

2.1.2 The Hermeneutic Circle

The term refers to the idea that one's understanding of the text as a whole is established by reference to the individual parts and one's understanding of each individual part by reference to the whole. Neither the whole text nor any individual part can be understood without reference to one another, and hence, it is a circle. However, this circular character of interpretation does not make it impossible to interpret a text; rather, it stresses that the meaning of a text must be found within its cultural, historical, and literary context.

In Schleiermacher's method, this circle contains the back and forth movement from text to the interpreter beginning from a skeletal understanding of the whole of the text as an orientation to its individual parts, and then filling in the skeletal understanding with those parts to grasp the whole. How does the interpreter acquire an initial skeletal understanding of the whole, whether of the author's life or of the text? If our understanding runs in a circle from whole to part and part to whole, how do we get into the circle in the first place? Gadamer's answer is decisive for his hermeneutics: we do not need to discover a means of entering the circle because we are always already in it. This means we always have pre-understanding of the world. Gadamer situates this fore-structure or pre-understanding in history and tradition and therefore thinks of it as a structure of prejudice. If our initial skeletal understanding issues from our immersion in ongoing projects and purposes, these projects and purposes have their place within particular cultures possessing particular histories and trajectories. We inherit modes of practice, ways of living, and assumptions or prejudices about our world as aspects of growing up.

This fundamental point of view of the philosophical hermeneutics is essential to this study because the main path towards our final purpose (Understanding tweets/video-tweets) starts from this notion. We will see later on this part that how this circle appears again in forming a system of analysis in understanding twitter.

2.1.3 Paul Ricoeur and Narrative Hermeneutics

In the recent decades, there have been a common approach in humanities and social sciences to use narrative as a powerful instrument of analyzing human being experiences. This common approach sometimes has been called a "Narrative Turn". (Goodson & Gill, 2011)

Extending the study of storytelling beyond the fictive, literary, textual and even linguistic domain, the shift toward narrative as a practice of human being communication and meaning-making has been driven by many debates. In this process, the scope of narrative theorizing has widened within and beyond the humanities. What is viewed as the spectrum of storytelling environment has also expanded ranging from face-to-face interaction to textual genres, visual and performative media, and digital world-making. At the same time, narrative research has opened up to diverse cultural worlds, involving many new areas of inquiry in the social sciences, psychology, law, and health and medical sciences.

The emergence of narrative as a methodology in such vast and different academic disciplines has a very clear explanation: Narrative is now our most important tool for meaning-making and understanding the

process of human being's meaning-making Mink (1970), Polkinghorne (1988), Bruner (1991). In other words events have no meaning by themselves, the meaning creates when the relationship between them are told. This causal relations are best embedded in narratives. Herman (2009), Todorov (1981), Richardson (1997), Somers (1994).

Why does narrative theory play such an essential role in today's science? There is no easy and simple answer to this question, but the key to find the answer is the narrative hermeneutics. In previous section we reviewed briefly the hermeneutical philosophy. We saw that the basic claim of it is that human understanding is mediated. It is mediated through sociocultural circumstances, history, and signs particularly language. The assumption of the interpretive nature of human understanding is inseparable from its linguistic, social, and cultural immediateness or as Gadamer describes it, historicity. We always encounter the present moment within the horizon of experience shaped by our past experiences and by the cultural traditions and forms of life in which we have become who we are. In this sense, interpretations are not just views or cognitive representations but have real, material, world-constituting implications. Here appears narrative hermeneutics to offer a perspective of narrative as a crucial form and practice of interpretive understanding.

Meaning-making is not just about cognition, knowledge, consciousness, or the mind, but about living life in a cultural world. It is about human condition itself. In this sense we can say drawing on a distinction by Heidegger, that narrative hermeneutics goes beyond the meaning of language and texts (the main subject of hermeneutic reflection before Heidegger) and grapples the ontological issues; that is, "it deals with the human being in the world as a historical, social, and cultural condition, rather than only with epistemological issues of knowledge, thought and cognition" (Meretoja, 2013, P.107).

Whenever the process of interpretive understanding and sense-making reach a certain level of complexity-in particular when they deal with temporal processes and multi-temporal scenarios (as in most life identity stories), it comes to narrative. It was Paul Ricoeur who, in the wake of Heidegger's existential hermeneutics of temporality and historicity, studied the intrinsic relationship between time and narrative. If Heidegger and Gadamer prepared the ground with their views on the fundamental temporality of our being in the world and reinterpreting the past so as to open up new possibilities of being in the present, Ricoeur is the one who conceptualized narrative fiction as a form of art that opens up new possibilities of being, acting, and thinking.

Ricoeur, in *Time and Narrative Vol.1* claims that "Time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence" (Ricoeur, 1984, P.3). This claim precedes an argumentation coming from analysis of time in *Confessions* of Augustin and analysis of plot in *Poetics* of Aristotle. Ricoeur argues that narrative is capable of representing the human experience of time. On the other hand he suggests that any philosophical model for understanding human existence must employ a composite temporal framework. Therefore, narrative model would serve best to this purpose. Ricoeur (1984) argues that the human urge to construct *plots* from disjointed events is a privileged way of coming to terms with lived experience. Ricoeur links narrative's temporal complexity to Aristotle's characterization of narrative as 'the imitation of an action'. In his model, Ricoeur suggests three stages in which we give meaning to human actions. Ricoeur's account of the way in which narrative represents the human world of acting (and, in its passive mode, suffering) turns on three stages of interpretation that he calls mimesis1 (prefiguration of the field of action), mimesis2 (configuration of the field of action), and mimesis3 (refiguration of the field of action).

Mimesis1 describes the way in which the field of human acting is always already prefigured with certain basic competencies, for example, competency in the conceptual network of the semantics of action (expressed in the ability to raise questions of who, how, why, with whom, against whom, etc.); in the use of symbols (being able to grasp one thing as standing for something else); and competency in temporal structures in governing the syntagmatic order of narration (the "followaiblility" of narrative).

Mimesis2 concerns the imaginative configuration of the elements given in the field of action at the level of mimesis1. Mimesis2 concerns narrative "emplotment." Ricoeur describes this level as "the kingdom of the *as if*". Narrative emplotment brings the diverse elements of a situation into an imaginative order, in just the same way as does the plot of a story. Emplotment here has a mediating function. It configures events, agents and objects and renders those individual elements meaningful as part of a larger whole in which each takes a place in the network that constitutes the narrative's response to why, how, who, where, when, etc. By bringing together heterogeneous factors into its syntactical order emplotment creates a "concordant discordance," a tensive unity which functions as a redescription of a situation in which the internal coherence of the constitutive elements endows them with an explanatory role. A particularly useful feature of narrative which becomes apparent at the level mimesis2 is the way in which the linear chronology of emplotment is able to represent different experiences of time. What is depicted as the "past" and the "present" within the plot does not necessarily correspond to the "before" and

"after" of its linear, episodic structure. For example, a narrative may begin with a culminating event, or it may devote long passages to events depicted as occurring within relatively short periods of time. Dates and times can be disconnected from their denotative function; grammatical tenses can be changed, and changes in the tempo and duration of scenes create a temporality that is "lived" in the story that does not coincide with either the time of the world in which the story is read, nor the time that the unfolding events are said to depict.

Another key feature of mimesis2 is the ability of the internal logic of the narrative unity (created by emplotment) to endow the connections between the elements of the narrative with necessity. In this way, emplotment forges a causal continuity from a temporal succession, and so creates the intelligibility and credibility of the narrative. Ricoeur argues that the temporal order of the events depicted in the narrative is simultaneous with the construction of the necessity that connects those elements into a conceptual unity: "from the structure of one thing *after* another arises the conceptual relation of one thing *because* of another"(Ricoeur, 1984, P.41). It is this conversion that so well "imitates" the continuity demanded by a life, and makes it the ideal model for personal identity and self-understanding.

Mimesis3 concerns the integration of the imaginative or "fictive" perspective offered at the level of mimesis2 into actual, lived experience. Ricoeur's model for this is a phenomenology of reading, which he describes as "the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the reader" (Ricoeur, 1984, P.71). Not only are our life stories "written," they must be "read," and when they are read they are taken as one's own and integrated into one's identity and self-understanding. Mimesis3 effects the integration of the hypothetical to the real by anchoring the time depicted (or recollected or imputed) in a dated "now" and "then" of actual, lived time.

This mimetic model is pivotal for the analysis in the last part of this study. The hermeneutical approach of Ricoeur to narrative as our means of engagement to the interpretation of the world and ourselves, would be our main theoretical point in the analysis of twitter. Therefore we will try to explore this model in more depth and detail. We will discuss later, that the third stage of the mimetic cycle of understanding (refiguration) is our key to resolve the problem of understanding in Twitter.

With the movement from *prefiguration* to *refiguration* via *configuration* there is an inevitable concern over circularity, that the ending point is no further from the starting point, or worse still that the end point

is already present at the beginning in some way. If this were so then all that would exist is a vicious circle of words, no use to anyone.

Ricoeur concedes that *there is a circularity* but he does not yield that the circularity is a vicious one. Rather he suggests that the mimetic cycle is a *never-ending spiral of ever-increasing understanding*, passing the same point many times but each time at a different 'altitude.' A story may be about despair, or fidelity, say, and each time it returns to the theme through the characters, the actions, the events, the story has provoked the reader to understand more and more about despair, or fidelity.

Here we might recall the concept of hermeneutic circle that functions in the same way as the mimetic cycle. Gadamer tells us that the hermeneutic circle is not vicious. In fact, it is our fundamental instrument in engaging with the matter we wish to interpret. In Gadamer's notion of understanding, this circle becomes an ontological aspect of the human being nature. To interpret and reinterpret the world we find ourselves in the hermeneutic circle that enables us to enter in conversation with the matter. The back and forth movement between us and the matter, that is to say, in the activation of the hermeneutic circle, the process of interpretation and meaning-making occurs. The same happens in Ricoeur's model of understanding the world of action through narrative. The back and forth movement from the mimesis1 to mimesis3 mediated by the mimesis2, shapes a cycle which only deepens our understanding of our experiences.

We will return to this mimetic analysis later in this chapter. For now, we leave the narrative hermeneutics in this point and jump to some other theoretical needs that are essential in this study. Most importantly the Twitter.

2.1.4 Twitter studies and understanding

At the beginning of this part, we imagined a hypothetical path between hermeneutics and twitter. The question here is how one can put the starting point in the philosophical ground of hermeneutics and move towards twitter field of study? Then we started from hermeneutics and hermeneutics of narrative to examine its methods and tools which would be necessary for such theoretical movement. In this part we will jump to the end of the path to describe the characteristics of Twitter as a social media platform. If we could show that Twitter is a storytelling platform with narrative nature, then the connection between the philosophical field of hermeneutics and the mediatic field of twitter will show itself. In this way, we will be able to apply to the hermeneutics of narrative to analyze narratives on twitter.

In the first place, let us know in brief, the platform under study. What is twitter and for what purpose it functions? What possibilities it creates and what sort of interactions it provides?

Twitter is a microblogging and social networking service on which users post and interact with messages known as 'tweets'. Registered users can post, like, and retweet tweets, but unregistered users can only read them. Users access Twitter through its website interface, through Short Message Service, or its mobile-device application software ('app'). Tweets were originally restricted to 140 characters, but was doubled to 280 in November 2017. Also, on June 2020 Twitter added the possibility of voice tweeting in a limited format.

The tweets may include pictures (1-4 images), Gifs, Videos or hyperlinks. This content appears on the 'timeline' in chronological order with newer tweets appearing at the top and pushing tweets down the page. Tweets are also delivered to the home timelines of all the user's 'followers' (who have elected to follow this user). Twitter recently have run new algorithms that manage with more complication the order of appearing tweets on a timeline. For instance, a tweet from a user might appear on the timeline of another user who do not follow her, but can see the tweet only because that particular tweet has been 'liked' by a user she/he follows.

A big difference of tweeter from Facebook, the other major social media platform, is that following need not be reciprocal. Beyond the following mechanism, there are number of other ways of interacting with other users. These include 'Mentions', 'Retweets', 'Replies' and 'Likes'.

In terms of uploading videos or attaching one to a tweet, Twitter have advanced in the recent years. In the time of this study, a user can upload a video with maximum length of 2 minutes and 20 seconds. The user can also do some editing on the video before sharing. Twitter on the other hand, by using another application called "Periscope" has enabled its users to put live video streaming on their timeline to inform their followers about what is happening.

This 'micro-blogging' that comes after the question of 'What is happening?' has appeared on the linguistic radar in a verity of ideas: as a networking tool Marwick & Boyd (2011), Zappavigna (2012), an ambience awareness instrument (Thompson, 2007), a socially permitted form of self-talk, a ,a means of coordinating offline events (Thimm et al., 2011) and others. Twitter offers its users opportunities for self-presentation and crafting an online identity. Perhaps the most important means of discursive identity construction in monologue is personal narrative. In this sense, twitter users, construct an identity by telling stories about their everyday lives. Many tweets appear suspended in a kind of perpetual present, a sequence of 'nows'.

It is in the process of following a user that these 'nows' have the opportunity to turn into stories with certain meanings. There are several fields of twitter studies interested in analyzing such storytelling. Some might apply to the studies of short oral everyday storytelling and the re-describing the traditional element of narrative in them (Labov, 2001), some are interested in the quality of narrativity embedded in twitter activities (Ochs & Capps, 2001) and finally the most recent approach that fits the type of storytelling on twitter is the analysis of 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou, 2007).

Apart from the telling everyday events of user's lives which leads to identity construction analysis, there is another common type of storytelling on twitter that is popular. This type of storytelling is the 'breaking news' style of telling news. Journalists, politicians, and activists mostly participate in constructing such stories. Twitter has been effective in reporting crisis and political events with more concentrations on following moment by moment of social-political stories. Politicians mostly have official accounts where they make statements, give explanations and create conversations. Although we might see same activities on other social media such as Facebook and Instagram, Twitter has turned to a platform where politically makes significance. The fact that Donald Trump has made twitter his personal media of commenting on almost everything, especially in foreign relationships, is an example of this significance. On the other hand, we see long term political campaigns that have been going on for years and in some points when the events get boiled, they appear with more hashtags and trends. In this cases groups of tweets loosely bound together through the repetition of keywords and hashtags and connections established through networks of retweeting and liking. An example of such a phenomena is the Israel-Palestine conflict that Siapera (2014) for instance, has studied.

This second type of storytelling as we mentioned might have two different formats. Those that cover an event in a short period of time (a recent example of this would be the #BlackLivesMatter movement in the U.S), and those that cover the ongoing changes for a long period of time (as in case of Palestine or Syria). This study is interested in the latter. Although the framework built by hermeneutics of narrative is a general approach useful to analyze any kind of storytelling on twitter.

The essential notion about such storytelling is that the narratives produced in these cases are completely different from the traditional forms of journalism and news-stories: instead of being told by individuals to clearly defined audiences, stories are told collectively, although not necessarily collaboratively, by large numbers of users. Through such collective action, and influence of elite users with large followership, loosely defined but nonetheless relatively stable, narrative constellations emerge over time. From this

point of view, many people, often with different or even conflicting agendas may contribute to the storytelling process.

But yet there is an important question about the twitter and its forms of storytelling: How do we understand twitter? What happens in the part of the audience in reading twitter? There is at least two major fields of studies in answering this question: In the form of database and in the form of narrative.

There has been -and still is- a tendency of seeing twitter as a database or an 'ambience' where the ideas, comments and news are shared. In this view we see a database of hashtags and other kinds of 'searchable talk'(Zappavigna, 2015). Therefore, the growth of twitter produces an ambient forms of reporting where small fragments of information are constantly added without the need for an overarching structure. This approach suggests that tweeter breaks with the classic narrative structure of journalism and instead creates multifaceted, and fluid news experience (Hermida et al., 2014). This idea of understanding twitter opens various doors in researching twitter and analyzing the tweets in empirical studies. An important achievement of this approach might be the visualization of the twitter networks in an 'ambient' regarding certain hashtags or activities. We argue that even in such way of understanding, we need a narrative approach to make sense of the results of such empirical analysis.

Below we can see a tweet on November 16 reporting a blockage in a highway in Tehran:
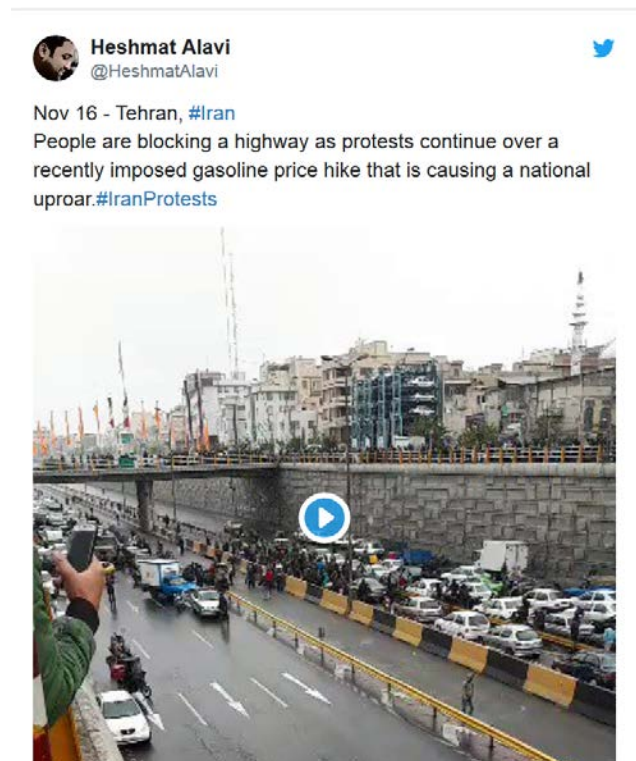
Considering twitter as a database, would mean that this tweet is a report of 'something' that is happening. But it is not clear how serious it might be. How long did it last? Did police come to reopen the road? Were there any tensions between the sides? Which part of Tehran did this happen? How vast was this protest? We only are able to answer these questions, that we follow our 'timeline' where the events are appeared in the form of tweets in a chronological order. Every tweet is a new 'chronicle' that might have connections with some other tweets. But how do we understand these chronicles?

The answer to this question is in Arthur Danto's analysis of chronicles in *Narration and Knowledge* (1984). Danto in explaining the difference between 'the whole past' and 'the whole history' argues that chronicles are not sufficient for making sense of the past. He imagines a hypothetical 'Ideal Chronicler' who knows whatever happens the moment it happens, even in other minds. When E [a particular event] happens, it would safely save in the past, its full description is in the Ideal Chronicler. The question for him is do the Ideal Chronicler give us the History?

Before getting back to Danto's argument, let us pay attention to the idea of 'Ideal Chronicler' and the twitter as a platform of reporting everything that happens. Twitter has all the characteristics of an Ideal Chronicler. Except for the fact that it is not a person, it is a platform containing a flow of stories, facts, information and all. If in Danto's hypothesis of an Ideal Chronicler, such a thing/person was imaginary, today we actually can recognize social media platforms-especially twitter- in this role.

Returning to Danto's argument, he discusses that Ideal Chronicle is perfect for what concerns the past. What the Ideal Chronicler does, is presenting a recording of an event, as soon as it happens, in the exact manner in which it happens. But it cannot do much more than this. Its position does not allow it to see the future and, consequently, it cannot be at ease when describing the future. Danto then asks 'does it suffice to write the final chronicle?' he argues that History is different from what the Ideal Chronicler can bring us. What makes history different, is its ability to narration. That is why history can use tensed sentence. Narration enables historian to speak of extended events by employing 'Project verbs' and therefore narrative sentences which are our description of action refer to events. As an example, Ideal Chronicle cannot say 'in September 1939 the second World War began' because the declaration of the war came some time later. Likewise, the Ideal Chronicle cannot give significance of certain event. What it can contain is just description of event happening in present tense. To make meaning we need more than

that. To make meaning we require cause and effect relationship between the events and that is something that lays in the realm of narrative.

Danto's argument, as we discussed, is related to the history. But the same argument would be valid if we change the chronicle with a single tweet, the Ideal Chronicler with twitter platform, and the history with the process of meaning making of the fragmented, single tweets that appear in one's 'timeline'. Imagining twitter as a database, useful for research is practical and useful, it gives us plenty of tools and data, but for understanding the data and the results of the research, in short, for any practice of meaning-making we need narrative.

The tweet in which we see a video about blocking a highway in Tehran would make meaning when we know its relation with other videos that appear on twitter timeline, the conversations it produces, critics, updates, retweets and contributions of other users over time constructs our understanding of twitter. An understanding that occurs in the form of narrative with beginning, and end.

2.1.5 Understanding twitter and hermeneutics of narrative

We discussed in the previous section, that understanding twitter happens with forming a narrative structure. In this section we study briefly, this understanding in the light of hermeneutics of narrative. The question we are dealing with in this section is 'How mimetic analysis of Paul Ricoeur enables us to explain our understanding of twitter?'

To answer this question we will focus on the third stage of narrative model that ricoeur calls mimesis3 or 'refiguration'. This stage is where the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the reader happens. Ricoeur suggests that the mimetic cycle (moving from prefiguration to refiguration through configuration) is a never-ending spiral of ever-increasing understanding. He brings up two examples in his discussion about mimesis3 and the cycle of understanding that fits perfectly in our study of twitter. First example is the patient who tells a psychoanalyst 'bits and pieces' of lived experiences, often conflictual, in a process that is designed to draw them together into a narrative structure that can give them greater and greater substance and intelligibility. Each recollection builds the narrative coherence of a life, each time a greater height of understanding.

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The other example brought up by Ricoeur is a judge or jury who have the task of trying to 'untangle' the layers of narratives in a court case, and each witness gives their account so that the story of the events and subjects can emerge from the melée.

One can compare the experience of understanding twitter (in the case of reporting events, protests and conflicts as we discussed before) to this hermeneutic task. We can imagine every tweet that tells a fragmented story, as a small story told by the patient to the therapist, or told by a witness in the court. The task of this stories is that in the mimetic cycle, construct meaning in the form of an overarching or broader narrative. In this sense, we read every single tweet and by the task of refiguration, we absorb it into our lived experience that takes us to the first stage where we have more possibilities of prefiguration. Therefore, when next tweet with its small and fragmented form come along in the timeline, we understand it in more depth, constructing piece by piece a broader narrative. A narrative that in this process of reading more tweets, completes its structure and its meaning. This is not a one-time narration but a corpus of stories, each member of which compounds, corrects or converts existing comprehension.

In reading, the reader undertakes to 'grasp together' the elements of the plot and construct them into an intelligible whole. Emplotment (which is the task of the mimesis2), then, is not the sole domain of the writer but is a collaboration between the writer and the reader (or the teller and the hearer). And it is in the reading process that understanding process completes and transfers to a higher level. The final step of this hermeneutical task, is- as Ricoeur calls it- the intersection of the world of the reader and the world of the text that establishes a theory of reception.

In this theoretical analysis we argued that the type of tweets this study is going to analyze in the coming parts, have certain characteristics. They appear fragmentally in twitter timeline, they tell a small story and they construct collectively (with the contribution of both authors and other users) a narrative. We argued that understanding the interaction of these tweets and the reader, only is understood by constructing a narrative. Then we showed –with the help of Paul Ricoeur's model of mimetic cycle- that how the users, during time and during a hermeneutic task explained in the process of refiguration, understand the wholeness of the events. That is to say, reading (watching videos) of different events in several cities during a day (November 16 as an example) construct a broader narrative that gets more intelligible by reading new tweets and watching new videos of the protests.

The diagram below shows the cycle in reading and understanding twitter in the mimetic cycle. We read the first tweet (watch the first video) in the time t1. In the first stage (mimesis1 or prefiguration) we try to achieve the basic elements and the system of symbols we are facing, the agents of action, etc. by preparing these elements we enter to the mimesis2 or configuration stage where we make plot out of those elements achieved in the previous stage. In the process of enplotment, we explore the event, the causal relations in the video and the order of beginning, middle and ending of what happens. Then we enter to the third stage or mimesis3 (Refiguration) by being able to read the plot we have constructed. This reading enables us to absorb the new ordered story that we have experienced, into our tools of understanding. A toolbox that we always need to start the cycle again in the stage of prefiguration. In this sense when a new tweet appears in the timeline in t2, we already have a skeletal broader narrative (result of the previous cycle). Therefore, the process repeats in the sense that we have a new plot, new narrative elements and new reading process which at the end of the cycle fills some of the gaps in the broader narrative. Then comes the next tweet in t3 and we continue the cycle, each time having a more detailed understandable narrative.

```
1. Appearing                    2. Composing
tweet-video(n)                  narrative (n) from
in the time                     the existing
t(n), on twitter                elements of the
timeline                        video

                3.Application of
              narrative(n) into the
                    process of
                  completing the
                  curving narrtive
```
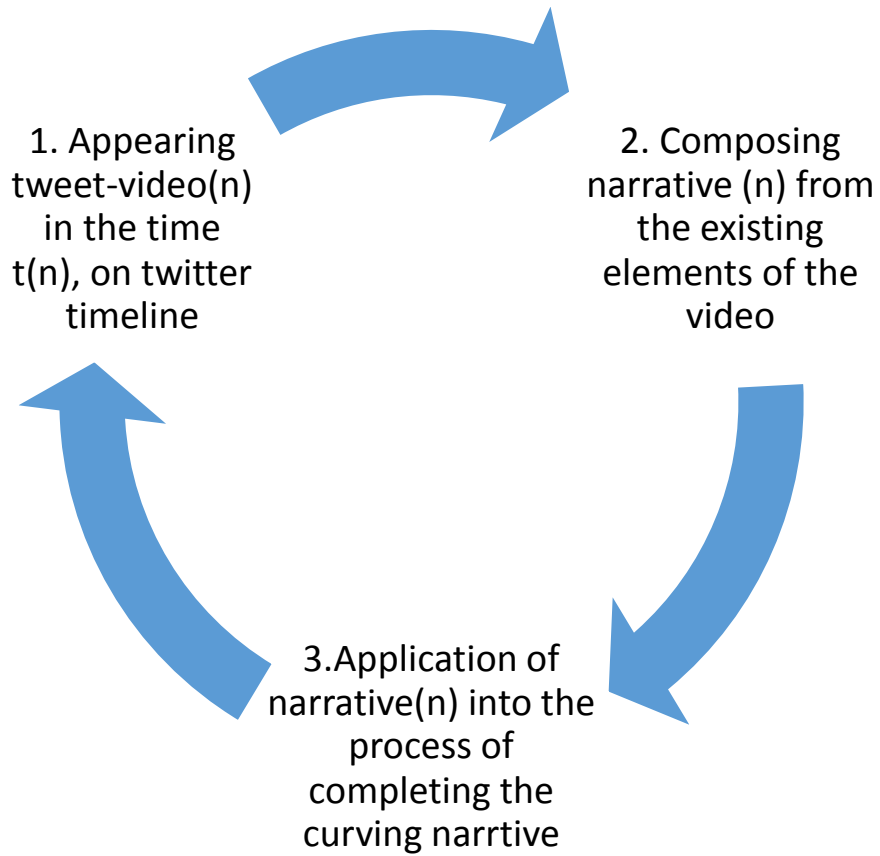
The mimetic cycle of understanding video-tweets as the appear in the timeline during the time

2.2 Theoretical frameworks for the corpus analysis

Now that we are theoretically prepared for the connection between hermeneutics and twitter studies with mediation of the hermeneutics of narrative, in this section of the part II, let's review some frameworks that we are going to apply in the part III where a corpus of tweets published by the MEK reporting on Iran's November 2019 protests are about to be analyzed. As we will explain in detail the method of analysis later in part III, the study is interested in a narrative approach to analyze the tweets. Five frameworks are useful to this task.

-Theory of Framing

-Narrative structure (Todorov)

-Theory of narrative characters (Propp)

-Theory of metaphor (Lakoff)

-Theory of cinematic genre

2.2.1 Theory of framing

Since the study focus on the MEK point of view and their particular narrative of Iran protests, framing seems a proper tool for the analysis. We will review framing theory briefly in the section introducing the methodology of the analysis with more details. But here we talk about two important notions in applying to framing. First, framing is perfectly fit within the camp of hermeneutics. We discussed before, that in both hermeneutical approaches of Gadamer and Ricoeur, the emphasis is on the role of language in human understanding and also the history or the contextual significance. Framing theory practically links with both characteristics of hermeneutics. Framing looks for those aspects of reality in the media text that have been salient which means at the same time looking for the aspects that are put aside and are not in the frame. This investigation needs a history of the matter related to all political and cultural aspects (to know what pieces are missing), and on the other hand a language analysis that shapes the rhetoric of the text (written or created by the journalists/media).

Secondly, although there are popular methods of framing analysis used in communication studies as we see in Entman (1991), Entman & Rojecki (2001) or Van Gorp (2007a) who tries to pay attention to the cultural aspect of framing, the method used for this study is according to the work of Giles & Shaw (2009a) who developed a method called MFA (Media Framing Analysis). They developed this method because they are concerned with the psychological level of framing that occurs in the reader's mind. In this sense both sides of the media are involved in the process of framing. In one side the writer of the media product/text creates frames according to her ideology and the ideology existing in the organization she works for, on the other side there is the reader who already has media templates as past experience of consuming media texts. MFA method has another feature that is, it provides a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods. This feature, as we will see in part III, will serve our analysis in a practical manner.

2.2.2 Theory of narrative structure

To analyze the MEK narrative on twitter we will apply to the theories of two structuralists whos works have opened functional ways of narrative analysis. First, comes the analysis of narrative structure by Tzvetan *Todorov*. This analysis is an outcome of Todorov's study on Decameron of Boccaccio. He describes his structural approach to literature in his book that is related to the problem of plot. The purpose of this approach according to Todorov, is to make several conclusions about the nature of narrative and the principles of its analysis.

In his book, Grammaire du Decameron *(Todorov, 1969)*, Todorov analyzes several tales that are told by discovering the plot. This analysis of plot contains "a certain number of useful categories for examining and describing plots". Todorov also develops a vocabulary with regard to his analysis of narrative with terms as action, character and recognition.

An important result of the structural analysis of Toforov (which is useful for our study) is the discovery of five stages of the plot. These stages are:

-A state of equilibrium

-A disruption to the equilibrium

-Recognition that the disorder has occurred

-Attempt to repair the damage

-Return to a new equilibrium

The second theorist in this section is Vladimir Propp who is a known figure in the tradition of structuralism. Within the field of structuralism, there exist two main methods of analysis; syntagmatic and paradigmatic. Syntagmatic analysis aims to codify the linear structure of the narrative, while paradigmatic analysis takes what Propp would designate as a thematic approach. Like linguistic syntax, these narrative morphemes that Propp produces come together like words to form a narrative sentence.

In *Morphology of the Folktale* (Propp, 1928) analyzes a corpus of tales and shows that in fact there a limited number of functions that generate the narrative, he discovers 31 functions such as:

-A member of a family leaves home (the hero is introduced)

-An interdiction is addressed to the hero (don't go there, go to this place)

-The interdiction is violated (villain enters the tale)

Propp also discovers 8 character types that are usually there in the plot. These characters might be absent in some narratives, or might merge into each other in some others. In our study we are interested in applying to this part of Propp's analysis that will help us explore the characters of the narrative under study. The types of Propp's characters have been introduced in part III.

2.2.3 Theory of Conceptual Metaphor

In cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor, or cognitive metaphor, refers to the understanding of one idea, or conceptual domain, in terms of another. An example of this is the understanding of time in terms of money ("I *spent* time for this work").

This idea, and a detailed examination of the underlying processes, was first extensively explored by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Since then, the field of metaphor studies within the larger discipline of cognitive linguistics has increasingly developed.

Conceptual metaphors are commonplace in language. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson suggest that metaphors may unconsciously shape the way we think and act in their founding work, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). For example, take the commonly used conceptual metaphor, "Argument is war". This metaphor shapes our language in the way we view argument as a battle to be won. It is not uncommon to hear someone say "He won that argument" or "I attacked every weak point in his argument". The very way argument is conceptualized is shaped by this metaphor of arguments being a war. Argument can be seen in other ways than a battle, but we use this concept to shape the way we think of argument and the way we go about arguing. The same applies for the other conceptual metaphors.

In this study we will apply to conceptual metaphor theory to extract the basic metaphors that can be understood by reading/watching the videos. The idea is that what linguistic concepts are produced by watching the videos shared in tweets? These words, adjectives and nouns will lead us to where the metaphors are hidden.

2.2.4 Theory of Filmic Genres

Theory of genre, in a sense, is about classification of the movies in a way that helps the audience understand the mood of that movie. But this classification and hierarchal taxonomy of genres is not a neutral and 'objective' procedure. There are no certain 'maps' of the system of genres within any medium. Besides that, there is always considerable theoretical disagreement about the definition of specific genres. Therefore, as Jane Feure puts it 'A genre is ultimately an abstract conception rather than something that exists empirically in the world'. If the question is what is film genre? It seems that there is no concrete answer to it. Even Bordwell in *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* concludes that "no set of necessary and sufficient conditions can mark off genres from other sorts of grouping in ways that all experts or ordinary film-goers would find acceptable" (Bordwell, 1989, P.65).

We are not going to enter to this long history of discussions among film theorists and cinema critics. As far as we are concerned in the scale of this study, film genres 'exist' and 'work'. That is to say when we read a movie title, see the trailer or know the actors with the dressing and make up in the movie images, we usually can make a sense of what sort of movie we are facing. This practical knowledge is the fruit of a hermeneutical process of reading cinematic texts and understanding them. The theory of film genres

will help us in the extent that we could recall those experiences of movie genres and the meaning of their cinematic forms. In other words, what we are interested in the theory of genres in this study, is the form of the movies (as Bordwell describes it in the elements of cinematography, editing, sound and *Mise-en-scène).* In our analysis of twitter in terms of shared videos by the MEK, the formal aspect of the videos recall certain formal elements of some filmic genres. The argument is that these formal elements coming from our past experiences of watching movies, creates another level of meaning that is hidden in the images of the videos and needs to be interpreted. Therefore, we need film genre theory in the extent that help us explore such interpretation levels. We will discuss this aspect of the film theory later in part III and in the result chapter.

2.2.5 Conclusions of this part

In the second part of this study we completed two deferent tasks. First, we designed a theoretical analysis to be sure that the road from hermeneutics to twitter study is actually imaginable. We showed that hermeneutics of narrative in the light of Paul Ricoeur model of narrative is the way that can mediate between these two fields of study.

We also focused on the third stage of understanding narratives in Ricoeur's study called refiguration of the field of action to answer the question 'How do we understand small fragmented stories published on twitter in reporting a certain event?'

Apart from the theoretical analysis, we presented our theoretical frameworks that we need in the next part, to analyze the corpus of video-tweets. These frameworks vary from communication studies (framing) to structuralism and film theory.

We are ready now to enter to the part III of this study where all the historical context of part I and theoretical analysis in part II are combined to complete the project of this investigation in analyzing the narrative constructed by the MEK based on the Iran protests in November 2019.

Part III:
Empirical Analysis

A Corpus Analysis of the MEK's Twitter and its narrative of Iran's protests in November 2019

Methodological Frameworks

Results

Conclusions

3.1 Methodological Frameworks

Now that we have provided necessary toolbox of analysis, we are ready to enter to the field where we need to gather data and do some empirical practice. In our toolbox we have already had a historical knowledge about the object of the study organized and analyzed in Part I. Also, thanks to the Part II of the study, we have theoretical ground based on Hermeneutics of narrative that puts the study within a general frame. We have gathered the theoretical frameworks we need for several analyses of twitter as well.

In the Part III, we introduce our methodological approach. We first present in detail, the complete road of the analysis starting from framing, continuing with narrative, metaphor, generic, and linguistic analysis. In this road we will have some stops to prepare or discuss necessary methods. We will then present the process of collecting data and justification of final data sample. The three MEK twitter accounts will be fully introduced and analyzed. We will discuss and justify each of them as useful choices for the study. At the final step in this section we introduce a sheet (*ficha*) of questions that we need to ask from data sample.

The next section would be presenting the results after doing the analysis. The detailed analysis and completed sheets are available in Part IV or the appendix of the study. What we will present in this section is all the results provided from analyzing methods. First we will have a glance at the general activity of the MEK accounts we have studied. This will show the amount of their activity during the nine days (from November 15 until 23). Then we present the results for each type of analysis including Framing analysis (texts and videos), Narrative analysis (videos), Metaphor analysis (videos), Filmic analysis and meta-narrative analysis. We have discussed some of the results at this section while discussing about the interpretation of some of the results are presented in the conclusion section.

The last section of this part is dedicated to main interpretations on the results. We will bring up the main questions of the study and we will present the answers to them according to the results. We also suggest some topics for further studies in the future. The study in part III has tried to find a methodological way to study the videos shared on twitter in the moments of crisis. This video activism has rarely been studied in the light of hermeneutics before. We hope that in the final part, with a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, we could present a system of analysis that would be useful for any similar video-tweet study.

3.1.1 Interpretive paradigm

In Sarantakos's idea, paradigms, as intellectual structures, determine the framework, procedure, and direction of scientific research. In the description and classification of intellectual views, he points to three types of paradigms that underlie scientific methodologies in the humanities. These three perspectives or paradigms include positivistic, interpretive, and critical paradigms (Sarantakos, 1993, P.197). The paradigm selected for this thesis, due to its nature of meaning making and interpretation, is Hermeneutical or interpretive.

Interpretive paradigms, originally rooted in "romanticism", with a "qualitative" and "inductive" strategies and is based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective, but is rather shaped by human experiences and social contexts, and is therefore best studied within its socio-historic context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants. The central principles of such paradigms are based on relationship, interpretation, and understanding human being's actions. This paradigm, which is somehow linked to "hermeneutics", has expanded in artistic fields and have been introduced as a systemic analysis of meaningful action through direct and detailed observation of people's behavior in natural conditions in order to understand and interpret that how people create their own environment and give meaning to it (Neuman, 1997).

Interpretive research coming from the German tradition of Hermeneutics, has its roots in anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics, and semiotics, and has been available since the early 19th century. It can tracked back to Edmund Husserl's philosophy of phenomenology and to Wilhem Dilthey's philosophy of hermeneutics. Interpretations occur within a tradition; within space, time and specific situation. "Phenomenology and hermeneutics thus largely inform assumptions on the nature of reality, knowledge and values in the interpretive paradigm" (Chilisa & Preece, 2005, P.28).

Based on this paradigm, reality is not out and independent of human, but it goes on in human's mind and consciousness. Therefore interpretive analysis is holistic and contextual, rather than being reductionist and isolationist. Interpretive interpretations tend to focus on language, signs, and meanings from the perspective of the participants involved in the social phenomenon, in contrast to statistical techniques that are employed heavily in positivist research. Rigor in interpretive research is viewed in terms of

systematic and transparent approaches for data collection and analysis rather than statistical benchmarks for construct validity or significance testing.

Social phenomena must be studied within their natural setting. Because interpretive research assumes that social phenomena are situated within and cannot be isolated from their social context, interpretations of such phenomena must be grounded within their socio-historical context. This implies that contextual variables should be observed and considered in seeking explanations of a phenomenon of interest, even though context sensitivity may limit the generalizability of inferences.

Investigations that apply to this paradigm do not seek to generalize their results, but intent to elaborate descriptions in depth about their question of the study. In other words these types of investigations look for precise interpretations, not general explanations.

3.1.2 Qualitative approach

Qualitative research is no longer just simply 'not quantitative research', but has developed an identity of its own. Despite the multiplicity of approaches to qualitative research, some common features of qualitative research can be identified. Qualitative research is intended to approach the world 'out there' and not in specialized research settings such as laboratories, and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena "from the inside". Adapting perfectly with the interpretive paradigm, this approach as mentions Flick (2007) specifically utilizes these general ways to be able to describe, understand and explain social phenomena:

- By analyzing experiences of individuals or groups. Experiences can be related to biographical life histories or to (every day or professional) practices; they may be addressed by analyzing everyday knowledge, accounts and stories.
- By analyzing interactions and communications in the making. This can be based on observing or recording practices of interacting and communicating and analyzing this material.
- By analyzing documents (texts, images, film or music) or similar traces of experiences or interactions.

Qualitative researchers are interested in accessing experiences, interactions and documents in their natural context and in a way that gives room to the particularities of them and the materials in which they are studied. An important different in this approach with quantitative ones is that it refrains from setting up a well-defined concept of what is studied and from formulating hypotheses in the beginning in order to test them. Rather, concepts (or hypotheses, if they are used) are developed and refined in the process of research.

Another important notion in choosing this approach of research is that it starts from the idea that methods and theories should be appropriate to what is studied. If the existing methods do not fit to a concrete issue or field, they are adapted or new methods or approaches are developed. Flick (2006) describes this notion:

> Researchers themselves are an important part of the research process, either in terms of their own personal presence as researchers, or in terms of their experiences in the field and with the reflexivity they bring to the role – as are members of the field under study. (P.71)

As it was strongly emphasized in the Interpretive Paradigm section, qualitative research takes context and cases seriously for understanding an issue under study. A lot of qualitative research is based on case studies or a series of case studies, and often the case (its history and complexity) is an important context for understanding what is studied. A major part of qualitative research is based on text and writing – from field notes and transcripts to descriptions and interpretations and finally to the presentation of the findings and of the research as a whole. Therefore, issues of transforming complex social situations (or other materials such as images) into texts – issues of transcribing and writing in general – are major concerns of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

In the current investigation, since the question of the study relates to the social construction of reality in social media platforms and specifically twitter, the study is based on the interpretive paradigm and we will design a methodology that is linked to qualitative approach. The road that will help us design this method comes from the third way introduced: analyzing documents (texts, images, film or music) or similar traces of experiences or interactions. The object of the study is twitter as a social media platform which we showed previously that is a platform with narrative characteristics. Therefore this study will analyze twitter accounts belonged to members of the MEK during 9 days in November 2019 in which internet was shot down in Iran. We will focus specially on the videos that were shared by these accounts

to reveal and make meaning of what happened in that period of time. The tweets that contain videos of the events are the data that the study will analyze. As it was mentioned, this data is considered as document with texts and image and sound which narrates a fragmental story.

