

Analysis and investigation of political participation in the discourse of the reformist government based on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe(with emphasis on youth political participation)

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Abstract

The issue of political participation can be viewed from different view points and political participation is different in the discourse of different governments. The basic hypothesis of a discourse approach is that the possibility of thought, action and complete understanding depends on the construction of the semantic domain. So, the purpose of this article is to analyze and investigate the political participation in the discourse of the reform based government and to investigate its semantic system based on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe. The present research is applied in terms of purpose and qualitative in terms of type. In this regard, Fairclough's discourse analysis method was used. The time of the current research, in terms of the research dimension, included the presidency period of Mr. Khatami. The statistical community is a collection of speeches and interviews of the heads of government during the reform period regarding political participation. The analysis of the sentences was done in order to find the signifiers of the justice-oriented principled discourse based on Laclau and Mouffe's method.

The findings of the research indicate that the reformist discourse is identified with the central sign of democracy and the elaboration of the signs of civil society, reforms, law, freedom and political development. In this period, the political participation of young people is high and compared to the previous periods, there is a significant increase in the political participation of young people. During the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, the stage was prepared for people's participation and media freedom.

Keywords: political participation, discourse, semantic system, reform government, democracy, Laclau and Mouffe's theory.

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1. Introduction

Socialization and political participation in the political system of the modern era, along with the modernity, have been considered necessary for governance in the modern world. Among the ruling ideas of the modern society, political participation is considered to be the direct or indirect involvement of more and more people and social groups in political issues. In this sense, political participation is a type of individual freedom of action by which a type of will and collective decision-making power that guarantees the legitimacy of the government is seen (Zaheer, 2016). Political participation has two divisions: 1- direct participation; 2- Indirect participation. Interference in determining one's destiny and choosing and monitoring the ruling political system in the form of voting within the framework of inclusive parties can be called direct political participation, such as parliamentary and presidential elections in Iran; But indirect political participation is a way to involve people in political affairs so that in this political system, party activities have the first priority.

In this system, the political system and the ruling government are based on direct voting and election of the country's political leader by the parliament, like the election of the president in USA and China. In USA, as a two-party political system, political participation is manifested in the form of two parties, and in China, working in the Communist Party and choosing the general secretary of the party as a political leader are other examples of political participation. In the Islamic Republic of Iran system, political participation means the right of people to interfere in determining their own destiny according to the political-religious teachings.

Accordingly, people's involvement in political decision-making and their supervision has been recognized according to the first principle of the constitution. This participation is based on the legal, religious and customary principles governing the social relations of the Iranian people, which is necessary for the preservation and coherence of the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. (Saeidi, 2014: 10). It can be said that political participation is any individual behavior and action whose purpose is to influence public policies or the election of political leaders or to apply the opinion of leaders to the people or, in short, the field of decision-making and demand between the people and the government. Vayo et al., 2019).

In fact, the term political participation has a very different meaning for different people according to their specific political culture. Therefore, the theme of political participation includes a variety of behavioral patterns: 1) electoral activity including voting, campaigning, trying to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party; or, conversely, trying to change the outcome of an election; 2) exerting influence on officials, meaning contacting government officials to influence their attitude and behavior on issues that affect a large number of people; 3) other organizational activities other than exerting influence on the officials in order to influence the public atmosphere in which policy making takes place; 4) individual contact with authorities to express complaints about a matter concerning an individual; 5) Violence means trying to influence the government's decisions by causing damage to people and properties (Saei, 2012: 15).

In some periods, the establishment and development of political participation provides the basis for the creation of various associations, freedom of thought, holding gatherings, protection of privacy and respect for the essence of human individuality. Therefore, in this situation, the ground is provided for the presence and political participation of teenagers and young people. According to Milbrat and Goel, youth participation depends on factors such as political motives, social status and personal characteristics. In general, young men participate more than young women and middle-aged men more than middle-aged women. According to the number of associations and popular formations, the civil society pushes the social system in the direction of institutionalizing multiple voices and destroys the foundation of the single-voice society and hegemony and monopoly at different levels of political, social and It minimizes the economy.

