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The Analysis of the Reforms and Construction Government's Discourse on the Field of Economic Justice (The Presidency of Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mohammad Khatami)

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Abstract

Economic justice, in the general sense of living in security, regardless of the political or social system ruling the society, has been the desire of every person and government. In all welfare discourses after the Islamic revolution, welfare, and social security have been accepted as trans-sectoral categories in the category of the main duty of the government and the primary rights of the people; however, welfare and social security have taken on different meanings depending on which discourse and with what signs and symbols it is elaborated. Poverty and deprivation as one the problems of economic injustice with the power to influence and harm it has been considered in cultural, social, political, and economic fields during the life of the Islamic Republic of Iran and has always had a special place in the planning and policies of the country over the past three decades. The proof of this claim is the texts of economic, social, and cultural development programs of the country, which contain notes and materials about this issue. This research is of a theoretical type in analytical-descriptive form with the help of library resources, the internet, and the press, using phishing methods and using other media. In this research, the dimensions and components of social justice at the macro level of society in the field of economic justice in the reform and construction of government with the use of documentary and library methods and Laclau and Mouffe's discourse method are described and analyzed.

Keywords: Development program, Economic justice, social justice, Construction government, Reform government, Laclau and Mouffe

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1. Introduction

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, due to the basis of religious-revolutionary values and slogans and transformation in the political and social situation of the country, conditions were created where the dormant demands and unfulfilled needs that remained silent during the years of the Pahlavi rule became the basis of the project. Find at national levels (Ghanbari Mardas et al, 2022). Based on this, after the victory of the Islamic revolution due to the ideological support of the revolution in the development of social justice, the desire to establish equality, balance and equilibrium between all regions of the country on the one hand and to adjust the gap between the city and the countryside on the other hand, the populist views of deprivation and providing the rural environment with basic and basic service facilities and facilities made it prosperous. For this reason, the effort to remove deprivation and develop the deprived and remote areas of the country was placed on the agenda of the nascent system of the Islamic Republic (Aabedi Ardecani & Rastindel, 2017) In the third development plan, Khatami's reformist discourse approach to the category of poverty and deprivation was influenced by the developmentalist attitude of this government and the importance and priority that Khatami's government attached to the category of development and justice, so that based on such an attitude, policy makers and The planners in the reform government believed that the only way to reduce poverty and remove deprivation is to move in the direction of development and that is based on justice. As the country moves towards development, along with the spread of poverty in the country, there will be a downward trend and the

elimination of deprivation will find an upward trend (Mazaheri & Molaei, 2013).

The main issue of this article is that the policies of the Hashemi Rafsanjani government regarding poverty alleviation, based on the first and second development plans, have been explored and investigated. Studies indicate that the first economic, social and cultural development program of the country has considered policies to reduce poverty and eliminate deprivation include:

1. Creation and expansion of appropriate industries (materials, machinery and technology, mainly local or domestic in rural areas and strengthening and developing the production and competitive capabilities of small industries.
2. Equipping the centers of development through the expansion of infrastructure and production capacities and increasing the power of population in order to provide grounds for creating regional balances with an emphasis on deprived sectors (Mohamadian & Tafazoli, 2022).

In order to know more and more clearly about the approach of the reformist discourse to the category of poverty and deprivation, it is necessary to examine the bill of the third and fourth development programs. The third development plan, in terms of form and content, is an innovation in setting the country's development plans. In this program, structural reform and institution building have been highlighted, and based on that, regional planning has been taken into account in order to reduce poverty and deprivation; So that, in this program, attention has been paid to the category of regional planning in various ways; In other words, in some provisions of this program bill,

secondary indicators such as decentralization, development and development of deprived areas and provision of educational, health, medical, cultural, sports and artistic facilities can be seen for the main indicator of regional planning that these sub-signs together form the elaboration of the reformist discourse around the category of poverty and deprivation. In the third development plan, for the first time, together with government institutions, non-governmental institutions were also used in order to reduce poverty and deprivation; So that, for the first time, we see the government, national and state institutions, people and the private sector together in the field of poverty alleviation. In line with the third plan, the position of certain institutions for provincial (region) planning was defined and the limits of their powers and duties were determined (Khavardadi & Tajik, 2020). The direction of reducing poverty and deprivation has been emphasized, with the difference that the third plan sought to target the subsidy for the benefit of low-income groups and gradually withhold it from high-income families. According to the direction of this program, the methods of achieving it are proposed as follows:

- First, increasing the level of enjoyment of the poor group of households, through compensating for the difference in the effects of removing subsidies and continuous income methods such as: employment, strengthening educational programs, etc.
- Second; maintaining the benefit of middle-income households from the amount of subsidy and finally eliminating the subsidy of high-income households.

One of the other strategies considered by the Khatami government in order to reduce poverty and deprivation was to create employment in deprived areas so that the living conditions of the villagers and deprived areas would be improved accordingly (Soleimani Pourlak, 2019)

With these preliminaries, this article tries to examine the government's discourse on reforms and construction in the field of economic justice and answer this question:

"What does the components of reform and construction government's discourse in the field of economic justice include?"