3.1.3 Method of analyzing

Let's plan the investigation with more details here in order to find and justify the best method of analyzing data. The main question of this study would be: What was the narrative constructed by the MEK on the twitter to make meaning of the Iran events in November 2019 and how they managed to create this narrative for their audience?

We can break this general question to some smaller ones to be more precise:

-What was the narrative made by the MEK about the Iran events on November 2019?

-What are the elements of this narrative?

-How and in what levels did the MEK frame the reality in its narrative?

-What forms were used to support the narrative?

-What Metanarratives were selected as the context of the main narrative?

In order to answer to these questions, we are going to apply to three different theories. First of all the theory of Framing will be applied to analyze the content MEK has produced. Tweets under the study have text, hashtags and video. These are the instruments that MEK has used to frame the reality (events of November in Iran). The aim would be to investigate in what levels MEK made this framing happen and how constructed its narrative.

Gadamer's Hermeneutics suggests that human understanding is situated in two important fields: language and tradition (history). This means every act of understanding, critique, and/or communication takes place within the limits of tradition and in the medium of language (Ataman, 2008). The study has considered this general notion of understanding in Gadamer's work as its basic context of analysis. With the help of framing theory we will seek the language functions used in the content produced by MEK

(including the texts, voices, images and explications, implications, metaphors) and on the other hand we will analyze the tweets in terms of their forms. The question would be how narrative/cultural/social traditions helped them made meaning and how they applied to specific forms in the videos they shared to represent those meanings. Finally in the last step the analysis aims to study the historical context of Iranian contemporary politics to analyze the Metanarrative aspect of the MEK representation of reality in Iran's November events.

To make it more clear the path this study will follow is this:

Basic Hermeneutical approach	Theory of analysis	Methods of analysis
Language	Framing Theory	1.Hashtags 2.Text of the tweets (key words) 3.Implications of the text/video 4.Metaphors
	Narrative Theory	Plots, Characters, motif, archetypes, and …
	Film Theory	Cinematic Forms Cinematic Genres
History/Tradition	Metanarrative Theory	Historical

 As it is explained in the table, we first analyze the tweets in terms of the text (weather to be in the form of words or videos). This phase consists of four different levels. The main question is How MEK framed the reality in the events of November in Iran? To find the answer we start from the very first twitter tools which is the analysis of Hashtags. The second level of framing could be discovered in the text (words) of the tweets. They used expressions, pre-made narratives, cultural codes, names, locations and sometimes arguments. We will try to extract the framing process through these elements. The third level of analysis looks for the implications that a reader might get, seeing the tweets. What are the videos talking about and how do they produce meaning? Finally at the fourth level in this phase we will go deeper and endeavor to find the metaphors that these images apply to make meaning with.

With the help of Narrative theory and narratology in the next phase, we try to analyze the stories they told through the videos the shared on the twitter. We look for the elements of the narrative they constructed. And try to understand the different aspects of this narrative in regards with the results of the phase one (framing).

The question of form would be the next phase of this analysis. Until this phase, we have understood the content of the stories/narratives and we have discovered how the users have framed the reality. Now we intend to know what the formal aspects of their story telling are. To what cinematic experiences they are referring and what genres are close to their visualization of the reality. Here we will apply to the theory of Genres in cinema to describe this formalistic aspect of the tweets.

The fourth and final phase is a metanarrative analysis. This step in the study looks for the historical context of the reality (November events) and the choices MEK made to use this context to be able to amplify its own message.

3.1.4 Phase one: Framing analysis and MFA method

Goffman, Back in the 1970s (Goffman, 1974), predicted that through the selection and provision of salience, frames help the audiences to locate, perceive, identify, and label the flow of information that surrounds them. Through this process, frames determine the social environment, by influencing the thoughts, ideas, and attitudes of individuals and the public. For this reason Framing Theory makes a proper instrument in our analysis.

To make it clear, let´s narrow our way down through this era of scientific method. Any communicative text, either informative or persuasive, requires narrative structures to organize its discourse. In the case of the media, news stories appear to be systematized, based on narrative conventions that offer an explanation about who is doing what, and with what purpose. Tuchman (1978) describes news as a window whose frame limits the perception of reality, by limiting the perception of different realities and focusing on a specific piece of it. As a result of these processes, "some aspects of the reality perceived through the news will be more prominent than others" (Tuchman, 1978).

News messages, therefore, are textual and visual structures built around a central axis of thought, from a certain perspective, and by information professionals (but not only by them), who will provide an interpretive framework for the audiences exposed to the news messages.

From this approach, framing can be defined as a process in which some aspects of reality are selected, and given greater emphasis or importance, so that the problem is defined, its causes are diagnosed, moral judgments are suggested and appropriate solutions and actions are proposed(Entman, 1993).

We argued in the previous chapters that twitter as a social media online platform contains all these aspects of media and storytelling. We suggested that in some particular ways, twitter has the ability to turn into a media, feeding its audience different types of news and information. This however, when gets to the political matter, can be very influential on the audience who are following the news. In this study we are involved in this very aspect of twitter. The events of November 2019 after the hike in the gas price led to some unrests in parts of Iran. MEK twitter activists started to cover the events as fast and detailed as possible. This is where Framing helps us understand how this coverage took place and what was the narrative constructed by this group.

The theoretical foundations that enabled the birth and development of the theory of framing are located in interpretive sociology, which considers that people's interpretation of reality and everyday life depends fundamentally on interaction and the definition of situations. This definition of the situation is mediated by intersubjective processes. In other words, people's approach to reality takes into account the contributions of others. The performance of people would be determined by this interpretation, and that is why the definition of the situation is linked with action and interaction(Garraza, 2001).

On the other hand the framing theory has been developed in the recent years, combining with the works of linguistics and cognitive science researchers like George Lakoff. In all these methods and developments the important thing is answering to this question: How are the frames built?

Frame is an invitation and an incentive to read a story in a certain way. This invitation is often overlooked, because framing is part of culture, so the construction process is hidden. This does not mean that there is only one way to explain things. On the contrary, there are in any given culture more frames than those selected to represent reality in the narrated story(Van Gorp, 2007b).

In the first stage, the frame activates in the mind of the receivers an interpretive schema of the event they are trying to understand. Through a term, a metaphor, an example, a description, an argument, a picture or a reasoning, the frame remits the receiver to a series of implicit contents that do not need to be repeated in the text, because, as mentioned above, the frame feeds on the culture and manifests itself in all types of social discourses.

Now here comes the notion of George Lakoff who puts it this way: Every word comes with one or more frames. Most frames are unconscious and have just developed naturally and haphazardly and have come into the public's mind through common use(Lakoff, 2006).

In this understanding of framing theory, which has roots in culture (both the sender and receiver of the frame are using it to interpret), and is constructed by specific elements (words, images, metaphors, tales, examples,…) which are related to the language, we are ready to make our own instrument for this study.

The framing method that we use in this study is a method suggested by Giles and Shaw (2009). In their presentation of their method, they argue that their model is intended to build on the work of Entman and Van Gorp. They claim that it is essential to incorporate a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods in a framing analysis. In this sense their method (MFA) comprises two broad analysis: a quantitative macro-analysis of a broad data set, sampled carefully and purposefully from a specified range of media sources (we will do this analysis in the current section while explaining our strategy to select data sample), and a qualitative micro-analysis of selected materials.

This qualitative micro-analysis, as they explain, contains these steps:

-Identifying story

-Identifying character

-Narrative form and reader identification

-Analysis of language categories

-Generalization

MFA (Media Framing Analysis) has been developed in order to better understand the influence of news media in contemporary culture. It is a cooperation of theory and psychological process through mediated ideas and characterizations can take root in everyday discourse (Giles & Shaw, 2009b).

As told before, this phase of the analysis, applying to framing theory, contains 4 different levels. These levels are Hashtags, tweet texts, tweet videos, and metaphors.

3.1.4.1 Analysis of Hashtags

This level is about one of the most useful capabilities of social media platforms. Hashtags are important because they pin down the message in the most minimalistic way. We described before while studying the twitter, how hashtags work and to what purposes they are created. Here and in the first part of the framing analysis, we will see how hashtags are used to create meaning and what meaning they refer to.

3.1.4.2 Analysis of the text (words)

The very first part of the tweets is where something is described, a story is told or something is explained by words. This level of meaning making is where the first columns of the frame is being constructed. If there is other elements in the tweet (which mostly is, like images, videos or GIFs) the words are there first. They are important because they start the narrative which later will complete by other elements. This is where we start the language analysis.

3.1.4.3 Analysis of the text (videos)

After that we get to the images that are supporting the meaning made by the tweet. The images also convey their particular messages. They explain or imply things that should be discovered and understood by the reader. The videos are implying messages and concepts that can be analyzed and discovered. Finding the implications of the images in the videos is the main purpose of this level.

3.1.4.4 Analysis of metaphors

There are metaphors that are hidden in the text or sometimes clearly expressed in words. These metaphor are very important for us in order to discover the frames that are there. According to Lakoff, metaphors are very significant in the language and in calling on specific frames. Therefore, paying attention to them is very necessary in our analysis. Especially those which are implied in the videos and are not present as words.

To extract the necessary data for the analysis of this phase (with 4 separated levels) we have designed this sheet of questions from our data:

Level of Framing analysis	Questions from data
First level: Hashtags	What are the Hashtags in tweet?
Second level: Text (words)	What is the complete text of the tweet? (words)
	What words in the text are emphasized?
	Where is the location of the video?
	Which date is it referring to?
	Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?

Third level: Text (videos)	What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?
	What language or dialect can be heard?
	What is the story in the video?
Fourth level: Metaphors	What key words can be extracted as implication from the video? What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?

Sheet number 1: Questions from the selected data in phase one (Framing analysis)

3.1.5 Phase two: Analysis of narrative

In this phase of the study we will analyze the elements of the narrative in the tweets. What stories are being told? What cultural elements are there that contain prepared stories? What characters do we see most and what actions are they committing? What do those acts mean?

We will answer to these types of questions in this phase. This is a very important part of the study because discovering the main narrative will reveal the totality and the "whole" that is needed in any hermeneutic task to be able to understand the phenomena.

Here is the questions from the data in this phase:

Type of analysis	Questions from data
	What are the characters of the story inside the video?
Narrative Analysis	What action/event can be recognized in the video? (None Iranian perspective)
	What is happening in the video?/ What is the Story? (Iranian perspective)

Sheet number 2: Questions from the selected data in phase two (Narrative analysis)

3.1.6 Phase two: Analysis of the form

We will explain later in this chapter about the logic and justification behind the selecting data. The important point is that all selected tweets in this analysis contain videos. These videos with the text of the tweet and other tools of twitter platform are framing the reality. In the first phase we focused on the question "what is the framed story?" Here in this phase we will analyze "How that story is formed

visually?" In this part we are interested in finding out how cinematic forms are helping to shape the story and make it understandable in terms of the selected frame by the MEK. To answer to the question of the form, we apply to Film Theory and also Genre Theory in cinema.

The objective would be analyzing the filmic elements in the videos and discovering with what cinematic genres they can be matched. This will give us a method of studying the videos in a theoretical manner. By knowing the cinematic genres, and doing a filmic analysis, we can reveal a deeper level of framing the reality that has been done. The necessary information needed for this analysis are the basic elements of a cinematic representation. These basic filmic elements are: mise-en-scène, Cinematography, Editing and Sound (Bordwell et al., 1993). Considering these elements, the questions from the data is sorted as below:

Filmic Analysis	Questions from data
Mise-en-scène and Cinematography	Describe the movement of the camera
	Describe the quality of the picture
Editing	Is the video edited? Does it have effects? Cuts?
Sound	Describe the voices or music over the video

Sheet number 3: Questions from the selected data in phase two (Filmic analysis)

3.1.7 Phase two: Meta-Narrative Analysis

Apart from the framing of the reality by means of the language, and forming the message in an audio-visual generic way that shapes the understanding of the audience by referring to her cinematic experiences, there is still another level of meaning making that is hidden in a lower surface of the tweets. This level is linked with history. It brings and prepares a vast context of socio-historical experience of the Iranian society and the big narratives that has had influence in it. We argued about the Meta-narrative theory and its different definitions of it in theoretical texts in the twentieth century. Also previously in a chapter, we analyzed the contemporary political history of Iran. In the mentioned analysis we discovered at least three active, influential and powerful narratives that are always involved in every social-political movement or change in modern Iranian society.

This last part of the analysis will try to understand how MEK applied to this metanarratives and how made them a powerful context for its interpretation of the events. In other words the analysis will be after discovering the contribution of the Metanarratives we introduced, in the process of meaning making in MEK tweets in that period of time. The three metanarratives presented are: 1.Modernization and westernization, 2.The glory of an ancient civilization, 3.Political shiite Islam.

Meta-Narrative Analysis	Questions from the data
Modernization and westernization	Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?
Political shiite Islam	Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?
The glory of an ancient civilization	Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?

Sheet number 4: Questions from the selected data in phase two (Meta-Narrative analysis)

3.1.8 Selecting data for the analysis

In this part we will explain and justify the method of gathering tweets for the study. As it was explained in previous chapters, the MEK members were very active during the unrest days in Iran. To give a picture of this activation which resulted to hundreds of thousands of tweets in only about 10 days, let's pay attention to an ordinary MEK account that was monitored by this study. The user with the name @simasepehri95 which if not a member of MEK, certainly is a supporter of them, has been tweeted 734 tweets during 10 days of the unrest in November 2019 in Iran[30]. This account has 6403 followers (approximately popular) and follows 2693 people on twitter. Let us imagine that only 200 accounts from these 6403 people who are following @simasepehri95, are real accounts belonging to MEK. This number is not high at all and the real number of active accounts who were tweeting and retweeting in November 2019 is way more than this number. But we suppose that the number of super active accounts is 200. Then MEK, during November 15 until November 25 (when the protests were over and streets were calm) at least tweeted 146800 times. This number of tweets is the least number of the universe of the study.

3.1.9 Delimitation of tweets in terms of time

For a whole week, November 16 till November 23, Iran experienced a complete shutdown of internet. It was ordered by Supreme National Security Council and imposed by the Ministry of ICT. During the

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[30] The tweets of these accounts are downloaded and saved in Micro Soft Excel file.

blackout, Iranian citizens could only access the National Information Network[31]. This black out made it impossible to send information, news and videos from inside the country to the outside. Also inside Iran it was not possible to share information on social media platforms and messengers (like WatsApp or Telegram). In this lack of information and communication, activists and opposition groups outside the country tried to access to the news and share it on social media, especially on twitter. This period of one week when people were in the dark, is a proper limitation for selecting data in terms of time. We will focus on the tweets which were published between November 16 till November 23 (2019).

3.1.10 selecting the twitter accounts for the analysis

Since this study is not interested in analyzing huge amount of tweets or the function of Hashtags in a massive number of tweets (this methods are very popular in twitter analysis[32]). As told before, the base of this study stands on the principals of Hermeneutics. Hence, the study methodologically, follows the road of interpretive paradigm and utilizes qualitative method for its analysis.

In this study, in order to deepen the investigation, the method for delimitation of the hundreds of thousands of tweets published by MEK members in their twitter accounts, is selecting some specific accounts that can be representative for their narrative during the selected week. We will select a few accounts but we will focus deeply into their activities. This study has selected 3 accounts in three different levels of political actions in MEK organization. These three levels are:

1. Leadership and political level
2. Media campaign designers
3. Ordinary "solders" who take orders from above

We argued before (In the first part of the study while picturing the historical context of the analysis) MEK has been expanding its media confrontation with the Islamic Republic since the early years of 1980s and

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[31] https://netblocks.org/reports/internet-restored-in-iran-after-protest-shutdown-dAmqddA9
[32] An example of such quantitative methods is the use of Personal Zombie application (Black et al., 2012), which uses the REST API search feature to collect statuses containing hashtags and keywords occurring within the desired duration of days. Personal Zombie can collect all tweets in the search index going backward in time to the point of the application's last run by matching the last-retrieved tweet ID.
Another method is using Twitter search API for collecting data (tweets) which contain certain key words.

during the war between Iran and Iraq. The ideological view point of its leaders always have shaped this media propaganda (as is the same inside the Iran and with the IRIB and other state media). On the other hand, there are members of the organization who are in charge of performing this ideological messages and form them as media products. Finally and at the lowest level of this confrontation, there are account users who use the content strategies and media products to reproduce and distribute as much as possible. The selection of twitter accounts has followed this logic.

In the first level where the main policies and political decisions are being made, we have selected the Twitter account of Alireza Jafarzadeh. He is a figure who appears on western media as a face for the top leadership of MEK. He used to be the spokesman of this organization. On the second level, Heshmat Alavi's twitter account will be analyzed. Alavi is known as an activist and journalist who represents the MEK point of view in some printed media and especially on social media. And the third account belongs to @Hamyar, one of numerous anonymous twitter profiles belonged to MEK and used to distribute their propaganda. We introduce each account in more details.

Alireza Jafarzadeh (@A_Jafarzadeh)
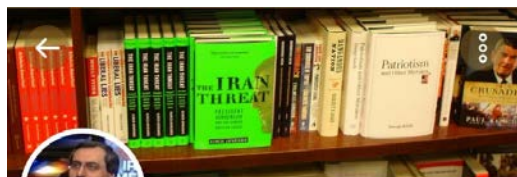
Alireza Jafarzadeh is best known for revealing the existence of clandestine nuclear facilities in Iran in 2002. At the time of the revelation, Jafarzadeh acted as the chief congressional liaison and public spokesperson for the United States representative office of MEK or the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI). He is currently also the president of Strategic Policy Consulting, Inc., as well as a FOX News Foreign Affairs Analyst. Jafarzadeh earned his Bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan, in Ann Arbor, and his

Master's degree in Civil Engineering from the University of Texas, in Austin. Prior to coming to the United States, he studied at Sharif University of Technology in Tehran.

In the recent years he heads his own company, Strategic Policy Consulting, Inc., (SPC) where he consults as an expert on the nuclear program of Iran, terrorism, and Islamic extremism. At the same time he appears in different universities and TV channels as expert on Iran and terrorism issue[33]. The last time he appeared officially as representative of MEK, was September 2019 when he gave a live presentation on different Persian news TV (among them BBC Persian TV) about some intelligence gathered by MEK about the role of IRAN in the missile and drone attack against the oil facilities of Saudi Arabia[34].

Considering the role Jafarzadeh has in being the spokesman of the organization and having tight relationship with media and a vast range of journalists, lobbyists and politicians in U.S, makes it a good candidate for the analysis of this study. First of all, he is one of the members that has been joined with the organization from the first days of establishing. Secondly, he is trusted by the leader of the group (Both Masoud and Maryam Rajavi) and has remained in this position for years. Thirdly, because of this close relations with the leaders in one hand, and western media in the other, he is fully aware of decisions, strategies and plans of the organization.

On the twitter profile of Jafarzadeh there are these informations: being deputy of MEK (or NCIR) in United States, his book (Iran Threat), the name of his company (SPC). He has put three hashtags in his twitter bio which is a symbolic act of showing the importance of these hashtags (FreeIran, IranProtests and Iran) for MEK. We ca see that he as about 11 thousands followers and is following 6000 twitter accounts. He has joined twitter from 2009. This is the year when the events of the presidential elections happened in Iran. These events (massive protests in the streets of the capital city) led to the Iran's Green Movement[35].

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[33] In addition to being a vocal opponent of a nuclear-armed Iran, Alireza Jafarzadeh has been an advocate for democracy and human rights. His expertise has made him an accomplished analyst, who has frequently appeared on major television and radio broadcasts including CBS Evening News, CNN-American Morning, CNN, Headline, MSNBC, CNBC, Fox News, Fox Business, C-Span, Bloomberg TV, Wall Street Journal TV, France 24, AP TV, and Bloomberg radio.

On the official web page of National Council of Resistance of Iran U.S Representative Office there is a full profile (https://www.ncrius.org/ourteam-alireza-jafarzadeh.html) with details:
 In addition, his insights have been featured in New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, Baltimore Sun, Los Angeles Times, Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Philadelphia Inquirer, Time, Christian Science Monitor, Boston Globe, Newsday, New York Post, The Hill, Roll Call, Huffington Post, Washington Times, Financial Times, McClatchy, Independent Journal Review, Le Monde, Spiegel, Associated Press, Reuters, AFP, and UPI.
[34] https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2019/sep/30/irans-ayatollah-khamenei-ordered-saudi-oil-strike-/
[35] On June 23, 2009, a spontaneous mass demonstration erupted in Iran against the officially declared victory of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in perhaps the most publicly contested presidential election in the history of the Islamic

Twitter experienced its first political influence waves as a social media platform during these events on 2009. A wave which later was called "twitter Revolutions"[36].

@HeshmatAlavi

The name Heshmat Alavi is quite familiar for those who follow political news stories about Iran. He writes in Persian and English in different media. Alavi, whose contributor biography on the Forbes website identifies him as "an Iranian activist with a passion for equal rights," has published scores of articles on Iran over the past few years at Forbes, The Hill, the Daily Caller, The Federalist, Saudi-owned al-Arabiya English, and VOA (Voice of America). He is the main figure of MEK in terms of influence on the western news outlets. An example of this influence can be seen in 2015 when The White House claimed that the

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Republic. The following day, the victorious Ahmadinejad staged an official demonstration in support of the declared victory. The day after that, on June 25, Iran witnessed a huge mass rally against the status quo with the slogan of "Where Is My Vote?", which eventually emerged as the defining moment of an uprising that its supporters by now called the "Green Movement".
(https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/05/201351661225981675.html)

[36] The term Twitter Revolution refers to different revolutions and protests, most of which featured the use of the social networking site Twitter by protestors and demonstrators in order to communicate. Among the most important ones are:
-2009–2010 Iranian election protests, also known as Green Revolution and Facebook Revolution, following the 2009 Iranian presidential election
-2010–2011 Tunisian revolution, also known as Jasmine Revolution and Wikileaks Revolution, in which the regime of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was ended after 23 years
-Egyptian Revolution of 2011, in which the regime of Hosni Mubarak was ended after 30 years

nuclear deal had allowed Iran to increase its military budget, and Washington Post reporters Salvador Rizzo and Meg Kelly asked for a source. In response, the White House passed along an article published in Forbes by Heshmat Alavi.

The important information coming out about this account in 2018, showed that this identity is in fact is a fake and there is no real person with this name as a journalist. The Intercept reported that Heshmat Alavi is a persona run by a team of people from the political wing of the MEK. This is not and has never been a real person[37]. There is no doubt that this account with the large number of interactions and followers belongs to MEK propaganda plan. Later in the analysis we will see that he used only Hashtags that was used by MEK during the unrests in November in Iran. The exact Hashtags that we see in the Bio section of Alireza Jafarzadeh's twitter account.

The rate of activity of Alavi's account, his ties with media outlets and being the loudest voice of MEK in terms of written and online media makes this account the second choice for the analysis.

@Wafa_Behnam (At the time of the analysis: @Hamyari)

Behnam. wafa
@hamyari

ما نسلي هستيم كه آزادي را گدايي نمي كنيم، خلق مي كنيم
#براندازم

Born 1971   Joined August 2010

2,083 Following   **2,119** Followers

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[37] The Intercept (https://theintercept.com/2019/06/09/heshmat-alavi-fake-iran-mek/) wrote: Heshmat Alavi appears not to exist. Alavi's persona is a propaganda operation run by the Iranian opposition group Mojahedin-e-Khalq, which is known by the initials MEK, two sources told The Intercept. "Heshmat Alavi is a persona run by a team of people from the political wing of the MEK," said Hassan Heyrani, a high-ranking defector from the MEK who said he had direct knowledge of the operation. "They write whatever they are directed by their commanders and use this name to place articles in the press. This is not and has never been a real person."

At the third level we need a twitter account from the lowest part of the MEK hierarchy which represent twitter users who do the field job. By field job we mean being there online, tweeting and retweeting hashtags that has been introduced from the organization, producing content which fits the media strategies designed by higher ranking members of MEK. Among the thousands of accounts, we have selected @hamyari (which later has changed its ID to @wafa_behnam).

This account fits our needs in the study because first, it is one of the anonymous accounts that are active on twitter. Being anonymous is important because it shows the owner of the account does not wish to be recognized by others. This is one of the common characteristics of such MEK accounts that are willing to be unknown. Secondly, it is connected to the main MEK accounts and follow them. For instance, @wafa_behnam is following @HeshmatAlavi and has retweeted him several times during the period of time this study is interested. This account also follows the official tweeter account of MEK, and all official accounts of Maryam Rajavi, the leader of the organization. This means that such accounts as @wafa_behnam, are connected to the main policy makers of MEK and produce their contents according to those policies.

@hamyari (@wafa_behnam) follows all the main MEK twitter accounts, such as Heshmat Alavi, Officila MEK twitter, and Maryam Rajavi (leader of the Organization) in different languages.

Thirdly, it is important for us to analyze a twitter account with all characteristics mentioned, that is not newly created. Those accounts which are created in the last two years are usually operate as bots. We need to make sure the selected account is not a twitter bot. The fact that this account has created in 2010 which means it has been active for a decade, shows that it belongs to a person who has been active in different periods. At least we can see that it has been active in three important situation before the events of November in Iran: the protests of January 2018, the Support for anti-Iranian summit in Poland in February 2019, and the Flood that destroyed several Iranian provinces in March 2019.

Fourth, it should have more than 2000 followers. The number of followers makes more influence. Accounts which have less than 1000 followers cannot be taken as effective. On the other hand, the number of followings is almost the same as the number of followers. This can be interpreted as an unwritten Twitter rule which says "I follow you, you follow me back" or can be understood in this sense that it is important for this account to follow a certain list of related accounts or accounts that are considered "important" or "influential" for MEK members. First interpretation gives us a view of a colony of MEK twitter accounts who follow each other, the second tells us about a certain procedure in following people on tweeter. In both cases, the number of followings and followers of @wafa _behnam makes it a very suitable case for our study.

Finally, we should be sure that the selected account has been active during the days this analysis is interested in. we will show in detail, in the coming section in this chapter, how this account has been active and has posted massive contents on its twitter account during the week between November 15 and November 23. Let's view only the number of tweets of @wafa_behnam during this time: 314 tweets. It means that during the 9 days (November 15 till 23) this account has published on average 35 tweets per day. The number shows a big amount of activity for an ordinary anonymous account.

For all these reasons, @hamyari (@wafa_behnam) can be a suitable choice as representative of a huge amount of MEK accounts which have been active during the period of time under the study.

3.1.11 Finalizing the sample tweets for the analysis

The number of published tweets (and retweets) of the three selected accounts are:

User Account	Number of tweets between November 15 till 23 (9 days)
@A_Jafarzadeh	**125**
@HeshmatAlavi	**471**
@Hamyari (@wafa_behnam)	**314**
Sum	**910**

These tweets are in different forms. Some are threads, some contain only texts and hashtags, a number of them have images and there are tweets with videos. In this study we will concentrate only on tweets that are published with video. In this way, we will have all tweeter tools (text, hashtags, attachments and documents) all together. This selection not only limits the number of our sample tweets, but also enable us to pay attention to a very important informative media which has been popular in the recent years.

3.1.12 Why analyzing videos?

There are numerous studies on twitter in different senses. While one can find studies over sentiments in Twitter such as (Agarwal et al., 2011) and (Kouloumpis et al., 2011) which mostly use tags to analyze negative or positive sentiments users show while they do the microblogging task, there is categories of

twitter studies interested in studying the content in the time of crisis or political events. For instance (de Bussy & Paterson, 2012) studied the style of leadership of flood crisis in Australia and (Jungherr et al., 2016) designed an analysis of politics using twitter, in the German Federal elections in 2013. In some cases it could be both crisis and politics as the study about Iran´s 2009 elections (Burns & Eltham, 2009).

On the other hand there are narrative analysis of twitter in recent years that have expanded the methods of analysis of this platform. (De Fina & Gore, 2017) studied the telling and retelling of big gossip stories on tweeter and the rate of narrative changes in viral news stories. Analyzing Feminist narrative became hot in recent years as for example (Retallack et al., 2016). Golbeck investigated the personality of a user account by its tweets and the narrative it performs (Golbeck et al., 2011) and some new methods of narrative analysis even tried to give a visual analysis (Murtagh et al., 2014).

What this study is interested in, is focusing on three elements that takes the analysis to a corner where there are few works. First element is the methodology which comes from the Interpretative paradigm and qualitative research tradition. While the examples and many more of the studies on twitter are quantitative with the usage of machine processing methods on the texts, our study is willing to go deeper in the account activities and extract the process of meaning making by hermeneutical approach instead of using codes.

The second element is the political group under study. As we have explained before, MEK twitter has been very active at least in the last four years and has covered the news and events about politics in Iran from its point of view. However, the number of studies that have analyzed this activity are limited. Except for some analysis of hashtags and following the activities of MEK bots (Najafabadi, 2017) or some political studies that describe partly the MEK activities as in (Khazraee, 2019) there are very few studies about this group in terms of their propaganda on twitter platform.

And the third element which is the most important of all, is the role of videos. All the examples of the studies are involved with the tweets as "texts". By text we mean the words that produce the piece of news story, slogan and so on. The quantitative approach used in the studies mostly use engines and machine processing to make a linguistic analysis. But one can hardly find a twitter analysis on tweets containing videos. This makes the analysis complicated and the usual methods of twitter analysis cannot be utilized.

There are reasons that shows the importance of these video-tweets and make them worth analyzing. First, these tweets can be independent from the language. While a huge amount of MEK tweets during the last two years have been in Farsi, attaching a video as the main message will be understandable for all

audiences in the world regardless of knowing Farsi or not. The image talks for itself and transfers the news. Second, these type of tweets follow the most important rule in good story telling/journalism: "Do not tell, Show!". Videos literally show what is happening on the streets. You can see the real document, understand it and believe the story. The tweets in text or the ones which put links to other web pages and media outlets are less powerful than the ones that represent the action right there in the twitter timeline. Third, using news videos from where the conflict is going on, is now possible more than ever. Both social media platforms and communication devices (cell phones, tablets, …) have improved technologically in the recent years. This has led to some capacities, among them, the possibility to share the films captured on the scene, without any technical complications or difficulty. Even people without enough experience or knowledge of good technology, today can easily publish their pictures and videos on a various platforms from social media to messengers. Fourth, there is an emergency of distribution the information as fast as possible, in our time period in this study. The Iranian government has shot down the internet and this means the news will not come out easily from inside to the outside. Therefore, video-tweets as the evidences which reveal the news, are necessary to publish. And finally, there is a trend in using this sort of storytelling. This informative form was used broadly in 2019. Different parts of the world were engaged in unrests and insurgencies. From Hong kong to Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, France, Catalunya, Chile and the list continues. Covering the unrests and protests in all these cases was one of journalistic tasks on twitter. And video-tweets in this context were the most successful form of information distribution.

An example of a video-tweet is presented below:

The top part of the tweet contains general information: User ID, Date, Main text, Hashtags

The video part occupies the biggest space. In video-tweets this part is seen first because it carries the most important part of the message and is at the center of audience's attention.

At the bottom we will have some other information: The length of the video, the number of views, number of circulation of the tweet (Likes and Retweets)

We discussed about the importance of video-tweets in general. But let's have a look at the sample data that we have gathered and justified. The question is how many tweets of this kind are there? In the table we have counted and presented the result.

User Account	Number of tweets Nov 15 till 23	Number of tweets with videos
@A_Jafarzadeh	125	9
@HeshmatAlavi	471	278
@Hamyari (@wafa_behnam)	314	193
Sum	910	480

The numbers show more than 50% of the sample tweets contain video. Which is a convincing number. Focusing on only video-tweets, now gets us to a sample of 480 tweets. This is still a huge number for a deep analysis. We will need yet another filter to finalize the data sample.

To justify this last step that reaches the number to around 49 tweets, we start from each individual account. @A_Jafarzadeh has only 9 video-tweets. We will analyze all of them because the number is low and also shows that this account has been picked special videos which has been important to the leadership of the organization. Therefore, all 9 tweets will be in the final sample.

In the case of @HeshmatAlavi, we select those tweets that has more retweets. The number of retweets shows the amount of attention and the circulation of that tweet. So in this case we look for tweets with more circulations. On the Excel sheet in which all tweets from November 15 till November 23, are listed, we look for the tweets that has been retweeted more than 200 times. This limits our sample to 33 tweets from this account.

In the case of @wafa_behnam, we need a different strategy. On one hand the number of video-tweets is high. On the other hand, this account does not have the attention and influence of Alavi's twitter account. Another difference here is that video-tweets with big circulation are those that wafa_behnam has retweeted from other accounts (and mostly from Alvi). Therefore, here we go with the original video-tweets that has received more attention (tweets with more than 2 retweets). Applying this strategy we get to 17 tweets in this case.

Here is the final sample of video-tweets of MEK in 2019, from November 15 until November 23:

User Account	Number of tweets for analysis
@A_Jafarzadeh	**9**
@HeshmatAlavi	**33**
@Hamyari (@wafa_behnam)	**17**
Sum	**49**

3.1.13 The final questions from the sample data

In this chapter we tried to establish a methodological framework in which the study acts in. We put the basis on the Interpretative paradigm, we chose a qualitative approach and applied to three theory in designing the analysis: Framing, Film theory and Narrative theory.

Then we designed our tools to select twitter accounts and in the next step, a sample of tweets. And finally we narrowed down our study to a set of 49 videos that are going to be analyzed in the next chapter. By connecting different questions that we explained at the first part in this chapter, we will gwt to a form or ficha that is our principal instrument for the analysis. In other words we will fill a ficha for each video-tweet. We have added some basic information as well, to the main questions.

The Sheet for analyzing video data

(Number of the sample)

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: Tweet Number: Tweet Number in data: Date: Time of tweet: Number of retweets: Number of Likes:	Length of the video: Number of views: Day or Night:

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	
Where is the location of the video?	
Which date is it referring to?	
List of The Hashtags in tweet	
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	
What language or dialect can be heard?	
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	
What words in the text are emphasized?	
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	
What is happening in the video (Story?)	
Describe the movement of the camera	
Describe the quality of the picture	
Describe the voices or music over the video	
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	

3.2. Results and Discussions

In this chapter, we will discuss the analysis results. The video-tweets of the sample have been analyzed in detail (which was mentioned in the previous chapter as the method). This detailed analysis is presented entirely in the Appendix section. Here in this chapter, we first offer the results in the form of answering to the sub-questions of the study. In the next part, we will discuss the results and the interpretation of them. First, we review some general points on the activity of the three accounts under study.

3.2.1 General activity results: About tweets

We analyzed three twitter accounts @A_Jafarzadeh, @HeshmatAlavi, and @wafa_behnam, during nine days in 2019 (from November 15 until November 23) when the protests about the sudden hike in the price of gas happened in Iran. The data in this part was gathered by answering the questions in the first part of the Ficha:

 Here are some general view of their activities in this period of time:

3.2.1.1. Rate of tweeting per day

In this table, we can see all activities of these accounts (Number of tweets) to have an image of this rate.

	Nov 15	Nov 16	Nov 17	Nov 18	Nov 19	Nov 20	Nov 21	Nov 22	Nov 23	SUM
@A_Jafarzadeh	6	10	19	12	17	22	10	18	11	125
@HeshmatAlavi	38	49	68	63	68	61	32	50	42	471
@wafa_behnam	21	98	47	49	45	29	13	10	2	314

In the following we have presented this activity rate in 9 days separately for each account:
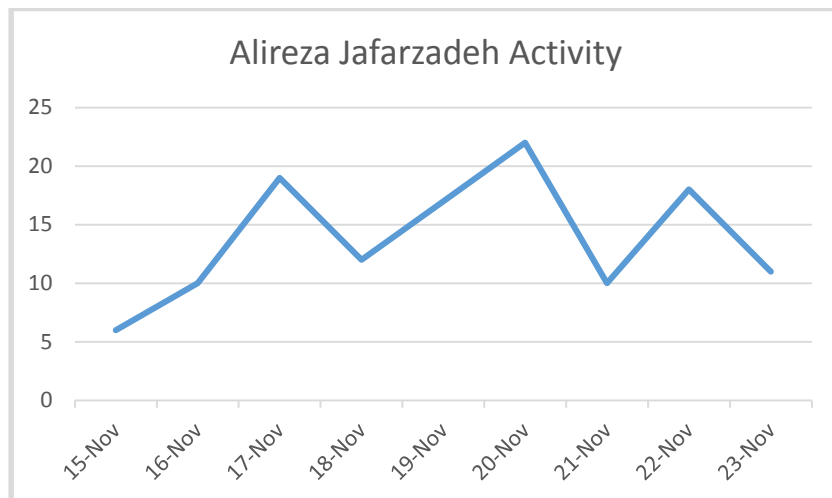
Alireza Jafarzadeh has acted in the period of study.
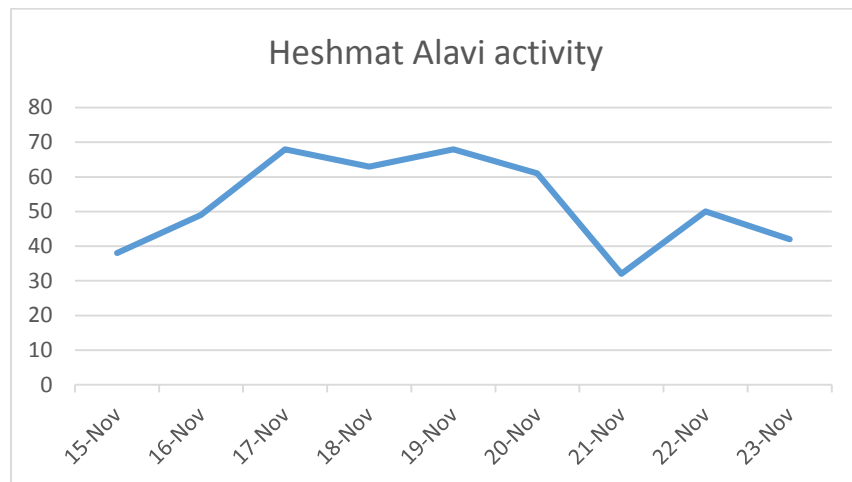
Heshmat Alavi has acted in the period of study.

Wafa Behnam activity
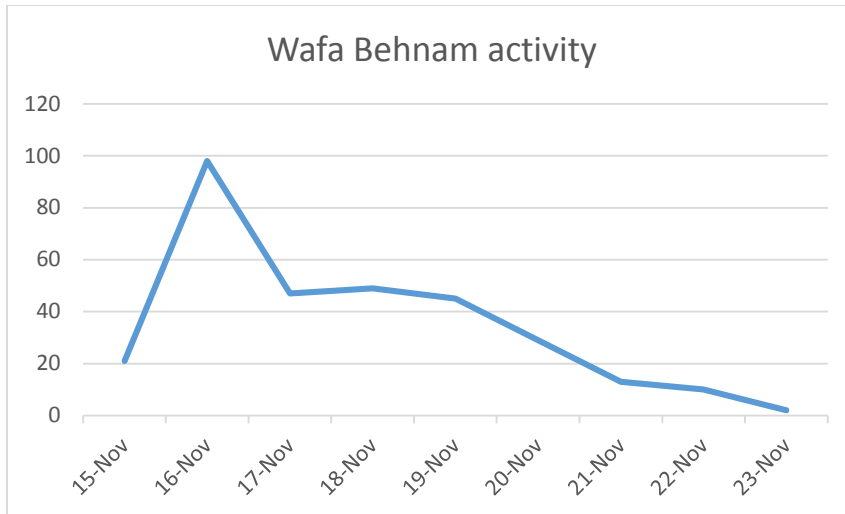
Wafa Behnam has acted in the period of study.

We can see that from November 16, the three accounts have started to cover the news with their tweets at a relatively high speed. From November 16, till November 20, the first two accounts (Jafarzadeh and Alavi) have continued being very active (especially in the case of Heshmat Alavi), and after that, we see their activity is getting lower. In the case of Wafa Behnam, this account has reduced its operation from November 19.