The issue of political participation can be viewed from different points of view, thus political participation is different in the discourse of different countries. The basic hypothesis of a discourse approach is that the possibility of thought, action and complete understanding depends on the construction of the semantic field, which is present before any objective immediacy (Mohammadi, 2013: 588). Constructing the field of meaning depends on what is present before any objective immediacy (Mohammadi, 2013: 588).

According to the dialectic relationship between the sub-discourse structures and the macro-structures of the society, Fairclough emphasizes that although the macro-structures of the society may determine the micro-structures of the discourse, the discursive structures reproduce the ideological and discourse structures. (Fairclough, 1998).

Fairclough, who has been one of the active and leading figures of critical discourse analysis since the beginning of its formation, compared to other critical discourse analysts, compiled the most coherent, comprehensive and popular theory and calls his approach the critical study of language. Fairclough states his purpose as follows: Our practical purpose is to help increase awareness about language and power, and especially about how language plays a role in the domination of some over others. Considering my attention to ideology, this means to help people to understand that their language is not based on the assumptions of common sense and how these assumptions based on common sense are ideologically shaped by power relations (Sultani, 2014: 60-61).

Although the topic of political participation is one of the most controversial topics among Iranian thinkers and researchers, unfortunately, it has not been paid enough attention. A review of published works and researches in this field, including books, articles, translations, dissertations, etc., shows that although some works have been written in this field, the number of works focused on political participation in Khatami's government in the field of writing The income is very low. Considering the various positions and comments in this field by the governments after this government, it is necessary to examine this issue, which was one of the important historical demands of Iranians and the Islamic Revolution, and the performance of this government in relation to political participation to dig. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to analyze and investigate political participation in the discourse of the reformist government based on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe. In this regard, the following questions are raised:

1. What is the semantic system and articulation of the discourse of political participation during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami?

2. According to the central signifier and the type of articulation in the discourse, what are the characteristics of the political participation of the mentioned period?

3. How does the semantic system of the political participation discourse of the Khatami period alienate their identity against the rival discourse?

4. What is the view of political freedom in the discourse of the reformist government?

5. What is the attention to the freedom of expression of political participation in the speech of the reformist government?

6. How is cooperation and interviews with the media to influence the political system in the discourse of the reformist government?

2.Review of Literature

Taghipour et al. (2018) investigated the ratio of economic-social base and political participation in Dezful city with emphasis on Huntington's modernization theory; The analysis of the obtained data showed that there was an inverse correlation between the two dependent variables but with a low intensity (-0.317) and Cronbach's alpha coefficient (0.78), that is, the level of social-economic base of Dezfuli citizens was higher than the level of political participation. They were reduced.

In 2014, Mirzaei and Rabbani conducted a research titled analysis of the discourse confrontation between fundamentalism and reformism in the 10th presidential election cycle, and the result of the research showed that the political articulation of Mousavi and Karroubi, with a very small difference, is similar to the political articulation of Mustafa Moin in the 9th election cycle. It was the presidency and all three of them had reflected modernism in their speech. In this period of competition, the discourse of fundamentalism displayed its unique ability to polarize the society, which eventually became hegemonic along with the renewal of the articulation elements of its discourse. The analysis of the texts showed that the discourse of reforms in the 10th election is rigid in meaning and form; In the sense that in this period, he repeated his previous statement that due to non-adherence to the system of knowledge ruling the society and lack of accurate knowledge of the political

situation of the country and the rival, he could not stand and dominate the society.