2. Theoretical Framework

Laclau and Mouffe discourse method is used in this research, and Laclau and Mouffe discourse analysis method is a descriptive analytical and critical (neo-Marxist) method and belongs to the field of postmodern and poststructuralist perspectives, which by introducing concepts such as power, politics and ideology in the analysis. He can improve the capacity of criticizing his own analysis. This point of view is a criticism of the liberal discourse in reforming the traditional Marxist approach to get out of the crisis of the left world, which is done through emphasizing freedom and equality and deepening it (Izadi & Rezai Panah, 2014)

The research method of this article is also based on the description of the main concepts of Laclau and Mouffe theory used in this theory and then the discourse of post-revolution governments in the field of economic justice (1979-2021). But why the approach was used in this article, it should be said that Laclau and Mouffe theory can be considered as one of the

most practical theories in the field of discourse. "What distinguishes the discourse analysis of Laclau and Mouffe from other discourse theories is the expansion of discourse from the field of culture and philosophy to society and politics" (Hejazi & Bahrami, 2019). Therefore, this theory has an extraordinary ability to explain political and social phenomena. This capability has been obtained by using concepts such as "articulated". Articulation is an action that creates a relationship between different elements such as: concepts, symbols, behaviors, etc., so that their original identity is transformed and they find a new identity (Rezaeian et al., 2022).

1-2- Discourse and discourses order

At this stage, the existing discourses are identified based on the existing documents and other analyzes of order, discourse, and then discourse description: To describe the discourse order and discourses, the researcher must specify the following:

- ❖ What are the superior signifiers and floating signifiers of each discourse?
- ❖ What are the focal points of each discourse?
- ❖ What kind of discourses are in discourse order? Marginal, resistant, dominant and hegemonic.
- ❖ What sub-discourses are found in each dominant and hegemonic discourse?
- ❖ What is the myth of each discourse? Every discourse negates something and what kind of desirable and ideal situation does it create?
- ❖ What subjects does each discourse create? What identity does it have and how is it defined?

2-2- Formation and emergence of a discourse

- ✓ Alienation
- ✓ Availability

- ✓ Hegemonic validity
- ✓ Political factor
- ✓ Exclusion and highlighting
- ✓ Discourse representation

3-2- Representing the discourse

- What different discourses does the target discourse represent?
- Is the representation direct or indirect
- ?What things have been represented from the meanings of the events that caused the identities? (Qorbani et al., 2015).

4-2- Hegemonic becoming of a discourse

In order to understand the hegemonic of a discourse, the following should be analyzed:

- ❖ What discourse and using what tool was able to marginalize other discourses and become dominant?
- ❖ What other discourses did the hegemonic discourse unite with so that it could become the dominant discourse?

1-4-2- Political agent

To investigate political agency, these questions must be answered:

- Who are the prominent political agents of each discourse?
- What is the main activity of political actors?

•What is the role of important political actors in the hegemonic discourse?

2-4-2- Exclusion and highlighting

In the analysis of exclusion and highlighting, the researcher must answer the following questions

- ❖ Does each discourse use the major tools of exclusion and highlighting?
- ❖ What meanings, identities and actions do each discourse highlight?

- ❖ What meanings of identities and actions does each discourse reject? (Mossaffa & Ghorbani, 2012)

3. Research Methodology

The research method is theoretical, analytical-descriptive, with the help of library resources, internet, and press, using phishing method and using other media. In the course of the research, the dimensions and components of social justice at the macro level of society in the field of economic justice in each of the development programs described and analyzed using documentary and library methods. The basis of the analysis includes the main bills of each government and the five-year development plans, the constitution, the speeches of the heads of state, official reports and executive actions carried out during the governance of each of these discourses.

4. Research Background

-Eisania (2022) in an article with title: "An analysis of the political function of the reform government with a focus on political development over efficiency" concluded that although government agents have reformed their performance compared to previous governments based on successful political development, but from the people's point of view; legitimate freedoms, deprivation and the realization of civil society, and especially the prosperity of culture and politics, and wanted to achieve the same economic development through the political development of the country.

-Graeeli et al., (2020) in an article with title: "Elite Political Culture and Good Governance in The Islamic Republic of Iran (Reform Government Case Study)" showed that the

democratic political discourse and culture of the political elite in the reform government, unlike the ones before and after it, has played an important role in institutionalizing some of the indicators of good governance.

-Spahdarnya & Samiei Isfahani (2020) in an article with title: "The Secret of the Survival of the Rentier Government in the History of Contemporary Iran (1989-2005)" concluded that the injection of petrodollars in the second Pahlavi era into the body of the Iranian economy, brought about the emergence of specific institutional oil procedures (including budgeting system, currency exchange, weak private sector and social class dependence ...) in the field of decision-making and Governance method in a way that post-revolutionary governments, despite the dramatic changes that the revolution brought about in many of the previous values and structures, failed to break the bureaucratic order and procedures of oil institutions, as well as the culture and interests of social forces who supported such order.