3.2.1.2 Rate of tweeting per hour

The following charts show the activity of the three accounts understudy by the hours of the day. The horizontal axis shows the days (From November 14 till 24), and the vertical axis demonstrates the hours:
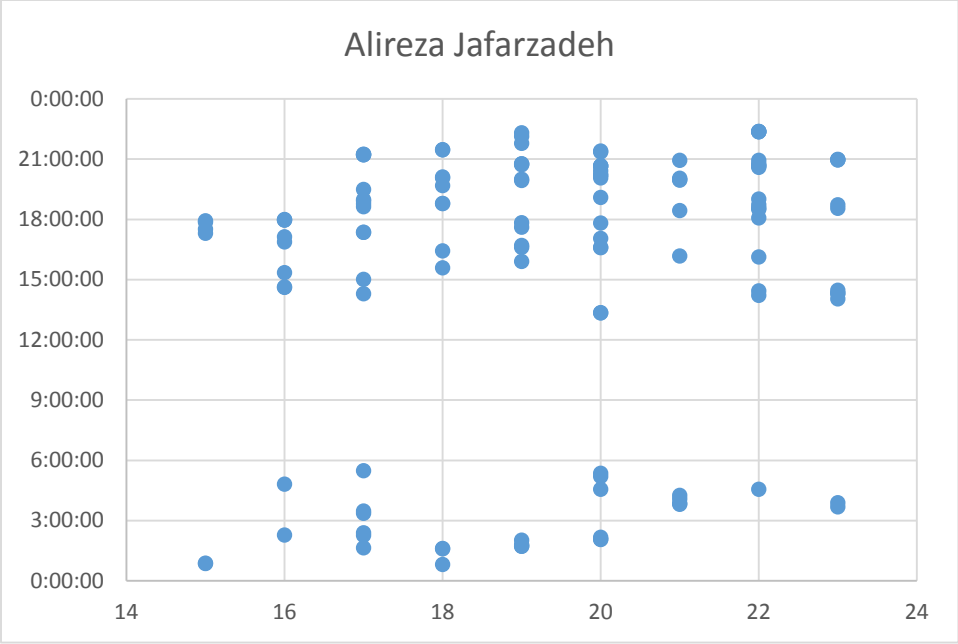
Hours of activity of Alireza Jafarzadeh during nine days
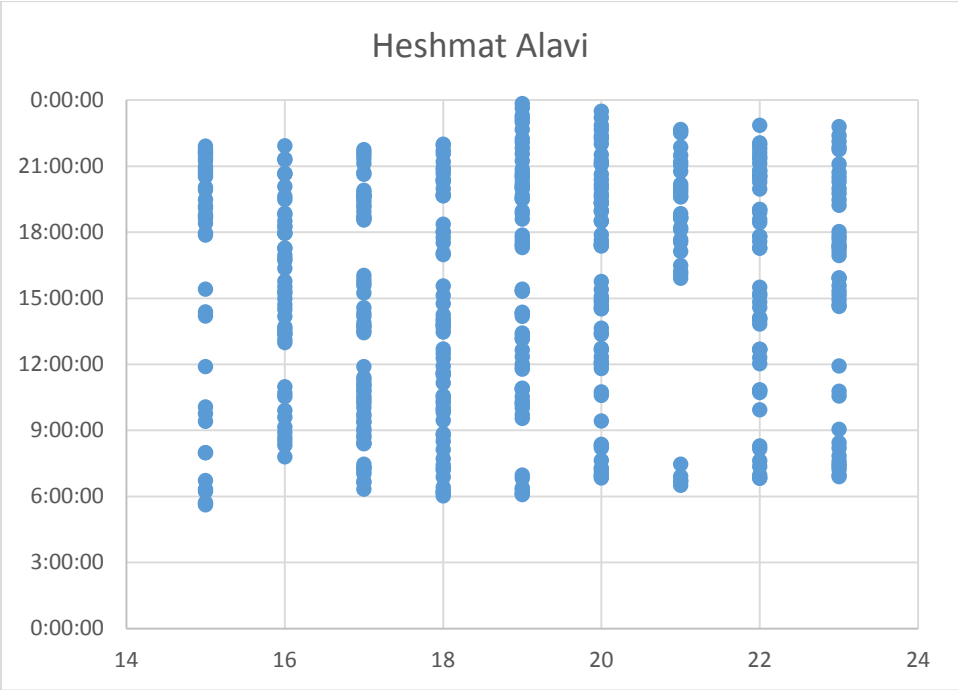
Hours of activity of Heshmat Alavi during nine days
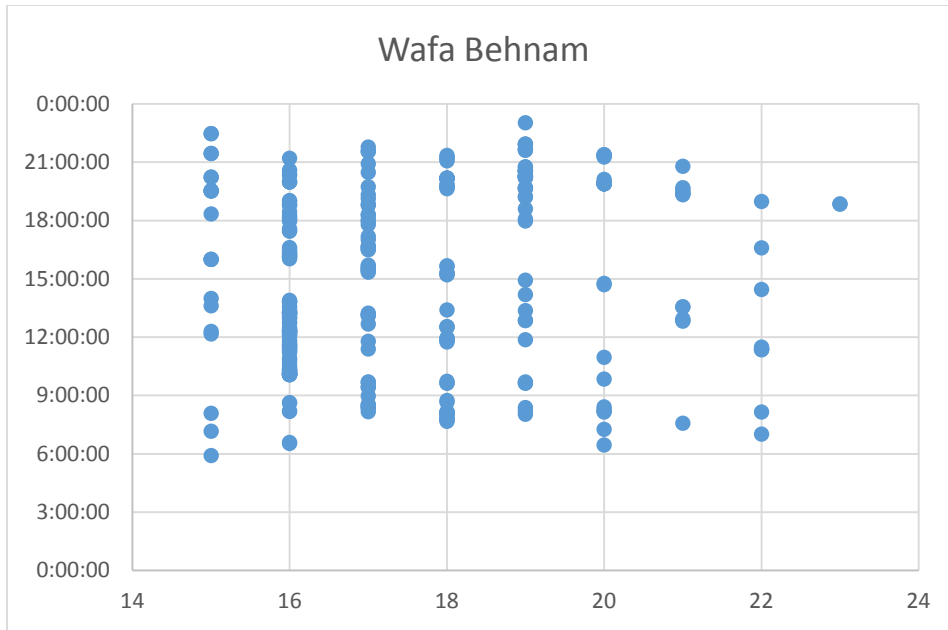
Hours of activity Wafa Behnam for nine days

Here are some facts and their interpretations, coming from these charts that help us understand better the activities of the three accounts:

A: Heshmat Alavi has been more active than the other two accounts.

We knew that Alavi is the account that has the mission of distribution in large circulation, the news stories from inside Iran. In this time, he has been busy tweeting and retweeting the contents at high speed (only on November 19, he has tweeted 68 times during 18 hours).

B: Alireza Jafarzadeh has the least number of tweets among the three.

We have expected this because he is one of the leading members and, it is not his job to be very active on social media. If we review his activities two days before the protests (November 13 and 14), we see that he does not tweet much (the number of tweets in these two days are 0 and 3). The average number of his tweets in the week before is 12 in 7 days. Comparing with these numbers, Jafarzadeh has been very active from November 15 till 23. This fact could reveal the importance of the events for MEK so that even the high ranking members turn to be more productive.

C: The activity curves of Jafarzadeh and Alavi have significant similarities.

The reason can be their missions. Both of them at different levels have tried to deliver the news to western politicians and activists. For this reason, their tweets are in English. Their audience is diverse from Wafa Behnam and many other user accounts who tweet in Farsi.

D: The activity curve of Wafa Behnam shows a negative rate after November 19.

Again we may explain this with the fact that the target audience and the amount of accessibility to the news are different from the other two accounts. First, Wafa Behnam tweets in Farsi (for Iranian audience), and second we can see the effect of the lack of internet. While Wafa Behnam does not have access to news from inside Iran (because of the internet shutdown), the number of videos and news reduces.

E: Heshmat Alavi has more access to news comparing with Wafa Behnam.

The list of followers of Heshmat Alavi shows a considerable number of accounts in the level of Wafa Behnam. Also, Alavi is following accounts with more influence and has an international network connection to journalists and activists. Therefore, He had more access to videos than Wafa Behnam, who has been disconnected from its sources inside Iran.

G: 18 hours of work, 6 hours break

The hour activity charts show that the three accounts have had a working hour. Heshmat Alavi and Wafa Behnam have been active from 6:00 a.m until around midnight (12:00 a.m) in Europe time. In the case of Jafarzadeh, these hours are different. He has been resting from 6:00 a.m. till 12:00 p.m. Europe time. The similarity among the three is: being online and tweeting for 18 hours, then having rest for 6 hours. Since Jafarzadeh lives in the U.S, his working hours are not the same as the other two accounts. This difference is due to the time difference from Europe (the time difference is exactly 6 hours and perfectly matches with their activities). This tight schedule might create an image of how organized and active they have been during the days under the study.

H: The hour activity chart of Heshmat Alavi is extraordinary.

We pointed out before (in the methodology chapter) that there have been some reports questioning this account. The Intercept published a story in which it said Hehsmat Alavi dos not exist, and some members of MEK manage the account. This claim, however, is not our concern in this study. But observing the hour activity chart of the three tweeter accounts can be in favor of this assumption. While both Jafarzadeh and Wafa have breaks in their working hours Alavi's diagram implies that most of the days, this account has been tweeting almost in a nonstop way.

3.2.2 Length of the videos

In the process of the analysis, we gathered data about 1.Length of the videos, 2.Number of views (how many times the videos have been watched?) and 3.Did the events happen during the day or at night.

The results can be summarized in this table:

Average of the length of the videos	44 seconds
Average of the number of views	32 k
Events in Day	41
Events at Night	10
Day or Night Unknown	8

*There are Unknown because there are videos in the sample recorded in studio or indoor places. They are official statements from Iran or U.S officials.

This table tells at least these facts:

A: The videos are very short and fragmented. Some of them last for only 7 seconds. The most extended video lasts 144 seconds. The average is under 45 seconds.

B: The videos have been watched, on average, 32000 times. The most viewed video has been watched 334000 times.

C: The videos mostly narrate events that have taken place in the daylight. Another interpretation could tell that Iran's November events mostly took place during the day.

3.2.3 Results of the Framing analysis

Before presenting the results, we should take into consideration that from the three studied tweeter accounts, two of them (Jafarzadeh and Heshmat Alavi) have tweeted in English. Wafa Behnam's Tweets are in Farsi (Persian). We have translated the Farsi tweets in English for the analysis.

3.2.3.1 Hashtags analysis

In this table, we have listed the Hashtags used by these three accounts. Translations for Farsi Hashtags are put between brackets.

Hashtags	Frequency in the sample tweets
IranProtests	34
Iran	31
Internet4Iran	7
قیام سراسری (Nationwide Uprising)	7
بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی (3000 Toman Gas)	4
بنزین3000تومانی (3000 Toman Gas)	3
تظاهرات_سراسری (Nationwide Demonstrations)	2
اعتراضات_سراسری (Nationwide Protests)	2
Freeiran	2
Breaking	2
Update	2
سنندج (Sanandaj)	2
تهران (Tehran)	2
تبریز (Tabriz)	2

اعتصاب_سراسری (General Strike)	1
Iraqiprotests	1
stopiranbloodshed	1
کرمانشاه (Kermanshah)	1
کرج (Karaj)	1
شیراز (Shiraz)	1
شهریار (Shahriar)	1
زنجان (Zanjan)	1
بوشهر (Bushehr)	1

These Hashtags can be categorized into groups. The first category is the one expressing the concept of Protesting in Iran. The second is a category for those hashtags that represent the reason for the protests. The third group goes for the name of the cities and the fourth group for other purposes.

Category	Hashtags	Total Frequency
Group 1	#IranProtests (34) #Iran (31) #Nationwide_Uprising (7) #Nationwide_Demonstrations (2) #Nationwide_Protests (2) #General_Strike (1) #FreeIran (2)	79
Group 2	#Internet4Iran (7) #3000TomanGas (3+4) #StopIranBloodShed (1)	15
Group 3	Sanandaj (2) #Tehran (2) #Tabriz (2) #Kermanshah (1) #Karaj (1) #Shiraz (1) #Shahriar (1) #Zanjan (1) #Bushehr (1)	12
Group 4	#Breaking (2) #Update (2) # IraqiProtests (1)	5

3.2.3.2 MFA analysis for Text (words)

For this level of analysis, we applied to the method of MFA (Media Framing Analysis). As we saw previously, this method contains five steps: Identifying the story, Identifying character, Narrative form and reader identification, Analysis of language categories, and Generalization.

-Identifying the story

We already know about the story, and we have discussed it before in previous chapters. The main story is about the protests in Iran after the sudden hike in the price of the gas in the country. Since these events are our concern in gathering the data for this study, we are quite familiar with the story.

-Identifying the character

The characters recognized from the text of the tweets are as follows. The numbers in the brackets tell how frequent have been these words in the data:

Regime (24)

People (24)

Protesters (19)

Mullahs (10)

Khamenei (7)

IRGC (6)

Basij (1)

Police (6)

Security forces (7)

These characters can be divided into two categories that are confronting each other in the story:

Category 1	Category 2
People, Protesters	Regime, Mullahs, Khamenei, IRGC, Basiji, Police, Security forces

-Narrative form and reader identification

The structure of the Narrative in the tweets is not complicated. It tells the story of heroes against villains. In the next part, the analysis of language categories shows the characteristics of these two forces, which have shaped the Narrative. It is essential to notice the strong relationship between the words and the video in the tweet. If the Narrative in the text part is primitive and simple, that is because it only seeks to invite the audience to watch the video. The video is the more complicated part.

The narrative form coming from the text data suggests a simple story of a conflict between heroes (people of Iran) and the villains (Regime/police/Mullahs). This plot story invites the reader to identify herself as admiring or having sympathy for the heroes.

-Analysis of Language

In this level of analysis, we extracted the lexical choices in describing the two sides of the conflict. To do so, we focused on the adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and nouns that have been used in the texts. In the table, the result of this analysis is presented:

Lexical elements	Category 1 (People, Protesters)	Category 2 (Regime, Police, Mullahs,…)
Adjectives	Locals, brave, in control, innocent, civilians, Uprisers, Heroes, Passionate, Fed-up, armed	Thugs, savages, kleptocrats, Khamenei's mercenaries, Bandit, suppressive,
Verbs	Are killed, are injured, torch on fire, standing up, burning, blocking roads, standing the ground, chasing, tearing apart, take control, establish roadblocks	Shooting, arresting, Targeting, Hide, stealing the wealth, Failed, Firing directly, massacring, flee, crackdown, gun down
Adverbs and nouns	Hatred of the mullahs, high spirit, unity, solidarity, Women presence, Strike	Dictatorship, terrorism, Fire at will, indiscriminately, brutality,

-Generalization

The final stage of the analysis attempts to place the story in a wider social and cultural context by examining references to broader debates, long-standing stories, and previous media coverage. In this part, we looked for sentences or phrases that referred to other contexts or stories. Among them, there are "Mullahs' Regime," "40 years of Islamic Republic", "The U.S as the enemy," and the "Dictatorship of Khamenei" clearly link November story to other stories and the history that the audience sis aware of perfectly.

Key sentences (Sentences are from the person tweeting not from the content of the videos)	-The end is near for the mullahs' Regime -Iranians have no enmity against U.S or the American people -This is a 40-year lie promoted by mullahs only -Death to Khamenei, Hale Freedom -Death to Mullahs' Regime

Before ending this section about analysis of the texts of tweets, and while we have focused on the linguistic aspect of the tweets, let us present a pragmatic analysis on the words and linguistic choices in our data collection. This analysis helps us understand better the ideological context of the MEK discourse.

3.2.3.3 Speech acts theory and pragmatic analysis

Speech act theory is a subfield of pragmatics that studies how words are used not only to present information but also to carry out actions. The speech act theory was introduced by Oxford philosopher J.L. Austin in *How to Do Things with Words* and further developed by American philosopher J.R. Searle. It considers the degree to which utterances are said to perform locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and/or perlocutionary acts.

In this section, we analyze the texts of the tweets regarding the speech acts theory. Although this branch of pragmatics has been coined by the name of Austin, John Searle has managed to give a taxonomy of the illocutionary verbs that are useful to categorize different types of speech acts. Searle (1975) set up the following classification of illocutionary speech acts:

Assertives: speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition

Directives: speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action, e.g. requests, commands and advice

Commissives: speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action, e.g. promises and oaths

Expressives: speech acts that express on the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the proposition, e.g. congratulations, excuses and thanks

Declarations: speech acts that change the reality in accord with the proposition of the declaration, e.g. baptisms, pronouncing someone guilty or pronouncing someone husband and wife

We applied the speech act theory to analyze the types of utterances in the MEK tweets. The question has been which kind of illocutionary acts has been used by the three user accounts of the study. Before presenting the results, let us review in brief the application of the theory on twitter. There has been several studies on micro texts, especially on twitter in the recent years to do such analysis. For instance the work of Zhang et al. (2011) *What Are Tweeters Doing: Recognizing Speech Acts in Twitter* is an effort to have some insights in what is going on in Twitter in terms of speech acts. Another example of such studies would be the work of Vosoughi & Roy (2016) entitled *Tweet Acts: A Speech Act Classifier for Twitter*. These studies mostly use a quantitative approach to a corpus of Twitter texts. In other words, they collect a large amount of data containing tens of thousands of tweets, and by using the methods of machine learning and computation analysis do the task of classification of the tweets in terms of speech acts.

In the case of our study, we apply to a qualitative approach by examining each tweet (from the collection of 59). This is possible because the purpose of this study is not a formulation of speech acts in twitter in general, but detecting them only within the discourse of the MEK about the protests of November 2019 in Iran. Considering this methodological notion, we observe these types of illocutionary acts in our data collection:

	Text of the tweet	Illocutionary acts
1	Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and the Bassij of the Iranian regime in plain clothes armed with weapons targeting and arresting the youth in #IranProtests in Kermanshah. Over 300 killed 4,000 injured and 10,000 arrested in protests in 165 cities. Will continue till #FreeIran.	Directive
2	In this 4 second video clip you can see the level of savagery by the Iranian regime, shooting & killing demonstrators in #IranProtests. This is what the regime wanted to hide from the world, and why the need for #Internet4Iran that could not be blocked by the regime at will.	Assertive
3	In Mashhad, the second most populated city of #Iran , people are chanting, "Dictator, shame on you; leave the country alone. " as they protest the rise in prices of gasoline by as much as 3 times. Such protests is widespread all over Khuzestan Province, expanding to other cities.	Assertive
4	In this 4 second video clip you can see the level of savagery by the Iranian regime, shooting & killing demonstrators in #IranProtests. This is what the regime wanted to hide from the world, and why the need for #Internet4Iran that could not be blocked by the regime at will.	Assertive
5	RT @StateDept The Islamic Republic must cease violence against its own people, and should immediately restore the ability of…	Directive
6	RT @Maryam_Rajavi: This is an uprising to end 40 years of dictatorship and terrorism in #Iran. Regime Leaders must face justice for crime a…	Directive
7	RT @StateDept: Special Representative for Iran Hook urges @Facebook, @instagram , and @Twitter to suspend the accounts of the Iranian regime…	Directive

8	RT @StateDept: .@SecPompeo: The Iranian leadership has failed the Iranian people. They've behaved like kleptocrats, stealing the wealth of…	Assertive
9	Newly obtained video Mariwan, W #Iran Security forces are opening heavy fire on protesters. Dozens are killed & injured. Authorities have closed all roads leading to the city & directly firing at people. The city is literally in flames. #IranProtests	Assertive
10	To the @StateDept & @SecPompeo: Thank you for supporting the people of #Iran. Please push the initiative of establishing internet access for the Iranian people. This is urgent as the regime is massacring many across the country. #Internet4Iran	Expressive Directive
11	Newly obtained video Nov 18 - Eslamshahr, SW of Tehran, #Iran Bagh-e-Feyz district Protesting locals torch a trailer belonging to the regime's state police. Many reports have described this city as a "war zone." #IranProtests	Assertive
12	"Get lost you trash!" The people of #Iran are standing up to the ruling mullahs. #IranProtests	Assertive
13	Madam Spokeswoman, Thank you for standing alongside #Iran's people. We seek to topple the mullahs. We don't ask the US to send troops & topple this regime for us. We will do that ourselves. The U.S. government should say: "The mullahs must go!" Thank you once again. #IranProtests	Expressive Directive
14	Recently obtained footage - Internet heavily restricted Nov 18 - Ahvaz, SW #Iran Large crowd outside a local administrative building. Shots fired are by armed protesters. #IranProtests	Assertive

15	Tehran, #Iran Vafadar Street Footage of the regime's security forces directly targeting & shooting at protesters. (at 00:38) #StopIranBloodshed	Assertive
16	#Iran #UPDATE -South of Shiraz is under people's control -Many banks & regime centers burning -Over 100 banks & 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned in one province alone -MP: "…situation in Shiraz is very concerning." #IranProtests Video of Shiraz	Assertive
17	RT @HanifJazayeri: WOW! Listen to this intercepted radio communication of Iran regime's repressive forces in Robat Karim & IRGC Gen Hossein…	Directive
18	RT @amsafavi: Earlier today, Nov. 28 - Tehran: Brave women condemning Khamenei's "Islamic Republic. " Her works are inspiring to all. Why ar…	Assertive
19	#BREAKING Nov 17 - Isfahan, central #Iran Locals are seen blocking roads and continuing their protests in response to the regime's gas price hike. #IranProtests	Assertive
20	Newly obtained videos 1/3 Nov 2019 - Fardis, near Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran Footage of brave Iranians taking to the streets & expressing their utter hatred of the mullahs' regime. #IranProtests	Assertive
21	Nov 16 - Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran People are setting fire to a local IRGC Basij paramilitary base & a regime bank as protests continue over the recent petrol price hikes. #IranProtests	Assertive

22	Recently obtained video Javanrud, near Kermanshah, W #Iran Brave protesters stand their ground, forcing the regime's security units to retreat. #IranProtests	Assertive
23	Newly obtained video Shiraz, south-central #Iran Protesters seen chasing the regime's security units, forcing them to flee back to their base. A number of security vehicles seen burning near the site. #IranProtests	Assertive
24	Shiraz, south-central #Iran -Authorities have launched air patrols -Reports indicate protesters are in control of many districts -Many banks & police stations have been torched -Many administrative buildings are under the people's control #IranProtests	Assertive
25	Recently obtained video Tehran, #Iran Protesters forcing the regime's anti-riot units to flee, showing the people's high spirits as the uprising continues across the country. #IranProtests	Assertive
26	Newly obtained footage Shiraz, south-central #Iran (Exact date unknown) Footage shows the vast scope of protests and unrest. More reason why the mullahs' do not dare restore internet access. #IranProtests	Assertive
27	#Iran Brave protester tearing apart a large poster of Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. The end is near for the mullahs' regime. #IranProtests	Assertive
28	This is one of the very few videos received from Mariwan, western #Iran, where the regime has resorted to a heavy crackdown following the internet shutdown. #Internet4Iran is a dire necessity to prevent an all-out massacre in Iran.	Assertive

29	Interesting to see @CNN's @camanpour simply parrot the mullahs' talking points & threats against the people of #Iran, and @KavehMadani divert attention away from #IranProtests. Neither mention a word about the regime's ongoing brutal crackdown against innocent people.	Expressive
30	Young girl in #Iran crying & pleading outside the prison where her father has been sentenced to death by the Regime: "I haven't seen my dad in 4yrs. Let me see him. Don't kill my dad! Kill me instead! Dad, don't be scared. Dad, I'm outside." 🖤😔	Assertive Expressive (imojis)
31	#BREAKING 158 protesters killed by regime forces in #Iran Video shows clashes in Saveh road, southwest of Tehran. Security units forced to flee. (Faces of protesters blurred to protect their identities.) #IranProtests	Assertive
32	#Iran #UPDATE Shiraz-IRGC officer shoots & kills two senior commanders ordering IRGC units to open fire on protesters Golestan-Snipers in helicopters open fire on protesters Soltanabad-Police station & police chief vehicle torched by protesters #IranProtests (Video-Tehran-Nov 16)	Assertive
33	Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran People are blocking a highway as protests continue over a recently imposed gasoline price hike that is causing a national uproar. #IranProtests	Assertive
34	Reports indicate the regime in #Iran has provided "fire-at-will" orders to its security forces to indiscriminately gun down protesters. #Internet4Iran is needed to inform the world the truth about #IranProtests & the mullahs' brutality.	Assertive

35	Recently obtained video Nov 2019 - Tehran, #Iran Shoosh Square (Exact date uncertain) Protesters setting tires on fire to establish roadblocks & take control over local roads/districts. #IranProtests	Assertive
36	Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran Protesters are setting fire to posters of Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. #IranProtests	Assertive
37	With the internet shut down, #Iran's regime will continue killing protesters & innocent civilians. #Internet4Iran	Assertive
38	Beautiful scene of unity & solidarity in #Iran. People are seen distributing free food to drivers who joined protests by turning their cars off in roads to create roadblocks. Nationwide protests continue over the regime's recently imposed gas price hike. #IranProtests	Assertive
39	RT @HanifJazayeri: Today Khamenei defended the fuel price hike in Iran that has triggered the #IranProtests. He labelled protesters 'hooligans'	Assertive
40	#Iran Brave woman tears down a "Death to America" poster. The crowd is heard chanting, "Death to the dictator," in a reference to @Khamenei_ir Iranians have no enmity against the U.S. or the American people. This is a 40-year lie promoted by the mullahs only. #IranProtests	Assertive
41	به آتش کشیدن بنر خامنه ای مرگ بر خامنه ای زنده باد آزادی #قیام_سراسری Setting the poster of Khamenei on fire. Death to Khamenei, Hail Freedom! #Crossnational_uprising	Assertive Expressive

42	قیام آفرینان گارد بزرگراه نیایش #تهران را کندن و از آن برای بستن خیابان استفاده کردند. #تهران #قیام_سراسری Uprising creators took off the guard rail of the highway to block the road. Hashtags: Tehran, crossnational_uprising	Assertive
43	شیراز - تظاهرات مردم علیه گرانی بنزین با شعار «توپ تانک فشفشه، آخوند باید گم بشه» ـ شنبه ۲۵ آبان #شیراز #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی Shiraz- Protesters chant: Mullahs should get lost! Saturday 25 Aban (November 16)	Assertive
44	RT @gobadi: Mashhad- Anti-riot forces attacking people. Anti-regime protests all over #Iran tonight. People chanted "Down with dictator", "…	Assertive
45	زنان و حضوری پرشور در خط مقدم قیام. تصویری از خروش یک زن هموطن در جریان قیام مردم کرج. درود بر این جسارت. #قیام_سراسری #IranPortests #iran4internet #کرج Women and a very passionate presence in the protests. A video of the uproar of a woman during the uprising of the people of Karaj. Very brave!	Assertive Expressive
46	صدای درگیری شدید در شهر قدس - قلعه حسن خان - ۲۷آبان ۹۸ #شهریار #بنزین3000تومنی #قیام_سراسری Severe conflict in Shahre-Qods, Qal' e Hasn Khan, Aban 27 (November(18 #Shahryar #CrossNationa_uprising #3000TomansGas	Assertive
47	زنجان - یک جوان: خامنه ای بترس این سری مثل سری قبل نیست باید بری... #زنجان #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی City of Zanjan, A young man: You should have fear Khamenei! This time is not like past times! You should go!	Assertive
48	فیلمی از شلیک مزدوران خامنه ای به مردم در کرمانشاه. #کرمانشاه #IranPortests #تظاهرات_سراسری Footage of shooting to people from the Mercenaries of Khamenei in Kermanshah. #crossnational_uprising #Kermanshah	Assertive

49	قیام ایران- تصویری از شعار پر خروش مردم به جان آمده: مرگ بر حکومت آخوندی #قیام_سراسری #بنزین3000تومانی Iran's uprising- footage of chants from the exhausted fed-up people of Iran: Death to Mullahs's regime	Assertive
50	تصویری از درگیری مردم و نیروهای سرکوبگر در سنندج #بنزین3000تومانی #تظاهرات_سراسریIranPortests#سنندج # Footage of conflict between protesters and the suppressive forces in Sanandaj #Sanandaj #3000TomanGas #Crossnational_uprising	Assertive
51	تبریز - مردم شجاع تبریز اتوبوس و موتورهای نیروی انتظامی را به آتش کشیدند #تبریز #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی Tabriz- brave people of Tabriz set on fire the buses and motorcycles of Police forces.	Assertive
52	#بنزین3000تومانی IranPortestsتصاویر رسیده از قیام مردم دلیر تبریز #تبریز # #قیام_سراسری Footage from the brave people of Tabriz #Tabriz #3000TomansGas #crssNationalUprising	Assertive
53	اعتصاب در بازار تهران - ۲۶آبان ۹۸ #تهران #اعتصاب_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی Strike in Tehran's Bazar- 26 Aban (November 16)	Assertive
54	فیلم منتشر شده از زخمی شدن یک زن دلیر هموطن و همیاری سایر مردم با او. IranPortests #iran4internet#اعتراضات_سراسری# .Footage of a wounded brave woman and people helping	Assertive
55	fereshteh @feresht02376199 RT @feresht02376199 ۲۶ آبان . شروع اعتراضات در #سنندج : November 17th – start of the protests in Sanandaj	Assertive
56	فیلمی از درگیری جوانان دلیر بوشهری با مزدوران خامنه ای. #اعتراضات_سراسری #iran4internet #IraqiProtestsبوشهر # Footage of conflict between brave youth of Bushehr and Khamenei's mercenaries	Assertive
57	فیلمی منتشر شده از درگیری مردم قهرمان شیراز با مزدوران خامنه ای. این فیلم متعلق به همون روزیه که مردم سه خودروی نیروی انتظامی رو آتیش زدن،	Assertive

	منتها از زاویه دیگه ای تصویربرداری شده. # شیراز#iran4internet #IranPortestsاعتصاب_سراسری# Video shows the conflict between Hero people of Shiraz and Khamenei's mercenaries. The video belongs to same day in which people set 3 police cars on fire ,but from a different angle.	
58	درگیری یک هموطن با یک آخوند حرامی #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی Conflict between a patriot and a bastard mullah #Croosnational_uprising #3000TomansGas	Assertive
59	Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and the Bassij of the Iranian regime in plain clothes armed with weapons targeting and arresting the youth in #IranProtests in Kermanshah. Over 300 killed 4,000 injured and 10,000 arrested in protests in 165 cities. Will continue till #FreeIran.	Directive

Here are some examples of illocutionary acts that are used in MEK's tweets:

Assertive:

-People are chanting, "Dictator, shame on you; leave the country alone (Number 3)

-Security forces are opening heavy fire on protesters (Number 9)

-Protesting locals torch a trailer belonging to the regime's state police (Number 11)

-The people of #Iran are standing up to the ruling mullahs (Number 12)

-Shots fired are by armed protesters (Number 14)

Directive:

-The Islamic Republic must cease violence against its own people (Number 5)

-Regime Leaders must face justice for crime (Number 6)

-Hook urges @Facebook, @instagram, and @Twitter to suspend the accounts of the Iranian regime (Number 7)

-Please push the initiative of establishing internet access for the Iranian people (Number 10)

-The U.S. government should say: "The mullahs must go!" (Number 13)

Expressive:

-Thank you for supporting the people of #Iran (Number 10)

-Thank you for standing alongside #Iran's people (Number 13)

-Young girl in #Iran crying & pleading outside the prison where her father has been sentenced to death by the Regime: "I haven't seen my dad in 4yrs.
 Let me see him. Don't kill my dad! Kill me instead! Dad, don't be scared. Dad, I'm outside." 💔😔
(Number 30)
-Interesting to see @CNN's @camanpour simply parrot the mullahs' talking points (Number 29)

-Death to Khamenei! , Hail Freedom! (Number 41)

There are some tweets with more than one illocutionary act. For instance, tweet number 13 in the table contains both Directive and Expressive acts:

Madam Spokeswoman,
Thank you for standing alongside #Iran's people.
We seek to topple the mullahs.
We don't ask the US to send troops & topple this regime for us. We will do that ourselves.
The U.S. government should say: "The mullahs must go!"
Thank you once again.
#IranProtests

In such cases we have considered both acts in the same tweet and counted them as speech acts. The number of these tweets is limited, though. We can summarize the results in this table:

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Assertive	Directive	Expressive	Declarative	Commisesive
50	7	6	-	-
79%	11%	10%	0%	0%

At first glance at this table, it seems evident that MEK has been informative in its narrative. This rhetoric can be concluded from the domination of assertive speech acts, which contains almost 80 percent of the whole. Then we have a few tweets (only seven) that ask the audience to do something and make their utterance directive and a few tweets (only six) in which the writer has been sharing her feelings with the reader as expressive speech acts do.

This interpretation makes sense because it justifies the way MEK has tried to reach to its audience, mostly outside of Iran and in the English language. Therefore they have applied to an informative language to be more trustable and professional. Another observation coming from the analysis of illocutionary acts would be the expressive type. Although there six cases of this speech act in general, we can see three facts:

1. There are no expressive speech acts in the top level of the MEK (tweets of @A_Jafarzadeh)

2. There are four tweets containing expressive speech act in the case of @HeshmatAlavi, one of them has emojis of a broken heart and crying, which we have interpreted as expressive speech act. The other three are related somehow to the U.S media or authorities.

3. There are two expressive speech acts in the tweets of @Wafa_Behnam; both are related to protesters and their actions.

The problem with speech act theory

We presented a conclusion in the previous section that, in this part, will be considered as a hypothesis. In fact, we want to test the results of speech acts theory while remaining in the realm of pragmatic approach. The conclusion was that "MEK has been informative in its narrative". But has it?

In the speech act analysis, what we have paid attention to is the verbs in the sentences. The classification offered by Searle is only sensitive to the chosen verbs that mark a statement as a particular illocutionary act. In the case of other choices (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, …) this theory will not clearly show us what else is happening inside the tweets. Now that we have put the tweets under a linguistic microscope let us try to see more. The question will be to examine if the MEK narrative is mostly informative that is to say it mostly asserts news statements.

To do this task, we apply to yet another pragmatic analysis. For this part of the analysis, we have been inspired by the work of Francesc Burguet Ardiaca in *Las Trampas de Los Periodistas* (Burguet, 2008). Burguet in his work quotes Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), Polish anthropologist, to emphasize on the role of cultural context on the understanding of the language**:**

La investigación que llevó a cabo durante dos años de la vida social de los habitantes de las islas Trobriand, al este de Nueva Guinea, reveló a Malinowski el vínculo íntimo que hay entre lenguaje y cultura, en el sentido de que el significado de las palabras no es autosuficiente ni independiente de su uso real, al contrario, las palabras hay que entenderlas siempre de modo relativo, circunstancial, es decir, sólo adquieren sentido pleno en relación con el contexto cultural que tutela es uso de esa lengua determinada, porque, tal como argumenta el mismo Malinowski mediante el análisis de un fragmento de conversación entre melanesios, "el lenguaje se halla esencialmente enraizado en la realidad de la cultura, la vida tribal y las costumbres de un pueblo, y no puede ser explicado sin constante referencia a esos contextos más amplios de la expresión verbal" (Malinowski, 1923: 320). En consecuencia, razona Malinowski, "el significado de una palabra debe colegirse siempre, no de una contemplación pasiva de esta palabra, sino de un análisis de sus funciones, con referencia a la cultura dada" (Malinowski, 1923, P. 323). Además de considerar la cultura como el contexto genuino de interpretación del significado lingüístico, Malinowski hace dos aportaciones excepcionales: expone el concepto de contexto de situación y explica el lenguaje entendido como acción, dos ideas de clara condición pragmática que, treinta años después, resucitarán como principios cardinales de la teoría de los actos de habla esbozada por el filósofo inglés John L. Austin**.** **[38]**

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[38] https://trampress.com/trampas-12-sin-contexto-hay-sentido/
Here in this article, Burguet has explained in detail the role of context in any linguistic act and any attempt of understanding the meaning of a word.

This view to the language helps us analyze more profoundly the linguistic choices made by MEK. Distinguishing the cultural (and especially ideological) context of the utterances in tweets might elucidate the functions of the words in the given utterance or statement. We have extracted a number of important cultural contexts of the tweets and presented them in section 3.2.5.4 of this study. The discussion in the mentioned part is about what cultural plots does MEK's Narrative call up?

Here we have selected some examples of MEK's tweets to analyze them in the same way that Burguet warns the journalist to see language: in a cultural context. We try to see how the words in these tweets make meaning in their own cultural and ideological background.

Tweet Number 1:

Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and the Bassij of the Iranian regime in plain clothes armed with weapons targeting and arresting the youth in #IranProtests in Kermanshah. Over 300 killed 4,000 injured and 10,000 arrested in protests in 165 cities. Will continue till #FreeIran.

The writer (@A-Jafarzadeh) invites the reader to "meet" a group of people that he introduces them as IRGC and Bassiji and also the real "thugs". The cultural context here is a historical one. We discussed before (in the historical part of the study) the story of Iraq-Iran war in the 80s. During this long war, while Iran was sanctioned and was unable to provide suitable arms and weapons, the strategy of the Iranian government led to use huge amount of human resource as paramilitary forces (and as a branch of IRGC) to be able to defend the borders. This paramilitary force is what is called Bassiji forces. But after the war, this paramilitary force continued to exist and function because the interpretation of the political system from the changes in the world was that the war is not over. Although it is over in the military sense, it is going on in cultural (media), economic (sanctions), and security levels.
Another important context here is the location where it is happening. The city of Kermanshah is the capital of Kermanshah province, where the majority of its inhabitants are Kurds. Again we have discussed this separatist narrative that has been going on for decades (in 3.2.5.4). Also, we have seen the role of this Kurdish region in hospitalizing the MEK forces after the armed conflict between the Islamic Republic and this organization.
The third context is a political answer to the supreme leader of Iran that we discuss in the next tweet.

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Tweet Number 39:

RT @HanifJazayeri: Today Khamenei defended the fuel price hike in Iran that has triggered the #IranProtests.

He labelled protesters' hooligans'

Here we face very familiar word games that produce different interpretations. Khamenei, in his speech, differentiates between those who are not happy with the hike in the gas price and are protesting and they have the right to do so (although he does not mention how they might do this) and those who are destroying the public properties and create insecurity for other citizens. The latter's is the act of hooligans.

This statement creates two very different interpretations. For the pro-Islamic forces this is a permission to suppress every act of protest because this is against "people's" rights and security. For the anti-regime forces, this means simply labelling all the protesters (and therefore, all of the "people" of Iran) as "hooligans" or "thugs".

In the previous tweet, there is a sense of anger and excitement in the first sentence (Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and Bassiji of the Iranian regime…) that comes from the second interpretation. Both sides are making 'Us against Them' statements and Jafarzadeh, as a senior member of MEK (retweeting Hanif Jazayeri, another senior member of MEK) expresses his reaction to the Iranian leader when he understands that in his view "He labelled protesters "Hooligans".

Tweet Number 18:

RT @amsafavi: Earlier today, Nov. 28 - Tehran: Brave women condemning Khamenei's "Islamic Republic. " Her works are inspiring to all …

The essential cultural issue here is the law of *Mandatory Hijab for all Iranian women. After four decades, this law has produced so many problems for the Islamic Republic. In the first place, this pressure on Iranian women interfering in their lifestyle is not easily tolerated by the new generations. This "resistance" against the will of the authorities has been a long challenge for them, a challenge that still goes on.* Various studies *have examined different aspects of such law and its social reactions. A recent*

*study "*The veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government" (Shirazi, 2019) might be a recent example of such studies.

On the other hand, this law has been activated foreign pressures in terms of violation of human rights from international institutions. The case of Nasrin Sotoudeh (an activist and lawyer who is in jail), which resulted in a global campaign conducted by Amnesty International[39] to pressure on the Islamic Republic, is a recent example of such outsider movements.

The tweet does not contain any new information about the protests. But it should be understood in the context explained above. In this context, the adjective "brave" has a deeper meaning referring to the historical suffering of women and therefore provoking them to join the protests and ask for their rights (here comes the sentence "Her works are inspiring to all) although this might have consequences.

Tweet number 21:

Nov 16 - Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran
People are setting fire to a local IRGC Basij paramilitary base & a regime bank

as protests continue over the recent petrol price hikes.
#IranProtests

This tweet is an example of ideological lexical choices that shows clearly the meaning behind the words. We can see all the enemies of the "people" in one line: IRGC, Basij, and the regime. In the case of regime, we see a relation to a bank. The statement could have simply told us that people have set a bank on fire. Instead, the bank is related to the regime (which means it does not belong to people), and therefore it is OK to set it on fire. This also refers to the presumed narrative that regime is in the hands of corrupt people who have stolen ordinary people's money to do evil things (this narrative is clearly expressed in the statements of the U.S Department of the state). In this perspective, there is no harm in setting a bank on fire because this is "their" money and not "ours". This approach in selecting the words and their relations sometimes leads to unique sentences, as we can see in tweet number 16: "Over 100 banks & 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned in one province alone".

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[39] https://www.amnesty.org/en/get-involved/take-action/iran-free-nasrin-satoudeh-now/

Tweet number 20:

Nov 2019 - Fardis, near Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran
Footage of brave Iranians taking to the streets & expressing their utter hatred of the mullahs' regime.
#IranProtests

We discussed the role of Shia clergies and Ayatollahs in the modern history of Iran in the first part of this study. Their religious influence on people and their role in different periods of history as an active force that has the power of organizing movements and changes. Here the word Mullahs is referring to this social class who managed to lead the revolution and overthrow the Shah in 1978. After the revolution, this word turned into a kind of humiliating nickname to the clergies invented by monarchists and the lefties (including the MEK). We have discussed the cultural narrative of Mullah in more detail in section 3.2.5.4, which sheds light on the context in which this word could be understood today.

Tweet number 22:

Recently obtained video
Javanrud, near Kermanshah, W #Iran
Brave protesters stand their ground, forcing the regime's security units to retreat.
#IranProtests

This is another example of describing the protests in the context of armed separatist groups in the Kurdish region west of Iran. What is happening here and in the scene we can observe in the video, is described as "standing their ground". This linguistic choice refers to the context in which the regime as a centralist system should back off from a "ground" that belongs to other people. Here again, not only the tone of the tweet is not assertion; it has a clear political view.