Abbas Khalji (2008) in an article entitled "Theoretical Foundation of Collapse of Consensus in the Reformist Discourse" believes that the reformist discourse was configured based on a set of theoretical inconsistencies and lacked theoretical coherence; Because both the relative teachings of Islam and modern liberal teachings were used in it. The immediate consensus of the reformists was due to the historical necessity of opposing the fundamentalist candidate in the presidential election, who thought his victory certain. They wanted to bring the voices of religious innovators and reformers to the society by gathering scattered votes and creating a broad front and be present in the political arena. But they had not designed a specific strategy for this convergence or political alliance. An unwritten consensus was reached around supporting Khatami. When the incredible victory was achieved, the differences of opinion began. These differences that arose from the theoretical inconsistencies of the discourse, the differences of opinion around the broad intellectual and ideological foundations, various political methods and different implementation procedures of the reformists were bypassed. Every individual and group led the reformist movement and the community of reformists collapsed and the necessary platform was provided for the theoretical transformation and change of their political struggle methods. In this article, the process of the collapse of the reformists' consensus is examined in the framework of a theoretical approach. Due to the difference in the topic and content of this research, it is only interesting from the aspect of the method that used discourse theory.

Chen Gan et al. (2017) in a survey study "Social media use, political interest and participation among university students in China" have shown that the use of social media contributes to political interests and in turn affects participation. It has a civil and political effect. Additionally, political interests may moderate the effects of social media use on political participation. Based on a survey of 897 students of Guangzhou University in China, the findings confirm that due to network authoritarianism in China, political communication through social networks has an effect on positive interests towards the

government and society, and communication with political activists through the network has political interests. It is negatively related.

The results of the research of Tsounbi and Anouvi (2014) as "the effects of the media on the political knowledge, action and interest of the youth" confirm that the media, especially the Internet, is a more reliable source for political and non-political information.

The survey results of Kalenda and Moska (2007) as "Political use of Internet information" confirm the influence of the Internet on participation and involvement in political affairs.

3. Methodology

In terms of practical purpose, in terms of exploratory nature, and in terms of method type, the present research is among the qualitative researches, which was chosen according to the topic of the research, the discourse analysis method. Fairclough emphasizes the three stages of "description", "interpretation" and "explanation" in the discourse analysis method.

PDAM method is also trying to analyze these steps according to five levels: Level – level, Level-depth, Depth-level, Deep, deeper.

The first three levels are actually a type of "description", but this description is based on the original text, the hegemonic and implicit meanings of the text by choosing sentences aligned with the purpose of analysis, discovering the relationship between common meanings in convergent sentences in the text and finally reading the meanings of the sentences. It is consistent in the text with other meanings extracted from other sentences of the text in general.

In the deep stage, the text is analyzed in a situational context. In fact, the text is created in different contexts. For analysis, there must be sufficient knowledge of the environment and contexts of text creation. In other words, in the deep stage, a semantic relationship is created between the text and the context. The deeper stage is the sensitive stage of analysis. At this stage, the discovered relationships between the text and the context are taken into consideration with regard to the hypertext. Hypertext at this stage can be any subject that is influential in creating the text and context or creates a

relationship with them. This stage, contrary to the view of "author's death" which tries to analyze the text without paying attention to its creator, aims to analyze the relationships between the creator of the text, the original of the text, the contexts of the creation of the text and related hypertexts.

The time of the current research, in terms of the research dimension, includes eight years of Mr. Khatami's presidency. The statistical population of this research is the collection of speeches and interviews of the head of the government of the mentioned period regarding political participation in the period of independence. The reason for choosing this time period is the importance and prominence of political participation topics in the words of analysts and officials of the country. In general, the means of gathering information in the present research are the books published about Mr. Khatami's speeches, newspapers, articles, etc., which have published the same contents of his speeches about political participation. Hence, the unit of analysis of the sentences said by the reformist president.

The researcher seeks to analyze the sentences in order to find the discourse signifiers of the reforms based on Laclau and Mouffe's method as follows:

Central sign: It is called the point of crystallization within a discourse and the centralizing center and the coherence of the temporary part and the relative stabilization of the meaning within a nodal articulation or central sign. Like the sign of the people in the second discourse of June. The central slab centers the other slabs around its axis.

Floating sign: A floating sign is a sign whose meaning is never completely fixed and is always open to change.