-Bagheri & Ebrahimi (2016) in their research with title: "The Oriented-Development's Policy in Sazandegi Government and its Requirements for Iran's Foreign Policy" dedicated that Iran, for détente in its foreign relations, improved its relations with the EU, China, Russia and neighboring Arab countries. In regional and international levels, Iran followed the policy of strengthening and revitalization of eco-organization, de-politicization of OPEC, use of the capacity of the Organization of Islamic Conference, and more interaction with the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. To achieve this purpose, Iran reduced its ideological propaganda and changed its tones on export of revolutionary ideals in Middle East. At this time,

creating an Islamic Japan was considered the gateway of exporting of the Islamic revolution and the government attempted spend all its energy to improve the economy.

-Hagihosseni & Samaram (2014) in their article with title: "Discourse Analysis of Khatami Administration and Status of Poverty Alleviation in It" dedicated that the reformist discourse was constituted by articulating the signifiers of liberalism discourse and the Islamic Revolution meta-discourse. As poverty alleviation is not the master signifier in liberalism - it is in fact a by-product of political and economic development- the reality which is produced by this discourse does not pay attention to poverty alleviation as a main issue and marginalizes it.

5. Analyzing and examining the discourse of the reform and construction government (Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani)

1-5- Introduction of the discourse of justice in the Hashemi government: construction government (1997-1989)

The end of the imposed war and the damages caused by it, the revision of the constitution, the waiting of the people for the end of the hardships of life after a decade of hardships, the downfall of the socialist economy and the collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on world politics. Among Iran's economy, the reduction of national capital, economic sanctions and some international measures aimed at reforming the country's economic structure, among the factors of the constructive discourse plan and the faster start of economic development based on free economy by the government. The main direction of the

Hashemite government's economic policies was the structural adjustment policy, which was approved by the World Bank to developing countries with a state economy and In the end, it was the achievement of "economic prosperity" (Sinaee & Akbari, 2021)

During the construction period, the bill of the first and second development programs was approved by the Islamic Council. The first development program of the country, whose program law was implemented between 1989 and 1994, was an effort to ensure the Islamic installment and social justice, especially in the field of insurance and social security which was included through clause 5. On providing the need and the expansion of economic-social support for the families of martyrs, etc. (line 5-1), preparing and compiling the framework of the social security system based on principle 29 of the constitution and creating suitable grounds for its implementation (line 5- 4), examining and compiling policies related to rural social insurances (paragraphs 5-6) and also providing at least the basic needs of the people through (paragraph 6) including the provision of general health education and care Primary health care for the general public has been highlighted with an emphasis on deprived and rural areas of the country (line 2-6). Among the basic problems mentioned in the first development program are: not specifying the service situation (the type of service that should be provided) and the organization that caused the services to be provided on a case-by-case basis by multiple organizations; lack of information and required statistics regarding the population needing these services; lack of human resources specialized in providing services, especially in the sub-sector of welfare services; The lack of available financial resources in relation to the huge amount of

society's need for these services (Chahrazaad, 2020).

In order to overcome the above deficiencies, the following decisions were included in the first development program: preparation of a comprehensive plan for social security and welfare; organizational foundation for the implementation of the comprehensive plan; Examining and revising and making the necessary changes in the medical insurance system, of course, part of the above decisions, including the preparation of a comprehensive plan for social security and welfare, remained on paper until 2013 and did not find a practical aspect. The second law of the development program was implemented between 1995 and 1999; but in this program, the government has paid attention to welfare and social security in the form of four notes: paying monthly pension allowance to low-income groups (note 12), continuous payment to the families of sacrifices (note 31), one hundred percent guarantee the medical needs of veterans (Comment 13, Clause D) and finally the per capita payment of the medical expenses of the insured to the social security funds (Comment 81).

In the documents of the second development program in the field of welfare and social security, the following criticisms were made of the government's performance: the lack of a single authority in the matter of social security as a policy maker and coordinator; The indeterminacy of the policy and the way the villagers are covered; Inefficiency of the country's medical insurance system; Lack of planning and coordination within the organization and between departments. In order to overcome the above weaknesses and goals of the second national development program, the main focus of which was the generalization of "expansion

and improvement of the social security system", policies such as providing financial resources to provide support services, insurance development O community to different groups and strata of people and the development of medical services insurance and follow-up.

In the second development program, due to reasons such as: the growing class gap and people's protests in several cities about the poor living conditions, more attention was paid to the strategy of social support (at the same time, considering the strategy of social insurance). It was considered for the needy and deprived classes. During this period, various institutions were also established in the field of support; Among them, we can mention the executive headquarters of Farman Imam (established in 1368 and in implementation of the 49th principle of the constitution) and the headquarters for dealing with the affairs of freedmen (established in 1383 and merged with Shaheed Foundation and Martyrs' Affairs in 2004). To support the vulnerable sections of the society pointed to the victims of the imposed war; Although the construction government was forced to provide welfare and social security due to social conditions and demands; But on the other hand, the main program of the construction government was a gradual farewell to the economy of the war era and the faster start of economic development based on the free economy and the implementation of structural adjustment policies. According to the opinion of many experts, the government negotiated construction, social security and social justice in the margin of the structural adjustment program; And he took measures such as: gradual reduction of subsidies, reduction of government budget deficit by reducing government expenses, increase of taxes, privatization and release of price control;

Therefore, the compilation and implementation of the first and second development programs, which were mainly aimed at the state-oriented economic development and highlighted the compensation of the shortcomings caused by the economic development for the society, but unfortunately due to the incomplete implementation of the policy Structural, resulting in the living conditions of the people did not improve and the result was a dramatic decline in the welfare of the majority of the people and the spread of poverty (especially among the lower classes), inequality and dissatisfaction. In Table 1, the internal and external conditions affecting the measures and welfare programs of the construction government are mentioned (Yousefi & Tabatabaei, 2015).