Tweet number 30:

Interesting to see @CNN's @camanpour
 simply parrot the mullahs' talking points & threats against the people of #Iran, and @KavehMadani divert attention away from #IranProtests.
Neither mention a word about the regime's ongoing brutal crackdown against innocent people.

Although we have discussed this tweet in different parts of the study, it is worth having a look at the metaphor used in it to describe the emotion and anger of the writer (@HeshmatAlavi). He is not happy about the way CNN is covering the protests in Iran. In his view, CNN's narrative is the same as the narrative of the Islamic Republic. The metaphor that he has chosen is "parrot". He describes CNN as a parrot who has no sense of the words it says (in this case, the presenter Christiane Amanpour). The implication of the tweet could be that any other narrative on Iran protests that is not equal to MEK narrative is false, against the people of Iran, and is like being a parrot and repeating regime's words.

Tweet number 45:

Women and a very passionate presence in the protests.

A video of the uproar of a woman during the uprising of the people of Karaj.

Very brave!

This type of lexical choices can be found in tweets of the third user account under study (@Wafa_Behnam). His/her tweets are mostly emotional. But what is essential is the genre of vocabulary used in his/her tweets. Here we face a language problematic for explaining the cultural context. Because @Wafa_Behnam's tweets are in Persian language, it would be complicated to explain the genre very clearly. But let us try. In the tweet above, we see words like "uproar" and "uprising". These words belong to Marxist-Leninist literature which was created in the 40s and 50s during the emergence of the MEK in Iran. This literature as we discussed in the historical part of the study, had a massive influence on the movements that led to the Islamic revolution in 1978. The English translation of those Persian words (which are not used anymore today except for the case of MEK who continues to use them) cannot present the real cultural and political meaning they carry. These Persian vocabularies are usually a combination of some words (Ghiam Afarinan: Uprising Creators) or might be redefinitions of a concept to use it a new revolutionary meaning (like Khoroush: Uproar). We see such vocabularies in tweets published by @Wafa_Behnam. This user, as we explained in section 3.1.10, is a representative of ordinary members of MEK or its supporters who are active on twitter. For a Persian language user, the vocabularies used by @Wafa_Behnam immediately recall the literature, ideology, and values of the MEK. In this context, there is no objectivity in neither of his/her tweets.

In conclusion, we see that although the analysis of speech acts suggests a significant proportion of tweets with informative statements about Iran protests, in a more detailed and contextualized analysis, there are few tweets that are independent of MEK discourse and ideology. All three levels of MEK users perform and report the events from the organization's point of view. The pragmatic analysis helps us discover this matter in terms of the linguistic choices and the cultural context behind them.

3.2.3.4 General questions from Videos

The same method (MFA) was applied to analyze the content of the video and the meaning they make for the audience. Regarding the questions from the data and the detailed analysis, we organized the results of this part in five stages of the MFA method.

Before presenting the results of the framing analysis of videos, we review some results coming from the answers to the questions of the *Ficha*:

The results for the fourth question (Dialogues and chants sound on the video) will be discussed later in the other parts of the analysis. We present the table of results for the MFA method on videos. In this table answers to that question appear as "para lexical aspect" of the content.

| Where is the location of the video? |
| Which date is it referring to? |
| Is it related to any ethnic or minority group? |
| What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video? |

Where is the location of the video?

The answers have been either a specific city or region (that one can extract from the voices or details of the image) or merely Unknown (cannot be recognized from the elements of the video). Also the locations outside Iran are separately categorized.

Location Unknown	Location Recognizable	Location outside Iran
24	28 Mashhad, Kurdestan province (3), Kermanshah(4), Tehran(10), Khuzestan(1), Shiraz(2), Tabriz(2), Karaj(2), Malard, Rubat Karim, Zanjan,	7 U.S White house (5) M.Rajavi's Office, Europe (1) U.S CNN Studio (1)
41%	47%	12%

Which date is the video referring to?

The answers have been either A specific date in November or Unrecognizable from the footage (Unknown). The results are as follows:

Number of videos without recognizable Date	Number of videos with Specific Date
50	9
85%	15%

How are videos related to minorities or ethnic groups?

In this part of the analysis, the videos which are related to minorities or ethnic groups are separated from the ones without such a relationship.

Related to Ethnic Groups or Minorities	Not related to Minorities
11 Kurds (8) Turks (2) Arabs (1)	48
19%	81%

What language or dialect can be heard in videos?

By analyzing the sounds in the videos, we categorized the videos in terms of speaking language:

Farsi	Kurdish accent	Turkish accent	Arabic	English	Unrecognizable
35	5	3	1	6	9

60%	8%	5%	2%	10%	15%

According to these findings, we can organize the results in the following statements:

A: Less than half of the videos (47%) can be pinned down with an exact location.

B: In the majority of the videos (85%) the precise date of the event cannot be recognized.

C: Three ethnic/minority groups are involved in the videos: Kurds, Turks, and Arabs. But the percentage of their appearance is low (19% for the three minorities). The majority of the videos (81%) are not related to any specific minorities.

D: Among the minorities, Kurd Provinces (Kurdestan and Kermanshah) have the most activity.

E: In terms of Language, the videos are mostly in Farsi and English. Others are in Farsi with local accents.

F: the videos which are in English, are those from official statements of the U.S Department of the State or U.S News channels. There is no video recorded inside Iran in English.

3.2.3.5 MFA (Media Framing Analysis) analysis for videos

Step one: Identifying the story

The story is covering the protests against the sudden hike in the price of gas in November 2019 in Iran and the suppression of it by the Police while the internet was shut down in 9 days.

Inside this general story, the analysis discovered four smaller stories related to it. Therefore, we divided the videos into four categories (each category for one smaller story) with which the process of framing analysis led to more precise results. These categories are:

	Smaller stories	Number of videos telling the story
1	The victory of the people/protesters	14
2	The violence of the Regime	14
3	Bravery and unity of the people/protesters	19

4	The support of the West/U.S	7

"The Victory of the people/protesters" videos tell a fragmental story of some moments in which the protesters have been successful and have achieved a goal. This goal might be forcing the police or security forces to flee, setting some police properties on fire, or occupying a street. In this category we see videos telling stories of "victory". These stories are motivating for the audience that has sympathy with protesters.

"The violence of the Regime" videos are those which reveal the scenes from suppression of the protests. In these videos, we see the Police shooting to the protesters, we see bodies in the blood, chasing, shouting on people and beating them. These videos tell the story of how cruel and violent are the agents of the Regime.

"Bravery and unity of the people/protesters" stories are videos dedicated to showing the protesters encouraging each other, giving motivation to others to be brave and stand in front of the Police to fight back. In these types of stories, we see footages that show how brave the protesters are and how angry they are of the Regime.

Finally, "The support of the west/U.S" are those videos that cover the statements of White House officials giving a speech and taking sides concerning the events of November in Iran. These videos tell the story of foreign friends who are standing by the people and wish to help.

By identifying these stories, the first step of the Media Framing Analysis is completed. We continue now with the results of other steps in MFA for each recognized story. The details of the analysis are presented in the appendix part of this study. Here we offer the results in the form of tables.

We have separated the results for each tweeter account. This separation can reveal the nature of their activities and the interests of the MEK's tweeter users in the type of story they have chosen to cover.

The first column tells the story that we see in that video. This story is independent of the text of the tweets that explains the matter and fills the gaps. In this column the fragment of the reality has been reflected according to the elements that are seen in the picture.

In the second column, we have determined the category of the story. We have asked the video to which of the four types discovered in the previous analysis they belong to.

The third column dedicates to identifying the characters of the story in the video.

In the fourth column, we have selected lexical choices in the text of the tweet that are framing the video. Although we have done this analysis before, in the section for analyzing the texts of the tweets, we see this language analysis necessary in this part as well, due to the importance of these choices in the perception of the audience.

The fifth column is significant to the study because it adds another level of meaning-making to the videos. The voices, the sound of the environment, Chanting, Narrations, and conversations over the footages are meaningful and, in some cases, are the main point of the content.

The sixth and final column contains the other frames and stories that either are known from the past, or are related to the events, and the audience acknowledges them. These generalizations frame the fragmented story of the video and give meaning to it.

To prevent long tables that make the results complicated to grasp, we organized this part in a different order. The following table is a sample of how the final table of results would look. Instead of completing this table, we organized the results regarding the four types of stories. Also, we separated them for each step of the method.

Videos from @A_Jafarzadeh twitter

Story of the video	Category of the story	Characters in the story	Language analysis	Para language analysis	Generalization
Forces of Basij (a branch in IRCG) in plain clothes get organized to attack.	The violence of the Regime	-Narrators (voice-over)=protesters -Security forces	Thugs targeting youth	Look they are all agents [of the Regime] with plain clothes.	Plain clothes agents
Hiding people behind a half-opened door, watching the street in	-The violence of the Regime	-Dead man -Observers /people -Security forces/Police	Level of savagery by the Iranian Regime, shooting and killing demonstrators.	-A man (probably the Police which is seen later) is shouting: Move! Where are	-Internet shutdown -Regime against people

which a young man has fallen on the floor with blood around him, and Police chasing others with a threatening baton.				you going? Move! -A woman (standing by the person filming the scene): Please send the video for me!	
There are numbers of cars stopped on the road and people have come out to watch, some other people are chanting. Police car is seen.	Bravery and unity of people/protesters	People/protesters (chanting)	In the <mark>second most populated city</mark> people are chanting, "<mark>Dictator shame on you</mark>, leave the country alone".	Voice over, People are chanting Rouhani [referred to the actual president] Shame on you leave the country alone Dictator [referred to the supreme leader ayatollah Khamenei] shame on you leave the country alone	-The widespread uprising
United States' Secretary of the State gives an official statement on Iran protests.	The U.S support of the protesters	Mike Pompeo (U.S Secretary of state) Iranian protesters Islamic Republic regime	The U.S is <mark>monitoring</mark> the ongoing protest in Iran <mark>closely</mark>. <mark>Islamic Republic</mark> must <mark>behave</mark> simply like a <mark>normal nation</mark>.	None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)	Iran Vs U.S history

As told before, we present the video analysis results for each step and in regard to the four types of discovered stories.

What stories do the videos tell?

(In all cells the number of tweet is determined by T N- Tweet Number-, this number is the address of the tweet which is accessible on the web)

The victory of the people/protesters	The violence of the Regime	Bravery and unity of the people/protesters	The support of the West/U.S
Two tires are burning in the middle of the road. People pass by or stop to see.	Forces of Basij (a branch in IRCG) in plain clothes get organized to attack.	There are numbers of cars stopped on the road, and people have come out to watch, some other people are chanting. A police car is seen.	United States' Secretary of the State gives an official statement on Iran protests.
T N: 1195985011817758720	T N: 1198311243423068165	T N: 1195393638056038400	T N: 1196540604961951747
An observer is walking in the street and showing the situation: there is a big fire in both ends of the road, people are out wandering around, sitting or standing still, there are papers on the street, people speak with low voice.	Hiding people behind a half-opened door, watching the street in which a young man has fallen on the floor with blood around him, and Police chasing others with a threatening baton.	The road is blocked and there is a massive traffic jam. One side of the road is full of stopped cars, and the other side is empty. People in the cars and autobuses shout and whistle.	Maryam Rajavi, the leader of MEK, gives an official statement on Iran protests.
T N: 1196367849083854849	T N: 1198308574373597184	T N: 1195617373686059008	T N: 1196519534171238400
Huge amount of people in the street are protesting, there are buildings on fire, first, it is in daylight and next, we see the scene in the night. Some people are destroying a bank and there are fire around. No sign of Police or security forces.	Some four/five men are in the street throwing stones to the other end where there are armed forces shooting. A man is on the floor (probably killed) and some people come to take him.	Two people are arguing in the street. One of them a religious Islamic clergy, the other a man on the road. During the conversation the man (in blur shirt) shouts and gets angry, the clergy gets angry as well. People come to separate them and the clergy leaves the scene. People shout at him and courage the man.	U.S secretary of state Mike Pompeo gives official statement on Iran protests.

T N: 1196371401734860802	T N: 1196844237305909248	T N: 1196143183174029312	T N: 1198345237673992193
A building is burning on fire.	A group of armed security forces are hiding. Protesters are throwing stones to the forces in the other end of the main street. One or two agents get out and target the protesters.	Big crowd are in the street. Some of them are singing or chanting (Not clear). Others are shooting bullets into the sky.	Brayan Hook, head of Iran desk in U.S Department of State, gives official statement on Iran protests: Twitter, Facebook and Instagram should suspend Iranian leader's accounts.
T N: 1197857380962373632	T N: 1197992178984914947	T N: 1196675406595842053	T N: 1198344751625490439
Men in the street see the security forces getting closer. They throw stones and make them back off.	A helicopter is moving above a city, there are columns of smoke in different points.	There is a heavy traffic jam in the high way. Up on the crossing bridge, there is a woman who starts to shout and say words to the audience who are in their cars. Some other people on the bridge encourage her by clapping. She looks very emotional and almost screams.	Bryan Hook official statements about Iran protests, standing with the people of Iran against Iran regime.
T N: 1196938824745652224	T N: 1196737782355505152	T N: 1196472870530146305	T N: 1196875974979260416
Large group of people moving towards a police/security force base aggressively. The Police is forced to go back to the base.	A young girl crying at the door of a place (Prison probably) asking to see her father.	A young man has gone up on a passing bridge to bring down the poster of Iranian leader.	Morgan Ortagus, spoke woman of the department of the state of U.S gives interview to Fox News.
T N: 1197570429671616513	T N: 1198324772809125889	T N: 1198372481830129665	T N: 1196153229299638272
There are people in the street with masks moving and running forward. The narrator says Police has fled. Some rise their hands up and scream.	Some people are running to a point in which a group of people have gathered. Camera goes into the crowd to find the reason. It gets to see a human body in	People we can't see, throw things to a poster on which there is the picture of Ayatollah Khamenei.	CNN Cristian Amanpour interviews Kaveh Madani, Iranian Scientist (who lives in U.S.) about Iran protests.

T N: 1197066817837113344	blood (shot) on the ground. T N: 1196899591142215680	T N: 1195729837052350465	T N: 1197291642945970176
Person with mobile is walking in the street showing the situation probably after a heavy conflict. A building is on fire and there are some objects in the street and smoke everywhere. T N: 1197791299266662401	There is a person on the street killed by gun shot. Others are screaming. T N: 1196904293288288257	Cars are stopped as a protest. A man with a box in his hands goes to the drivers to offer them something (food maybe) that are in the box. T N: 1196011973751836672	
In chaotic situation some protesters are throwing stones to the police forces. In another scene the police leaves and throwing continues. The sound of some shootings is heard. T N: 1196481022315106304	Speech of the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei in the Iran National T.V. T N: 1196016923684851714	Watching the poster burn they chant.	
There is a police cabin burning in fire with heavy smoke. A man and a woman who are filming, say the location and time. Also they say there are police forces everywhere, we don't see them in this video though. T N: 1196439223722749952	People in a car passing in a street are filming the outside. There are police forces armed with batons that have crashed the stopped cars in the street. Then come more police forces on motor cycles and therefore people in the car stop filming. T N: 1195468617082703872	A woman among a group of people who are chanting "death to dictator", climbs up to tear apart a banner that says "death to USA". When she does this people get excited and start to whistle/clap. T N: 1196396349366898688	
A group of people have set some properties of the Police on fire. A motorcycle and a Bus are recognizable. T N: 1195700825160667142	In the distance some people are running. There is the sound of gun fire. T N: 1196538845862473728	Two men (one behind the camera/cellphone) set a poster of the Iranian leader on fire, besides the highway. T N: 1196105284428738560	

There are objects (motorcycles, trash tanks, bus) burning on the ground and in the middle of the highway. People are walking among them. T N: 1196793201962758145	In a chaotic situation we see some shadows in the picture. A man beside a wall aims his gun to a direction outside the frame and shoots. T N: 1196851670879260674	A group of protesters break the guard rail and pull it through the highway. T N: 1196089235402612736	
People are watching. It looks like protesters have attacked to some public properties (at least a bank is burning but the rest is not clear) and have set them on fire. T N: 1195813790211805184	In the square of a city people have gathered. There is a kind of tension and some shooting is heard. There is smoke as well. T N: 1197263326797017089	Group of people gathering around fire chanting. T N: 1195981507271233536	
Group of people in the street watch something (probably a vehicle) burning in big fire. T N: 1197401850850500608	There are police forces on motorcycles armed, organized, riding through the street. T N: 1195996540923498496	A woman gets up on a truck in the crowd. People clap and encourage her with slogans. T N: 1197952637976621056	
A group of men have blocked a main street causing a heavy traffic jam. They have tires set on fire to make the blockage stronger. Police is on the other side watching (Shoosh). T N: 1198139579058008064		A group of people are walking in the middle of the street. The cars are horning. T N: 1195663998622019585	
		A group of people chanting with emotions. T N: 1196091162928582656	

		Young men are standing in front of closed shops or walking in the Grand Bazar of Tehran. Some scream and make noises. T N: 1195982335721779203	
		A woman is injured at her leg. People are helping to stop the bleeding. T N: 1197497196670849025	
		Young people are in the street protesting. They are organizing themselves. On the other side of the street the line of security forces are seen. T N: 1197497882187902981	

Step two: Identifying Characters

In the following table, the results for this part of the analysis is presented in the same categories as the stories. What are the characters of the stories?

The victory of the people/protesters	The violence of the Regime	Bravery and unity of the people/protesters	The support of the West/U.S
protesters	-Narrators/protesters -Security forces	People/protesters (chanting)	Mike Pompeo (U.S Secretary of state) Iranian protesters Islamic Republic regime
protesters	-Dead man	-The Islamic clergy	-Leader of MEK

	-Observers/people -Security forces/Police	-The man in blue -People on the street	-Iranian protesters -Regime -International community
Protesters	protesters Police	protesters	-Mike Pompeo (U.S Secretary of state) -Iranian protesters -Regime
protesters	-protesters -Police	-The woman shouting -protesters	-United States -Iranian protesters -Regime -Social media companies
protesters	-protesters (In the city) -Security forces (Helicopter)	-The woman who blocked the road -protesters	-United states -Iranian people
protesters police	-Crying girl -Her father in the prison	-protesters -Regime's Leader	-White house/U.S -Iranian People -Regime
protesters police	-Dead man -Protesters	Protesters	-CNN News Channel -Kaveh Madani
protesters (In the city)	-Dead man -Protesters	-Protesters -Regime's leader	
Protesters Police	-Regime's leader -Protesters	-Drivers in the stopped cars (Protesters) -The man who give food to them	
Protesters Police	-Protesters -Police	-Protesters -The woman climbing	
Protesters Police	-Protesters -Police/Security forces	-Regime's leader -Protesters	
Protesters Police	-Protesters -Police	-Protesters	
Protesters Police	-Protesters -Police/security forces	-Mullahs -Protesters	
	-People -Police	-The woman on truck -Protesters	
		-Protesters	
		-Mullahs -Protesters	
		Protesters	
		-Wounded woman -Men helping	
		Protesters Police	

Step Three: Narrative Form

Identifying the characters in the previous step in one hand, and discovering the four categories of stories in the other, can help us to develop this step with more clarity. We are looking into the previous steps of analysis more deeply to extract the narrative structures that have been used by MEK twitter in selecting and publishing the videos.

As we saw in the MFA results for the texts of the tweets, the main structure that has formed MEK's Narrative of the events of November 2019 in Iran is an epic story of fighting between the good side against the bad side. Hero Vs Villain. Reviewing the list of stories in the videos and the characters enables us to categorize all the characters in three general titles. These titles simplify the process of the analysis. The general titles are:

People, Protesters, youth, Iranians, Victims ⟶ Heroes

Police, Security Forces, IRGC, Regime, Mullahs ⟶ Villains

U.S, MEK, West, International Community ⟶ Friends (with heroes)

Applying to this simplification, we can distinguish the structure of the narratives in the videos according to the table billow:

	Heroes	Villains	Friends
Heroes	Bravery and Unity	Victory	-
Villains	Violence, Death	Reinforcement	-
Friends	Support	Condemn	Cooperation

Heroes and Heroes stories are the videos in which we only see the protesters taking action. They encourage each other, help each other; they chant emotionally, or act together. An example of this Narrative is the video where people have stopped their cars on the road to create a blockage and show their protest, and a man is distributing food among them.

Heroes and Villains stories are those videos in which during a conflict, protesters have been succeeded. These are videos that show a kind victory in a situation. There are several examples of this structure in the sample. For example, there are videos telling the story of a conflict in Shiraz and Tabriz, where we see the aftermath. Police/Regime forces have fled, and their cars or buildings are on fire.

Heroes and Friends refer to stories where protesters are in communication with friends or act concerning them. There are no such narratives in the videos.

Villains and Heroes stories are those videos in which we see the conflict has ended to violence. In these videos, we hear the gunshots, the chaos, and dead bodies in the blood. In this Narrative, protesters are victims of suppression and savagery of the regime forces. An example of this form is the very short video of a dead man in the blood, which is seen from behind a half-opened door.

Villains and Villains refer to stories where the security forces help each other in the suppression operation. We have only one video that tells such a story. The video in which we here a radio communication between two units of IRGC, where one unit is under the pressure of the protesters and asks for help from other groups. We have called this structure: Reinforcement.

Villains and Friends might refer to the stories of the relationship between the Regime and United States or western countries. We have detected no videos with such content.

Friends and Heroes stories are those videos in which the officials of the White House show their support for the protesters. All the videos in which officials from the U.S Department of the State speak about the conflict are examples of this structure.

Friends and villains stories are the ones where authorities from the U.S talk to the regime leaders condemning the suppression and violence. This type of Narrative also is discovered in the official statements of the U.S secretary of the states.

Friends and Friends stories refer to videos in which we see a closeness of the MEK (as the narrator of the whole Narrative) and the U.S. We can see this closeness specifically in the video where Maryam Rajavi, the leader of MEK, asks the "International Community" and the U.S to support the uprising of Iranian People.

Step Four: Language analysis

In this part, the result of lexical and para lexical analysis of the videos are presented. We have previously shown the lexical choice of the stories in a table where we analyzed the texts of the tweets. Also we did

an analysis of speech acts. We saw in that part the adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and nouns that were used to describe the two sides of the conflict: Protesters/People against Regime/Mullahs/ IRGC/ Police.

To extract the results for the para lexical aspect of the videos, first, we have categorized them into three groups:

1. Videos in which the visual part is more critical in meaning-making

2. Videos in which the audio element is essential in meaning-making

3. Videos in which both components are important

We were interested in the videos from groups 2 and 3 where the language is used in the form of voices, conversations, narrations, or songs.

Group1 (Visually important)	Group2 (Audio important)	Group3 (Both important)
23	5	25

From the 30 videos that their paralanguage aspects are significant, we put aside eight videos of official statements in the department of State and T.V. interviews. In the following, we present the para lexical analysis of the rest of the videos.

The para lexical aspect of the videos can be divided into these categories in terms of being significant and their function in the process of meaning-making for the audience:

Significance	Number of the videos
Engage the audience emotionally	6
Narrates or completes the story	4
Shouts, chants and slogans of protesters	4
Sound of violence and gunshots	6
Connection with the MEK organization	2

Step Five: Generalization

The final stage of the analysis attempts to place the story in a wider social and cultural context by examining references to broader debates, long-standing stories, and previous media coverage. The study of the videos detected several stories from the past that are known to the audience very well. These stories are the conflicts in the same forms that in the recent history of the Middle East has formed a

general understanding of the events. We might begin with the Green Movement that took place after the presidential election in 2009 in Iran. We saw the street conflicts and protests again in January 2018 in Iran, which happened in a vast number of cities across the country. But in a wider perspective, one could argue about the similarities of the events in the Arab world and the Middle East. The Arab Spring movement caused a vast uprising in the countries from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria. Now we know the results of those movements. In Libya, Yemen, and Syria, it led to a civil war that is still going on. Video activism and twitter activities in all these examples played essential roles in the progress of the protests.

On the other hand, in 2019, the world saw many massive protests and street conflicts in various parts. In Asia the videos told the stories of Hong Kong protests, In Middle East Lebanon, Iraq and Iran were involved with protests, In Europe we watched videos telling the stories of Yellow vest movement, In Catalunya, there were protests with same forms of video activism in response to the Spanish Supreme Court in convicting the political leaders of Catalan Parties. In Latin America, the protests in Chile against the Neo-Liberal Strategies of the government was narrated through the videos.

The stories in the videos about the protests in November 2019 in Iran are interpreted in this historical context. But for this study, we have selected the most important and relevant past events that can be recognized as the point of reference in our sample of videos.

To show this similarity visually, let's have a look at three images from 2011 Arab spring. The photos belong to Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. In the row below them, some screenshots of our videos samples are presented.

Tunesia- Middle East Online-2011	Egypt-NYTimes-2011	Libya-Wikiwand-2011

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained videos
1/3
Nov 2019 - Fardis, near Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran

Footage of brave Iranians taking to the streets & expressing their utter hatred of the mullahs' regime.#IranProtests

♡ 223   2:40 PM - Nov 22, 2019

(T N: 1197857380962373632)

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained footage
Shiraz, south-central #Iran
(Exact date unknown)
Footage shows the vast scope of protests and unrest. More reason why the mullahs' do not dare restore internet access.#IranProtests

♡ 460   10:17 AM - Nov 22, 2019

(T N: 11977912992666662401)

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 تبریز - مردم شجاع تبریز اتوبوس و موتورهای نیروی انتظامی را به آتش کشیدند
#تبریز #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی

♡ 5   3:51 PM - Nov 16, 2019

(T N: 1195700825160667142)

The analysis detected four general stories that can be identified in a wider social cultural context. These four narratives are in the majority, but there are two more narratives used as contexts that have been used less than the four major ones.

 The stories in visual form in the videos can remind the reader these stories covered actively by the media:

-Iranian Green movement (2009)

-Middle East Revolutions (2011)

-Iran VS U.S history (From 1978 till now)

-Dictator's Regimes

-Human Rights Violation in Iran

-U.S. Media against Trump (only used in one video)

3.2.4 Conceptual metaphor analysis

We asked the data (videos) what implications or possible metaphors might present to the audience. The analysis gathered these implications into four different categories. These implications refer to the symbols, sounds, signs, emotions, acts, and other elements that form each video.

Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4
Chaos	Protester	Police	U.S
Street	People	Guns	Fox News
Gunshots	Unity	Helicopter	Media
Torching	Bravery	Security	Support
Setting on fire	Youth	IRGC	Backing
Blockage	Martyr	Savagery	Standing by
Screams	Women	Mullahs	White house
Shooting	Men	Regime	Trump
Death	Mother	Dictator	Secretary of the State
Fire	Neighbor	Corrupted	International
Smoke	Crowd		community
Arresting			

Category 1 contains concepts and descriptions that led us to the metaphor of "war" or better see it as "conflict". It is happening in the street, where the two sides meet and fight. There is violence and shooting and arresting, as well as setting on fire buildings and banks and cars.

Category 2 is a set of words that imply the "good" side of the conflict. Those who are brave and united. Men and women beside each other. They get killed but they fight. We can use the same metaphors we used in the previous part in categorizing the characters of the stories. They are the "Heroes" but more importantly, "Victims".

Category 3 is the set of concepts and roles that guide us to the other side of the story, where the "bad" side treats the people with violence and bullets. It pictures a corrupted system that does not care about its people. A regime with religious dictatorship and no mercy. The metaphor for this category could be the "villains" or "persecutors".

Category 4 is about caring and helping. The U.S Secretary of State, its Spoke woman, the president in its twitter, the media on T.V., they all say that they will stand with the people of Iran. They support their protests. They will try to give back the internet connection to Iranians and speak to the Regime with strong words. They are "friends" who are there to help.

The metaphor analysis of the data (the stories told in the videos by MEK) shows us that there is a conflict in Iran with a triangle of players. Persecutors, Victims, and Friends. It could be interesting if we replace the metaphor of "friend" with another metaphor that not only fits the category but also takes us to a new level of understanding the MEK Narrative. Looking to the model of S. B. Karpman, called The Drama Triangle or conflict triangle. The drama triangle model is a tool used in psychotherapy, specifically transactional analysis. The triangle of actors in the drama are oppressors, victims, and rescuers.

If we replace the "friend" metaphor to "Rescuer" as it appears in Karpman model, we can see the role that MEK has presented to its audience.
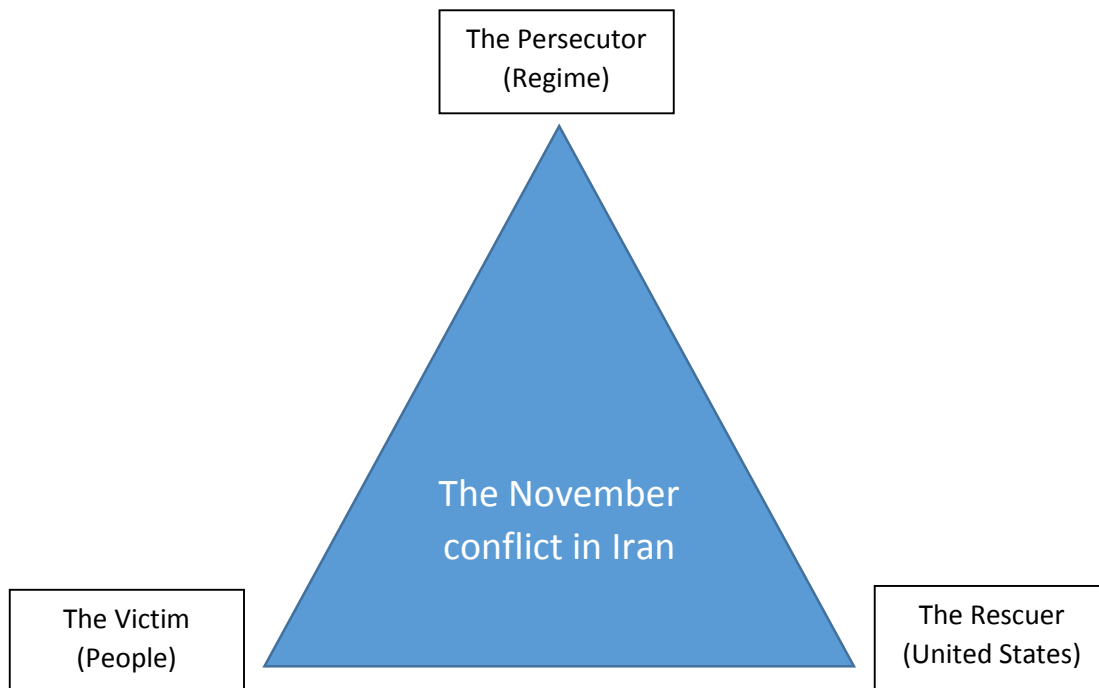
3.2.5 Narrative analysis

In this part of the analysis, we asked the sample data these questions that are related to the Narrative aspect of the videos under study:

-What is the Narrative of MEK in representing the events of November 2019 in Iran?

-What are the characteristics of the MEK narrative?

-What cultural plots does this Narrative call up?

-How is this Narrative understood and constructed from the videos?

3.2.5.1 What is the MEK's Narrative?

We have extracted the elements of the stories in detail while analyzing the video-tweets in the Framing section of this chapter. We know the characters, plots, and stories. We see the conflict that moves the Narrative forward, and we see the interaction between the sides of the conflict through the stories.

On the other hand, we are facing a set of micro-narratives (59 video-tweets) that, along with many other videos produced by MEK in the time period of the study (9 days), formed a totality or a wholeness. This wholeness means constructing a bigger narrative in which every story in each video is understood. We can pin down the essential characteristics of the small stories in the videos with the observations in previous parts of the study. The micro-narratives in Video-tweets are:

Fragmented

As we saw in the first part of this chapter, the average duration time of the videos is 44 seconds. There are some videos in the sample with seven or even 4 seconds. In this very short time of narration, we are not able to see a complete narrative with all the structures and sequences. We see fragments of the reality captured by a mobile phone.

Emotional

The majority of the videos (46 from 54) tell stories that take place in the street where there are chanting, screaming, shooting, blood, gunshots, and fighting. These images are accompanied by voices that make an emotional effect on the audience.

Unspecific characters

We rarely find a person with a name and a recognizable identity. The only names we can list from the aggregate data are Mike Pompeo, Bryan Hook, Maryam Rajavi, Ayatollah Khamenei, Kaveh Madani, and Cristian Amanpour. The rest of the videos are stories about anonymous "people" or "protesters". There is a collective of Iranians or one unknown person as a symbol of the collective. We see the same pattern on the other side of the conflict as well. There are no specific characters in the Bad side. There are only some figures known as "police" or "security forces" and so on.

Dramatic point

Although the stories are fragmented and very short, they can make meaning by engaging their audience in a dramatic scene. These scenes have different modes, but all contain a dramatic point. They inform us of the various aspects of reality. "The police shoots to the protesters". "People get killed". "Protesters throw stones to the police". "They can win a situation".

The duality of Good and Evil

There is a line between good and bad in the stories. The stories leave us with no doubts about the moral aspect of this conflict. The Good and The Evil, The Hero and The Villain are perfectly determined, and the stories point them out to the audience. The engine of the stories in the videos is this duality.

3.2.5.2 Structure analysis of MEK narrative

We will discuss later in this chapter that how these fragmented stories construct a broader story that can cover them and create wholeness. But first, we discuss what this Broader Narrative that forms the MEK's representation of the reality of the events is?

Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure theory (Todorov & Todorov, 1975) suggests that all narratives follow a structure where they begin with equilibrium, where everything is balanced, progress as something comes along to disrupt that equilibrium, and finally reach a resolution when the balance is restored. These are the main elements of a narrative, according to Todorov:

1. Equilibrium (everything is as it should be)

2. Disruption (by an event)

3. Recognition of disruption

4. Attempts to repair disruption

5. Return to equilibrium

This structure is adapted to the analysis of the MEK narrative. If we put in order the events chronologically, according to Todorov's model, we can distinguish this general Narrative out of Iran's November 2019 protests:

Equilibrium: No signs of changes in the price of the gas. The government denies any new decisions, and Iranians are not expecting any changes.

Disruption: On Thursday night, November 14 (Weekend in Iran), around midnight, the government suddenly announced a hike in the price of the gas (almost three times more expensive than before). In the early hours of November 15, this announcement shocks the nation.

Recognition of disruption: Friday, November 15, is a holiday. The news spreads over, and until the evening, almost everyone knows about the big news. There are a number of protests in some cities. But the real action starts from Saturday, November 16, which is the first day of the week. The demonstrations begin in different parts of the country. Angry people block the roads, chant, and destroy public properties.

Attempts to repair disruption: Police and security forces come to the street to suppress the protests. The conflict begins between the two sides. People express their anger with "radical" slogans and torching police properties. The regime forces reaction is violent. Hundreds of protesters get killed. Regime shuts down the internet. The conflict continues for a week.

Return to equilibrium: The movement is suppressed by the Regime. The price of gas is higher. Regime wins the situation. On Saturday, November 23, internet connection returns to public users.

The Broader Narrative in MEK tweets during this time fits this structure, except for the Equilibrium steps. We do not see any reflection about the first equilibrium because the change in the gas price has been surprising news for everyone. The activity of the MEK tweeter starts from the second phase of the structure where the Disruption phase begins. The new equilibrium, on the other hand, is not good news for MEK. It is logical not to tell stories about it. Therefore, we see a reduction in the number of tweets. In these two tables, we have presented the number of MEK's video-tweets (within the data sample of 54 videos) during the period of events and construction of the broader narrative structure.

	@A_Jafarzadeh	@HeshmatAlavi	@Wafa_Behnam
November 15	1	0	1
November 16	0	4	2
November 17	0	4	6
November 18	2	6	1
November 19	0	7	2
November 20	0	3	1
November 21	0	1	3
November 22	0	2	0
November 23	4	4	0

Narrative structure Phase	Number of MEK tweets In the sample	Date and duration
Equilibrium	-	Before November 15
Disruption	2	November 15
Recognition	16	November 16-18
Repair	28	November 18-23
Return to equilibrium	8	November 23

This structure fits the type and content of micro-stories in the videos. While we see scenes of protests in the form of blocking the road with silence and calmness of the protesters in the first days (Disruption), the number of tweets grow in the next days with the interference of the Police and severe suppression (Recognition). In the following days, within three days, the protests spread in more cities, and the degree of violence becomes higher (Repair) until the situation is over from the November 23 (Return to equilibrium). The critical matter is that we see, read, and understand this Narrative from MEK's point of view, who take sides in favor of "people" as Heroes. From this point of view, the new equilibrium is not a good ending because the Hero has been defeated. For this reason, we see the reduction in the numbers of MEK tweets from November 23.

3.2.5.3 Character analysis of MEK narrative

The Broader Narrative of MEK, as we saw in the previous sections, has a dual form of confronting "Good" and "Evil." From this point of view, we can imagine this confrontation as a classical and traditional narrative in the form of fairy tales. In the wholeness of this Narrative, there is no complication in plot, theme, or point of view. MEK's Narrative defends and sympathizes with the Hero (protesters) who are fighting for freedom, demonizes the Villain (Regime that suppresses the will of the people), presents the foreign friends who are there to help (the United States, International community) and asks the audience to join and take the right side with them. The simplicity of the plot is hidden under the multiplicity of the micro-stories that were presented and published by MEK tweeter. Although each video tells a fragmented story of an incident such as attacking, shooting or screaming, in new locations (different cities) with other people involving in it, the broader plot story is always the same: Once upon a time, there was a bad king (Supreme leader Khamenei) who used to make bad decisions and bother its people, one day people came to the streets to say NO and to gain their freedom. And then there was a fight between people and the ruthless soldiers of the bad king….

Seeing MEK's Narrative from this point of view enables us to apply to the theory of characters by Vladimir Propp. He notes seven main characters in his analysis of the folklore tales (V. I. Propp, 1984):

1. The Villain—struggles against the Hero; usually an older, ugly, sly and manipulative male.

2. The Dispatcher—sends the Hero off on his quest.

3. The Helper—helps the Hero in their quest, usually less good-looking or clever, but essential to their success.

4. The Donor (often also a helper) —prepares the Hero or gives the Hero some magical or essential object to aid them on their quest.

5. The Princess (or prize)—the Hero deserves her throughout the story but is unable to marry her because of an unfair evil, usually because of the Villain. The Hero's journey is often ended when he marries the Princess, thereby thwarting and beating the Villain. The Princess tends to be beautiful and good-natured, but ultimately weak and passive, a pawn or prize to be won.

6. The Hero or victim/seeker hero —young, brave and strong, traditionally almost always male; quick to accept his task and commence his quest; reacts to the donor, wins and weds the Princess.

7. False Hero—takes credit for the Hero's actions or tries to marry the Princess.

In MEK's Narrative, the Hero is "Iranian people" who are exhausted from the oppression, injustice, and cruelty. The Villain who does all this to them is the "Religious Regime" that we see in different forms in the videos. Sometimes they are the "Mullahs" and sometimes IRGC or security forces (the military presentation of the Villain). The Regime is the character who has stolen people's wealth, is corrupted, arrests, and kills innocent people, and have no mercy for its nation. During this conflict, we can discover the Princess or the prize that the Hero is seeking: Freedom from this cruel and evil Regime. Such dynamic moves the narrative forward. We see several videos, telling this conflict over and over in different locations and formations.

There are, on the other hand, videos of official authorities from the Department of the State of The United States. These videos tell another aspect of the story wherein official statements they announce their support from the protests of Iranian People. In one video Bryan Hook speaks about the things Social Media Companies should do to help Iranian people. Also, we see some promises in attempting to return the Internet to Iranian people. In these groups of videos, we can distinguish other characters of the Narrative. The Helper is the United States who in Mike Pompeo's words referring to President Trump's speech,

"stands with the people of Iran". We can consider the Dispatcher and the Helper as one role which both are found in the U.S position. The magical object, in this case, could be known as the internet, which is needed by the Hero and cannot achieve it by himself.

A question is how MEK has seen itself in this story? What role do they have in the dynamics of this Narrative? The answer might be found in the very core of their online operation in informing others (the world and the Iranians) about the nature of the events. One can argue that the massive amount of tweets published by MEK in the days of protests, do not only seek informative objectives. Although the distribution of the information and news about Iran's events is an obvious mission, but there are also waves of encouraging the people to participate in the "uprising". As we saw in the framing analysis results, the types of stories told by the videos can be categorized in four groups. Two of these groups are stories about "Bravery and Unity of the protesters" and "Victory of the protesters". These micro-stories show scenes that are very positively emotional in terms of motivating the audience. We see this approach, especially in the videos shared by @Wafa_Behnam, who tweets in Persian and for Iranian readers only. This user has shared videos that picture the situation in various cities, and at the same time, the chants in them are incredibly emotional. We see this approach in tweets by the other two accounts as well, but @Wafa_Behnam targeting the Iranian audience has been more active in publishing encouraging and emotionally motivating videos. On another level, MEK is sending this message to Iranian protesters that they are helping them spread the stories of the movement all over the world. These actions (spreading the information, motivating more people to go out and protest, and the implied promise of showing this bravery to the others) are some characteristics that fit the role "the Dispatcher" in Propp's model.