Discourse field: All possible meanings that are contrary to the semantic order of a discourse that arranges its signifier or signifiers according to that meaning and excludes other meanings from its discourse.

According to Fairclough, the discourse analyst should choose a sample from countless data in consultation with experts in the field of study or a few of the most prominent data, texts and speeches that are well representative of the desired discourse. Then analyze them. We have made a deliberate and selective choice and analyzed those data that are more related to the subject of the

research. Discourse or critical analysis has always been an interpretive issue. In this method, we have no problem with the data collected during discourse analysis. Therefore, the validity and reliability of a research and its findings depend on the logical discussions that exist. Even the best structured discussions become subject to deconstruction. The validity of discourse analysis depends on the quality of speech and expression. In this research, the findings have been approved by the supervisor and advisor for analysis.

Discourse analysis of political participation in the reformist government and its semantic system (1997-2003)

Based on the analysis based on the method of Laclau and Mofe, the discourse indicators of political participation in the reform government are as follows: 1-The central sign of democracy 2- The floating sign of civil society 3-The floating sign of reforms 4- The floating sign of freedom.

4. Findings

A)The central sign of the people (religious democracy)

The broad participation of the people on the second of Khordad was not only in the sense of saying yes to Khatami, but in the sense of saying "no" to the existing situation. In fact, this metaphorical space had a negative character. In this way, the reform discourse was formed around the central sign of "the people" with the aim of creating a religious democracy. He also created this quasi-charismatic metaphoric space for himself in the form of Sayyid Mohammad Khatami and formed a new articulation by using important words such as civil society, law, freedom, democracy, tolerance and political development.

Despite the passage of several decades since the entry of the concept of religious democracy with the new concept of religious democracy into the sanctum of political literature, a consensus has not been reached among thinkers about it. That is, they think it is the product of mixed and distorted teachings of religious intellectuals, and they consider it religious theocracy, and some groups assume this composite concept to be paradoxical. Based on this, there are three trends and views on this. At first glance, religious democracy is the same as the Islamic Republic declared in the Constitution of the Islamic

Republic of Iran. that in religious and legal frameworks, people not only have the right to manage their affairs and supervise the government, but also have the necessary competence and ability for this. In the second view, it emphasizes on the tight connection between religious democracy and religious society. The condition of democracy is tolerance with other thinkers, not giving up one's opinions. Religion and democracy are necessary and necessary for each other, calling for democracy is calling for the project of religious rationalism. The religious government (in its non-jurisprudential sense) originates from the free faith of people, its duty is to protect the freedom of faith. In the third view, religious democracy has been formed based on a reading based on the theory of divine-civil legitimacy. In this approach, by separating political action from the policies that form the basis of action, the elements of political power are divided into two main components, and the government's supervisory body is separated from its executive body, and religious democracy is in front of the jurisprudence. As an institution with political power, it is placed in charge of political action.

One of the most prominent concepts that the reform government put forward and put as its central sign is the concept of the people (democracy), which was one of the main slogans of the reform movement during the 8 years of the presidency of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami. This concept was not borrowed from outside, but It was taken from the text of the law and Imam Khomeini's statements during the formation of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As the main representative of the reformist discourse, Khatami raised this concept and explained it in many lectures.

For example, we can refer to Khatami's speech on October/30/1997 and July/27/1999, which describes religious democracy as follows:

The message of the Islamic revolution is Islamic democracy and the establishment and strengthening of independence and the provision of freedom combined with security, and the result of the Islamic revolution is the Islamic Republic and the Constitution, as the written charter of this system.

Democracy is not reserved for a people or a nation that someone considers as their monopoly, democracy must rule over the entire human

society. Democracy requires recognition of the rights and dignity of every human being, every nation and every ethnic group. The government comes from the will of the people, and a reading of Islam, which our honorable Imam (RA) represented, has recognized such a right for the people, the right of the people to rule does not conflict with the right of God's rule, but it is part of it and is in the constitution. Our Islamic Republic has also come clearly.