Considering what has passed, in the analysis of the welfare discourse of the construction government, it can be said that: the welfare discourse of the construction government has been deconstructed from the central sign of the welfare discourse during the war period, which was the "central underdog" established meaning, He started detailing his discourse with the central theme of "compensating for the shortcomings of economic development for the members of the society". As a result of "insurance and medical support for workers, employees and unemployed", "continuous payment to the needy, homeless and low-income groups".

Table 1- Internal and external conditions affecting the measures and welfare programs of the Hashemi government

Internal conditions	External conditions	Welfare and social security measures and programs
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Reforming the economic structure as recommended by the World Bank•Reconstruction of damages caused by war•Revision of the constitution• End of imposed war	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Relative continuity of US sanctions against Iran• The collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist thinking	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•The first development program and attention to social justice, especially in paragraph 5 of the second development program and attention to welfare and social security in 4 notes on the continuation of subsidy payments to basic goods•Social insurances for the villagers, general integration of the funds of government institutions and companies in the pension fund, restoration of pensions in accordance with the changes in the minimum wage and the increase in the cost of living.• Emphasizing the government's insurance support for society members

2-5- The Central slab and the floating slab of the government of Hashemi Rafsanjani

"Extending social and medical insurance to more strata of people" as well as "all-round

support for families affected during the revolution and war" became floating signs of this discourse.

As it is observed, the sign of "insurance support for individual people" was an empty sign of the wartime government's welfare discourse, which had overflowed into the realm of its mute discourse; therefore, the

construction welfare discourse organized it in the form of the demand for the first and second development programs within its discourse. However, the construction welfare discourse also ignored the achievement of "social support" by addressing insurance supports and thus turned it into an empty sign of its own welfare discourse.

Table 2- Semantic system of welfare and social security discourse in the Hashemite government

Axial slab (Central slab)	Semantic syndromes	Blank slab(s).
Social welfare and social security focusing on compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Supporting families affected during the revolution and war in the form of newly established welfare institutions •Pension payments to the needy, orphaned and low-income groups •Extending social and medical insurance to more people • Insurance and medical support for employees, workers and unemployed in the form of established insurance institutions 	Social support

3-5- The fields of development of economic justice discourse in the Hashemite government

1-3-5- Internal fields

1-1-3-5- The end of the imposed war

The idealism of the early years of the revolution did not leave much room for proposals (ideas) such as social welfare; Based on this, the symbol of prosperity and the turn from collective spirit to individual-oriented social trends was often proposed during the construction period. Attention to social welfare was emphasized by the regime officials, especially after the end of the imposed war; Thus, the Reconstruction Policy Council was formed by order of Imam Khomeini,

whose members included: Khamenei, Mousavi Ardebili, Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mir Hossein Mousavi; On 1989, Khomeini explained its main lines as follows: "Planning for the proportional welfare of the people, combating the consumer culture and encouraging domestic production, moving away from reliance on oil exports, freedom of export and import, and in general, freedom Trade based on the law and with the supervision of the government in the type and price, as well as the development of people's presence in agriculture, industry and trade, and the reconstruction of destroyed cities, and breaking the spell of monopoly in domestic and foreign trade and expanding it to the masses of people and society" (Bagheri Dolatabadi & Siyapooshi, 2020).

In undertaking the policies of privatization and economic adjustment after the period of contractionary policies of the war, it was the most important plan and solution of the government to reach rich and prosperous communities. Under the policy of economic privatization and free market economy in 1991, it was decided that all enterprises and companies that were nationalized by the Revolutionary Council since 1979 should be handed over to the private sector and by supporting the activities of the private sector in the country and their investments, projects a new construction began and the municipalities began to operate with new financial resources based on the sale of density (Dehghani Firoozabadi & Yusefi, 2015).