There is a video, shared by @HeshmatAlavi that tells a unique story. We don't see any similar videos with the same message in the sample. In this video, we see a fragment of an interview aired by CNN. Cristian Amanpour, the presenter of this cable network talks to Kaveh Madani, an Iranian scientist and a very successful researcher who returned to Iran for some years and had come back to U.S last year. @HeshmatAlavi shared a part of this interview attacking to both sides of the conversation. Kaveh Madani, An Iranian who has an academic and intellectual reputation in both Iran and U.S, speaks about how strange Trump's position is: While he says he stands with the people of Iran, he reinforces the sanctions against Iran which only makes Iranian lives worse. And on the other side of the talk, Amanpour does not challenge her guests' opinions. @HeshmatAlavi is angry about this interview because he believes Kaveh Madani, as an Iranian, is repeating "Mullahs talking points" like a "parrot". He also is not happy that CNN, as an important American news channel, does not challenge Kaveh Madani, and for him, this means CNN

is going along with the anti-Trump Narrative. Now let's try to find a place for such character in MEK narrative. Kaveh Madani from this aspect is a symbol of Iranians who want to complicate the straightforward Narrative of good and evil. Although they have the opportunity and etiquette of appearing on big news channels (therefore influential), they "divert attention away from the Iran Protets" and are on the same side as Mullahs. In other words, these Iranians are nothing but a False Hero.

In the table, we adapted Propp's theory of characters to the characters that we have extracted from the videos. The table shows how MEK's broader Narrative of Iran events fits in a classical and traditional old tale of Good and Evil.

Propp's narrative roles	Character in MEK narrative
The Villain	Regime/Khamenei/Mullahs
The Dispatcher	MEK
The Helper and Donor	United States
The Princess (Prize)	Freedom from the Regime
The Hero	Iranian People
The False Hero	Iranians who do not support the uprising

3.2.5.4 MEK's Narrative and its cultural plots

There are several cultural plots that one can trace in the MEK's Narrative. These plots are related to the process of meaning-making, and referring to them makes this process more effective. In this part of the analysis, we have presented four important cultural narratives or plots that are called up several times in the stories told by the tweet-videos published by MEK. These four plots create a cultural context for the audience to have a faster understanding.

1. Narrative of Mullahs

The Merriam-Webster dictionary has defined the word Mullah as "an educated Muslim trained in religious law and doctrine and usually holding an official post." This definition refers to the traditional meaning of this term. A person who is a Mullah used to earn respect and trust of the people because of the religious

knowledge and therefore solving the everyday problems of Muslim people. This term was commonly used in Middle Eastern countries like Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The famous Mullah Mohammad Omar, leader of the Taliban group in Afghanistan, would be an example of the linguistic function of the word.

Today the word Mullah has lost its original meaning, at least among Iranians. Politically, it refers to the ruling Ayatollahs who have established a theocracy in this country, after the Islamic Revolution in 1978. In this political context, Mullah refers to a specific model of ruling that has developed in Iran in the form of the Islamic Republic. In political literature today, the word Mullah is a metaphor to describe the manners in which the Islamic Republic encounters the world, especially the western countries and the United States. The "mad mullah narrative" has been created to explain such strategy in Iran's foreign relations with the world. Milani discusses the terminology in Tarzi's book, where he compares two different understandings of the Islamic Republic approach to diplomacy: "The mad mullah narrative against the calculating cost-benefit ayatollahs" (Tarzi, 2009, P.59). In this political context, the word Mullah carries a negative and irrational meaning referring to the Iranian theocracy.

On the other hand, the word Mullah can be understood in the context of today Iranian popular culture. Although this interpretation of "Mullah" is connected to the political context, but also can be observed as the logical result of that political point of view. When Iranians in their everyday lives in the streets, schools, offices, and so on, use the word Mullahs, it is usually related to a topos of jokes, tales, news stories, or social media viral posts that call up a humiliating and humorous mode of speaking. The meaning constructed in this mode of language could refer to the level of inefficiency of such government and the suffering of the people as the outcome of this inefficient system. This mode of discourse, at the same time, calls up the reason behind this inefficiency: The mullahs are determined to apply to old, traditional, religious solutions in solving modern, new, complicated problems—a "recessive" approach in ruling a modern society.

We see using this word over and over in MEK's tweets. Also, we here people chant against them in many videos. The Narrative of Mullahs, not only recalls the model of ruling in the Islamic Republic but also recreates the Narrative of how recessive, humorous, and humiliating such a regime could be.

2. Narrative of ethnic division

Although Iran's state religion is Shiite Islam and the majority of its population is ethnically Persian, millions of minorities from various ethnic, religious, and linguistic backgrounds also reside in Iran. Among these

groups are ethnic Kurds, Arabs, and Azeris (Turks). Many of them live in underdeveloped regions. Though they have held protests in the past, they mostly agitate for greater rights. On the other hand, Iran occasionally criticizes the United States and Israel for stirring up trouble among its large ethnic groups.

As we saw before, several tweets are related to this sensitive issue. Pan-Arab and Pan-Turk movement have been more active in recent years, and the desire to establish a Kurd state is strong in some communities of Iranian Kurds.

Predominantly Sunni, the Kurds reside mainly in the northwest part of the country—so-called Iranian Kurdistan—and comprise around 7 percent of Iran's population (four million Kurds are living in Iran, compared to twelve million in Turkey and six million in Iraq). Unlike Iran's other minorities, many of its Kurds harbor separatist tendencies, creating tensions with the state that have occasionally turned violent[40].

Also, along the Iranian-Iraqi border in southwest Iran is a population of some three million Arabs, predominantly Shiite. As Sunni-Shiite tensions have worsened in the region, a minority of this group, encouraged by Iraqi Arabs across the border, has pressed for greater autonomy in recent years.

These tensions become more serious when there are social-political unrests (as happened in January 2018 and November 2019) in Iran. In the sample tweets under this study, we see various videos in which people speak with the Kurdish accent. Also, there are videos showing tensions in the Iranian Arab population in the province of Khuzestan.

3. Narrative of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC)

IRGC or the Revolutionary Guard is a branch of the Iranian Armed Forces, founded after the Iranian Revolution on April 22, 1979, by order of Ayatollah Khomeini. Whereas the Iranian Army defends Iranian borders and maintains internal order, according to the Iranian constitution, the Revolutionary Guard is intended to protect the country's Islamic republic political system as well as preventing foreign interference. During the Iraq-Iran war, IRGC played an important role.

The Narrative around this military force comes with a huge influence of it on other important sectors in Iran. While western sanctions had disabled Iranian governments to run the country economically, IRGC

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[40] Council on Foreign Relations report on Iran's ethnic groups

started its move to establish companies to participate in the economic area. On the other hand, there are several members ex-commanders of this military force that now are active politicians. The fact that IRGC has an active branch outside of the country is another issue that makes this organization more powerful, especially concerning their role in the foreign policy of Iran in the region.

All these elements make IRGC an actual and apparent metaphor for the whole "Regime": Corrupted, irresponsible, influential, political, religious, and violent. Terrorist is the new label for them after Trump administration officially announced IRGC as a Terrorist Group in the Middle East.

IRGC has been the force that suppressed the Green Movement in 2009. The local groups connected to IRGC in every city's neighborhood called The Basij is also another branch that has a distinct presence in suppressions of the protests. The emphasis on "Plain Clothes" in some of the videos and tweets refers to this part of the organization. Understanding the IRGC history and its role in the politics of Iran is necessary for a better understanding of MEK's Narrative of Iran events.

4. Narrative of Iran and U.S relationship

In the first chapter, we discussed the turning point when after the hostage crisis in 1979, Iran and the United States cut all diplomatic relations and pictured each other as the enemy. This Narrative has been almost the same for 41 years. In recent years this long history has experienced two great shocks. The first shock happened in 2015 when Iran, the United States, and five other countries signed a nuclear deal called JCPOA. After this international agreement, the idea was entering a phase of cooperation between Iran and the U.S and begin to reactivate the diplomacy. This phase was terminated when, in 2016, Donald Trump won the elections and became the president of the United States. The second shock in the long story of the two countries starts with the order of Trump in withdrawal from the agreement. This led to more complications between the two sides with the risk of severe military conflict in Iraq after the United States killed Qasem Soleimani, Senior General of the IRGC in Baghdad.

The statements of U.S officials about Iran's November 2019 events, should be interpreted in this historical context. In fact, Trump's administration decided to be very hard on Iran, by returning and increasing the sanctions against this country. This tension can be recognized in the rhetoric of MEK while addressing the role of the U.S in the published tweets. In this Narrative, Trump is entirely on the side where MEK is standing.

3.2.5.5 How MEK's Narrative is constructed?

In the second part of this study, in theoretical analysis, we discussed that narrativity is a fundamental characteristic of twitter as a social media platform. The main argument in that part was that in covering news stories, during the time, the author of the story and the readers have cooperation and complete the Narrative from both sides. The reader's contribution occurs in the form of participation in the process of accessibility of the story and the circulation of it by using the tools twitter offers. These tools are Like, Retweet, Commenting for, and Quoting on tweets. This contribution produces conversations and debates and, as a result, more circulation of the story in a short time. The contribution of the reader might also create counter-narratives, parodies, and memes. As the author updates the news in her next tweets, the readers contribute to the forming of different aspects of the Narrative.

In other words, as the time passes in a twitter "timeline," each tweet, comment, quote and conversation from the reader part, create a context in which the story completes and becomes more understandable. We discussed that Paul Ricoeur's model of narrative analysis could be an appropriate model of explaining how this process takes place. Ricoeur, in his study of Time and Narrative (1983) suggests three stages of interpretations (mimesis) that form our understanding of the "human action" through time. The three steps or mimesis are:

Mimesis 1 or Prefiguration: Narrative competence and the pre-existing experience we bring with us when reading.

Mimesis 2 or Configuration: Narrative emplotment, by recognizing the characters, events, and the point of the story as a whole, and organizing it with the starting, medium, and ending points.

Mimesis 3 or Refiguration: Understanding the Narrative and transformation in restoring the story to the real world of action.

Mimesis₁

Life and it's
narrative
preunderstanding

Mimesis₂

Composing
a narrative

Mimesis₃

Application of
the narrative
into one's life

Mimesis₁

Reformed life
and it's narrative
preunderstanding

Mimesis₂

Composing
a narrative

etc.
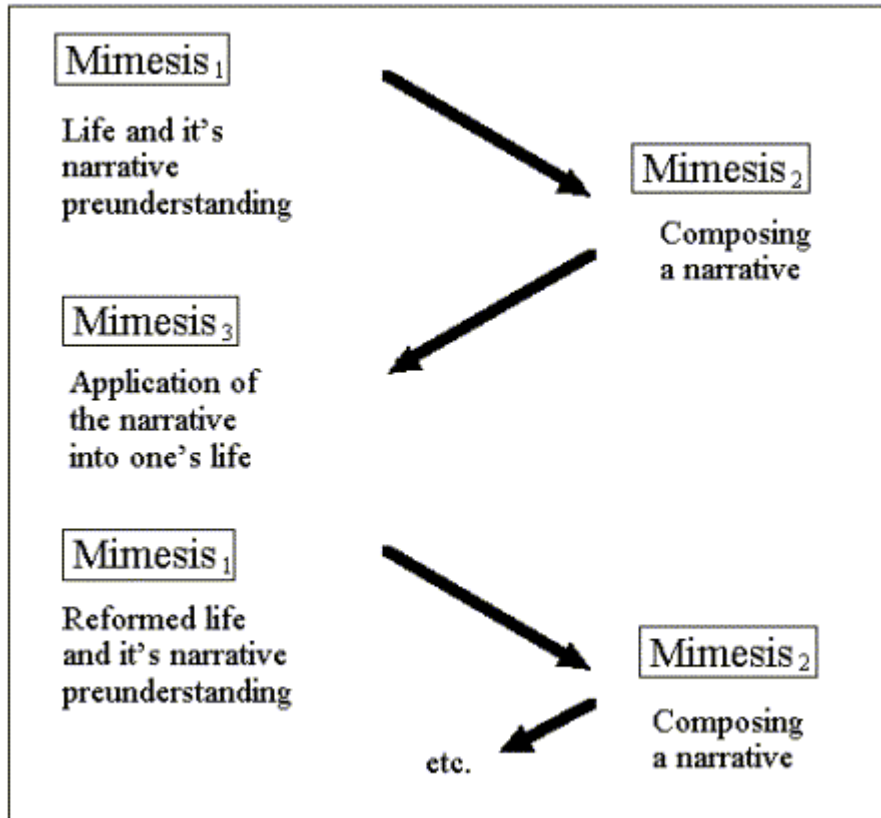
In twitter experience, the process of understanding a news story while being fragmented and incomplete happens in a back and forth movement between the configuration and refiguration stages. This is not a one-time narration but a corpus of stories, each member of which compounds, corrects, or converts existing comprehension.

The circularity of the mimetic arc is not problematic. Instead, it is immensely productive, in that each pass by the 'point' of the story deepens its intelligibility. The spiral nature of this circular motion means that, far from being a vicious circle, the Hermeneutics of Narrative contributes to a healthy circle and a proper approach to explain the process in which the curve or the Broader Narrative is constructed.

In the case of MEK's tweet-videos in covering Iran's events, we see an example of this hermeneutical process. What we see is many fragmented stories in the form of very short videos. It is essential to emphasize that these videos shared on tweeter, were the only narratives accessible in the time of the

events. First, because no international journalist was on the scenes to observe and report the stories, and second, the internet was shut down, and therefore, among the Iranians, the ways of communication were limited. As a result of this situation, any reports on other media platforms other than social media (digital news pages and T.V. channels) about these events had to prepare its material from these videos. In other words, the fragmented visual stories tweeted by MEK (and other opposition groups outside Iran) were the only stories available about Iran events at that time. During these nine days (November 15 till November 23) the only answer to the fundamental question of "What is happening in Iran?" was seeing these videos, interpreting them, and constructing the Broader Narrative.

Here is the suitable model for constructing the curving (or Broader) Narrative in a hermeneutical attempt to understand the events. We suppose that the first video appears on the Twitter timeline in the time t1. The reader sees the video, which is very short, fragmented, and has poor quality. This experience leads to an act of interpretation and composing a hypothetical narrative. As time passes, we see these interpretations, questions, discussions, and hypotheses in the form of new tweets. Then comes the next video with the same characteristics in the time t2. The reader, with the experience of interpreting the previous video(s) composes a new hypothetical narrative based on the already existing one. This process repeats, and during this mimetic circle, as time passes and the number of videos increases, the reader constructs a complete narrative that, in the process of refiguration, becomes more understandable.

1. Appearing video(n) in the time t(n), on twitter timeline

2. Composing narrative (n) from the existing elements of the video

3.Application of narrative(n) into the process of completing the curving narrtive
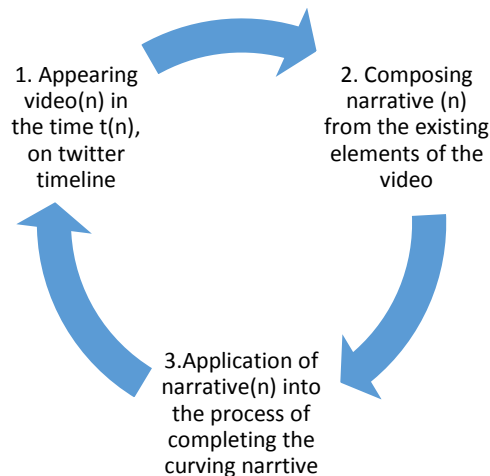
In this circular movement between the stages, the process of constructing the broader Narrative goes deeper because every new update, discussion, or comment creates a vaster context to understand the next micro-stories and then adding it to the previously constructed Narrative about the events.

3.2.6 Filmic Analysis

We asked the data these four questions to analyze the videos from a formal point of view.

-Describe the movement of the camera

-Describe the quality of the picture

-Is the video edited? Does it have cuts or effects?

-How is the sound on the footage? Is there effects or music?

The answers to these questions are presented in the order of basic elements of Film in David Bordwell's theory of Film, which is constructed over four elements: Mise-en-scene, Cinematography, Editing, and Sound. In the tables, the results are shown.

Number of videos recorded by cell phone	Number of videos recorded by Pro. Camera
46	8
85%	15%

Quality of the picture in videos				
Weak (1/5)	Not good (2/5)	Good enough (3/5)	Good (4/5)	Very good (5/5)
10	26	18	8	0

Number of videos in one sequence	Number of videos edited or have cuts
43	11
80%	20%

Number of videos with original sound	Number of videos with sound edit and music
44	10
81%	19%

The results show that at the formal level, we can distinguish two completely different types of videos: Cellphone recorded footage and T.V. programs. The second type, which is in the minority (only eight videos out of 54) are known well formally. They are the usual official T.V. interviews mostly aired on Fox News or CNN. Also, we see one video from Iran national T.V. and one other from the MEK official T.V.

In this part of the analysis, we put aside the second type of videos (like the examples above) because they belong to a particular T.V. News coverage that is perfectly recognizable and very different from the majority of the videos in the sample.

The remaining footages (46 videos) have these characteristics:

-They are recorded by cell phones

-The quality of the videos are not good

-They are mostly rough footages without cuts or visual/sound effects

-They mostly contain the voice of the environment (Shots, shootings and narrations on the street)

This form of video presentation in video activism researches is known as "the witness videos." Tina Askanius, in her categorization of different genres in video activism, has discussed and described this form (Askanius, 2016). In her description of this genre, she writes:

The witness video is a label used to designate videos documenting specific unjust conditions or political wrong-doings/doers, police brutality, human rights violations etc. These caught-on-camera snapshots are often recorded on mobile cell phones and uploaded without much editing. These videos dominantly apply strategies of realism, using the bumpy handheld aesthetic to induce authenticity and a sense of 'being there'.

Such a description of the Witness videos fits perfectly with the form we see in the MEK collection of videos. But knowing the label we can put on this genre, that identifies this form of presentation from other types of video activism, there is still a question of meaning-making process: What sort of pre-experienced filmic forms are called up while seeing this videos? What are cinematic genres or filmic elements that exist in this form of narration, that reinforces the meaning of the message and engage us in the story?

We discuss that there are at least three filmic genres that are somehow participating in the visual representation of the reality in MEK's perspective. These genres are:

3.2.6.1 Disaster Film

A disaster movie is a film in which a catastrophic event drives the Narrative. During the disaster or in the aftermath, the main characters face conflict—with each other, with their environment, or both—as they try to survive. Disaster movies are typically set in major cities, where the destruction facing humanity can be demonstrated on a massive scale with visual effects.

The similarity of images in our sample of video, and this genre lays in the scenes in which Police is chasing the protesters and they start to run away. Or the scenes where the conflict is over, and we see the aftermath of it. Or in the scenes where a character is shot to dead. The chaos caused by the disaster in fiction movies creates a quality of cinematic presentation that has the same effect in MEK's videos. These scenes generate a sense of chaos, which is the outcome of the confrontation with evil. This evil might be a natural disaster or a monster. This evil, as we analyzed before in MEK's Narrative, is the Regime and its military forces.

The day after tomorrow (2004)

195

Birdbox Netflix movie (2018)

The Outsider HBO (2019)

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Reports indicate the regime in #Iran has provided "fire-at-will" orders to its security forces to indiscriminately gun down protesters.#Internet4Iran is needed to inform the world the truth about #IranProtests & the mullahs' brutality.

TN: 1196899591142215680

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained video
Mariwan, W #Iran
Security forces are opening heavy fire on protesters.
Dozens are killed & injured.
Authorities have closed all roads leading to the city & directly firing at people. The city is literally in flames.#IranProtests

TN: 1196844237305909248

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#Iran #UPDATE
-South of Shiraz is under people's control
-Many banks & regime centers burning
-Over 100 banks & 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned in one province alone
-MP: "…situation in Shiraz is very concerning."#IranProtests

Video of Shiraz

TN: 1196367849083854849

3.2.6.2 War films (and documentaries)

In the world of cinema, there is perhaps no other genre that is quite as effective at simultaneously addressing sociopolitical issues and assessing elements about human nature as the war film genre. Initially, war films primarily existed as propagandist newsreels or reconstructed documentaries. However, with the groundbreaking release of *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith, 1915), not only did the war film genre establish many conventions, but Hollywood producers also began to recognize the box-office potential of the propagandist war and anti-war films(Dirks, n.d.). This realization became particularly apparent in the immediate years following America's entry into World War I and World War II.

War and Anti-War Films often acknowledge the horror and heartbreak of war, letting the actual combat fighting or conflict (against nations or humankind) provide the primary plot or background for the action of the film. Typical elements in the action-oriented war plots include POW camp experiences and escapes, submarine warfare, espionage, personal heroism, "war is hell" brutalities, air dogfights, tough trench/infantry experiences, or male-bonding buddy adventures during wartime. Themes explored in war films include combat, survivor and escape stories, tales of gallant sacrifice and struggle, studies of the futility and inhumanity of battle, the effects of war on society, and intelligent and profound explorations of the moral and human issues(Eberwein, 2009).

What interests us in this analysis, is the action scenes and "war is hell" brutalities that are very common in this genre—also, the messages of sacrifice for a greater good that is a repeating theme in these films. The visual elements and symbolic pictures in the genre are familiar: Lonely soldier with his gun, the helicopter appearance as killing machines, extreme long shots of the battlefield with explosions and heavy columns of smoke, and so on.

These generic elements can be found in snapshots and short videos in our sample. In the majority of the videos, we hear the sound of shooting in the street. There are videos in which protesters have "freed" some districts and are there to stand and keep the achievement (there are videos about this kind of battle in the city of Shiraz in the sample). Also, there is a video showing a military helicopter coming to the city to crack down the probably armed protesters who are fighting back and defending their districts.

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Left: Apocalypse Now (1979)

Right: tweet number 1196737782355505152

Left: The Deer Hunter (1978)

Right: tweet number 1198311243423068165

3.2.6.3 Post-Apocalyptic Films

Post-apocalyptic science fiction is a subgenre of science fiction, also known as doomsday film. It is set in a world or civilization after a nuclear war, plague, or some other general disaster. The post-apocalyptic genre imagines a post-cataclysmic world cobbled together from the remnants of our world and invites complicated participation as readers and viewers engage with a world that resembles our own yet is bereft of our world's meaning-making structures. The cultural history of the genre is traced through early nineteenth-century concerns about plagues and revolutions; fin-de-siècle anxieties and the devastation

of the First World War; the post-apocalyptic turn in the cultural imagination following the Second World War, the atomic bombs, and the Holocaust; the Cold War and societal tensions of the 1960s and 1970s; late-twentieth-century nationalism and relaxation of Cold War tension; and renewed interest in post-apocalypticism following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

Textual analysis reveals that the genre is particularly interested in formal experimentation and other postmodernist ideas, carnivalesque transgression, and concerns about survivorship and community. The mobilization of these themes is presented in the novella "A Boy and His Dog," the novels The Quiet Earth and The Road, and the films Idaho Transfer, Night of the Comet, and Mad Max: Fury Road (Stifflemire, 2017).

We discussed the formal and generic similarities of war films and disaster films with some formal aspects of the videos representing Iran events in November. In this third genre, post-apocalyptic films, we can discover a deeper connection between these two. Although there are formal elements in common, we can see that there is a historical background that deepens this connection. As Alfonso M Roríugez analysis of post-apocalyptic films made in the second decade of the XXI century shows, the post-apocalyptic film genre is responding to a type of political and social anxiety, more in line with the new world scenario inaugurated by the global crisis and the permanent war on terror(DE ARAGÓN & ALFONSO, 2016). Here is his argumentation:

"La guerra fría, el terror rojo y el peligro nuclear han dado paso a la guerra de civilizaciones, el terrorismo internacional y el colapso ambiental. El trasfondo es el mismo, sólo que en un contexto más extremo, en tanto que menos evitable que la guerra nuclear: el control sobre unos recursos naturales cada vez más escasos. Lo que antes era el enfrentamiento entre dos modelos antagónicos de producción económica y social, se ha convertido ahora en una reorganización interna del modelo hegemónico. El triunfo del capitalismo sobre el denominado bloque comunista, la desaparición del supuesto enemigo mortal, le permite ahora al sistema deshacerse de sus excrecencias, toda vez que estos miles de millones de personas sobrantes no tienen ya un modelo alternativo al que acudir y con el cual amenazar al capitalismo. Ya no asustan al establishment, ya no hace falta siquiera guardar las apariencias, como comprobamos en la segunda década del siglo XXI gracias a la reacción contra la primavera árabe, la guerra en Siria y en el Oriente Medio, y la denominada crisis de los refugiados".

We discussed the role of footages produced in Middle Eastern revolutions and Arab spring movement while presenting the results of the Generalization Frames these videos are referring to. These Images of the apocalyptic situation not only changed the nature of video activism in the Middle East social-political movements (as we see in Iraq, Iran, Egypt and so on), but at the same time turned into a generic element in mainstream movies of the Post-apocalyptic storytelling in the 21st century. In this sense, discovering the formal similarities between this genre and the videos in our sample has a logic.

World War Z (2013)

The Road (2009)

TN (Top Right): 1197263326797017089

TN (Down Right): 1195700825160667142

3.2.7 Meta-Narrative Analysis

Under the light of the historical analysis in the first part of this study, we asked these questions from the data in this part:

-Is the general content of the video Pro or anti modernization and the West?

-Is the general content of the video Pro or anti-Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?

-Is the general content of the video Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?

The results in this part are presented in the table below:

Modernization/west Meta-narrative		Shia Islam Meta-narrative		King/ancient Iran Meta-narrative	
Anti	Pro	Anti	Pro	Anti	Pro
0	8	52	0	0	0

3.3 Conclusions

This study has analyzed a corpus of 59 tweets of the MEK organization during the nine days of protests in November 2019 in Iran. These tweets all contain videos that show the protests and the suppression of them by the security forces of the Islamic Republic. The objective of the analysis was to answer these questions:

1. What is the MEK's Narrative of these events?
2. How is this Narrative understood by the readers?
3. How is this Narrative constructed in terms of content, elements, and form?
4. What meta-narratives contextualize this Narrative?

For this purpose, as we saw in the Methodology Chapter and Results Chapter, three tweeter accounts belonged to this organization were chosen. Each account is representative of a specific level of influence. Four different methods analyzed this data collection, all of them based on the hermeneutic nature of the study. These methods of analyses are

1. Framing
2. Narrative
3. Filmic
4. Meta-Narrative

In this chapter, we will discuss the interpretation of the results of the analysis. The analysis approves that MEK's Narrative of the reality and the process of meaning-making in representing it has these characteristics: manipulative, fairy tale type, and conservative.

3.3.1 MEK's Narrative and its political framing

Framing analysis in different levels of the tweets (Hashtags, texts, and videos) reveals a manipulative approach in representing the events. The question of any framing analysis is that what part of the "reality" is more salient in a media (and as a result, what pieces are kept out from the reader)? In this sense, framing always creates manipulations in the process of understanding the events. Our framing analysis in this study has identified several manipulative aspects of MEK's Narrative.

The most frequent hashtags in MEK's tweets are #Iran and #IranProtests. This creates the first layer of framing the reality of protests, where the interpretation is a cross-national demonstrations. These two hashtags had been used before in January 2018 as well. Using the hashtags repeatedly in almost every tweet means that in MEK's frame, the reader should understand the events as a massive movement running all over the country. Other hashtags are in the same line with the names of different cities,

provinces, and districts. These specific locations are placed in MEK's rhetoric to frame the protests as a widespread event happening in all parts of Iran.

As we saw in the analysis in Results Chapter, the rhetoric of MEK in narrating the events appears clearly in the language choices and character description. The familiar Narrative of Heroes against Villains is build up in these texts. We saw the words People and Protesters in one side of the story against Regime, Mullahs, Police and IRGC in the other side. Also we reviewed the adjectives, verbs, adverbs and nouns that are used for each side of the conflict.

The essential act of manipulation occurs in the relationship between words and footage. The way texts are describing the events and making the frame, can be recognized in some tweets with few accuracy or irrelevant explanations. One example is the information in this tweet and comparing them to the actual content of the video:
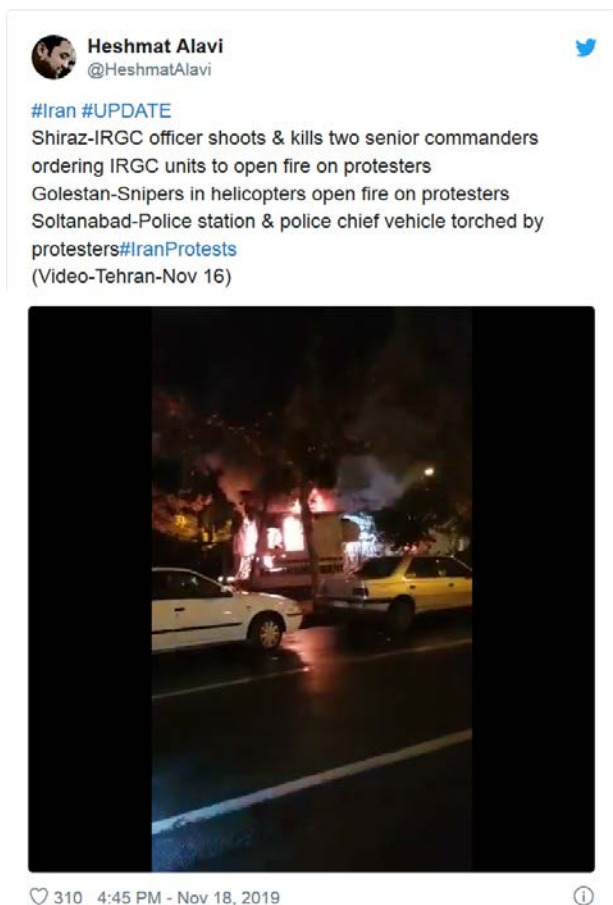
(TN: 1196439223722749952)

We read about two important stories happening in two different parts of the country. First, in Shiraz (center south of Iran) where there has been a conflict inside IRGC forces after military commanders give order to shoot directly to the people. The other happens in the province of Golestan (North of Iran) that reports helicopter and sniper shots. The video that is attached to these stories, is very different. It is happening in Tehran; its story tells us that protesters in the west of Tehran have set a Police kiosk on fire. We can see a framing strategy in the text of the tweet. It is telling stories that cannot be approved yet linked to a video that tells another story with a very lower level of significance.

Another example of framing and creating false information can be observed in the tweet about the city of Ahwaz (Southwest of Iran):

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Recently obtained footage - Internet heavily restricted
Nov 18 - Ahvaz, SW #Iran
Large crowd outside a local administrative building. Shots fired are by armed protesters.#IranProtests
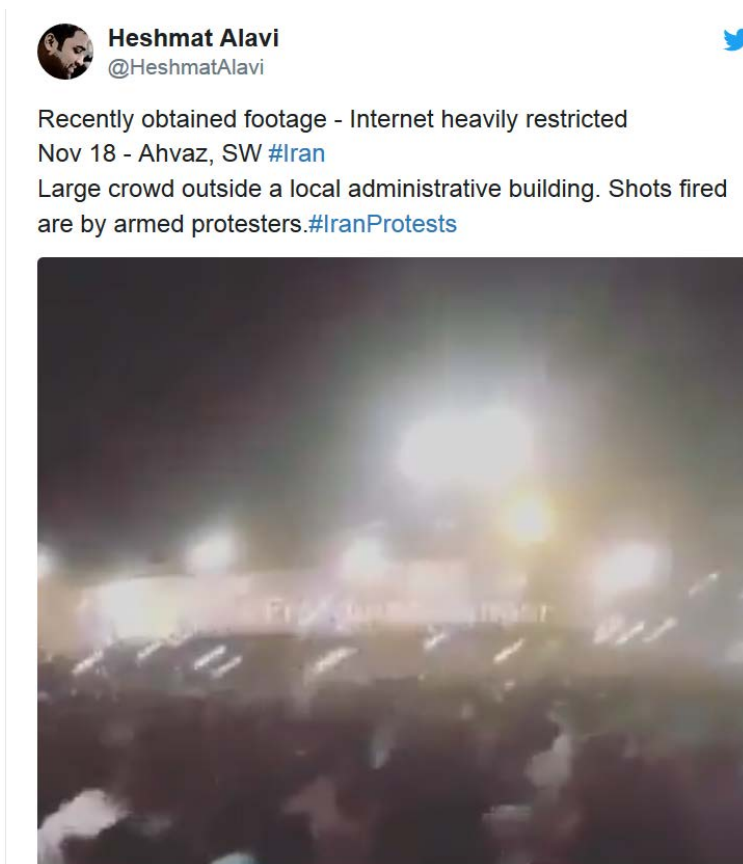
(TN: 1196675406595842053)

The text of the tweet tells the reader about armed protesters outside a government building, shooting to the air. The video is among those which are not evident in terms of date and location. Also, the quality of the picture and the sound is poor. We investigated the scene and the events in this video with local people living in Ahwaz. It turned out that this crowd is doing a traditional ceremony in the south of Iran that is called "Yazleh[41]". Sometimes people in such ceremonies shoot to the sky (this is an Arabic style that is common also in Iraq, Lebanon, and some other Arab countries in the region). Knowing this information will completely change the meaning of the video. But the text frames this scene, puts it in the Narrative of protest, and even labels it "armed" confrontation of the protesters against the security forces.

Another example of framing the videos is found in tweet number 1196844237305909248, where we see a conflict between protesters and police in the city of Mariwan in Kurdestan province.

(TN: 1196844237305909248)

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[41] "Part of this tribe's culture is playing musical instruments. Singing music of Khuzestan Arabs is different to Arab music in other parts of the world. Abuzieh, Alvanieh, Rakbanieh, Basteh and beautiful epopee of "Yazleh" express chivalry and bravery of men and clans of this tribe. They preserve cultural rituals by waving flags and cheering and dancing in joy, war and mourning."(Etemadikiya & Shahbazi, 2016)

The scene tells a story of tension between two sides in the street. Police are shooting to the protesters. We can hear the sound of shooting. The text of the tweet gives two pieces of information. First, dozens are killed and injured (no specific number of killed and wounded people), and second, says that the roads to the city are closed. There are no sources for this information, but the violence in the video is framed as a general result of "the city is literally in flames."

And finally, in this part, we might pay attention to the type of storytelling and language choice that frames reality. Using "regime-linked" as an adjective for supermarkets is an extraordinary choice to describe the actions in the video.

(TN: 1196367849083854849)

The third level of framing happens in video analysis. In this part, there are more aspects of the micro-stories or small stories in videos that are revealed. First, we see four themes in the set of videos repeating:

-The victory of the people/protesters

-The violence of the Regime

-Bravery and unity of the people/protesters

-The support of the West/U.S

These themes help us distinguish the characters, and the types of dramatic situations possible when these characters encounter with each other. Through this analysis, we can see the role of the U.S as a friend who has been active during the protests. We will see that this role repeats in other analyses (metaphorical and narrative) as well.

An example of manipulation appears in a video shared by @HeshmatAlavi, who accuses CNN to act in favor of the Regime.

(TN: 1197291642945970176)

The content of the interview is about the contradiction between Trump administration's statements. They claim to stand with the Iranian people and, at the same time, sanction more sectors of Iran's economy, which only makes the living situation worse for the people. The manipulation here comes with the framing of the argument in the interview. Villain words are coming out from a friend's mouth.

The video analysis shows that a level of framing happens through a para-linguistic aspect of the videos. In this level, we are involved with the "reality" in an audio-visual form. The analysis in this part shows how some conversations on the videos make the meaning-making process more emotional.

An example of such new levels could be seen in the video where the only action is burning tires in the middle of the road.

Another example from the conversation over the footage is the video that has been shared by both @HeshmatAlavi and @Wafa_Behnam.

(TN: 1196143183174029312)

The story is about a verbal fight between two people. An ordinary citizen and a clergy (or Mullah). The last thing the man tells the Mullah is: "Get lost you piece of trash." The importance of this sentence is found in other videos shared by MEK, where this is the main slogan. We see at least two times in a literal manner this message in similar form among the texts of tweets:

The end is near for the mullahs' Regime (@HeshmatAlavi)

Death to Mullahs' Regime (@Waf_Behnam)

Final examples of this part are about the videos that appear among the line of informative ones, only to promote the MEK's Narrative without any other value. Setting a poster of Khamenei beside a road is one of these types. There is no conflict in the footage, neither people to protest. It is only a symbolic act that looks more like a performance than an event that happened in the flow of protests. Another example of this kind is seen in @Wafa_Behnam tweet, where some people are chanting against mullahs in nowhere. In both cases, the important meaning of the video is created by the voices (para-linguistic aspect). The voices in both videos say: "Death to Khamenei" and "Mullahs should get lost".

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 شیراز - تظاهرات مردم علیه گرانی بنزین با شعار «توپ تانک فشفشه، آخوند باید گم بشه» - شنبه ۲۵ آبان#شیراز #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی

♡ 6   10:26 AM - Nov 17, 2019

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 یه آتش کشیدن بنر خامنه ای
مرگ بر خامنه ای زنده باد آزادی#قیام_سراسری

52 reproducciones   0:24 / 0:36
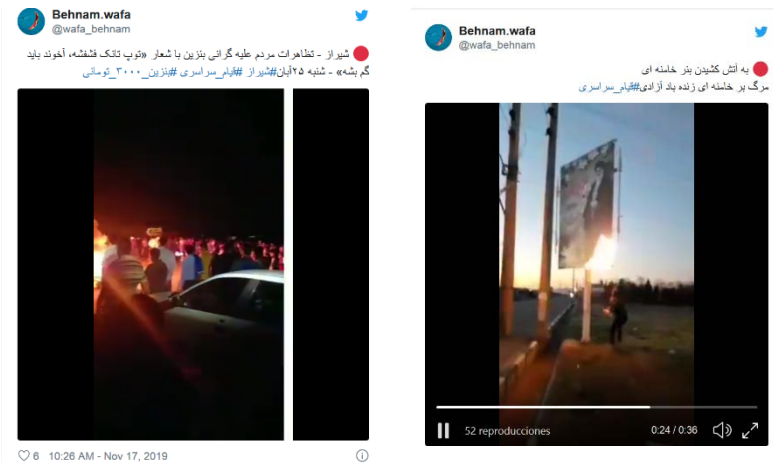
TN: 1195981507271233536   and TN: 1196105284428738560

3.3.2 MEK's Narrative and fairytale structure

Different methods in the study show that the curving Narrative constructed by videos have characteristics of a fairytale. The characterization step in framing analysis of videos revealed that we are facing not specific personage in the stories, but general groups of people that can be divided to Protesters (People) and Police (security forces, regime). This general construction of the characters leads to a general and simplified story plot.

In other methods of analysis where the videos are studied under a metaphorical question, again, we see this general plot: the conflict between the Hero and the Villain. The difference is that in the metaphorical analysis, we can see in more detail how a third role appears in the dynamic of the meaning-making

process. This analysis, based on the implications of the videos (dependent from the words and hashtags) comes to this conclusion that the general understanding of the stories takes place in a triangle relationship of the three characters: The victim (People/Protesters), the persecutor (Regime) and the rescuer (The U.S). The metaphorical analysis, in this sense, offers a big picture of the videos and the influence of seeing the small stories in constructing a general visual conception and understanding the Broader Narrative.

It is the narrative analysis that clarifies the aspects of the fairytale. This analysis suggests that, although the nature of the videos is fragmental, emotional, and without specific characters, the plot they make fits in fairytale narrative plots. Two steps in this analysis strongly support this claim; First, the classical stages of a narrative (according to Todorov's theory), and second, the types of characters that appear in the Narrative. We saw in the previous chapter that these characters, perfectly match with Propp's model of characters in his study of Folklore stories. In this way, every task of understanding a tweet, video, or news story becomes easy and far from the complications of reality.

The critical point is that at the time of the events, when the Narrative was under construction by each new video, this emplotment made perfect meaning for the audience and encouraged the reader to contribute in sharing and republishing it. But now we know that the fairytale didn't turn into a happy ending narrative where the Hero (people) should have married the princess (freedom).

An example of this fairytale structure can be seen in the set of five videos about the events in the city of Shiraz. The chronological order of the appearance of videos on twitter timeline are (from left to right): November 18, 19, 19, 21, and 22. We see two conflicts (the helicopter story and the fleeing police story) and three aftermaths of a battle. In one of them, there is a dead man (Hero as a victim), and in two, there is an apocalyptic scene where it implies the victory of the protesters/Heroes.

 We know that the order of the stories is not necessarily the same as the order of publishing them on twitter (it is mentioned in the texts that the exact dates are not known). A Broader narrative might suggest a heavy conflict between the heroes and the villains for several days. The Heroes were resisting firmly and had some partial victories (make the Villain go back). But it has cost them the life of some Heroes. Now, if we want to end the Narrative with the existing videos, the helicopter story could be the last piece of the curving Narrative. The Villain comes with its brutal killing machine and wins the situation.

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#Iran #UPDATE
-South of Shiraz is under people's control
-Many banks & regime centers burning
-Over 100 banks & 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned in one province alone
-MP: "…situation in Shiraz is very concerning."#IranProtests

Video of Shiraz

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Shiraz, south-central #Iran
-Authorities have launched air patrols
-Reports indicate protesters are in control of many districts
-Many banks & police stations have been torched
-Many administrative buildings are under the people's control#IranProtests

♡ 361   12:31 PM - Nov 19, 2019   ⓘ

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained video
Shiraz, south-central #Iran
Protesters seen chasing the regime's security units, forcing them to flee back to their base. A number of security vehicles seen burning near the site.#IranProtests

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Reports indicate the regime in #Iran has provided "fire-at-will" orders to its security forces to indiscriminately gun down protesters.#Internet4Iran is needed to inform the world the truth about #IranProtests & the mullahs' brutality.