And also Khatami says:

The people, directly or indirectly, are the main rulers. Credit powers and positions are the result of the will of the people. If the government and the rule originate from the people, the continuous supervision of the people over the rule is also a condition for the continuation of this right. The only source of political and social power is the people; Or it is the source of God's power and sovereignty, but he has left the right of sovereignty to the people. This is a version of Islam that has been accepted in this revolution.

Also, Khatami, in a speech held on 1/30/1998 in the gathering of the party members, considers the sovereignty of the people as one of the important pillars of any government and states that one of the main components of the formation of any government is the sovereignty of the people and the satisfaction of the people. he says:

It is possible that some governments can rule the people by force in the short term, but in today's connected world and with the knowledge of the people about their rights and the limits of the government, it is no longer possible for governments that want to rule the people by force. Therefore, we have accepted the people's government both from the Islamic point of view and from the theoretical and practical point of view. The right of the people to rule over their own destiny is also written in the constitution.

So we must move towards strengthening the popular system. If the system should be popular, people should be present in the scene. We cannot represent the people and say what the people want. First of all, the will of the people should be able to be expressed in the society; And secondly, it should be expressed (Khatami, 2010: 35).

B) Floating sign of civil society

Regarding the meaning and content of civil society, it can be mentioned that its historical scope in the West is as wide as the number of schools and political thoughts from the ancient Greek period to the present time. The root of the word civil society is the Greek word (polis), which refers to the city government. Some consider civil society to be a society that stands in front of authoritarian and absolutist societies. Based on this attitude, civil society was created in the transition from tradition to modernism, which falls into the hands of citizens during cultural and social relations. In some societies, the civil society has assumed the color and smell of a law-abiding society, and even freedom in such a society is limited within the framework of the rule of general laws.

In his book *Islam and Spirituality*, Khatami says to explain the civil society:

The civil society that we are trying to establish is based on our collective identity, the exploitation of which requires the constant movement and efforts of thinkers and scientists. Our civil society is not a treasure that can be acquired all at once, but it is the source of life and spirituality that we should enjoy from its constant boiling, and therefore benefiting from it is gradual and depends on the accuracy of knowing the heritage and traditions of thought and belief of Muslims on the one hand, and understanding The deep and precise scientific and philosophical world is on the other hand. For this reason, the center of this movement are the thinkers of the nation, and our success in this path depends on politics serving thought and virtue, not a narrow framework for these two. What was said is not a fantasy, but a vision of a situation that is possible to reach, and trying to reach it is the most urgent task of all of us (Khatami, 2000: 26).

C) Floating sign corrections:

Khatami explains in the book "*Democracy*" about the sign of reforms as follows:

Reformism means moving towards the satisfaction of demands that have not yet been satisfied. Reformism means continuous modification of

values and methods to speed up people's social life to reach those goals. Reformism never means abandoning the principles of revolution, but it is the similarity of the perfection of our revolutionary society and the vitality of the nation, and it is a sign of the strength of the government and the stability of the foundations of democracy in it, and a sign of attention to the constitution (Khatami, 2001: 821-129).

D) Floating sign of freedom

Khatami explains freedom in the book *Islam and Spirituality and the Islamic Revolution* as follows:

Islam has given us freedom. This freedom is a right that God has given to man and even man who is against me or against my religion. In society, the limit of freedom is determined by the law, the limit of freedom within the framework of our constitution is that it does not disturb the principles of Islam and is not against public rights. The limit of freedom is only this and there is no other limit. There was no freedom in our history and today, thanks to the blessing of the revolution, we have obtained freedom, which is a gift from God. Today, the defense of our religion and our strengthening is to defend freedom and officially recognize the right of people to criticize (Khatami, 2000: 169).

Khatami, in his design of modern elements, always expressed them in close connection with religion, and he was never willing to downplay one for the benefit of the other; In this context, he says:

Our system requires both religion and under the protection of religion, it allows people's freedoms. Opposing people's freedoms is weakening the system; Just as the weakening of the religious foundations of society and religion is the weakening of the system (Khatami, 2001: 95).