2-1-3-5- Changes in the social context

The system of the Islamic Republic, especially since the last years of the war, has been organized according to the context and desires of the average city; On the one hand, the growth of this class has been the result of massive migration to cities, decisive changes in the employment structure, the development of the government rent distribution network, the expansion of the service sector, such as the expansion of the education network, etc. It is obvious that the important aspect of the urban middle class is not simply its quantitative aspects, but in addition, the qualitative aspects of the mentioned population, more than this, it was suggested. Academics, writers, members of the press and advertising, artists, lawyers, and doctors are from the strata related to the urban middle classes; This development, which is of course a global wave narrative, indicated a significant change in the cultural and social structure and, consequently, the

political structure in Iran; In this era, the acceptance of modern rationality instead of ideology and entitlement instead of religious responsibility and the creation of slogans based on the realization of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and parliamentary democracy among the elites of the society, especially the young generation, can be considered the most important foundations of the discourse transformation of the society (Ghanbarlu, 2013). One of the most important social developments that caused the change from an ideological government to a technocratic government was the growth of the student population; According to the available statistics, the student population of Iran's public universities increased from about 160,000 in 1365 to about 580,000 in 1996. The innovative measures and social and economic reforms of the Hashemi government crystallized into high social mobility and the emergence of a new middle class, which had the characteristic of bureaucratic and financier capitalism; Of course, the political interests of this class became effective in the political process after the construction period and provided the basis for the formation of parties in the coming years (Ali Hoseini Abbasi et al., 2022). He mentioned the death of Imam Khomeini and the selection of a new leadership, as well as the change in articles of the constitution to eliminate the post of prime minister and increase the powers of the viceroy to explain the emergence of the discourse of justice as development.

2-3-5- Foreign fields

1-2-3-5- Strengthening of liberalism in the world relations

In 1370, the Soviet Union collapsed, which represented the ineffectiveness of socialist policies, especially its economic aspect, and on the other hand, showed the effectiveness of liberal policies; Based on this, in Iran, the economic program of the center-right discourse was strengthened based on reducing the role of the government in the country's economy, strengthening the private sector, and then increasing taxes. Privatization policy was not limited to Iran at this time, but in the 1980s and the first years of the 1990s, developing countries chose and implemented one of the key policies to solve economic shortcomings and inadequacies. The discourse of economic development was a response to the waves of domination in the world decade should be considered the decade of internationalization of capitalism. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the application of market economy policies in the third world countries and the Eastern Bloc and debates such as the withdrawal of European borders and the expansion of world trade were indicators of this practice (Sarmadi et al., 2018).

2-2-3-5- Oil price fluctuations

The price of oil increased from 15 dollars in 1988 to 20 dollars in 1989 led to the growth of the gross domestic product by about 5.9%, but in the years 1992 and 1993, a decrease in world oil prices and, as a result, a sharp decrease in production growth. GDP was observed; this growth reached 4%, 1.5% and 0.5% in 1992, 1993 and 1994 respectively. In the last two years of the construction period, the growth of the gross domestic product started to increase again, which reached 1.6 percent in 1996. Since 1996, with the increase in the world price of

oil, a greater possibility to improve the economic situation has appeared. It is necessary to remember that with the decrease in the price of oil and the decrease in the ability of the government, the economic diplomacy apparatus of the Hashemi government to conduct negotiations related to attracting foreign capital and implementing projects monetary and financial, seriously entered the foreign economic scene; But in the end, there was no significant change in the structure of Iran's foreign policy (Chehrazad, 2020).

4-5- The discourse of justice in Khatami's government: the government of reforms (1997-2005)

"Khatami government" started from 1997 and continued until 2005. In this period, the macro-political discourse with the meaning of "political development" with the meanings of "civil society", "participation and voting rights", "reforms", "freedom", "legalism" and "democracy" took shape. The models of this government did not follow the development project in the shadow of an authoritarian government, unlike the Hashemi government; he considered this goal to be the result of the effective presence of civil society and the participation of citizens in a free and legal environment. The discourse of reforms influenced the discourse of welfare and social security through the sign of civil society and citizenship. In the discourse of reforms, guaranteeing the right to benefit from social security and implementing the 29th principle of the constitution was considered a necessary and unavoidable step to reach the civil society and citizenship rights.

This discourse considers the welfare and social security system to go beyond meeting the material needs of the society and believes that people do not just want bread, they are looking for other dignities that should be included in the comprehensive system of social security. Be defined and nothing they don't imagine that by paying subsidies and subsistence allowances, the deficiencies can be eliminated or even reduced. According to Khatami, the condition of eliminating poverty and establishing welfare through economic growth is possible, and raising the welfare level of all people is a necessary condition for poverty alleviation in the society, but it is not a sufficient condition and must be accompanied by this development. Let it be with justice, and this justice, except by way a comprehensive and efficient social security system is not possible, and thus the interpretation of justice is based on creating equal opportunities and guaranteeing access to opportunities.

During the reform period, the draft of the third and fourth development programs of the country was approved by the Islamic Council. The third development program law was implemented in 2000 to 2004 and continued until 2005. This program was in line with the civil rights discourse of the reform government and civil society, and in it there were guidelines such as "upgrading the status of public participation culture based on the principle of citizenship rights and social responsibility, enhancing the freedoms and rights specified in the constitution, increasing participation People and public opinion He entered the country's planning literature on various issues of the country in the form of groups, parties, specialized and union organizations, etc.