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained footage
Shiraz, south-central #Iran
(Exact date unknown)
Footage shows the vast scope of protests and unrest. More reason why the mullahs' do not dare restore internet access.#IranProtests

♡ 460   10:17 AM - Nov 22, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Numbers (from left to right):

1196367849083854849

1196737782355505152

1197570429671616513

1196899591142215680

1197791299266662401

211

3.3.3 MEK's Narrative and intransparency

Framing analysis of the tweets shows that in MEK's Narrative, there is a lack of a transparent solution for the political problems of Iran in case there is a regime change. This is an issue because all other opposition groups have presented their view of replacement. The loudest voice belongs to the monarchists who are inviting Iranians to the reestablishment of the Pahlavi monarchy. Prince Reza Pahlavi is their solution for the future of Iran. Among the Leftists/Marxist groups, the idea of change is a Social-democrat republic. Separatist parties have signed an agreement to have a secular democratic federal system with autonomous regions. In the case of MEK, although the leader of the group speaks of democracy and secularism in their annual gatherings, those statements are very general concepts. Practically they have been silent about their solution.

As Entman suggests, media framing mostly takes place in four steps: first is the process of 'problem definition'. Secondly, the frame makes salient a particular causal interpretation (who is to blame?). Thirdly, moral evaluation and finally 'a treatment recommendation'(Entman, 1993).

The framing analysis of MEK's tweets approves this strategy of silence. The fourth step that Entman calls treatment recommendation does not exist in the rhetoric of MEK and have no place in their Narrative. MEK, as well as other opposition groups outside Iran, seeks for a regime change and the interference of the U.S to destabilize the Islamic Republic. Still, they remain intransparent about their position in this change.

An explanation for this silence could be the lack of legitimacy of MEK in Iranian minds. This, never the less, could be a hypothesis for other investigations. Still, one might find some signs of validity by looking into a few reports that speak about such a relationship between the MEK and Iranian people. For instance, Jason Rezaian, the Iranian-American Washington Post journalist who was jailed in Tehran for more than a year, wrote[42] that in the seven years he lived in the country, he saw a great deal of criticism towards the ayatollahs but "never met a person who thought the MEK should, or could, present a viable alternative".

Another quote on this issue is from The Guardian[43] piece (July 2018) on the organization, where it says Djavad Khadem, a co-founder of Unity for Democracy in Iran (UDI), an umbrella group of exiled Iranian

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[42] https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/03/24/john-bolton-wants-regime-change-in-iran-and-so-does-the-cult-that-paid-him/

[43] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/02/iran-mek-cult-terrorist-trump-allies-john-bolton-rudy-giuliani

opposition groups, said MEK's "collaboration with Saddam against Iranian people will never be wiped out from the memory of Iranian people".

3.3.4 Some other characteristics of MEK's Narrative

1. The problem of ending

   The Narrative presented by MEK has a fairytale structure, but there is a remarkable point about the ending part. Todorov describes the final stage in the formation of a narrative as "New Equilibrium". This stage doesn't exist in MEK's Narrative because without a regime change; the ending is not favorable to them. In other words, they prefer not to put an ending point at the final phase when, according to them, the Hero does not win. Therefore, the Narrative stays without an ending, and after a time, a new narrative (based on other events related to the Regime) starts. It could be, for example, about an election, a corruption scandal of Regime's political figures, or even natural disasters like an earthquake or a flood. We saw such a Narrative during the massive flood that damaged massively several provinces in Iran in April 2019. MEK's Narrative in that event was publishing pictures and videos of these damages pointing fingers at the usual suspects: Mullahs, Regime, and IRGC that are the real reason behind it.

This dynamic repeats during the time. They start a narrative without an ending, then roll into a new one which has no ending and this process continues. Only some details in the stories change, but the characters and the plot remains the same.

2. The cultural and media plots it calls up

   During the analysis, we discovered basic plots and stories that are contexts for understanding MEK's Narrative. We extracted these stories in two parts of the analysis. First, in framing analysis of the videos where in Generalization step we discussed them:

   -Iranian Green movement (2009)

   -Middle East Revolutions (2011)

   -Iran VS U.S history (From 1978 till now)

   -Dictator's Regimes

   -Human Rights Violation in Iran

And second, in the narrative analysis, when we discussed the cultural plots that are called up in their Narrative:

   The Narrative of Mullahs

   The Narrative of ethnic division

   The Narrative of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC)

   The Narrative of Iran and U.S relationship

These prepared media frames and historical-cultural plots create a context in which the MEK's Narrative makes significance. There are more related plots and stories that one can add to the list, but these are the most frequently used plots in our case. The first list under the title of generalization in framing analysis, are the ones that make meaning for non-Iranian audience who have seen these plots in the media during the time. The plots in the second list are more local and have social-cultural characteristics.

3. The filmic Genres it connects to

In the Filmic analysis of the study, we discussed the formal aspect of MEK's Narrative and the way it connects to our cinematic experience. This aspect is not limited to MEK narrative, though. This formal representation is a part of the conflict, action, and chaos that generates in the protest scenes everywhere (the last example is the protests in the U.S after the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis). This form constructs meaning for any reader by referring to cinematic genres. This also happens in the case of MEK's Narrative on Iran events. As we mentioned in the analysis, there are at least three cinematic genres that are called up by watching the videos. These genres are:

-Disaster movies

-War movies

-Post-apocalyptic movies

4. The Meta-Narratives it applies

Analysis of the Meta-Narratives used by MEK shows that from the three detected Meta-Narratives in Iranian society (Ancient Persian Empire, Modernization, and Shia Islamization), MEK's Narrative is ultimately constructed its bases on the third one. In their Narrative, the Islamic Republic with the Mullahs and IRGC is the fruit of political Shia Islam. Although this group presents itself as an Islamist group (believing in the same ideology of Shia), they do not discuss the version of Islamism in their Narrative. Instead, we see a total confrontation against the Shia interpretation of political Islam that has emerged as the Islamic Republic.

On the other hand, there is particular attention to the second Meta-Narrative (Modernization) in the form of closing to the U.S as the most progressed example of modern civilization. And finally, they never, not even once, mention anything about the tradition of kingdoms and dynasties, especially the House of Pahlavi. This approach of the MEK, at the same time, approves their silence about the political system they imagine in case of regime change in Iran.

3.3.5 General and theoretical observations of the study

This study, as well as analyzing MEK's twitter activity during Iran events, has tried to establish a methodological path in a theoretical level for investigating twitter video activism in general. As we discussed in the second part of this study, the hermeneutics of Narrative has the potential instruments to create methods of analysis to apply for any social media study. We argued that social media platforms (in our case, twitter) have a narrative characteristic. But to establish the required method of analysis on twitter video activism, we first need a study of the historical context of the event. This means extracting the Meta-Narratives that are in tension with each other in the given society, and a toolbox of content analyses theories that would help us understand two things: how the Narrative coming from the small stories of videos are constructed, and how the audience of those stories understands this Narrative?

To give an example, we might think of the recent protests in the United States (Black lives matter movement) and the massive amount of video-tweets that tell small stories in different parts of this country. Every study from a hermeneutical perspective needs to bring a full historical context up, study the history of racism in this society, and find the macro-discourses, Meta-Narratives that historically created social-cultural or social-political gaps. Without such a context, every method would fail to describe the types of framing, the meaning-making process in media, and the way Broader Narrative is shaped and understood.

This study has endeavored to develop in both ways. 1) Finding the path in a theoretical level, so that hermeneutics of Narrative (under the light of Paul Ricoeur's works) methodologically connects to the contemporary twitter video activism studies; 2) and in a case study level, showing that such methods can reach us to what sort of results and understandings.

3.3.6 For further studies

Several themes are mentioned in this study that need more in-depth investigations. The historical analysis and the process of extracting Meta-Narratives that exist within a culture, in the first part of this study is only a beginning. There might be investigations to bring advanced methods in such historical analyses.

Other studies may focus on the hermeneutics of Narrative from different points of view. We applied fundamentally on Paul Ricoeur's thesis of Time and Narrative. Still, there are several philosophers in the tradition of hermeneutics that their thoughts might open different doors to the questions of this study.

An in-depth and complete study of genres also can be the next step to find other generic aspects of video activism, especially the radical realism that is presented by the videos.

Political aspects of the subject can become salient as well. The social-cultural changes in modern Iranian society from the perspective of twitter activities would shed light on the dynamics of twitter narratives and its influence on the politics in Iran.

Apart from MEK, several other opposition groups outside the country are actively contributing in every critical moment of Iran's politics. Among them, the monarchists are significant. Studying their narratives of the events in Iran and comparing those narratives with MEK could be a line of study.

Another study might be paying attention to the narratives constructed by the Iranian Regime in any of the online confrontations, especially on twitter. There are a considerable number of pro-regime tweeter accounts that are highly active and follow various strategies. Such a study can reveal more aspects of the online war, which is going on from different sides.

Part IV: Appendix

-Complete sheets of analyzing MEK's selected Twitter accounts

-Complete sheets of MFA for videos

4.1 Appendix 1: Sheet of analysis of the tweets

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 1

Jafarzadeh 1

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @A__Jafarzadeh Tweet Number: 1195393638056038400 Tweet Number in data: 2952 Date: 15 November 2019 Time of tweet: 6:30 pm Number of retweets: 283 Number of Likes: 315 Number of comments: 295	Length of the video: 45 seconds Number of views: 12.2 k Day or Night: Night

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	In Mashhad, the second most populated city of #Iran, people are chanting, "Dictator, shame on you; leave the country alone." as they protest the rise in prices of gasoline by as much as 3 times. Such protests is widespread all over Khuzestan Province, expanding to other cities.
Where is the location of the video?	City of Mashahd
Which date is it referring to?	No date mentioned
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi without dialect
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Rouhani (referred to the actual president) Shame on you leave the country alone Ditator (referred to the supreme leader ayatollah Khamenei) shame in you leave the country alone
Is there any land mark or signs in the video that show the location of the event?	No
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Protest, chants, heavy traffic, not moving cars, crowd, people,

What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Closed ways, Blockage
What words in the text are emphasized?	Populated city, widespread, Dictator, Iran
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	Some People are protesting and chanting
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	A: Iranian crowed chanting B: President Rouhani C: Supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei
Describe what is happening in the video	There are numbers of cars stopped on the road and people have come out to watch, some other people are chanting. Police car is seen.
Describe the movement of the camera	Continuous shoot with pan to left and right to cover both ends of the blocked street
Describe the quality of the picture	The quality is low 1/5
Describe the voices or music over the video	No narration No music Chanting is the main voice
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects, No cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic system
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 2

Jafarzadeh 2

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account:@A_Jafarzadeh
Tweet Number: 1196519534171238400
Tweet Number in data: 2992
Date: November 18
Time of tweet: 8:30 pm
Number of retweets: 545
Number of Likes: 620</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 2 minutes and 20 seconds
Number of views: 23.1 k
Day or Night: Unknown</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @Maryam_Rajavi: This is an uprising to end 40 years of dictatorship and terrorism in #Iran. Regime Leaders must face justice for crime a…
Where is the location of the video?	Office of Maryam Rajavi leader of MEK
Which date is it referring to?	Same day (November 18)
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	It is a speech of Maryam Rajavi to the public
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	No implications. Everything is expressed clearly. The Protests are all across the country, it is the **uprising** against 40 years of **dictatorship** and **terrorism**, the politic game of reformists against hardliners is over, people want the whole system to go, this uprising will continue despite killing innocent people and cutting off the internet
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	She uses "the end of the line" as a metaphor, we see the flag of Iran with different signs (The lion and the sun), The leader is a woman, she wears Hijab
What words in the text are emphasized?	Justice, crime, dictatorship, terrorism
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is the story?)	Rajavi speaking to the camera
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	MEK leader International community/west/U.S
Describe what is happening in the video	Rajavi speaking to the camera
Describe the movement of the camera	Camera is still
Describe the quality of the picture	The quality is good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is only her voice speaking

Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects, the video is edited and have cuts, the speech is recorded and not live
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro west
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic republic,
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 3

Jafarzadeh 3

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @A_ Jafarzadeh
Tweet Number: 1196540604961951747
Tweet Number in data: 2995
Date: November 18
Time of tweet: 9:12 pm
Number of retweets: 1.4 k
Number of Likes: 2.9 k</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 48 seconds
Number of views:91.9 k
Day or Night: Unknown (inside shot)

*Important: This is a RT from the US Secretary of State twitter account</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @StateDept @SecPompeo The Islamic Republic must cease violence against its own people, and should immediately restore the ability of…
Where is the location of the video?	The White House
Which date is it referring to?	November 18
List of The Hashtags in tweet	No hashtags
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Speech of Secretary of the state Pompeo
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	US government is backing the protests in Iran
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	-
What words in the text are emphasized?	Violence against people
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	Pompeo making statements beside the American flag
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Secretary of the state of US as representative of the US government Iranian Regime (whom he is making the statements to)
Describe what is happening in the video	Pompeo talking (and probably answering questions)
Describe the movement of the camera	Camera is still
Describe the quality of the picture	Quality is good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	None
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro west
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	-

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 4

Jafarzadeh 4

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @A_ Jafarzadeh
Number of tweet: 1198308574373597184
Tweet Number in data: 3069
Date: November 23
Time of tweet: 7:33 pm
Number of retweets: 152
Number of Likes: 150</td>
<td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 4 seconds
Number of views: 1.4 k
Day or Night: Day</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	In this 4 second video clip you can see the level of savagery by the Iranian regime, shooting & killing demonstrators in #IranProtests. This is what the regime wanted to hide from the world, and why the need for #Internet4Iran that could not be blocked by the regime at will.
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#IranProtests #Internet4Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	-A man (probably the police which is seen later) is shouting: Run! Where are you going? Run! -A woman (standing by the person photographing the scene): Please send the video for me!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Violence, shouts, fear, hiding, blood, suppression
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Revealing the secrets (The semi-opened door) Violence (the blood and falling young man symbolize greater movement)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Savagery, Iranian Regime, shooting and killing, internet
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	Hiding people behind a half-opened door, watching the street in which a young man has fallen on the floor with blood around him, and police chasing others with a threatening baton.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-The Observers -The victim in the blood -police attacking with baton -people on the street who are forced to go away

Describe what is happening in the video	A police shouting wants the people in the street to go away. People are scared and hiding in their homes watch the scene. There is a young man on the other side of the street bleeding with no movement.
Describe the movement of the camera	Almost still, with a zoom in at the beginning to grab the man in blood
Describe the quality of the picture	Not very good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is only the voices of the scene from the street: shouting
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No editing or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic Republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 5

Jafarzadeh 5

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @A_ Jafarzade
Tweet Number: 1198311243423068165
Tweet Number in data: 3070
Date: November 23
Time of tweet: 7:43 pm
Number of retweets: 246
Number of Likes: 237</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 1:32
Number of views: 6.2 K
Day or Night: Day</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and the Bassij of the Iranian regime in plain clothes armed with weapons targeting and arresting the youth in #IranProtests in Kermanshah. Over 300 killed 4,000 injured and 10,000 arrested in protests in 165 cities. Will continue till #FreeIran.
Where is the location of the video?	Kermanshah
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#IranProtests #FreeIran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	The people in the video are Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	They have Kurdish accent but speak Farsi
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There are people who are watching the scene and commenting about it while filming: -They have gathered cause it's lunch time. -Look they are all agents [of the Regime] with plain clothes. -
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, street fight, insurgency, security agents, arresting
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Revealing the secret (behind the scene kind of images) Street as the scene of the action (The place to come out to)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Thugs, IRGC, Bassij, weapon, youth, arresting, 300 (and other numbers)
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	There are people with no military or police uniforms who are armed with batons and anti-riot guns gathering and planning something and then

	wandering around the street. It looks like they are in an operation and are getting organized.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-The narrators (people who are filming and observing the scene) -The agents in the street with plain clothes getting organized -Some other people who are not recognized in the frame, but are the targets of the agents
Describe what is happening in the video	We see the men without uniforms (ordinary clothes) but armed against something (batons and plastic bullet guns) and are organizing in the street. Shouts of some people can be heard. Observers comment on the scene while filming by their mobile.
Describe the movement of the camera	Almost still but zoomed to catch more details
Describe the quality of the picture	Not very good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There are narrations of the observers and some shouting from the street
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited. Continuous scene
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 6

Jafarzadeh 6

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @A_ Jafarzadeh Tweet Number: 1198344751625490439 Tweet Number in data: 3071 Date: November 23 Time of tweet: 6:43 pm Number of retweets: 1 k Number of Likes: 2.1 k	Length of the video: 0.59 (59 seconds) Number of views: 104 k Day or Night: Unknown The video is a RT from The Secretary of State twitter account of the US government quoting Bryan Hook special representative from Iran

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @StateDept: Special Representative for Iran Hook urges @Facebook, @instagram , and @Twitter to suspend the accounts of the Iranian regime…
Where is the location of the video?	In Washington D.C United States
Which date is it referring to?	November 22
List of The Hashtags in tweet	No hashtags
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	It is a statement of Mr. Hook about situation in Iran.
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Tit for tat operation, suspending the Iranian regime
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Metaphor of support (of the united states from the protesters and in the next level MEK)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Tweetr, Instagram, facebook, suspending
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	Bryan Hook answering to a question or making an official statement
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-Bryan Hook making statements -Headquarters of social media platforms
Describe what is happening in the video	Hook speaking about the internet blocking in Iran
Describe the movement of the camera	Camera is still
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	None
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is TV form
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro west

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 7

Jafarzadeh 7

This is a retweet of previous tweet. It has the same analysis as Sheet number 4

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: Alireza Jafarzadeh Tweet Number: 1198345109558960134 Tweet Number in data: 3072 Date: November 23 Time of tweet: 7:33 pm Number of retweets: Number of Likes:	Length of the video: 0.04 (4 seconds) Number of views: 1.4 k Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	
Where is the location of the video?	
Which date is it referring to?	
List of The Hashtags in tweet	
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	
What language or dialect can be heard?	
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	
What words in the text are emphasized?	
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	
Describe what is happening in the video	
Describe the movement of the camera	
Describe the quality of the picture	
Describe the voices or music over the video	
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 8

Jafarzadeh 8

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @A_ Jafarzadeh Tweet Number: 1198345237673992193 Tweet Number in data: 3073 Date: November 23 Time of tweet: 9:25 pm Number of retweets: 777 Number of Likes: 1.8 k	Length of the video: 1:02 Number of views: 103 k Day or Night: - This is a recorded video extracted from a TV interview with the Secretary of State Mark Pompeo, speaking about Iran, retweeted by Jafarzadeh

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @StateDept: .@SecPompeo: The Iranian leadership has failed the Iranian people. They've behaved like kleptocrats, stealing the wealth of…
Where is the location of the video?	Washington D.C United States
Which date is it referring to?	November 22
List of The Hashtags in tweet	No Hashtags
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Secretary of the States Pompeo speaking
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	US is clearing its side about Iran attacking directly to Iranian authorities
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Support and friendship (from the side of US towards protesters and MEK)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Kleptocrats, Iranian leaders, steeling form people
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening?)	Secretary of the States of US is taking sides in an internal issue inside another country
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-Secretary of the States of US -Alireza Jafarzadeh from MEK leadership
Describe what is happening in the video	It is a TV interview with the mentioned content
Describe the movement of the camera	Still
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Pompeo speaking
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is in the form of usual TV interviews
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro west
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 9

Alavi 1

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1195617373686059008 Tweet Number in data: 2123 Date: November 16 Time of tweet: 9:19 am Number of retweets: 895 Number of Likes: 1.1 k	Length of the video: 0.27 (27 seconds) Number of views: 62 k Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran People are blocking a highway as protests continue over a recently imposed gasoline price hike that is causing a national uproar. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	A high way in Tehran
Which date is it referring to?	November 16, 2019
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Unrecognizable only one sentence is clear: From one side gets to Artesh Highway [North of Tehran] and from the other side gets to Shahabdolazim [a neighborhood in south of Tehran]
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Protest, blocking, unrest, chaos
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	The winter, The cold
What words in the text are emphasized?	Protests, gasoline price, national
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	The road is blocked and there is a heavy traffic jam. One side of the road is full of stopped cars and the other side is empty. People in the cars and autobuses shout and whistle.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Observers, people in the traffic jam
What is happening in the video? (The story)	The road is blocked because of the protests of the citizens due to rising of the price of gas.
Describe the movement of the camera	Still with zooming and some pan moving
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)

Describe the voices or music over the video	There is voice of a crowed making noises and whistling
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited and no effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 10

Alavi 2

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1195729837052350465 Tweet Number in data: 2147 Date: November 16 Time of tweet: 4:46 pm Number of retweets: 262 Number of Likes: 283	Length of the video: 0.26 (26 seconds) Number of views: 10.7 k Day or Night: Day (Not dark)

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran Protesters are setting fire to posters of Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Not clear from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Not clear from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) without any accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	-Bah Bah! (being happy with something) -The leader turns fiery! -Down with the dictator!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, radical chanting, small group, hate, adventure
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	The fire, the image of leader, throwing stuff to the icon of religion and politics
What words in the text are emphasized?	Protests, leader, fire
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Some unknown people throw things to a poster on which there is the picture of Ayatollah Khamenei. Watching the poster burn they chant
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The Icon of the leader, people behind the camera who set it on fire
What is happening in the video (Story?)	People who are angry of the economic situation of Iran show their wrath by setting on fire the image of the leader who they think is responsible.
Describe the movement of the camera	Still
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Cries and shouts of a small group of people
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited or any effects, no cuts

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic/Islam
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 11

Alavi 3

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1195813790211805184
Tweet Number in data: 2169
Date: November 16
Time of tweet: 10:19
Number of retweets: 513
Number of Likes: 642</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.07 (7 seconds)
Number of views: 23.4 k
Day or Night: Night</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Nov 16 - Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran People are setting fire to a local IRGC Basij paramilitary base & a regime bank as protests continue over the recent petrol price hikes. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	From the signs that can be seen on the buildings I located the scene in Malard which is a small city near Tehran
Which date is it referring to?	From the video it is not clear
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Not clear
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The words are not clear. No chants
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, fire, big crowed, Protest
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	The fire and burning
What words in the text are emphasized?	People, fire, regime, basij, bank
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	People massively have gathered in a street with commercial building while there is a big fire burning a part of the building
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People gathering in the street The burning building
What is happening in the video (Story?)	There has been protests against the rise of the price of gas in this city which have ended in setting on fire a building
Describe the movement of the camera	Still, zoom in, pan
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Murmuring of the crowd

Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 12

Alavi 4

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1195985011817758720 Tweet Number in data: 2183 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 9:40 am Number of retweets: 281 Number of Likes: 372	Length of the video: 0.09 Number of views: 11 k Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	#BREAKING Nov 17 - Isfahan, central #Iran Locals are seen blocking roads and continuing their protests in response to the regime's gas price hike. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Not recognizable from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Not clear from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Breaking #Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	-There was a woman who did this -Good job! Don' call her a woman, She is a man! A real man!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Protest, Traffic jam
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Woman who's action has been manly (manly hood)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Isfahan, Blocking, protest, regime, gas hike
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Two tires are burning on the middle of the road. People pass by or stop to see
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-The observer who is the narrator of the video -The woman who is not here but is responsible for the fire
What is happening in the video (Story?)	During the protests (for the rise of the gas price) in a city in Iran some people tried to block the roads by setting tires on fire
Describe the movement of the camera	Still, pan
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is a dialogue which gives meaning to the video (described above)

	Car and motorcycle engine sounds and horn
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 13

Alavi 5

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196011973751836672
Tweet Number in data: 2194
Date: November 17
Time of tweet: 11:27
Number of retweets: 389
Number of Likes: 655</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.45 (45 seconds)
Number of views: 8.7 k
Day or Night: Day</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Beautiful scene of unity & solidarity in #Iran. People are seen distributing free food to drivers who joined protests by turning their cars off in roads to create roadblocks. Nationwide protests continue over the regime's recently imposed gas price hike. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown
Which date is it referring to?	Not clear from video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	The sounds are not clear but I can distinguish the accent of people of Isfahan
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Murmuring of the people but the words are not clear. I can recognize one sentence that someone says: Is there any room left if they come?
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Blocking, traffic jam, Iranian cars, chaos, protest, eating in the car,
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Solidarity, patience
What words in the text are emphasized?	Unity, protest, roadblocks, nationwide, regime, impose, gas
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Cars are stopped. A man with a box in his hands goes to the drivers to offer them something (food maybe) that are in the box.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Drivers in the stopped cars The man who give food to them
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The man is giving the drivers something to eat so that they don't need to leave the scene and continue protesting.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera with some zoom in and moving left and right
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5) the plate number of the cars can not be read
Describe the voices or music over the video	There are voices of the scene, some unrecognizable conversations and some far shouts, and the sound of the engine of motorcycles
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, No effects, No cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 14

Alavi 6

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196016923684851714
Tweet Number in data: 2196
Date: November 17
Time of tweet: 11:43
Number of retweets: 262
Number of Likes: 264</td>
<td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 1:59
Number of views: 6.4 k
Day or Night: Unknown (it is inside)
This is an official video captured from @iribnews (news agency related to the Iranian public TV). It is the official statements of Ayatollah Khamenei, Supreme leader of Iran about the events in November.
This is a retweet from @HanifJazayeri who is a journalist close to the MEK organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Questions</td>
<td colspan="2">Answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Complete text of the tweet</td>
<td colspan="2">RT @HanifJazayeri: Today Khamenei defended the fuel price hike in Iran that has triggered the #IranProtests. He labelled protesters 'hooligans'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Where is the location of the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">House of leadership, Tehran Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Which date is it referring to?</td>
<td colspan="2">There is no date. From the archive of the Public TV I checked the date which is November 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">List of The Hashtags in tweet</td>
<td colspan="2">#IranProtests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?</td>
<td colspan="2">No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What language or dialect can be heard?</td>
<td colspan="2">Farsi (Persian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Speech of the supreme leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Ayatollah, clergies, religion, politics, explaining, experts, nation, people, unhappy, fire, damage,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Support (He is backing up the government's decision in rising the price of gas)
(Father) speaking to the nation (children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What words in the text are emphasized?</td>
<td colspan="2">Hike, protest, people, lable, Hooligan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)</td>
<td colspan="2">Supreme leader giving speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What are the characters of the story inside the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Supreme leader
People of Iran (audience)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What is happening in the video (Story?)</td>
<td colspan="2">The leader is giving speech
The story is the content of the speech: Experts have decided the rise of gas price, it is understandable some people are worried or unhappy. But unhappy people are different from the hooligans who set banks and public properties on fire.</td>
</tr>
</table>

	Story for MEK: The leader has called people who are protesting, as Hooligans.
Describe the movement of the camera	Different cameras wit standard tv program
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice of the leader
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is edited (it's a news tv product)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Pro-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 15

Alavi 7

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196143183174029312 Tweet Number in data: 2222 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 8:08 pm Number of retweets: 227 Number of Likes: 310	Length of the video: 0.38 (38 seconds) Number of views: 4.4 k Day or Night: Day On the first frame it is written in Persian: درگیری با آخوندک Conflict with the clergy boy

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	"Get lost you trash!" The people of #Iran are standing up to the ruling mullahs. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Not clear, could be somewhere in Tehran province
Which date is it referring to?	Not clear from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) sounds like Tehran dialect
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	It is a conversation in which the words of the clergy are not clear but the man speaks loudly: -They are saying death to all of you! -It's a lifetime! It has been 40 years that you are insulting the people! -I told death to you [clergy] and I won't take it back! Who do you think you are? -Take your hand off me you AVAZI (fool)! -You are AVAZI who are ruling this country! Get off! -fuck off you piece of trash!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Tension, anger, insulting, religion, confrontation, people against clergies, man shouting,
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Confrontation (between the ruling religious class and the ordinary middle class people)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Trash, people of Iran, mullas
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Two people are arguing in the street. One of them a religious Islamic clergy, the other a man on the street. During the conversation the man (in blur shirt) shouts and gets angry, the clergy gets angry as well. People come to separate them and the

	clergy leaves the scene. People shout at him and courage the man.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The Islamic clergy The man in blue People on the street
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The man in blue wishes death for the clergy as the symbol of all the ruling Ayatollahs and Islamic clergies. This is the result of years of inefficient governance that has led to the rise of the price of gas and more economic pressure on ordinary people. Now that there are protests in the streets, the man is expressing his anger under the influence of the situation.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera from the above, following the movements of the characters
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The main voice on video which makes the story understandable is the conversation and arguing between the two sides.
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, No effects, No cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 16

Alavi 8

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196153229299638272 Tweet Number in data: 2230 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 8:48 pm Number of retweets: 255 Number of Likes: 336	Length of the video: 0.48 (48 seconds) Number of views: 3.9 k Day or Night: Unknown

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Madam Spokeswoman, Thank you for standing alongside #Iran's people. We seek to topple the mullahs. We don't ask the US to send troops & topple this regime for us. We will do that ourselves. The U.S. government should say: "The mullahs must go!" Thank you once again. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Washington DC United States
Which date is it referring to?	November 16 (from the video beside the spokeswoman that says Saturday)
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The White House Spokeswoman gives opinions on Iran events: - People of Iran want accountability and transparency from their government. -Iran has spent the money it earned from the GAPOD on its proxies in the region instead of developing better education and life for its people. -We stand by people of Iran.
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	US, Fox news, media, western media, Iran & US, politics
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Friend Parenting (of US) of the world (children)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Standing with Iran, mullahs, toppling, US and us, Thanks

What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Television Interview with Spokeswoman of White house
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Spokes woman Presenters of Fox News Protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	She is commenting on Iran events. The story is clearing and repeating official US policy on Iran. She interprets what the audience see on the video projecting the protests (in Tehran and Kermanshah)
Describe the movement of the camera	Usual TV camera (still)
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Only voice of the spokeswoman
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It has the classic effects of TV interviews (deviding the screen)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro-West
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 17

Alavi 9

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196367849083854849 Tweet Number in data: 2256 Date: November 18 Time of tweet: 11:01 am Number of retweets: 336 Number of Likes: 384	Length of the video: 0.36 (36 seconds) Number of views: 6.8 k Day or Night: Night/Sunset

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	#Iran #UPDATE -South of Shiraz is under people's control -Many banks & regime centers burning -Over 100 banks & 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned in one province alone -MP: "…situation in Shiraz is very concerning." #IranProtests Video of Shiraz
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video There are some signs of the shops but it is not possible to read them in order to find the location. It is Iran though
Which date is it referring to?	Unrecognizable from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests #UPDATE
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Unrecognizable from the video
What language or dialect can be heard?	It is Persian but with very few words the observer says, we cannot recognize any accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There is murmuring, a strange silence of the people in the street, and the sound of bumping two things into one another
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, Apocalypse, war, unrest, shocked people, silence, disaster, serious
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Apocalypse, the judging day
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shiraz, banks, regime, people, concerning (One of few tweets that we see numbers)
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	An observer is walking in a street and showing the situation: there are big fire in the both ends of the street, people are out wandering around, sitting or standing still, there are papers on the street, people speak with low voice

What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The observer The people in the street
What is happening in the video (Story?)	It looks like some people have attacked to buildings and banks setting them on fire, and it might possible that they have had a conflict with security forces and winning that conflict they are waiting for more forces to come. The situation shows that the conflict has been serious.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is a strange silence knowing that the number of people in the street is quite high. We hear some few words from the observer who is talking to someone (agreeing in something unknown) There is a sound of bumping
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 18

Alavi 10

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196371401734860802 Tweet Number in data: 2257 Date: November 18 Time of tweet: 11:13 am Number of retweets: 560 Number of Likes: 660	Length of the video: 1:08 (one minute and 8 seconds) Number of views: 20.5 k Day or Night: Day and Night The tweet is a retweet of @HanifJazayeri a journalist close to MEK leadership

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @HanifJazayeri: WOW! Listen to this intercepted radio communication of Iran regime's repressive forces in Robat Karim & IRGC Gen Hossein…
Where is the location of the video?	Rubat Karim (Small city in Tehran province)
Which date is it referring to?	Unrecognizable from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	-
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	It is a conversation between military sides in form of radio communication. One side asks for military help saying that 5000 people are getting to the municipal building to take it down. The other side tells him that a group of IRGC forces are near and will come to defend the building.
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Fear, stress, chaos, riot, burning down, fire, heavy smoke, people, big group, man and women, banks, destroy
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	With unity (of people) comes victory (the stressful sound of security forces on radio)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Regime, repressive, radio communication
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Huge amount of people in the street are protesting, there is buildings on fire, first it is in daylight and next we see the scene in the night. Some people are destroying a bank and there are fire around. On the pictures two people from different security units are discussing a shortage of human forces to control the situation.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People in the street Rubat Karim's security responsible

	IRGC General
What is happening in the video (Story?)	People have attacked and destroyed the banks and buildings in the city of Rubat Karim in protest of The hike of gas price. The radio communication says that now they are heading to the municipal building to take it and this will make the situation more complicated for the security forces. The video does not say anything about the result of the situation. In this way, the message will be: if you come out of the house and stay in the streets and fight, security forces will get defeated.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Radio communication of the officers
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is edited and has a cut (it has two parts) It has edited in the sound. On the image they have put a radio conversation which does not belong to the scene
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 19

Alavi 11

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196396349366898688
Tweet Number in data: 2265
Date: November 18
Time of tweet: 12:54
Number of retweets: 3.2 k
Number of Likes: 4.9 k</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.27 (27 seconds)
Number of views: 125.7 k
Day or Night: Day (afternoon)</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	#Iran Brave woman tears down a "Death to America" poster. The crowd is heard chanting, "Death to the dictator," in a reference to @Khamenei_ir Iranians have no enmity against the U.S. or the American people. This is a 40-year lie promoted by the mullahs only. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #Iranprotests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) no accent or dialect can be recognized
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	People are chanting: Death to dictator One shouts: Take it down!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Big crowd, people, street, protest, chaos, woman, radical, symbol, emotions
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	bringing **down** the symbols of the Islamic Republic as bringing down itself people protest and climb **up**
What words in the text are emphasized?	Brave, woman, crowd, death, Iranians, US, enmity, people, lie, mullahs,
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A woman among a group of people who are chanting "death to dictator", climbs up to tear apart a banner that says "death to USA". When she

	does this people get excited and start to whistle/clap.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Woman who tries to tear the banner A man who helps her The crowd around the place chanting
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Protesters to the sudden hike in gas price, show their anger to the principles of the Islamic Republic (In this case presenting US as enemy of the Iranians) by bringing down the signs that shows this principle.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice is chanting and shouts of people around the camera
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Anti-Anti-West/US therefore we can say Pro-West/US
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic-Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 20

Alavi 12

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196439223722749952
Tweet Number in data: 2277
Date: November 18
Time of tweet: 3:45 pm
Number of retweets: 346
Number of Likes: 317</td>
<td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 0.25 (25 seconds)
Number of views: 6.7 k
Day or Night: Night
Important: In the text there are some other news not related to the video. We see more action stories in the text: Shoots and kills in the city of Shiraz/ Snipers shooting people from a Helicopter/Soltanabad, fire in the police properties.
We don't see any image of shootings. The video only shows fire in Tehran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Questions</td>
<td colspan="2">Answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Complete text of the tweet</td>
<td colspan="2">#Iran #UPDATE
Shiraz-IRGC officer shoots & kills two senior commanders ordering IRGC units to open fire on protesters
Golestan-Snipers in helicopters open fire on protesters
Soltanabad-Police station & police chief vehicle torched by protesters
#IranProtests
(Video-Tehran-Nov 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Where is the location of the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Tehran (mentioned in the video)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Which date is it referring to?</td>
<td colspan="2">November 16 (mentioned in the video)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">List of The Hashtags in tweet</td>
<td colspan="2">#Iran #UPDATE #IranProtests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?</td>
<td colspan="2">No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What language or dialect can be heard?</td>
<td colspan="2">Farsi (Persian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Narration from a man and a woman:
Here is Tehran, 25 of Aban 1398 (November 16 2019), on 10:30 pm. The Kiosk shaped center belonging to Police is burning in fire. We are in Kashani Boulevard, Noor Square. There are so many especial forces police in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Chaos, traffic jam, fire, cars, no individual in the picture, police, cabin, smoke, man, woman, narration, capital city, west of Tehran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?</td>
<td colspan="2">Observer, revealing the unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">What words in the text are emphasized?</td>
<td colspan="2">Shiraz, Golestan, Soltanabad, Tehran, Protests, kill, shoot, IRGC, opening fire, helicopter, fire</td>
</tr>
</table>

What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There is a police cabin burning in fire with heavy smoke. A man and a woman who are filming, say the location and time. Also they say there are police forces everywhere, we don't see them in this video though.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The narrators (Man and Woman)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	As a result of hike in gas price there have been some unrests in Tehran the capital city. In the west side, Noor neighborhood protesters have set a police cabin on fire. The story tells the chaos that the city faces and a victory against the authorities (burning the cabin).
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Man and woman narrate what they see and the time and location
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, No effects. No cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 21

Alavi 13

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196472870530146305 Tweet Number in data: 2280 Date: November 18 Time of tweet: 5:04 pm Number of retweets: 350 Number of Likes: 416	Length of the video: 1:29 Number of views: 4.6 k Day or Night: Day This tweet is a retweet of @amsafavi member of the foreign affairs comity of MEK

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @amsafavi: Earlier today, Nov. 28 - Tehran: Brave women condemning Khamenei's "Islamic Republic." Her works are inspiring to all. Why ar…
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown. Could be in Tehran
Which date is it referring to?	Unrecognizable. As it snows it can be Saturday November 18 in Theran
List of The Hashtags in tweet	-
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The woman is shouting against the leader of Islamic Republic: You have made us humiliated in the world. We gave our sons to defend this country in the war, Now look that Iraqies are chanting against you in the streets. You are helping Lebanon? Helping Syria? Why don't you help Iranian people? Damn you Khamenei with this Islamic Republic! You are damned Khamenei!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Anger, exhausted person, desperate, cry, woman, mother, emotion, protest
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Metaphor of Mother (the woman is grieving for the children of the Iran/ martyrs) Woman as the metaphor of the motherland
What words in the text are emphasized?	Woman, brave, condemn, Khamenei,
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There is a heavy traffic jam in the high way. Up on the crossing bridge for people, there is a woman who starts to shout and say words to the audience who are in their cars. Some other people on the bridge encourage her by clapping. She looks very emotional and almost screams.

What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Woman shouting People who listen
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Influenced by the protests of people in different corners of Iran and Tehran specially, This woman who sounds tired of the living under Islamic republic, shouts out her anger she feels against the leader of Iran.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Screams of the angry woman and some clapping and whistles
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 22

Alavi 14

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi	Length of the video: 1:01 (1 minute and 1 second)
Tweet Number: 1196481022315106304	Number of views: 7.1 k
Tweet Number in data: 2282	Day or Night: Day/afternoon
Date: November 18	
Time of tweet: 6:31	
Number of retweets: 315	
Number of Likes: 293	

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	#BREAKING 158 protesters killed by regime forces in #Iran Video shows clashes in Saveh road, southwest of Tehran. Security units forced to flee. (Faces of protesters blurred to protect their identities.) #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#BREAKING #Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Not recognizable
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The only thing recognizable from the shouts is: Hit him! Hit him! (with the stone)
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Crowd, chaos, fight, throwing stones, men, no women, police, especial forces, conflict, suspension
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Pouring in the streets, going out there, fight for it
What words in the text are emphasized?	Kill, protester, regime, Tehran, clash, identity protection Note: there is a number (153) as news saying that lots of people have been killed. Not related to the video, No source
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	In chaotic situation some protesters are throwing stones to the police forces. In another scene the police leaves and throwing continue. The sound of some shootings is heard.

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What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police/ security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	There is a fight between the side of local protesters and security forces. This is a conflict showing how the tensions are going on. Protesters fight with the police and win the situation for now.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Not Good (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Shouts of the crowds, Shootings
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is edited (at least one time we see cut), it has effects (the faces has been blurred)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 23

Alavi 15

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196675406595842053
Tweet Number in data: 2306
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 7:23 am
Number of retweets: 310
Number of Likes: 335</td><td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 0.30 (30 seconds)
Number of views: 5 k
Day or Night: Night</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Recently obtained footage - Internet heavily restricted Nov 18 - Ahvaz, SW #Iran Large crowd outside a local administrative building. Shots fired are by armed protesters. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Un recognizable. It is possible to be some place in Khuzestan province.
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	It could be related to Iranian Arabic speakers
What language or dialect can be heard?	Arabic
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Not clear. The voice is some singing or chantings + the sound of shots
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Public appearance, shooting, air shooting, bullet, gun, crowd, sky, chaos
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Confrontation, gun in the hands of people, defend, fight back, threat, ready to fight!
What words in the text are emphasized?	Restricted internet, Ahwaz, crowd, shots, armed protesters
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Big crowd are in the street. Some part of them are singing or chanting (Not clear). Others are shooting bullets into the sky.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People in the street Protesters air shooting
What is happening in the video (Story?)	It is only understandable in the context of the events happening in previous days: Protesters in Ahwaz (as the text tells us) gathering in the street are armed and shoot into the sky. It means that they are ready to inter into armed conflict with the

	security forces. Story says: People are ready to fight.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice of the scene: Shootings
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 24

Alavi 16

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196737782355505152
Tweet Number in data: 2315
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 11:31
Number of retweets:325
Number of Likes: 366</td><td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 0.21 (21 seconds)
Number of views: 31.8 k
Day or Night: Day</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Shiraz, south-central #Iran -Authorities have launched air patrols -Reports indicate protesters are in control of many districts -Many banks & police stations have been torched -Many administrative buildings are under the people's control #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Not possible to recognize from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Not clear
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Not clear. The words at the ending seconds looks like Farsi but they are not clear
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	No words. The dominant sound is a noise
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	War, explosions, heavy fire, war zone, long shot, city in fire, no people, no human, fly, big picture
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	The knower, The one who knows because has distance, God point of view
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shiraz, Authorities, air patrols, protesters control, banks, police stations on fire, Administrative, under people's control
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A helicopter is moving above a city, there are columns of smoke in different points.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The observer The helicopter The city/people
What is happening in the video (Story?)	It should be understood in the context of the events. The story it creates is what we read in the

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	text of the tweet. The video without the text tells no story.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving and zooming in
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice is a loud noise, a bit of helicopter sound and one man saying words that are not clear
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 25

Alavi 17

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196844237305909248 Tweet Number in data: 2338 Date: November 19 Time of tweet: 6:34 pm Number of retweets: 266 Number of Likes: 241	Length of the video: 0.18 (18 seconds) Number of views: 21.1 k Day or Night: Day/afternoon

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Newly obtained video Mariwan, W #Iran Security forces are opening heavy fire on protesters. Dozens are killed & injured. Authorities have closed all roads leading to the city & directly firing at people. The city is literally in flames. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	The location is in Kurdestan province in west of Iran (from the dressing of people in video)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	It relates to Iranian Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	The voices cannot be recognized
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There is shouts and the sound of gun fire
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Serious situation, chaos, guns, street fight, violence, conflict, men, throwing stones, police
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	With empty hands In front of the hot bullets
What words in the text are emphasized?	Mariwan, Security forces, fire, protesters, dozens, kill, injured, firing directly, city in flames, closed roads
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Some four/five men are in the street throwing stones to the other end where there are armed forces shooting. A man is on the floor (probably killed) and some people come to take him. There is a cut and then police forces come closer and the street is empty.