E) How Seyyed Mohammad Khatami's speech was formed

The dialogue of civilizations is the most important thought of Khatami in this period in the field of his ideology.

Khatami was one of the young clerics before the revolution, whose thought and speech were influenced by two cognitive sources related to the field and the university. He stayed in Qom until 1978 to study and attended the class of Ayatollah Wahid Khorasani, Seyed Musi Shabiri Zanjani, Morteza Motahari, Javadi Amoli, and Morteza Haeri. At the beginning of the same year, Khatami traveled to Germany for pre-prayer at the Hamburg mosque, and thus was not in Iran during the days of the revolution.

At the beginning of his presidency, Khatami used the word "democracy" a lot, but in order to emphasize his desired Islamic meaning and to show that he believes in another philosophy for democracy that is not compatible with its secular and western basis, he gradually used the term "Religious democracy" replaced it. Like other concepts such as "modernization" and "civil society" which Khatami did not necessarily equate with westernization and western standards. Regarding democracy, he also believed in the difference between religious democracy and democracy in the West, or democracy.

Khatami clarifies: "Democratic systems do not have one formula and one form to say, for example, what has been realized in the West will definitely be realized in other societies as well." Communities have their own origins, identities, tendencies and beliefs. While pointing out the existence of some differences between democracy in Islamic societies and other systems, Khatami considers one principle common to them, that common principle is "the right of people to rule". "The power belongs to the people, now it either directly belongs to the people, that is, the only source of political and social power is the people, or the source of power and sovereignty is God, but he has left the right of sovereignty to the people (Khatami, 2008: 46).

One of the major differences between today's world and the world of the past is that in today's world, humans are considered to have rights, while in the past, most humans were considered obligated; That is, they believed that the duty of man and his life path are determined without his will and he is forced to follow this path. While today's world considers man as the owner of the right: that is, it is man himself who must choose and walk the path. This is a correct statement. That is, unfortunately, throughout history neither in the

Christian world nor in the Islamic world have people been given rights. Historical and sociological researches show that in the Islamic world, with the establishment of the Umayyads, a dark era in the history of humanity begins... From the beginning of the Umayyad period, a kind of tyranny ruled with Islamic and philosophical justification. The most obvious aspect of tyranny is that people are only obligated, they do not have rights, and others must rule over them. Unfortunately, this view prevailed in the Islamic world and the issue that man has the right to determine his own destiny was neglected (Khatami, 2008: 85 and 86).

Freedom is other than moral and spiritual vagrancy. Our view of freedom is to comply with moral and spiritual standards [...] There is no system that does not set limits for freedom, the most important condition for the establishment of civil society is the acceptance of the constitution and respect for the majority vote [...] The country must comply with Islamic standards, because the majority of our people are Muslims and they voted for the Islamic system, and they are formed around the leadership, institutions and other bodies. They are indifferent to the important religious and Islamic factors (Khatami, 2017).

In this period, one of the most important aspects of Khatami's political thought was his dealing with political development and its meaning. Here, as in other cases, Khatami tried to present a religious interpretation of it in accordance with religious laws. Mentioning the most important components of political development from Khatami's point of view makes it clear that he defines political development specifically with legalism in its various dimensions, that in Muslim societies these laws cannot be separated from religious laws and values. The most important components of political development in Khatami's thought were: 1. Clear definition of the basic rights and duties of the people and the government "Political development is possible and useful in a society in which the basic rights and duties of the people and the government are defined and specified."