The fifth chapter of the third development program is dedicated to "social security system and subsidies". According to Article 37 of this program, the social security system aims to support different classes against economic, social and natural events and their consequences in terms of retirement, old age, unemployment, disability, carelessness, being left on the road, Accidents and accidents and disability Physical, mental, psychological and the need for health and treatment services and medical care in the form of insurance and others, is the right of everyone and the government is obliged to provide these services and support for all people. This article is in line with the 29th principle of the constitution, in order to achieve it, it is specified in the forty-first article of the same chapter that an appropriate organization should be designed and submitted to the name council for approval. With the approval of the third development program in April 2019, the government was tasked with creating the appropriate organizational structure of the social security system within six months in order to eliminate the interference of the existing institutions, under the cover of contracting the entire population, and increasing efficiency and bringing in the participation of charitable institutions and provide people with facilities. The Comprehensive Welfare and Social Security System, after many struggles and the pursuits and efforts of "Mohammed Satarifar" in the spring of 2004, under the title "Law on the Structure of the Comprehensive Welfare and Social Security System" was approved by the Sixth Parliament. This law is designed in 19 articles with the aim of comprehensiveness, regulation and integration in the programs and activities of the country's social

security field, and it was formed based on Article 11 of this law of the Ministry of Welfare and Social Security.

Also, Clause (g) of Article 6 of this law states that "government intervention in the level of social security executive and brokerage activities takes place in cases where the level of activity of non-governmental institutions is not sufficient to provide services." D and Ya Government intervention should be necessary to regulate the market of social security services and to compensate for market deficiencies"; In addition, in paragraph (y) of Article 6, it is declared that "the benefit of active funds at the universal level of social and medical insurance for each member of the public resources will be equal on a per capita basis. This does not prevent the government from supporting the weak sections of the society." Therefore, according to the above law, we are witnessing the movement of the government towards the participation of more people and non-governmental organizations, as well as institution building in a responsive and efficient manner in the field of welfare and social security (Sinaee & Akbari, 2021).

Among other articles related to welfare and social security in the third program, article 28 (continuation of insurance payments for companies entrusted to the private and co-operative sector), article 38 (universal and supplementary insurance protections) Article 39 (Non-insurance support including prevention, rehabilitation and support for the needy), Article 40 (Payment of government obligations to insurance organizations and not creating new debt), Article 44 (Comprehensive service plan for sacrifices) and Article 172 (integration of different

funds of the armed forces and creation of the social security organization of the armed forces) was mentioned.

The law of the fourth development program during the reform government was approved by the Islamic Council and was supposed to be implemented 2005-2009 (the period of the justice-oriented government), but this program was not implemented by the Ahmadinejad government. The form and content of this program in comparison with previous and even later construction plans and development plans showed the intelligence of its designers and knowledge of the economic and social conditions of that period. The third part of this program entitled "Development of health, human security and justice" includes two chapters under the titles of "Improving health and improving the quality of life" and "Improving human security and social justice" which includes the topics and issues of welfare and prosperity. The social In 20 articles, 7 of which are the implementation of the third development program. In this program, for example, direct and compensatory aid to vulnerable groups from the source of energy pricing (paragraph A, Article 4), creation and establishment of social security system and work (Article 9), insurance rights (Article 28), revision of the laws and regulations related to the labor force with the tripartite structure of the government, worker and employer (Article 41 Clause D), the formation of the Supreme Council of Food Safety and Security (Article 84), taking the necessary measures for The dangers and Individual and social losses of addiction, prevention and treatment of AIDS and also reducing the burden of mental illnesses (Article 86), promotion of distributive justice in people's fair access

to health and treatment services (Article 90), establishment of health insurance centered on doctors, family and Referral system (Article 91), immediate and unconditional treatment of accident and driving license victims in health and medical service centers (Article 29), compilation of a comprehensive program for poverty alleviation and social justice (Article 95), coverage of population services and financial support. The subject of Article 29 of the Constitution (Article 96), the compilation and implementation of the strategic document for providing services to the martyrs with the approach of empowering and improving the employment situation, affordable housing, improving the social level, medical-livelihood, etc. (Article 99) and the requirement to compile the "Citizen Rights" (Article 100), the expansion of social supports such as social security, unemployment insurance, social supports for informal labor market workers, rehabilitation of the disabled and equal opportunities for women and men, and empowering women by obtaining Opportunities A suitable job (paragraph c of article 101) is considered.

In the fourth development program, we see the government's efforts to establish a comprehensive welfare and social security system. This program has prepared a set of extensive activities in the direction of the development of health, human security and social justice, which for example can be topics such as: establishing the national social security system (Article 138), compiling and implementing Vote for the program Comprehensive empowerment (Article 147), efficient and targeted allocation of social security resources (Article 152), increasing population coverage, services and supports

of the comprehensive social security system (Article 153), insurance coverage for uninsured rural and urban workers (Clause A) Article 153), 100% coverage of basic universal health insurance (Article 351, Clause B), creation of special insurances for women heads of households and unaccompanied persons (Article 351, Clause C), empowerment of people covered by institutions and support institutions (Clause D) Article 153), taking measures to repay government debt to insurance organizations (Article 351), taking measures to prevent and reduce social harm (Article 154), taking measures to empower vulnerable individuals and groups. acceptable (paragraph A of Article 154), optimization of social space and deepening of religious values and social norms (paragraph B of Article 154), identification of vulnerable and crisis points and management of social damages (paragraph C of Article 154) using educational solutions to prevent and reduce social harms (paragraph d of article 451), using the capabilities of non-governmental organizations in order to provide better services to people exposed to social harms (paragraph h of article 154) rehabilitation of the socially injured (paragraph and article 154), compilation and implementation of the strategic document for providing services to the martyrs (article 651), regulating and approving the citizenship rights charter (article 157), extending social support to the youth (article 81) He pointed out the creation of protective covers for the creators of cultural and artistic works (Article 187), the allocation of unemployment insurance for the people of culture and art (Clause C of Article 187) and the strengthening of retirement funds (Article 232).