	The conflict is happening right in front of a police station (The wall in the left side of the video painted partly green is the uniform color of Iranian police)
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Men throwing stones Security/police forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Context: There are protests all ocer the country and regime is suppressing the protesters by shooting directly Story1: (regarding the text of the tweet) the video tells the story of people in the city of Mariwan who are protesting against the hike in the gas price but regime forces kill them in return. Context: In kurdestan for years there is a conflict between Some Kurdish armed groups and the Iranian armed forces. The protests for gas price has been an opportunity for this old conflict to activate again. The Kurds in the video are not armed but it seems that they had attacked the police station (the walls the station is seen in the video) to arm themselves by occupying the place. This has turned into a severe conflict with casualties.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera, it moves and turns with the person behind it
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice belongs to the conflict, heavy gun fire, shouts
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It has no effects. But it has one cut. This cut has divided the video in two parts. First part people with stones fighting with armed forces. Second part the fight seems to be over and people are backing off.
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic/ shia
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 26

Alavi 18

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196875974979260416
Tweet Number in data: 2347
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 8:40 pm
Number of retweets: 198
Number of Likes: 216</td>
<td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 2:17
Number of views: 80.4 k
Day or Night: Unknown</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	To the @StateDept & @SecPompeo: Thank you for supporting the people of #Iran. Please push the initiative of establishing internet access for the Iranian people. This is urgent as the regime is massacring many across the country. #Internet4Iran
Where is the location of the video?	Washington DC United States
Which date is it referring to?	November 18, 2019
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Internet4Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Statements from Bryan Hook, State Dep. Representative in about Iran
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	USA, Support, backing the protesters, official position about Iran, Bryan Hook, US State Dep. , Mike Pompeo, people of Iran, Iranian Regime, IRGC, respond to Khamenei
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Big brother, The supporter, The savior, friend
What words in the text are emphasized?	State Dep. Pompeo, thanks, support, Iran, people, Internet access, regime, massacring
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Bryan Hook is speaking in front of TV camera
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Bryan Hook Iranian People (potential audience)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Representative of State Department is giving an official message to the Iranian people. The message contains reviewing the short history of recent internal stories such as "the blue girl", "the white Wednesdays" … . Also there is an answer to Iran leader (Those who set fire on banks and public

	properties are thugs and hooligans): the thug is you. Another part he calls IRGC a "mafia" Short story: US is officially announcing that it is taking side in the conflict against Islamic Republic.
Describe the movement of the camera	Still
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is an epic kind of music going on under the voice of HOOK
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is a classic official Statement recorded video with usual effects of a tv program
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Pro-West/US
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 27

Alavi 19

The same as sheet 25 (alavi 17)

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196887163775926277 Tweet Number in data: 2353 Date: November 19 Time of tweet: 9:25 pm Number of retweets: 356 Number of Likes: 299	Length of the video: 0.18 (18 seconds) Number of views: 21.1 k Day or Night: Day/afternoon Note: This video is the same as previous tweet (number 2338 in data). The difference is the text of the tweet.

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	This is one of the very few videos received from Mariwan, western #Iran, where the regime has resorted to a heavy crackdown following the internet shutdown. #Internet4Iran is a dire necessity to prevent an all-out massacre in Iran.
Where is the location of the video?	The location is in Kurdestan province in west of Iran (from the dressing of people in video)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	It relates to Iranian Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	The voices cannot be recognized
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There is shouts and the sound of gun fire
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Serious situation, chaos, guns, street fight, violence, conflict, men, throwing stones, police
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	With empty hands In front of the hot bullets
What words in the text are emphasized?	Few videos, internet, shutdown, regime, crackdown, massacre
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Some four/five men are in the street throwing stones to the other end where there are armed forces shooting. A man is on the floor (probably killed) and some people come to take him. There is a cut and then police forces come closer and the street is empty. The conflict is happening right in front of a police station (The wall in the left side of the video painted partly green is the uniform color of Iranian police)

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What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Men throwing stones Security/police forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Context: There are protests all ocer the country and regime is suppressing the protesters by shooting directly Story1: (regarding the text of the tweet) the video tells the story of people in the city of Mariwan who are protesting against the hike in the gas price but regime forces kill them in return. Context: In kurdestan for years there is a conflict between Some Kurdish armed groups and the Iranian armed forces. The protests for gas price has been an opportunity for this old conflict to activate again. The Kurds in the video are not armed but it seems that they had attacked the police station (the walls the station is seen in the video) to arm themselves by occupying the place. This has turned into a severe conflict with casualties.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera, it moves and turns with the person behind it
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice belongs to the conflict, heavy gun fire, shouts
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It has no effects. But it has one cut. This cut has divided the video in two parts. First part people with stones fighting with armed forces. Second part the fight seems to be over and people are backing off.
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic/ shia
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 28

Alavi 20

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196899591142215680
Tweet Number in data: 2358
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 10:14 pm
Number of retweets: 336
Number of Likes: 281</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.20 (20 seconds)
Number of views: 11.4 k
Day or Night: Day</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Reports indicate the regime in #Iran has provided "fire-at-will" orders to its security forces to indiscriminately gun down protesters. #Internet4Iran is needed to inform the world the truth about #IranProtests & the mullahs' brutality.
Where is the location of the video?	Shiraz, Ma'ali Abad neighborhood (confirmed by the accent of the voice and mentioning the place)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #Internet4Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) with Shirazi accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The voice over the video Narrates what is discovered: -Shiraz, the police is shooting at people! - Forces of Maali Abad police station are shooting the people directly! -They shot people with bullets! They shot people with bullets!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, people, protest, stress, panic, group of people, body, blood, serious, disaster
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Blood Martyr
What words in the text are emphasized?	Regime, fire at will, security forces, gun down, protests, internet, mullahs
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Some people are running to a point in which a group of people have gathered. Camera goes into the crowd to find the reason. It gets to see a human body in blood (shot) on the ground.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Observer Protesters Police forces

	Dead man
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of hike in gas price and the protests in some cities, we see a neighborhood in the city of Shiraz where the protests has ended to shooting at people. The video tells the viewer that police opens fire to people and they get killed.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the environment Voice over of the Narrator
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 29

Alavi 21

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">
About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1196904293288288257
Tweet Number in data: 2359
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 10:33 pm
Number of retweets: 354
Number of Likes: 293
</td>
<td colspan="2">
About the Video
Length of the video: 0.15 (15 seconds)
Number of views: 21.9 k
Day or Night: Day
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	With the internet shut down, #Iran's regime will continue killing protesters & innocent civilians. #Internet4Iran
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #Internet4Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) accent sounds like Isfahan province
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Shouts saying: They killed him! They killed people's son!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Small group, shout, killing, body, chaos, protest, men, no women, emotions, radical, conflict
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Martyr Revenge
What words in the text are emphasized?	Internet, shut down, regime, killing, innocent
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There is a person on the street killed by gun shot. Others are screaming.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Killed person Shooters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of Iran's unrests, there are protests in different cities. The story here is security forces have shot a protester dead.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice of the environment, shouting people
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 30

Alavi 22

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1196938824745652224 Tweet Number in data: 2369 Date: November 20 Time of tweet: 12:50 am Number of retweets: 365 Number of Likes: 436	Length of the video: 0.46 (46 seconds) Number of views: 20 k Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Recently obtained video Javanrud, near Kermanshah, W #Iran Brave protesters stand their ground, forcing the regime's security units to retreat. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Javanrood in Kermanshah province (from the Kurdish language, dressing and the mark on the video)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	This happened in the Province of Kermanshah where the majority are Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	Kurdish
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Unrecognizable Mostly screams
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, street fight, stone, riot, protest, men, women in the house, emotions
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Together we stand metaphor Unity
What words in the text are emphasized?	Javanrud, Brave, stand, ground, regime, retreat
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Men in the street see the security forces getting closer. They throw stones and make them back off.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Men I the street (protesters) Police
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of the protests in different parts of Iran in result of the hike in gas price, there are unrests in Kermanshah province. In the city of Javanrud people are fighting against the police forces, throwing stones. In the video they manage to make the forces retreat.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the environment: shouts, screams
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 31

Alavi 23

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1197066817837113344
Tweet Number in data: 2378
Date: November 20
Time of tweet: 9:19 am
Number of retweets: 455
Number of Likes: 565</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.31 (31 seconds)
Number of views: 9.6 k
Day or Night: Day/afternoon</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Recently obtained video Tehran, #Iran Protesters forcing the regime's anti-riot units to flee, showing the people's high spirits as the uprising continues across the country. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The observer narrates: Sattar Khan street (in west of Tehran city), the special forces are attacking people. They are attacking. The special forces have escaped! They escaped!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, running conflict, group of people, street fight, emotions, stress, protest
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Unity and togetherness Stone (empty hands)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Tehran, protesters, regime, anti-riot, flee, uprising, across the country
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There are people in the street with masks moving and running forward. The narrator says police has fled. Some rise their hands up and scream.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of Iran protests, Protesters with throwing stones and other objects have succeeded in making the security forces move back in a street in Tehran.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving It looks like the camera on hand moves in action movies. It is trembling. So many moves
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the street. Narrator who is filming shouts what he sees.
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	Not edited, no effects, no cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 32

Alavi 24

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1197291642945970176 Tweet Number in data: 2429 Date: November 20 Time of tweet: 12:12 am Number of retweets: 352 Number of Likes: 393	Length of the video: 2:11 Number of views: 7.8 k Day or Night: Unknown It is a TV interview program on CNN Note: the history of Kaveh Madani and what his experience was in Iran is an interesting context to understand the video better.

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Interesting to see @CNN's @camanpour simply parrot the mullahs' talking points & threats against the people of #Iran, and @KavehMadani divert attention away from #IranProtests. Neither mention a word about the regime's ongoing brutal crackdown against innocent people.
Where is the location of the video?	United States
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown (but it surely is about the November protests)
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	English
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	It is an interview from CNN's Amanpour with an Iranian Academic Kaveh Madani. The subject of the interview is statements of white house in standing with the Iranian people. -It's interesting when you say you will stand by the people of Iran and you call them terrorist and then you impose sanctions, where these sanctions only make the situation worst for the people of Iran (The ones he claims is standing with). -Breaking Iran is not an easy thing as we have seen. Miscalculation from the west side are significant. - You (Trump administration) put people in the middle of battles and this won't make things get better.
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Interview, journalism, analysis, US lies, people are the victims, paradox.
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	

What words in the text are emphasized?	CNN, Parrot mullahs, threat against people, divert attention, protests, regime, innocent people
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	TV interview
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Cristian Amanpour (presentor) Kaveh Madani (interviewer)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The main story hidden in the words: Trump is ling when he says he stands by the Iranian people because at the same time he puts sanctions that make the people's life worst.
Describe the movement of the camera	Usual TV program (still camera)
Describe the quality of the picture	Good (4/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice of the interview
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is edited in the sense of TV program interview
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	Anti-West (united states)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 33

Alavi 25

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1197401850850500608
Tweet Number in data: 2431
Date: November 21
Time of tweet: 7:30 am
Number of retweets: 339
Number of Likes: 371</td>
<td colspan="2">About the Video
Length of the video: 0.13 (13 seconds)
Number of views: 6 k
Day or Night: Day/afternoon</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Newly obtained video Nov 18 - Eslamshahr, SW of Tehran, #Iran Bagh-e-Feyz district Protesting locals torch a trailer belonging to the regime's state police. Many reports have described this city as a "war zone." #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Difficult to recognize from the video (it is not possible to read the signs to be able to locate because of bad quality)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown (the text addresses November 18)
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	No words can be recognized. It is all murmuring and noises.
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Noises without words
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, apocalyptic view, burning, silent observers, damage,
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Destroying "the other's" structure war Burning down Attacking and victory
What words in the text are emphasized?	Eslamshahr, Tehran, torch, trailer, regime, police, war zone
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Group of people in the street watch something burning in big fire.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People Police forces (who are not in the scene)

What is happening in the video (Story?)	Protests have attacked to some properties belonged to the police (it is not clear what is burning) and have set it on fire.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving around and shows both parts of the street, the object in fire and people watching
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the street
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects edits and cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 34

Alavi 26

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1197570429671616513
Tweet Number in data: 2442
Date: November 21
Time of tweet: 6:40 pm
Number of retweets: 667
Number of Likes: 823</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.20 (20 seconds)
Number of views: 43.5 k
Day or Night: Day</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Newly obtained video Shiraz, south-central #Iran Protesters seen chasing the regime's security units, forcing them to flee back to their base. A number of security vehicles seen burning near the site. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video (the text says shiraz)
Which date is it referring to?	Unrecognizable from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	No language
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Only screams and guns shooting
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, attack, defense, flee, resistance, damage, burning, emotions
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Attack an victory Empty hands
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shiraz, protesters, chasing, security, regime, flee back, vehicles burning
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Large group of people moving towards a police/security force base aggressively. They are forced to go back to the base.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The same as chronicles. Conflict between protesters and police forces. Police backs off.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera, filming from a high building, the angle is from the above so that the whole street is seen
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the street: Protesters shout and scream, we hear guns shoot (probably from the police side)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edit, cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 35

Alavi 27

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1197791299266662401 Tweet Number in data: 2469 Date: November 22 Time of tweet: 9:17 am Number of retweets: 437 Number of Likes: 461	Length of the video: 1:11 Number of views: 6.6 K Day or Night: Day/afternoon

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Newly obtained footage Shiraz, south-central #Iran (Exact date unknown) Footage shows the vast scope of protests and unrest. More reason why the mullahs' do not dare restore internet access. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Shiraz city (from the accents)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Very little words can be recognized. The observer once says: Ya Abolfazl! (expressing his shock) -Someone shouts: To whom belongs this pride? (referring to the car parked by the building in fire)
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, apocalypse, people shock, war zone, attack, conflict, serious, radical
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Attack Victory
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shiraz, vast scope, protests, mullahs, internet access
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Person with mobile is walking in the street showing the situation. A building is on fire and there are some objects in the street and smoke everywhere.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People as protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The video tells the story that has happened before the filming: there has been a conflict with police

	forces that has ended up like this. Destroyed streets and bus stations, building on fire.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving forward to show the situation in a street
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the street, some shouts and murmuring And the sound of an explosion at the end coming from the building on fire
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits, cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 36

Alavi 28

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi Tweet Number: 1197857380962373632 Tweet Number in data: 2476 Date: November 22 Time of tweet: 1:40 pm Number of retweets: 205 Number of Likes: 228	Length of the video: 0.07 (7 seconds) Number of views: 2.8 k Day or Night: Night

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Newly obtained videos 1/3 Nov 2019 - Fardis, near Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran Footage of brave Iranians taking to the streets & expressing their utter hatred of the mullahs' regime. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Fardis neighborhood in Karaj (From the narration)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown the exact date
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Not clear from the video
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narration says: Fradis, All the banks are on fire
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Heavy damage, chaos, no men or women in the picture, radical, serious, destroy
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Attack Disappearing from earth
What words in the text are emphasized?	Fardis, Brave, streets, utter hatred, mullahs, regime
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A building is burning in fire
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	-
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The video should be understood in the context of the protests in those days. The story is some people are destroying the public properties including banks as to protest against the government decision to rise the gas price.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera almost still
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the environment. Narrator tells the location and that it is a bank
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects or edits or cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 37

Alavi 29

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1197992178984914947
Tweet Number in data: 2508
Date: November 22
Time of tweet: 10:36 pm
Number of retweets: 241
Number of Likes: 193</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.44 (44 seconds)
Number of views: 8.5 k
Day or Night: Day/ afternoon
Note: the first video that shows the police forces near and protesters in the distance</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Tehran, #Iran Vafadar Street Footage of the regime's security forces directly targeting & shooting at protesters. (at 00:38) #StopIranBloodshed
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #StopIranBloodshed
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	No words is said
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	None
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Violence, suppression, radical, killing, attack, small group, men
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Attack War Blood of the innocent
What words in the text are emphasized?	Tehran, regime, security forces, shooting, targeting
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of armed security forces are hiding. Protesters are throwing stones to the forces in the other end of the main street. One or two agents get out and target the protesters.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police/security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	There is direct shooting from the security forces to the protesters in a street in Tehran.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving and turning to show the position of the police, the protesters and the location of the streets.

Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the street
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits, cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 38

Alavi 30

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: "HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1198139579058008064
Tweet Number in data: 2516
Date: November 23
Time of tweet: 8:21 am
Number of retweets: 430
Number of Likes: 469</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.16 (16 seconds)
Number of views: 9.1 k
Day or Night: Day/afternoon</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Recently obtained video Nov 2019 - Tehran, #Iran Shoosh Square (Exact date uncertain) Protesters setting tires on fire to establish roadblocks & take control over local roads/districts. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran (the text says it is Shush sq. down town of Tehran)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	None
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	No audio
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, protest, blocking, riot, people, police, adventure, traffic jam
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Defense War Stopping/ blocking your way
What words in the text are emphasized?	Protesters, fire, roadblock, control over districts
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of men have blocked a main street causing a heavy traffic jam. They have tires set on fire to make the blockage stronger. Police is on the other side watching.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Confrontation of the protesters to the hike of gas price against police and security forces. They have blocked the road to show their protests.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera filming from a bridge above the road moving to show the both sides of the street.
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	No audio
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits, effects and cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 39

Alavi 31

This video is the same as sheet 5 (Jafarzadeh 5)

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account:
Tweet Number:
Tweet Number in data:
Date:
Time of tweet:
Number of retweets:
Number of Likes:</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video:
Number of views:
Day or Night:
Note: It has been analyzed in Jafarzade list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>Answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete text of the tweet</td>
<td>Meet the real "thugs" of the IRGC and the Bassij of the Iranian regime in plain clothes armed with weapons targeting and arresting the youth in #IranProtests in Kermanshah. Over 300 killed 4,000 injured and 10,000 arrested in protests in 165 cities. Will continue till #FreeIran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where is the location of the video?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which date is it referring to?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of The Hashtags in tweet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language or dialect can be heard?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What words in the text are emphasized?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the characters of the story inside the video?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is happening in the video (Story?)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describe the movement of the camera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describe the quality of the picture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describe the voices or music over the video</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the video edited? Does it have effects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</table>

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 40

Alavi 32

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: - (the address of the video is:
https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video
/1198324772809125889/pu/vid/400x400/ExC0-
ADkvveLNXCD.mp4?tag=10
Tweet Number in data: 2544
Date: November 23
Time of tweet: 19:45
Number of retweets: 1202
Number of Likes: ?</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 1 minute
Number of views: Unknown
Day or Night: Day
Note: The tweet has been removed but the video is available online. Also the general information about the tweet has been gathered in data.

This is a retweet of another account (probably the reason why it can't be found)</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	Young girl in #Iran crying & pleading outside the prison where her father has been sentenced to death by the Regime: "I haven't seen my dad in 4yrs. Let me see him. Don't kill my dad! Kill me instead! Dad, don't be scared. Dad, I'm outside." 💔😒
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Unknown
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The girl shouts: Let me see my dad! I haven't see my dad in 4 years! Don't kill him! Kill me instead!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Emotions, sadness, desperate, love, innocence, little girl, Begging
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Cruelty Innocence Injustice Prison Closed doors Disconnection
What words in the text are emphasized?	Young girl, cry, plead, prison, sentence to death, regime
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A young girl crying at the door of a place asking to see her father
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Crying girl Her father (not in the picture)

	Prison guards (not in the picture)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	We can't know the time or the place of this. Therefore no context could be fined to understand the story. In general it tells the story of someone who has been sentenced to death has spent 4 years in the prison and his family have not seen him since then.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (cry and shouts)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits or cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 41

Alavi 33

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @HeshmatAlavi
Tweet Number: 1198372481830129665
Tweet Number in data: 2554
Date: November 23
Time of tweet: 11:47 pm
Number of retweets: 208
Number of Likes: 305</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.03 (3 seconds)
Number of views: 32.7 k
Day or Night: Day</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	#Iran Brave protester tearing apart a large poster of Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. The end is near for the mullahs' regime. #IranProtests
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran (Recognizable from the video)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran #IranProtests
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	No language
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There is an epic style music
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Risk, young man, symbolic, dangerous, protest
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Defeating the other (tearing apart the image) Deleting the image as destroying or ending
What words in the text are emphasized?	Brave, protester, tearing, large, Khamenei, end, near, mullahs, regime.
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A young man has gone up on a bridge to bring down the poster of Iranian leader.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Young protester Iranian Authorities
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of the protesting (hike in the gas price) in the middle of the city center in Tehran, someone is tearing apart the big image of the leader.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera zooming
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Epic style music on the video
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	There is no cuts or visual effects

	But the video is edited on the sound level (music)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 42

Wafa (Hamyari) 1

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @Hamyari_user_tweets
Tweet Number: 1195468617082703872
Tweet Number in data: 2462
Date: November 15
Time of tweet: 10:50 pm
Number of retweets: 135
Number of Likes: 167</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.30 (30 seconds)
Number of views: 3.5 k
Day or Night: Night
Note: This is a retweet from @gobadi, spokesman of the MEK</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	RT @gobadi: Mashhad- Anti-riot forces attacking people. Anti-regime protests all over #Iran tonight. People chanted "Down with dictator", "…
Where is the location of the video?	Unclear from the image
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#Iran
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi- Mashahdi accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	-Oh! They have crashed the car of this poor man! -Record the scene! -Look they have crashed every one's car to move them! -The police has broken the windows of this car! -Oh my god! [Voice of the police]: Go! Go!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Violence, chaos, shock, Unrests in Mashhad, crisis
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Hidden camera as the third eye revealing the untold Breaking the cars as breaking the people owning them
What words in the text are emphasized?	Mashhad, attacking people, all over Iran, dictator
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (What is happening as chronicles?)	People in a car passing in a street are filming the outside. There are police forces armed with batons that have crashed stopped cars in the street and some are moving the cars. Then come more police forces on motor cycles and therefore people in the car stop filming.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Observers in the car, police, people with crashed cars

Describe what is happening in the video (what story can be told?)	People had been protesting by stopping their cars in the road. Police with batons and hitting them< makes them go. When they refuse to go, start crashing the cars so that they are forced to go or police move the cars.
Describe the movement of the camera	Some pans and tilts to cover the action
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	There is a kind of narration we hear. The recorder of the video is under influence of what he sees and is speaking loudly about the crashed cars. Some car horns and police shouts can be heard in the back ground.
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No editing and effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia?	Not clear
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 43

Wafa (Hamyari) 2

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @hamyari
Tweet Number: 1195663998622019585
Tweet Number in data: 2495
Date: November 16
Time of tweet: 12:24 pm
Number of retweets: 4
Number of Likes: 1</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.36 (36 seconds)
Number of views: 58
Day or Night: Day/afternoon</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	زنجان - یک جوان: خامنه ای بترس این سری مثل سری قبل نیست باید بری... #زنجان #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی City of Zanjan, A young man: You should have fear Khamenei! This time is not like past times! You should go!
Where is the location of the video?	City of Zanjan (according to the narrator in video)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	زنجان# #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی (3000 Toman gas price)
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narrator says: -this time is not like last time! -you should have fear, Khamenei! -this is the voice of the people! -here is zanjan
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, protest, small group, strike, horns, road block
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Rise up/ Uprising
What words in the text are emphasized?	Zanjan, different, fear for Khamenei, people
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of people are walking in the middle of the street. The cars are horning.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of November events in Iran (protests against the hike in gas price) in the city of Zanjan (west of Iran) people are protesting by blocking the road and continuous car horns.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving forward along with the person filming
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	The voice of the scene: people shout, cars horn
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits, cuts, effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 44

Wafa (Hamyari) 3

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @Hamyari Tweet Number: 1195700825160667142 Tweet Number in data: 2530 Date: November 16 Time of tweet: 2:51 pm Number of retweets: 3 Number of Likes: 5	Length of the video: 0.45 (45 seconds) Number of views: 70 Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	تبریز - مردم شجاع تبریز اتوبوس و موتورهای نیروی انتظامی را به آتش کشیدند #تبریز #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی Tabriz- brave people of Tabriz set on fire the buses and motorcycles of Police forces.
Where is the location of the video?	Tabriz North west of Iran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#تبریز #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Yes. It is related to the Turks of Iran
What language or dialect can be heard?	Turkish and Persian with Turkish accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The narrator at the end of the video says: -this the police's bus. It is burning. Here is Tabriz, Pasdaran Exp. Way
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, fire, riot, apocalypse, destroying, anger
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Attack War
What words in the text are emphasized?	Tabriz, fire, bus, motorcycles
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of people have set some properties on fire. A motorcycle and a Bus are recognizable.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Police (not seen in the picture)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of Iran's November events (protests against the hike in gas price) we see that in the city of Tabriz there are serious unrests and people have set public properties on fire.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moves with the person filming, following the group of people and showing the street.
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)

Describe the voices or music over the video	Voices are from the scene: shouts and screams, people speak in Turkish, Narrator says few words
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects There are 3 cuts, primitive edit
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic Republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 45

Wafa (Hamyari) 4

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @Hamyari
Tweet Number: 1195981507271233536
Tweet Number in data: 2565
Date: November 17
Time of tweet: 9:26
Number of retweets: 6
Number of Likes: 6</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.30 (30 seconds)
Number of views: 31
Day or Night: Night</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	شیراز - تظاهرات مردم علیه گرانی بنزین با شعار «توپ تانک فشفشه، آخوند باید گم بشه» - شنبه ۲۵آبان شیراز #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی# Shiraz- Protesters chant: Mullahs should get lost! Saturday 25 Aban (November 16)
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from de video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	شیراز #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی#
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Mullahs should get lost
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Protests, calm, big group, men and women, adventure
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Gathering by the fire (rebirth?) Attack/ war
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shiraz, Mullahs, get lost
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	People gathering around fire chanting
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	People/protesters chanting against "Mullahs"
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera turning around
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (People talking and chanting)+ sound of motorcycles
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits and cuts and effects

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic and shia clerics
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 46

Number 5

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1195982335721779203 Tweet Number in data: 2566 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 9:29 Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 2	Length of the video: 0.55 (55 seconds) Number of views: 45 Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	اعتصاب در بازار تهران - ۲۶آبان ۹۸ تهران #اعتصاب_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی# Strike in Tehran's Bazar- 26 Aban (November 16)
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran (Great bazar of Tehran)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	تهران #اعتصاب_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی#
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narrator: Everybody here is on strike as it is seen. Screams from the crowd Shameless! Shameless!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, strike, youth, young men, economy, protest, adventure, not serious
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Bazar as the heart of economy and business is closed
What words in the text are emphasized?	Tehran, Bazar, Strike
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Young men are standing in front of closed shops or walking in the Bazar. Some scream and make noises
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of November protests (hike in gas price) the great bazar of Tehran is closed as a sign of protest.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving along with the person filming and walking in Bazar
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene: narration, screams and noises, chanting

Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits effects or cuts
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti- Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 47

Wafa (Hamyari) 6

<table>
<tr>
<td>About the Tweet
User Account: @hamyari
Tweet Number: 1195996540923498496
Tweet Number in data: 2570
Date: November 17
Time of tweet: 10:22 am
Number of retweets: 4
Number of Likes: 4</td>
<td>About the Video
Length of the video: 1:37 (1 minute and 37 seconds)
Number of views: 13
Day or Night: Day</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	fereshteh @feresht02376199 RT @feresht02376199 شروع اعتراضات در #سنندج . ۲۶ آبان : November 17th – start of the protests in Sanandaj
Where is the location of the video?	Kurdestan, Iran (city of Sanandaj)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#سنندج
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Related to the Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	Kurdish
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	No chants or recognizable words
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Police, threat, ready for operation, organized, tension
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Being on (the motor cycles) armed and ready threat
What words in the text are emphasized?	Sananadaj, Protests, start
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There are police forces on motorcycles armed, organized, riding through the street.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People Police
What is happening in the video (Story?)	The police is showing its readiness and strength by being there in the street to prevent any protests.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera almost still turning around to cover the street
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (motorcycles, screams from the crowd)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits or cuts or effects

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 48

Wafa (Hamyari) 7

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyar Tweet Number: 1196089235402612736 Tweet Number in data: 2584 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 4:34 pm Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 1	Length of the video: 0.13 (13 seconds) Number of views: 24 Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	قیام آفرینان گارد بزرگراه نیایش #تهران را کندن و از آن برای بستن خیابان استفاده کردند. #قیام_سراسری# تهران Uprising creators took off the guard rail of the highway to block the road. Hashtags: Tehran, crossnational_uprising
Where is the location of the video?	Tehran, Iran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#قیام_سراسری# تهران
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narrator says: -Ahaaa! That's it! This is the right job!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, protests, blockage, traffic jam, emotion, adventure, damage
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Blocking the way of ordinary (life) Protest Attack (towards the system)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Uprising, Tehran, guard rail
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of people break the guard rail and pull it through the highway.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People (protesters)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of Iran events in November (Hike in the gas price), protesters block the road to make traffic jam and show their unhappiness.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera still, turning a bit to cover the scene

Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene: narrator, people screaming and whistling
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits, cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 49

Wafa (Hamyari) 8

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1196091162928582656 Tweet Number in data: 2586 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 4:42 Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 2	Length of the video: 0.24 (24 seconds) Number of views: 19 Day or Night: Day Note: The quality of the video is not good, and the faces have been blurred.

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	قیام ایران- تصویری از شعار پر خروش مردم به جان آمده: مرگ بر حکومت آخوندی #قیام_سراسری #بنزین3000تومانی Iran's uprising- footage of chants from the exhausted people of Iran: Death to Mullahs's regime
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable
Which date is it referring to?	Unrecognizable
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#قیام_سراسری #بنزین3000تومانی
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Death to the Mullah's regime! Mullahs should get lost!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Rage, chaos, shout, protest, crowd, radical
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Message Loud voice (to get heard)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Iran, chants, shouting, exhausted, death, mullahs
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A group of people chanting with emotions
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	This group of people (probably because of the hike in the gas price) gave gathered in an unrecognized place in a street and chant against the Islamic Republic.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving a lot and turning in different angles
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (Chanting against the system)

Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No cuts The face have been blurred (security of the protesters)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 50

Wafa (Hamyari) 9

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1196105284428738560 Tweet Number in data: 2590 Date: November 17 Time of tweet: 5:38 Number of retweets: 3 Number of Likes: 3	Length of the video: 0.36 Number of views: 51 Day or Night: Day/ afternoon

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	به آتش کشیدن بنر خامنه ای مرگ بر خامنه ای زنده باد آزادی #قیام_سراسری Setting the poster of Khamenei on fire. Death to Khamenei, Hail Freedom! #Crossnational_uprising
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#قیام_سراسری
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narrator says: Death to Khamenei! Death to Dictator! Hail to Oppositions!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Young men, cautious, adventure, protests
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Attack to the symbols Bringing down and destroy the system
What words in the text are emphasized?	Fire, poster, Khamenei, death, freedom
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Two men set a poster of the Iranian leader on fire, besides the highway
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Young men (protesters) (Symbol of) Leader
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of Iran November events these two young men are showing their protests against the system with setting the poster of the Iran's leader on fire.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera, moving forward as the person walks
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voices from the scene (Narration and cars)

Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects cuts edits
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 51

Wafa (Hamyari) 10

The same as sheet of video-tweet 15 (Alavi 7)

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">
About the Tweet
User Account: @hamyari
Tweet Number: 1196138373565616129
Tweet Number in data: 2600
Date: November 17
Time of tweet: 7:49 pm
Number of retweets: 2
Number of Likes: 3
</td>
<td colspan="2">
About the Video
Length of the video: 0.38 (38 seconds)
Number of views: 18
Day or Night: Day
Note: This video is the same as the we have analyzed in the sheet number 7A
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	درگیری یک هموطن با یک آخوند حرامی قیام_سراسری# بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی# Conflict between a patriot and a bastard mullah #Croosnational_uprising #3000TomansGas
Where is the location of the video?	
Which date is it referring to?	
List of The Hashtags in tweet	
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	
What language or dialect can be heard?	
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	
What words in the text are emphasized?	
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	
What is happening in the video (Story?)	
Describe the movement of the camera	
Describe the quality of the picture	
Describe the voices or music over the video	
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	

Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 52

Wafa (Hamyari) 11

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1196538845862473728 Tweet Number in data: 2657 Date: November 18 Time of tweet: 10:21 pm Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 1	Length of the video: 0.30 (30 seconds) Number of views: 13 Day or Night: Night Note: there are the names of 2 cities in the text and the name of another city (shahryar) with Hashtag. It is not clear which place this video would belong to.

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	صدای درگیری شدید در شهر قدس - قلعه حسن خان - ۲۷آبان ۹۸ شهریار #بنزین3000تومنی #قیام_سراسری# Severe conflict in Shahre-Qods, Qal'e Hasn Khan, Aban 27 (November 18) #Shahryar #CrossNationa_uprising #3000TomansGas
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	شهریار #بنزین3000تومنی #قیام_سراسری#
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	None
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	No words or chants. There is only the sound of bullets gun fire
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Conflict, shooting, war, distance, radical, violence
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War
What words in the text are emphasized?	Severe conflict, Shahr qods
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	In the distance some people are running. There is the sound of gun fire.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Protesters Security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the cities around the capital city of Teheran, there are unrests and violence. This video probably refers to one of these cities. Security forces are shooting at the protesters.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera still (filmed from a window far away from the real scene)

Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (gun fires)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 53

Wafa (Hamyari) 12

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1196793201962758145 Tweet Number in data: 2668 Date: November 19 Time of tweet: 3:11 Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 1	Length of the video: 1:53 Number of views: 44 Day or Night: Day/ afternoon Note: there is a Title at the beginning of the video saying: Waiting for you to come out to the streets Also there is a music playing that belongs to MEK organization songs

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	تصاویر رسیده از قیام مردم دلیر تبریز #تبریز #IranPortests #قیام_سراسری #3000تومانی بنزین Footage from the brave people of Tabriz #Tabriz #3000TomansGas #crssNationalUprising
Where is the location of the video?	Pasdaran Highway, Tabriz northwest of Iran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#تبریز #IranPortests #قیام_سراسری #3000تومانی بنزین
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	It is related to the Iranian Turks
What language or dialect can be heard?	Turkish (azarbayjan)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Narrator says: -Here is Tabriz. Pasdaran High way. -Police motorcycle has been on fire -there is no cars, no agents and police, no nothing! The words of the song: This the sound of the lions! This is the beginning of the end!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, war zone, destroying, public properties, fire, smoke, conflict, serious, riot, district control
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Victory Occupy
What words in the text are emphasized?	Brave, people, Tabriz, uprising
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	There are objects (motorcycles, trash tanks, bus) burning on the ground and in the middle of the highway. People are walking among them.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People/protesters Police agents/ security forces (not seen in the picture)
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Seems like an after war scene, when the winner is showing the remains and enemy costs on the

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	battle field. The story tells that the people in the picture has achieved a victory in a conflict.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera, moving forward with the person filming the scene.
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voices are: Narration of the person filming in Turkish Some words and shouts from other people on the road The song is playing
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It is edited It has cuts (3 cuts) Not sure about the effects From the title, song and edit it would be a video prepared by MEK for the purpose of distribution
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 54

Wafa (Hamyari) 13

<table>
<tr><td>About the Tweet
User Account: @hamyari
Tweet Number: 1196851670879260674
Tweet Number in data: 2671
Date: November 19
Time of tweet: 7:04 pm
Number of retweets: 2
Number of Likes: 1</td><td>About the Video
Length of the video: 0.47 (47 seconds)
Number of views: 35
Day or Night: Day/afternoon</td></tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	فیلمی از شلیک مزدوران خامنه ای به مردم در کرمانشاه. کرمانشاه# IranPortests# تظاهرات_سراسری# Footage of shooting to people from the Mercenaries of Khamenei in Kermanshah. #crossnational_uprising #Kermanshah
Where is the location of the video?	City of Kermanshah north west of Itan
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown from the video
List of The Hashtags in tweet	تظاهرات_سراسری# IranPortests# کرمانشاه#
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	It is related to Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) with Kurdish accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	There is complete narration which has been subtitled in Farsi as well: -He is loading his gone. -Look! He is hiding there and wants to shoot people! -Look! He shot! He shot! Shameless! He wants to shoot! -He shot! Shameless! -Kermanshah, Taghe Bostan Blvd. -Look, he has sit in the same direction people are. -Look, he is shooting people from behind the tree. - With real bullets!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, radical, violence, riot, insurgency, protests, fire, killing, conflict
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Victim (people getting killed by forces)
What words in the text are emphasized?	Shooting, mercenary, Khamenei, Kermanshah
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	In a chaotic situation we see some shadows in the picture. A man beside a wall aims his gun to a direction outside the frame and shoots.

	In the other part another man has hidden aiming and shooting.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People Security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	Security forces in order to suppress the protests and control the situation in the city of Kermanshah, shoot at people. (context: because of the minority problem and activities of some Kurdish groups, the situation is violent).
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera still zooming in some moments
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (narrator+ shootings)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	It has cuts (two videos are pasted together) It has effects (subtitles and red circles)
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 55

Wafa (Hamyari) 14

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1197263326797017089 Tweet Number in data: 2728 Date: November 20 Time of tweet: 10:19 pm Number of retweets: 5 Number of Likes: 5	Length of the video: 0.57 (57 seconds) Number of views: 334 Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	تصویری از درگیری مردم و نیروهای سرکوبگر در سنندج بنزین3000تومانی # #IranPortests #سنندج #تظاهرات_سراسری Footage of conflict between protesters and the suppressive forces in Sanandaj #Sanandaj #3000TomanGas #Crossnational_uprising
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	بنزین3000تومانی # #IranPortests #سنندج #تظاهرات_سراسری
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	Kurds
What language or dialect can be heard?	No words recognized
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	None
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, protest, long shot, group of people, emotions, screams, shooting, small city
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War
What words in the text are emphasized?	Sanandaj, conflict, suppressive forces
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	In the square of a city people have gathered. There is a kind of tension and some shooting is heard. There is smoke as well.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	People (protesters) Security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In a city in Kurdestan (probably Sanandaj) there is a conflict between protesters and the security forces.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone still, showing from above and in distance (long shot view) of the city and the square in which events are happening
Describe the quality of the picture	Weak (1/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (screams and shooting)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No effects, cuts or edits
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 56

Wafa (Hamyari) 15

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari	Length of the video: 0.22 (22 seconds)
Tweet Number: 1197497196670849025	Number of views: 22
Tweet Number in data: 2733	Day or Night: Day
Date: November 21	
Time of tweet: 1:49 pm	
Number of retweets: 4	
Number of Likes: 4	

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	فیلم منتشر شده از زخمی شدن یک زن دلیر هموطن و همیاری سایر مردم با او. #IranPortests #iran4internet #اعتراضات_سراسری Footage of a wounded brave woman and people helping.
Where is the location of the video?	Unknown (from the accents it probably is a neighbour hood of Shiraz in Fars province)
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#IranPortests #iran4internet #اعتراضات_سراسری
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian) with Shirazi accent
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	-Have they shot her? -Yeah -I was in front of the office -is it ok? Too tight? -Ayyy! Please be careful! It hurts -Don't make it too tight!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Pain, shot, blood, people, protest, violence, wounded, woman, men
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Solidarity
What words in the text are emphasized?	Brave, woman, countrymen
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A woman is injured at her leg. People are helping stop the blood.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Wounded woman People helping
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In time of fighting against the regime and when there is blood, people help each other out.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera still, filming from the above while there is only the wounded leg and the helping hands in the picture
Describe the quality of the picture	Good enough (3/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (conversations)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No edits cuts or effects
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 57

Wafa (Hamyari) 16

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1197497882187902981 Tweet Number in data: 2734 Date: November 21 Time of tweet: 1:51 pm Number of retweets: 2 Number of Likes: 2	Length of the video: 0.17 (17 seconds) Number of views: 58 Day or Night: Day

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	فیلمی از درگیری جوانان دلیر بوشهری با مزدوران خامنه ای. #IraqiProtests #iran4internet بوشهر# #اعتراضات_سراسری Footage of conflict between brave youth of Bushehr and Khamenei's mercenaries
Where is the location of the video?	Unrecognizable from the video
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#IraqiProtests #iran4internet بوشهر# #اعتراضات_سراسری
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	Only one sentence can be recognized: Don't go to the pedestrian!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Chaos, protest, young men, big group, emotions, shout, smoke, destroy, riot
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	War Attack Occupy
What words in the text are emphasized?	Brave youth, Bushehr, Khamenei, mercenary
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	Young people are in the street protesting. They are organizing themselves. On the other side of the street the line of security forces are seen.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	Young men Police/security forces
What is happening in the video (Story?)	In the context of November events in Ian (as the result of hike in gas price) in this city a conflict is getting started between protesters and the police.
Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera moving with the person filming in the street
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)

Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (people shouting)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 58

Wafa (Hamyari) 17

The same as sheet of video-tweet 34 (Alavi 26)

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">

About the Tweet
User Account: @hamyari
Tweet Number: 1197595333385183233
Tweet Number in data: 2738
Date: November 21
Time of tweet: 8:19 pm
Number of retweets: 2
Number of Likes: 2
</td>
<td colspan="2">

About the Video
Length of the video: 0.20 (20 seconds)
Number of views: 30
Day or Night: Day
Note: this video is the same as the one analyzed in Alavi 26
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	فیلمی منتشر شده از درگیری مردم قهرمان شیراز با مزدوران خامنه ای. این فیلم متعلّق به همون روزیه که مردم سه خودروی نیروی انتظامی رو آتیش زدن، منتها از زاویه دیگه ای تصویربرداری شده. #شیراز #iran4internet #IranPortests #اعتصاب_سراسری Video shows the conflict between Hero people of Shiraz and Khamenei's mercenaries. The video belongs to same day in which people set 3 police cars on fire, but from a different angle.
Where is the location of the video?	
Which date is it referring to?	
List of The Hashtags in tweet	
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	
What language or dialect can be heard?	
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	
What words in the text are emphasized?	
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	
What is happening in the video (Story?)	
Describe the movement of the camera	
Describe the quality of the picture	

Describe the voices or music over the video	
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	

The Sheet for analyzing video-tweet 59

Wafa (Hamyari) 18

About the Tweet	About the Video
User Account: @hamyari Tweet Number: 1197952637976621056 Tweet Number in data: 2754 Date: November 22 Time of tweet: 7:59 pm Number of retweets: Number of Likes:	Length of the video: 0.18 (18 seconds) Number of views: 15 Day or Night: Night

Questions	Answers
Complete text of the tweet	زنان و حضوری پرشور در خط مقدم قیام. تصویری از خروش یک زن هموطن در جریان قیام مردم کرج. درود بر این جسارت. #کرج #iran4internet #IranPortests #قیام_سراسری Women and a very passionate presence in the protests. A video of the uproar of a woman during the uprising of the people of Karaj. Very brave!
Where is the location of the video?	City of Karaj west of Tehran
Which date is it referring to?	Unknown
List of The Hashtags in tweet	#کرج #iran4internet #IranPortests #قیام_سراسری
Is it related to any ethnic or minority group?	No
What language or dialect can be heard?	Farsi (Persian)
What are the chants/dialogues/narrations in video?	The only chant that is recognizable is: We support! We support!
What key words can be extracted as implication from the video?	Woman, emotion, adventure, chaos, protest, traffic jam, men and women
What possible metaphors can be extracted from the video?	Getting over/ we are over you Leadership Revolution
What words in the text are emphasized?	Women, passionate, uprising, bravery, uproar, Karaj
What action/event can be recognized in the video? (chronicle)	A woman gets up on a truck in the crowd. People clap and encourage her with slogans.
What are the characters of the story inside the video?	The woman on top of truck The people/protesters
What is happening in the video (Story?)	During the Protests in the city of Karaj, a woman goes up on the top of a truck and this makes people exited and emotional. The message of the story would be: women are brave and fearless in the protests.

Describe the movement of the camera	Cellphone camera almost still
Describe the quality of the picture	Not good (2/5)
Describe the voices or music over the video	Voice of the scene (crowd chant and people talk)
Is the video edited? Does it have effects?	No
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti modernization and the West?	None
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Islam Shia (Islamic republic)?	Anti-Islamic republic
Is the general content of the video: Pro or anti Kings or Kingdoms?	None

4.2 Appendix 2: Video Framing Analysis

Tweet Number: 1198311243423068165
Story of the video:
Forces of Basij (a branch in IRCG) in plain clothes get organized to attack
Characters:
Narrators (voice over)=people
Security forces
Category:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
Real ==Thugs== of IRGC and Basij ==targeting== and arresting ==youth==
Para lexical aspect:
Voice over (commenting about the scene in Kurdish accent):
-They have gathered cause' it's lunch time.
-Look they are all ==agents== [of the Regime] with ==plain clothes==.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Regime agents violation in plain clothes
Green movement

Alireza Jafarzadeh ✔
@A_Jafarzadeh

In this 4 second video clip you can see the level of savagery by the Iranian regime, shooting & killing demonstrators in #IranProtests. This is what the regime wanted to hide from the world, and why the need for #Internet4Iran that could not be blocked by the regime at will.
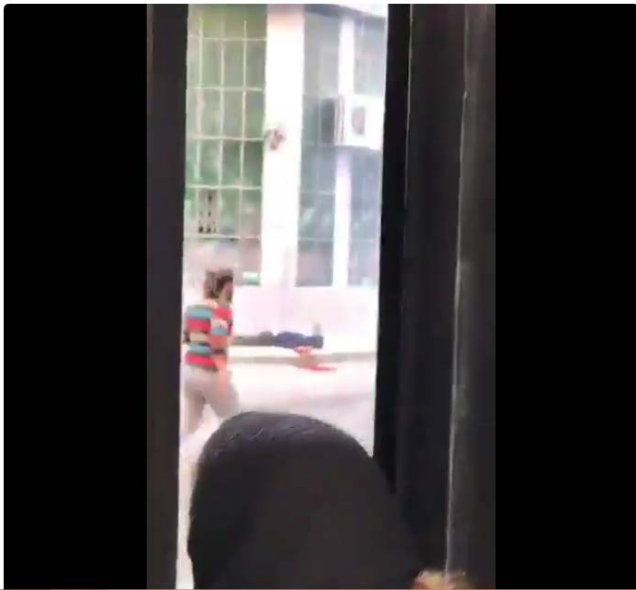
Tweet Number: 1198308574373597184
Story of the video:
Hiding people behind a half-opened door, watching the street in which a young man has fallen on the floor with blood around him, and police chasing others with a threatening baton.
Characters:
Dead man
Observers/people
Security forces/police
Category:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
Level of savagery by the Iranian regime, shooting and killing demonstrators.
Para lexical aspect:
-A man (probably the police which is seen later) is shouting: Move! Where are you going? Move!
-A woman (standing by the person filming the scene): Please send the video for me!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Internet shutdown
Middle East Revolutions

Alireza Jafarzadeh
@A_Jafarzadeh

In Mashhad, the second most populated city of #Iran, people are chanting, "Dictator, shame on you; leave the country alone." as they protest the rise in prices of gasoline by as much as 3 times. Such protests is widespread all over Khuzestan Province, expanding to other cities.

@maniranam01

♡ 305   7:30 PM - Nov 15, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Number: 1195393638056038400

| **Story of the video:** |
| There are numbers of cars stopped on the road and people have come out to watch, some other people are chanting. Police car is seen. |
| **Characters:** |
| People/protesters (chanting) |
| **Category of story:** |
| Bravery and unity of people |
| **Lexical choice:** |
| In the second most populated city people are chanting "Dictator shame on you, leave the country alone". |
| **Para lexical aspect:** |
| Voice over, People are chanting
Rouhani [referred to the actual president] Shame on you leave the country alone
Dictator [referred to the supreme leader ayatollah Khamenei] shame on you leave the country alone |
| **Generalization (referring to other frames):** |
| Middle East Revolutions |

Retweeted by @A_Jafarzadeh

Department of State ✓
@StateDept

.@SecPompeo: The Islamic Republic must cease violence against its own people, and should immediately restore the ability of all Iranians to access a free and open Internet. The world is watching. #IranProtests

♡ 2,912   10:12 PM - Nov 18, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Number: 1196540604961951747
Story of the video:
United states' Secretary of the State gives official statement on Iran protests.
Characters:
Mike Pompeo (U.S Secretary of state)
Iranian protesters
Islamic Republic regime
Category of story:
The U.S support of the protesters
Lexical choice:
U.S is monitoring the ongoing protest in Iran closely. Islamic Republic must behave simply like a normal nation.
Para lexical aspect:
None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Iran Vs U.S history

Retweeted by @A_Jafarzadeh

Maryam Rajavi ✔
@Maryam_Rajavi

This is an uprising to end 40 years of dictatorship and terrorism in #Iran. Regime Leaders must face justice for crime against humanity #IranProtestsmaryam-rajavi.com/en/item/maryam…

♡ 598   9:30 PM - Nov 18, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Number: 1196519534171238400	
Story of the video:	
Maryam Rajavi, the leader of MEK gives official statement on Iran protests.	
Characters:	
Leader of MEK	
Iranian protesters	
Islamic Republic regime	
International community	
Category of story:	
The U.S/west support of the protesters	
Lexical choice:	
The ==people== of Iran have ==risen up== to free Iran from the ==occupation== of corrupt and criminal ==Mullahs==.	
Para lexical aspect	
None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
40 years of Dictatorship and terrorism, Dictator's Regime	

Department of State ✔
@StateDept

.@SecPompeo: The Iranian leadership has failed the Iranian people. They've behaved like kleptocrats, stealing the wealth of the Iranian people for their own personal enrichment.
#IranProtests

★ ★ ★

The Iranian Regime's
Economic Mismanagement

Tweet Number: 1198345237673992193
Story of the video:
U.S secretary of state Mike Pompeo gives official statement on Iran protests.
Characters:
Mike Pompeo (U.S Secretary of state)   Iranian protesters   Islamic Republic regime
Category of story:
The U.S/west support of the protesters
Lexical choice:
They (Iranian regime) have behaved like kleptocrafts stealing the wealth of Iranian people.
Para Lexical aspect:
None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Iran vs U.S History

Retweeted by @A_Jafarzadeh

Department of State ✔
@StateDept

Special Representative for Iran Hook urges @Facebook, @instagram, and @Twitter to suspend the accounts of the Iranian regime's leadership, who've shamelessly used social media to spew propaganda while shutting down the internet for ordinary Iranians. #Internet4Iran #IranProtests

hide all of the death and tragedy that the regime has been inflicting

Tweet Number: 1198344751625490439
Story of the video:
Brayan Hook, head of Iran desk in U.S Department of State, gives official statement on Iran protests: Twitter, Facebook and Instagram should suspend Iranian leader's accounts.
Characters:
Iranian protesters
Islamic Republic regime
Social media companies
Category of story:
The U.S support of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Regime leaders shamelessly used social media to spew propaganda while shutting down internet for ordinary Iranians.
Para Lexical aspect:
None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Internet shut down
Iran vs U.S history

Newly obtained video
Mariwan, W #Iran
Security forces are opening heavy fire on protesters.
Dozens are killed & injured.
Authorities have closed all roads leading to the city & directly
firing at people. The city is literally in flames.#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1196844237305909248
Story of the video:
Some four/five men are in the street throwing stones to the other end where there are armed forces shooting. A man is on the floor (probably killed) and some people come to take him. There is a cut and then police forces come closer and the street is empty.
Characters:
protesters
Police
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
Authorities have closed all roads leading to the city. The city is literally in flames.
Para Lexical aspect:
The sound of severe conflict and gun shootings
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Human rights violations

Story of the video:
Bryan Hook official statements about Iran protests, standing with the people of Iran against Iran regime.

Characters:
United states
Regime
Iranian people

Category of story:
The U.S/west support for Iranian protesters

Lexical choice:
United States <mark>support</mark> your <mark>fight</mark> to hold this corrupt <mark>religious mafia</mark> accountable.
United States

Para Lexical aspect:
None (In the case of official statements lexical and para lexical aspects are the same)

Generalization (referring to other frames):
Human rights violation
Iran vs U.S history

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Nov 16 - Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran
People are setting fire to a local IRGC Basij paramilitary base &
a regime bank as protests continue over the recent petrol price
hikes.#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1195813790211805184
Story of the video: People are watching. It looks like protesters have attacked to some public properties (at least a bank is burning but the rest is not clear) and have set them on fire.
Characters: protesters
Category of story: Victory of the protesters
Lexical choice: People are setting fire to a local IRGC Basij paramilitary base & a regime bank.
Para Lexical aspect: The sound of street and crowed.
Generalization (referring to other frames): Middle East Revolutions and Arab spring

Tweet Number: 1197401850850500608	
Story of the video:	
Group of people in the street watch something (probably a vehicle) burning in big fire.	
Characters:	
protesters	
Category of story:	
Victory of the people	
Lexical choice:	
Torch a trailer belonging to regime state police.	
Many reports have described this city as a "war zone".	
Para Lexical aspect:	
The sound of street and crowed.	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Middle east revolutions	
Dictator's Regime	

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

"Get lost you trash!"

The people of #Iran are standing up to the ruling mullahs.#IranProtests

درگیری با
آخوندک

Tweet Number: 1196143183174029312

Story of the video:
Two people are arguing in the street. One of them a religious Islamic clergy, the other a man on the street. During the conversation the man (in blur shirt) shouts and gets angry, the clergy gets angry as well. People come to separate them and the clergy leaves the scene. People shout at him and courage the man.

Characters:
The Islamic clergy
The man in blue
People on the street

Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the people

Lexical choice:
The ==people== of #Iran are ==standing== up to the ruling ==mullahs==.

Para Lexical aspect:
Voice over, there is a conversation. Only the words of the angry man can be heard:
-They are saying death to all of you!
-It's a lifetime! It has been 40 years that you are insulting the people!
-I told death to you [clergy] and I won't take it back! Who do you think you are?

-Take your hand off me you AVAZI (fool)!
-You are AVAZI who are ruling this country! Get off!
-Get lost you piece of trash!

Generalization (referring to other frames):
Mullahs'/Dictator's regime

Tweet Number: 1196153229299638272
Story of the video:
Morgan Ortagus, spoke woman of the department of the state of U.S gives interview to Fox News
Characters:
White house/U.S
People
Regime
Category of story:
The U.S/west support for Iranian protesters
Lexical choice:
==Thank you== for standing ==alongside== Iran's ==people==.
Para Lexical aspect:
Ortagus: People are standing against the government demanding accountability and transparency
Generalization (referring to other frames): Iran vs U.S history

Recently obtained footage - Internet heavily restricted
Nov 18 - Ahvaz, SW #Iran
Large crowd outside a local administrative building. Shots fired are by armed protesters.#IranProtests

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Tweet number: 1196675406595842053
Story of the video:
Big crowd are in the street. Some of them are singing or chanting (Not clear). Others are shooting bullets into the sky.
Characters:
protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the people
Lexical choice:
Administrative building, armed protesters
Para Lexical aspect:
The sound of singing (probably in Arabic) and shooting
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Tehran, #Iran
Vafadar Street
Footage of the regime's security forces directly targeting &
shooting at protesters. (at 00:38)#StopIranBloodshed

Tweet Number: 1197992178984914947	
Story of the video:	
A group of armed security forces are hiding. Protesters are throwing stones to the forces in the other end of the main street. One or two agents get out and target the protesters.	
Characters:	
protesters	
Police	
Category of story:	
Violence of the regime	
Lexical choice:	
Directing targeting an shooting at protesters	
Para Lexical aspect:	
The sound of the street and the sound of shooting	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Dictator's Regime	

Tweet Number: 1196367849083854849

Story of the video:
An observer is walking in a street and showing the situation: there are big fire in the both ends of the street, people are out wandering around, sitting or standing still, there are papers on the street, people speak with low voice.

Characters:
protesters

Category of story:
Victory of the people

Lexical choice:
Over 100 banks and 57 regime-linked supermarkets burned

Para Lexical aspect:
There is murmuring, a strange silence of the people in the street, and the sound of bumping two things into one another

Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle Eastern Revolutions

M. Hanif Jazayeri
@HanifJazayeri

WOW! Listen to this intercepted radio communication of Iran
regime's repressive forces in Robat Karim & IRGC Gen Hossein
Rahimi, head of Greater Tehran police, as protesters take over
"They're destroying everything. There's 5000 of them"

via the MEK network, Nov 16 #IranProtests

The situation is red. They head towards the Governorate office. They are around 5000 people.

♡ 642   12:13 PM - Nov 18, 2019

Tweet Number: 1196371401734860802
Story of the video:
Huge amount of people in the street are protesting, there is buildings on fire, first it is in daylight and next we see the scene in the night. Some people are destroying a bank and there are fire around. No sign of police or security forces.
Characters:
protesters
Category of story:
Victory of the people
Lexical choice:
Iran regime's repressive forces, protesters take over
Para Lexical aspect:
There is a voice over in the form of radio communication. It is a conversation between military sides. One side asks for military help saying that 5000 people are getting to the municipal building to take it down. The other side tells him that a group of IRGC forces are near and will come to defend the building.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions
Dictator's Regime

Ali Safavi ✓
@amsafavi

Earlier today, Nov. 28 - Tehran: Brave women condemning
Khamenei's "Islamic Republic." Her works are inspiring to all.
Why are the UN & the EU silent? SHAME! @NCRIUS
@Iran_Policy @BenjaminHallFNC @VP @SecPompeo

This is how this regime

Tweet Number: 1196472870530146305

Story of the video:

There is a heavy traffic jam in the high way. Up on the crossing bridge, there is a woman who starts to shout and say words to the audience who are in their cars. Some other people on the bridge encourage her by clapping. She looks very emotional and almost screams.

Characters:

The woman shouting
protesters

Category of story:

Bravery and unity of the people

Lexical choice:

Brave woman condemning Khamenei's Islamic Republic

Para Lexical aspect:

The woman shouts: You have made us humiliated in the world. We gave our sons to defend this country in the war, Now look that Iraqies are chanting against you in the streets.
You are helping Lebanon? Helping Syria? Why don't you help Iranian people? Damn you Khamenei with this Islamic Republic! You are damned Khamenei!

Generalization (referring to other frames):

Violation of Human rights
Dictator's Regime

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#BREAKING
Nov 17 - Isfahan, central #Iran
Locals are seen blocking roads and continuing their protests in response to the regime's gas price hike.#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1195985011817758720
Story of the video:
Two tires are burning on the middle of the road. People pass by or stop to see.
Characters:
The woman who blocked the road
protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the people
Lexical choice:
Locals block road, protests in response to regime gas price hike
Para Lexical aspect:
Voice over:
-There was a woman who did this
-Good job! Don't call her a woman, She is a man! A real man!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle Eastern revolutions
Green movement

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Newly obtained videos
1/3
Nov 2019 - Fardis, near Karaj, west of Tehran, #Iran

Footage of brave Iranians taking to the streets & expressing their utter hatred of the mullahs' regime.#IranProtests

♡ 223   2:40 PM - Nov 22, 2019

Tweet Number: 1197857380962373632
Story of the video:
A building is burning in fire.
Characters:
protesters
Category of story:
Victory of the people
Lexical choice:
Brave Iranians expressing their hatred of the mullahs' regime.
Para Lexical aspect:
Voice over:
Fradis [Location of the video], All the banks are on fire.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Recently obtained video
Javanrud, near Kermanshah, W #Iran
Brave protesters stand their ground, forcing the regime's security
units to retreat.#IranProtests

جوانرود(کرمانشاه)

Tweet Number: 1196938824745652224	
Story of the video:	
Men in the street see the security forces getting closer. They throw stones and make them back off.	
Characters:	
protesters	
police	
Category of story:	
Victory of the people	
Lexical choice:	
Brave protesters stand their ground.	
Para Lexical aspect:	
The sound of screams coming from the street.	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Dictator's Regime	
Middle East revolution	

Newly obtained video
Shiraz, south-central #Iran
Protesters seen chasing the regime's security units, forcing them to flee back to their base. A number of security vehicles seen burning near the site.#IranProtests

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Tweet Number: 1197570429671616513
Story of the video:
Large group of people moving towards a police/security force base aggressively. The police is forced to go back to the base.
Characters:
protesters police
Category of story:
Victory of the people
Lexical choice:
Protesters chasing regime forces forcing them flee back. A number of security vehicles burning.
Para Lexical aspect:
The sound of the crowd and gun shots.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Shiraz, south-central #Iran
-Authorities have launched air patrols
-Reports indicate protesters are in control of many districts
-Many banks & police stations have been torched
-Many administrative buildings are under the people's
control#IranProtests

♡ 361   12:31 PM - Nov 19, 2019

Tweet Number: 1196737782355505152
Story of the video:
A helicopter is moving above a city, there are columns of smoke in different points.
Characters:
protesters (In the city)
Security forces (Helicopter)
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
Protesters in control of many districts. Administrative buildings under people's control. Authorities launched air patrols.
Para Lexical aspect:
Noises of the place. Some unrecognized words from the observers.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Newly obtained footage
Shiraz, south-central #Iran
(Exact date unknown)
Footage shows the vast scope of protests and unrest. More reason why the mullahs' do not dare restore internet access.#IranProtests

♡ 460   10:17 AM - Nov 22, 2019

Tweet Number: 1197791299266662401
Story of the video:
Person with mobile is walking in the street showing the situation probably after a heavy conflict. A building is on fire and there are some objects in the street and smoke everywhere.
Characters:
protesters (In the city)
Category of story:
Victory of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Vast scope of protests and unrest. The reason why Mullah's do not dare restore internet.
Para Lexical aspect:
Very little words can be recognized. The observer once says: Ya Abolfazl! (expressing his shock) -Someone shouts: To whom belongs this car? (referring to the car parked by the building on fire)
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East Revolutions

Tweet Number: 1198372481830129665
Story of the video:
A young man has gone up on a passing bridge to bring down the poster of Iranian leader.
Characters:
protesters
Regime's Leader
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:
The end is near for the Mullahs' regime.
Para Lexical aspect:
There is an epic style music. The music belongs to MEK's ideological songs.
There is the official sign of the MEK on the video showing that it has produced by them.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Mullah's/Dictator's regime

Heshmat Alavi @HeshmatAlavi

Interesting to see @CNN's @camanpour simply parrot the mullahs' talking points & threats against the people of #Iran, and @KavehMadani divert attention away from #IranProtests.

Neither mention a word about the regime's ongoing brutal crackdown against innocent people.

♡ 383   1:12 AM - Nov 21, 2019

Tweet Number: 1197291642945970176
Story of the video:
CNN Cristian Amanpour interviews Kaveh Madani, Iranian Scientist (who lives in US) about Iran protests.
Characters:
CNN News Channel
Kaveh Madani
Category of story:
The support of the west/US
Lexical choice:
Interesting to see that CNN and Amanpour simply parrot the mullah's talking points. Madani divert attention away from Iran protests.
Para Lexical aspect:
The content of the interview is important: Kaveh Madani is criticizing Trump administration's decisions in putting more sanctions against Iran which only make the people poorer, and at the same time claiming to stand beside them.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Iran regime has influence in US media to change the narrative
Some media in US act against the Trump administration and Iranian people

Tweet number: 1198324772809125889
Story of the video:
A young girl crying at the door of a place (Prison probably) asking to see her father.
Characters:
Crying girl
Her father in the prison
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:

Para Lexical aspect:
The girl shouts: Let me see my dad!
I haven't see my dad in 4 years!
Don't kill him! Kill me instead!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Violation of Human rights
Dictator's regime

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#BREAKING
158 protesters killed by regime forces in #Iran

Video shows clashes in Saveh road, southwest of Tehran.
Security units forced to flee.
(Faces of protesters blurred to protect their
identities.)#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1196481022315106304
Story of the video:
In chaotic situation some protesters are throwing stones to the police forces. In another scene the police leaves and throwing continue. The sound of some shootings is heard.
Characters:
Protesters
Police
Category of story:
Victory of the people
Lexical choice:
Faces of protesters blurred to protect their identities.
Para Lexical aspect:
The only thing recognizable from the shouts is:
Hit him! Hit him! (with the stone)
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle east revolutions

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#Iran #UPDATE
Shiraz-IRGC officer shoots & kills two senior commanders ordering IRGC units to open fire on protesters
Golestan-Snipers in helicopters open fire on protesters
Soltanabad-Police station & police chief vehicle torched by protesters#IranProtests
(Video-Tehran-Nov 16)

♡ 310   4:45 PM - Nov 18, 2019

Tweet Number: 1196439223722749952
Story of the video: There is a police cabin burning in fire with heavy smoke. A man and a woman who are filming, say the location and time. Also they say there are police forces everywhere, we don't see them in this video though.
Characters: Protesters   Police
Category of story: Victory of the people
Lexical choice: Shiraz IRGC kills, Golestan Helicopter snipers, Soltanabad Police station torch   (All the content are not relevant to the video)
Para Lexical aspect: Narration from a man and a woman: Here is Tehran, 25 of Aban 1398 (November 16 2019), on 10:30 pm. The Kiosk shaped center belonging to Police is burning in fire. We are in Kashani Boulevard, Noor Square. There are so many especial forces police in the area.
Generalization (referring to other frames):   Green movement

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran
People are blocking a highway as protests continue over a
recently imposed gasoline price hike that is causing a national
uproar.#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1195617373686059008
Story of the video:
The road is blocked and there is a heavy traffic jam. One side of the road is full of stopped cars and the other side is empty. People in the cars and autobuses shout and whistle.
Characters:
Protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the people
Lexical choice:
People are blocking the highway. National uproar.
Para Lexical aspect:
An observer comments: The road is block from the north of Tehran to the south.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Green movement Middle east revolution

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Reports indicate the regime in #Iran has provided "fire-at-will"
orders to its security forces to indiscriminately gun down
protesters.#Internet4Iran is needed to inform the world the truth
about #IranProtests & the mullahs' brutality.

Tweet Number: 1196899591142215680
Story of the video:
Some people are running to a point in which a group of people have gathered. Camera goes into the crowd to find the reason. It gets to see a human body in blood (shot) on the ground.
Characters:
Dead man Protesters
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
Fire at will orders to securities to gun down protesters. Mullah's brutality.
Para Lexical aspect:
The voice over the video Narrates: -Shiraz, the police is shooting at people! - Forces of Maali Abad police station are shooting the people directly! -They shot people with bullets! They shot people with bullets!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle east revolution Dictator's regime

Tweet Number: 1198139579058008064
Story of the video:
A group of men have blocked a main street causing a heavy traffic jam. They have tires set on fire to make the blockage stronger. Police is on the other side watching.
Characters:
Protesters
Police
Category of story:
Victory of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Protesters take control of districts.
Para Lexical aspect:
The sound of street.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle east revolutions/ Arab spring

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

Nov 16 - Tehran, #Iran
Protesters are setting fire to posters of Iranian Supreme Leader
Ali Khamenei.#IranProtests

Tweet Number: 1198372481830129665
Story of the video:
People we can't see, throw things to a poster on which there is the picture of Ayatollah Khamenei. Watching the poster burn they chant.
Characters:
Protesters
Regime's leader
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:

Para Lexical aspect:
Voice over:
-Bah Bah! (being happy with something)
-The leader turns fiery!
-Down with the dictator!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Dictator's Regime

Tweet Number: 1196904293288288257

Story of the video:
There is a person on the street killed by gun shot. Others are screaming.

Characters:
Dead man
Protesters

Category of story:
Violence of the regime

Lexical choice:
Regime will continue killing protesters and innocent civilians.

Para Lexical aspect:
Shouts saying:
They killed him!
They killed people's son!

Generalization (referring to other frames):
Dictator's Regime

Tweet Number: 1196011973751836672
Story of the video:
Cars are stopped as a protest. A man with a box in his hands goes to the drivers to offer them something (food maybe) that are in the box.
Characters:
Drivers in the stopped cars (Protesters)
The man who give food to them
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of protesters
Lexical choice:
Beautiful scene of unity and solidarity in Iran.
Para Lexical aspect:
The sound of the road and murmuring of the drivers.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Green movement

Retweeted by @HeshmatAlavi

M. Hanif Jazayeri
@HanifJazayeri

Today Khamenei defended the fuel price hike in Iran that has triggered the #IranProtests. He labelled protesters 'hooligans'. It's clear his regime has decided to continue stealing the ppl's wealth to sponsor terror abroad.

CC @RichardGrenell @SecPompeo @SenTedCruz @RepLizCheney

But setting banks on fire is not the work of people. It's the work of hooligans.

♡ 253   12:43 PM - Nov 17, 2019

Tweet Number: 1196016923684851714
Story of the video:
Speech of the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei in the Iran National TV.
Characters:
Regime's leader
Protesters
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:
He labelled the protesters 'hooligans'. Regime decided to continue stealing people's wealth to sponsor terror abroad.
Para Lexical aspect:
From the speech:
I support the government decision because I believe that it is based on expert choice.
I understand that some people might get worried or unhappy about this decision, but setting banks and public properties on fire is not the work of people. It is the work of hooligans.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Mullah's/Dictator's regime

Heshmat Alavi
@HeshmatAlavi

#Iran

Brave woman tears down a "Death to America" poster.

The crowd is heard chanting, "Death to the dictator," in a reference to @Khamenei_ir.

Iranians have no enmity against the U.S. or the American people.

This is a 40-year lie promoted by the mullahs only.#IranProtests

♡ 4,898   1:54 PM - Nov 18, 2019

Tweet Number: 1196396349366898688
Story of the video:
Speech of the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei in the Iran National TV.
Characters:
Protesters
The woman climbing
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Brave woman tears down poster. Iranians have no enmity with the U.S or American people. 40 year old lie promoted by mullahs.
Para Lexical aspect:
People are chanting: Death to dictator!
One shouts: Take it down!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East Revolutionary
Iran vs U.S history

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 به آتش کشیدن بنر خامنه ای
مرگ بر خامنه ای زنده باد آزادی#قیام_سراسری

52 reproducciones   0:24 / 0:36

|	
Tweet Number: 1196105284428738560	
Story of the video:	
Two men (one behind the camera/cellphone) set a poster of the Iranian leader on fire, besides the highway.	
Characters:	
Regime's leader	
Protesters	
Category of story:	
Bravery and unity of the protesters	
Lexical choice:	
Setting poster of <mark>Khamenei</mark> on <mark>fire</mark>. <mark>Death</mark> to the Khamenei, <mark>Hail</mark> to <mark>freedom</mark>.	
Para Lexical aspect:	
Narrator says:	
Death to Khamenei! Death to Dictator! Hail to Oppositions!	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Resistance of protesters	
Mullah's/Dictator's regime	

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 قیام آفرینان گارد بزرگراه نیایش #تهران را کندن و از آن برای بستن خیابان استفاده کردند.#تهران #قیام_سراسری
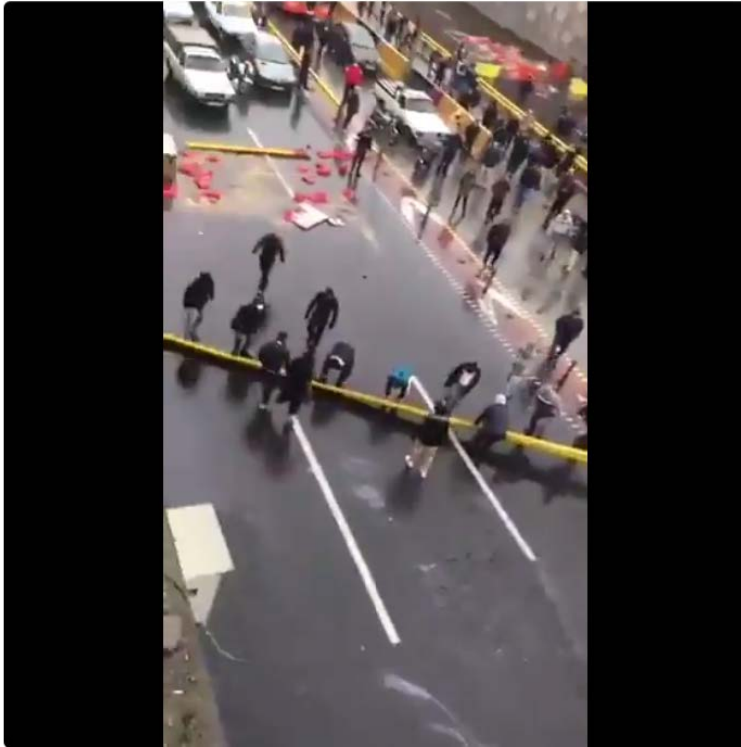
Tweet Number: 1196089235402612736
Story of the video:
A group of protesters break the guard rail and pull it through the highway.
Characters:
Protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Uprisers took off the guard rail of the highway to block the road.
Para Lexical aspect:
Narrator says:
-Ahaaa! That's it! This is the right job!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East Revolutions

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

شیراز - تظاهرات مردم علیه گرانی بنزین با شعار «توپ تانک فشفشه، آخوند باید
گم بشه» – شنبه ۲۵آبان#شیراز #قیام_سراسری #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی

♡ 6   10:26 AM - Nov 17, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Number: 1195981507271233536
Story of the video:
Group of people gathering around fire chanting.
Characters:
Mullahs
Protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Shiraz- Protesters chant: Mullahs should get lost.
Para Lexical aspect:
They chant loudly and in an emotional way
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East Revolutions

Tweet Number: 1195468617082703872

Story of the video:

People in a car passing in a street are filming the outside. There are police forces armed with batons that have crashed the stopped cars in the street and some are moving the cars. Then come more police forces on motor cycles and therefore people in the car stop filming.

Characters:

Protesters

Police

Category of story:

Violence of the regime

Lexical choice:

Anti-riot forces attacking people. Anti-regime protests all over Iran.

Para Lexical aspect:

The emotional narration on the footage:

-Oh! They have crashed the car of this poor man!

-Record the scene!

-Look they have crashed every one's car to move them away!

-The police has broken the windows of this car!

-Oh my god!

[Voice of the police]: Go! Go!

Generalization (referring to other frames):

Dictator's Regime

| Behnam.wafa |
| @wafa_behnam |

🔴 زنان و حضوری پرشور در خط مقدم قیام.
تصویری از خروش یک زن هموطن در جریان قیام مردم کرج. درود بر این جسارت.
#کرج #IranPortests #iran4internet #قیام_سراسری

0:18 | 17 reproducciones

8:59 PM - Nov 22, 2019

Tweet Number: 1197952637976621056
Story of the video:
A woman gets up on a truck in the crowd. People clap and encourage her with slogans.
Characters:
The woman on the truck
Protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Women and a very passionate presence in the protests. A video of the uproar of a woman during the uprising of the people of Karaj. Very brave.
Para Lexical aspect:
The crowd chants. The only chant that is recognizable is:
We support! We support!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East Revolutions

Tweet Number: 1196538845862473728
Story of the video:
In the distance some people are running. There is the sound of gun fire.
Characters:
Protesters
Police/Security forces
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:

Para Lexical aspect:
They chant loudly and in an emotional way
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Dictator's Regime
Middle East Revolutions

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 زنجان - یک جوان: خامنه ای بترس این سری مثل سری قبل نیست باید بری...

#زنجان #بنزین_۳۰۰۰_تومانی

Tweet Number: 1195663998622019585	
Story of the video:	
A group of people are walking in the middle of the street. The cars are horning.	
Characters:	
Protesters	
Category of story:	
Bravery and unity of the protesters	
Lexical choice:	
(Same as para lexical part)	
Para Lexical aspect:	
Narrator says:	
-this time is not like last time!	
-you should have fear, Khamenei!	
-this is the voice of the people!	
-here is Zanjan [north east Iran]	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Middle east revolutions	

Tweet Number: 1196851670879260674

Story of the video:

In a chaotic situation we see some shadows in the picture. A man beside a wall aims his gun to a direction outside the frame and shoots.

In the other part another security agent aims and shots.

Characters:

Protesters

Police

Category of story:

Violence of the regime

Lexical choice:

Footage of shooting Khamenei's mercenaries at people

Para Lexical aspect:

There is complete narration which has been subtitled in Farsi as well:

-He is loading his gone.

-Look! He is hiding there and wants to shoot people!

-Look! He shot! He shot! Shameless! He wants to shoot!

-He shot! Shameless!

-Kermanshah, Taghe Bostan Blvd.

-Look, he has sit in the same direction people are.

-Look, he is shooting people from behind the tree.

- With real bullets!

Generalization (referring to other frames):

Dictator's Regime

Middle East Revolutions

Tweet Number: 1196091162928582656

Story of the video:

A group of people chanting with emotions.

Characters:

Mullahs

Protesters

Category of story:

Bravery and unity of the protesters

Lexical choice:

Chants from the ==exhausted fed-up people== of Iran: Death to Mullahs' regime.

Para Lexical aspect:

The crowd are chanting emotionally:

Death to the Mullah's regime!

Mullahs should get lost!

Generalization (referring to other frames):

Mullahs' Regime

Middle East revolutions

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 تصویری از درگیری مردم و نیروهای سرکوبگر در سنندج#سنندج
#IranPortests #بنزین3000تومانی #تظاهرات_سراسری

Tweet Number: 1197263326797017089	

Story of the video:

In the square of a city people have gathered. There is a kind of tension and some shooting is heard. There is smoke as well.

Characters:

Protesters
Police/security forces

Category of story:

Violence of the regime

Lexical choice:

Footage of ==conflict== between ==protesters== and the ==suppressive forces== in Sanandaj.

Para Lexical aspect:

Sound on videos is shouts and screaming from the crowd and the gun shots

Generalization (referring to other frames):

Middle East revolutions
Dictator's Regime

Tweet Number: 1195700825160667142
Story of the video:
A group of people have set some properties of the police on fire. A motorcycle and a Bus are recognizable.
Characters:
Protesters
Police
Category of story:
Victory of the protesters
Lexical choice:
Same as the para lexical part
Para Lexical aspect:
The narrator at the end of the video says:
-this is the police's bus. It is burning. Here is Tabriz, Pasdaran Exp. Way
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

⭕ تصاویر رسیده از قیام مردم دلیر تبریز #تبریز #IranPortests
#بنزین3000تومانی #قیام_سراسری

Tweet Number: 1196793201962758145	
Story of the video: There are objects (motorcycles, trash tanks, bus) burning on the ground and in the middle of the highway. People are walking among them.	
Characters: Protesters Police	
Category of story: Victory of the protesters	
Lexical choice: Brave people of Tabriz [north east Iran]	
Para Lexical aspect: Narrator says: -Here is Tabriz. Pasdaran High way. -Police motorcycle has been on fire -there is no cars, no agents and police, no nothing! A motivating song is played on the video belonging to MEK.The words of the song: This is the sound of the lions! This is the beginning of the end.	
Generalization (referring to other frames): Middle East revolutions	

Tweet Number: 1195982335721779203
Story of the video:
Young men are standing in front of closed shops or walking in the Grand Bazar of Tehran. Some scream and make noises.
Characters:
Protesters
Category of story:
Bravery and unity of protesters
Lexical choice:
Strike in Tehran Bazar
Para Lexical aspect:
Narrator: Everybody here is on strike as it is seen.
Screams from the crowd:
Shameless! Shameless!
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Middle East revolutions

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 فیلم منتشر شده از زخمی شدن یک زن   دلیر هموطن و همیاری سایر مردم با او.
#اعتراضات_سراسری #iran4internet #IranPortests

♡ 4   2:49 PM - Nov 21, 2019   ⓘ

Tweet Number: 1197497196670849025

Story of the video:	
A woman is injured at her leg. People are helping to stop the bleeding.	
Characters:	
Wounded woman Men helping	
Category of story:	
Bravery and unity of protesters	
Lexical choice:	
A wounded brave woman and people cooperation in helping her.	
Para Lexical aspect:	
Conversation over the footage: -Have they shot her? -Yeah -I was in front of the office -is it ok? Too tight? -Ayyy! Please be careful! It hurts -Don't make it too tight!	
Generalization (referring to other frames):	
Green movement Dictator's Regime	

fereshteh
@feresht02376199

شروع اعتراضات در #سنندج . ۲۶ آبان

Tweet Number: 1195996540923498496
Story of the video:
There are police forces on motorcycles armed, organized, riding through the street.
Characters:
People
Police
Category of story:
Violence of the regime
Lexical choice:

Para Lexical aspect:
Sound of the street, and the motorcycles.
Generalization (referring to other frames):
Dictator's Regime

Behnam.wafa
@wafa_behnam

🔴 فیلمی از درگیری جوانان دلیر بوشهری با مزدوران خامنه ای. #بوشهر
#IraqiProtests #iran4internet #اعتراضات_سراسری

♡ 2   2:51 PM - Nov 21, 2019

Tweet Number: 1197497882187902981
Story of the video: Young people are in the street protesting. They are organizing themselves. On the other side of the street the line of security forces are seen.
Characters: Protesters   Police
Category of story: Bravery and unity of protesters
Lexical choice: Conflict between brave youth of Bushehr and Khamenei's mercenaries.
Para Lexical aspect: Sound of the street. Sound of shooting.   Only one sentence can be recognized: Don't go to the pedestrian!
Generalization (referring to other frames):   Middle East Revolutions

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