In Table 3, according to what has passed, in the analysis of the welfare discourse of the reform government, it can be said that: the welfare discourse of the reform government by resorting to the 29th principle of the constitution and comprehensiveness - giving to the social security system to destructure From the central sign of the welfare discourse of the construction period , i.e. compensation for the shortcomings caused by economic development, addressed and elaborated his discourse with the central sign of

"comprehensive system of welfare and social security" and floating signs of "taking advantage of social security in the field of insurance and treatment". Access to social security in the field of support, aid and rehabilitation", "Integration of funds and insurance and support institutions", "Empowerment of vulnerable individuals and groups" and "The right to access social security in social affairs "He took the initiative (Mohamadian & Tafazoli, 2022).

Table 3- Internal and external conditions affecting the measures and welfare programs of the Khatami government

Internal conditions	External conditions	Welfare and social security measures and programs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Social demand for political development, civil society and citizenship rights • Growth of Internet and press communication 	<p>Communication with the outside world and building trust for the relationship with the West and planning the approach of dialogue between civilizations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The fourth development program and allocation of its third part to "Development of health, human security and justice" which was not implemented due to the Ahmadinejad government. •The third development program and assigning its fifth chapter to "social security system and subsidies" •Qualitative improvement and quantitative increase of welfare and social security issues in the third and fourth development programs (33 articles against 10 months). •Formation of the Ministry of Welfare and Social Security in 2013 • Approval of the law on the structure of the comprehensive welfare and social security system

5-5- The central slab and the floating slab of Khatami government

As can be seen, the sign of "social support" was an empty sign of the welfare discourse of the constructive government, which had overflowed into its mute discourse; therefore, the welfare discourse of reforms organized it in the form of the demand for the

third and fourth development programs within its discourse. But the welfare discourse of the reforms also ignored the realization of economic support such as: "poverty relief, unemployment relief, construction of less developed areas" by addressing social support, and thus turned them into empty symbols of the welfare discourse. He made his own converter. In the end, it can be

said that in the welfare discourse of the reform period, the comprehensive system of social security is the basis for the realization of social justice, and therefore it can be

claimed that the welfare discourse of the reform period is close to the discourse of development as freedom considered by Amartya Sen.

Table 4- The semantic system of welfare and social security discourse in the reform government

Axial slab (central slab)	Meaning syndromes	Blank slab(s).
Welfare and social security system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Enjoying social security in the field of support and aid •Integration of funds and insurance and support institutions •Empowerment of vulnerable people and groups •Enjoying social security in the social field • Enjoying social security in the field of insurance and treatment 	Poverty alleviation, reduction and elimination of unemployment, construction and development of less developed areas

6-5- Development fields of economic justice discourse (in Khatami Government)

1-6-5- Internal fields

Three internal factors, namely economic development, social mobility, and finally, political lack of development, caused the discourse of reforms to emerge during the Hashemi era:

1-1-6-5- Economic development

Per capita income: without setting the fixed price in 1983, the per capita income in 1989 was 580 Rials and in 1997 it was 1.4 million Rials.

Employment and unemployment: the number of unemployed populations decreased from 1,819,000 people in 1986 to 1,456,000 people in 1996.

Production in the agricultural sector: the share of agriculture in the gross production increased from 19.5% in 1989 to 27% in 1995.

Industry sector: The share of the industry group was 16% of the total investments in 1989 and 25.3% in 1993.

Oil and gas: The share of gas in the country's energy consumption basket increased from about 5.5% at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution to 36% in 1995. Also, by the end

of 1996, in total, about 280 cities of the country joined the gas supply network (Izadi & Rezai Panah, 2014). All the above economic indicators indicate economic development during Hashemi's presidency.

2-1-6-5- Social mobility

The youth of the population: The demographic publications of the United Nations have announced Iran as the tenth country in the world in terms of the youth of the population in 1997. The young class votes less for conservative parties than for parties that want change.

Expansion of urbanization: the number of cities in the country reached 373 cities in 1355 and 718 cities in 1376. **Expansion of education and literacy rate:** in 1986, the literate population of the country was 61.77% of the population aged 6 years and above, and in 1996 it was promoted to 79.5%; also, the number of universities in 1367 increased from 102 to 270 universities in 1998.

Communications: the number of telephone subscribers in 1988 was equal to 1.8 million and reached 8.5 million in the middle of 1997. The number of public telephones increased from about 11,770 devices in 1988 to 637,332 in 1996 and nearly six times (Graeeli et al., 2020).

3-1-6-5- Lack of political development

Parties: During the construction period, ten associations, thirteen societies, two communities, five centers, one assembly, one worker's house, one organization and one party

(Islamic Coalition Party) were given permission to operate; In fact, this was the neglect of the political field and the slow process of political parties and organizations; During this period, the Construction Agents Party was the most important party that emerged and was able to represent the new middle class to a large extent.

Press: At the end of 2012, there were 26 to 32 copies of newspapers and 23 copies of periodicals for every thousand people in Iran; while in the same period, there were 1,200 magazine copies in Turkey, 1,100 in Tunisia, 900 in Lebanon, and 850 in Romania for every thousand people. As a result, the social mobility and economic development that occurred during the Hashemite period led to the transformation of the capacities and aspirations of individuals, groups and society. The hope of the executive management of the constructive government was that with the expansion of education, it could strengthen the forces for the future success of the economic adjustment policy, but according to Huntington's theory, incomplete modernization, i.e. the lagging behind the transformation of political institutions from rapid social and economic transformations, unlimited capacities (potentials) for emergence creates social movements; It was on this basis that when Khatami paid attention to rule of law, expansion of civil society, freedom of expression and criticism, he was widely welcomed (Soleimani Pourlak, 2019).

2-6-5- Foreign fields

The beginning of Khatami's presidency, at the same time as the second half of the development plan, was accompanied by widespread

economic recession in Southeast Asian countries, which affected the demand for oil and non-oil exports. It was a lot and caused inflationary stagnation to dominate Iran. From 1381 onwards and at the same time as the third development plan due to the suitable weather conditions and on the other hand, the increase in oil prices following Khatami's trip to Syria, Saudi Arabia and Qatar at the beginning of 1378 and making some understandings with them, the growth of production the gross domestic product increased and reached 7.6 percent (Hejazi & Bahrami, 2019). In short, the low price of oil in the first term of Khatami's presidency caused a kind of rationalism in the government's decisions and brought results such as the creation of a foreign currency reserve account and acceleration in the

privatization program, but unfortunately, in the second term, with the increase in oil prices, there was a change in policies. And we were returning to the practice of the rentier government, and in a way, the defeat of the reformists in 1384 can be related to this issue (Bagheri & Ebrahimi, 2016).

1-2-6-5- U.S sanctions against Iran

In addition to oil price fluctuations, we should mention the issue of provocations, especially American provocations against Iran. The economic losses caused by the commercial and financial sanctions of the United States regarding Iran in the years 1999 to 2009 are as described in the table below.

Table 5- Economic losses resulting from US sanctions against Iran in the years 1999 to 2009 (Million dollars)

Sanctions type	(Million dollars)
Commerce	700-1300
Financial	800-1500

Conclusion

The analyzed texts of the construction era show that the ruling discourse of the Rafsanjani era was mainly focused on the state-oriented economic development. According to this discourse of justice in the construction period, the realization of the economic dimension of justice is realized from the heart of the economic development of the government; That is, although there was an attempt to promote privatization in the society, but the management of economic development was in the hands of the government, and in other words, economic development was not going on as a process, which was formed as a process, but it

was viewed as a project by the government. Examining the position of this perception of justice shows that this discourse is based on things like privatization, price liberalization and the prominent role of the government. This discourse is close to the neoliberal discourse, but not from the position of Robert Nozick, who relies on meritorious justice and the more or less complete elimination of the government, but somewhat closer to the ideas of Friedrich Hayek, who, while committing to privatization, requires a strong government that supports the market protects. In this way, during the dominance of construction discourse, attention was fixed on the sign of

technocrat management. In this period, the belief in factors such as the free market and the results of economic growth and increased production by the private sector in society, which can be effective in reducing poverty, caused the restlessness of its previous discourse (the discourse of the holy defense government).

The ruling approach and discourse of the Khatami government was political development; In this type of development, the primary way to achieve justice, poverty reduction and other dimensions of development were considered, and their most important goal is to reach the civil society through programs and policies such as implementing some of the principles of the constitution, as well as holding councils. The freedom of parties and groups, the institutionalization of people's participation in power, etc., which is known as reforms. In this way, the reform discourse formed its articulation around the signifier "people", which connected other signifiers such as freedom, civil society, legalism and political development in a

special semantic system. Therefore, the discourse of reforms, with the signifiers of civil society and citizenship, carries the meanings of the stage of transition to civility on social justice. In this period as well, the reformist discourse intensifies the expectations of citizenship by alienating it from the previous discourses. But in this current, the analysis of the texts of the Khatami government's bills in relation to the sign of justice with the central sign of poverty reduction shows that in the discourse of reforms, justice, which is considered a key word in the field of social welfare, is bordered with other popular theories of justice in the world such as justice John Rawls's redistribution, which is one of the theoretical foundations of the discourse (socialist individualism), as well as bordering with Robert Nozick's theory of merit justice, which is the basis of the neoliberal and new right discourse, offers an interpretation of justice that means creating equal opportunities, ensuring equal access to Possibilities and privileges and the enjoyment of all the nation are the blessings of the society.

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