2. With the establishment of the constitution: "One of our prides is that the law was drafted very soon with the opinion and efforts of the people's elected experts and it was put to a vote and the overwhelming majority voted

for it,... when the constitution is established, it will be ceremonial It is not that it is on paper, it is established that it is the basis of order and it is implemented." 3. Freedom of thought and expression 4. And the practical commitment to the legal order of the society, Khatami, after expressing the characteristic of freedom of thought, has set a condition for it and says: "On the condition that when he lives in a society, he actually submits to the principles of the society's order. Even if it is theoretically opposed to this basis of order" 5. Observance of religious values in a society like Iran): "Political development has no conflict with the value of martyrdom and martyrdom and self-sacrifice front." But after the election, some people tried to "make the minds of scholars, officials and society pessimistic towards the government and its slogans." "We must be at the forefront of defending society's values, because we believe that if religion is harmed in our society, the basis of our society's cohesion will be harmed. Political development in a society like ours is only possible with religion. Of course, a reading of religion that accepts the political development of man" (Khatami, 1999).

6. Dialogue instead of conflict to resolve differences: "Political development means how to have differences but not fight [...] We should not say that differences are bad, so no one should express their opinion (...) The way to reach political is It is that we provide the necessary security for expressing opinions. The government and the system try to bring even the opposition to the framework of the law... We should not deal with the opposition in such a way that they become opposition. Opponents should be turned into opponents and opponents should be taught to oppose within the framework of the law. This is the meaning of political development (Khatami, 2008: 202 and 203). In other words, he saw the spirit of political development in the "legalism" of society, which laws are also based on Islamic jurisprudence and Sharia.

F) Khatami cabinet's foreign policy discourse

The third decade of the revolution began with Mr. Khatami's victory in the presidential election and emerged with a kind of transformation in the political discourse based on the promotion of multilateralism, equality of

cultures and nations, regional and international interactions. This discourse focused on strengthening the civil society in the internal dimension and following the de-tension policy in the external dimension. In this era, Iran's foreign policy has left the economic aspect and political development has become a fundamental aspect. The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has entered a new stage in the history of its foreign policy in the direction of the de-escalation approach with other countries of the world. In general, the principles of Khatami's foreign policy are based on three The main principle was:

1. The principle of honor, wisdom and expediency
2. Destressing
3. Dialogue of civilizations

The pacifist and tension-relieving foreign behavior in the field of bilateralism and the dialogue of civilizations in the field of multilateralism were taken into consideration, and in fact, inspired by the theory of the link proposed by the newspaper of internal developments, such as the governance of the discourse of political and cultural development, the promotion of the culture of participation acceptable in the religious democratic system, the slogan of Iran for all Iranians, the policy of cultural immunity, cultural tolerance, legalism, observance of individual rights and freedoms and attention to the interaction between the acceptability and legitimacy of the political system caused Iran's trust-building policy in the political arena Foreigners should be accepted by countries, Iran's positive and optimistic attitude towards the international civil society should be accepted.

5. Conclusion

Political participation is considered one of the main indicators of political-social development of societies. Political participation of youth as the largest population group in developing countries is of particular importance for political stability and society dynamics. The political participation of the youth has a special place for societies that respect democracy and consider it the most reliable way to realize the rights of citizens and strengthen the authority of the government. Although the general belief in many societies of the world is that

the youth suffer from indifference and lack of political activism. But this belief originates from the fact that attention and emphasis are usually directed to actions that young people do not do or pay little attention to (such as voting or joining parties) and on the other hand, alternative areas of political participation and activism of young people are also neglected. According to the findings of the research, the answers to the questions are presented:

1. What is the semantic system and articulation of the discourse of political participation during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami? The discourse of reforms that took place in the years 1997 to 2003 is connected with the widespread participation of the people in the presidential elections on June 2, 1997. In fact, the presence of 30 million people in this election showed the new demands of public democracy. The state of the country in the second half of June was a function of major social, cultural and political variables that can be called indicators of transformation and development. Expansion of urbanization, increase in welfare expectations
3. Expansion and promotion of quantitative and qualitative culture and development of educational institutions, universities and an unprecedented increase in the country's student population
4. Structural changes in the social and economic class system
5. More transformation in social values and norms
6. The occurrence of extensive and profound technological developments in political and international fields
7. The revolution in communication processes and the end of one-sided information activities.
8. The emergence of a new generation of political elites and increasing political awareness.
9. The expansion of international communication and interactions and the release of tension in foreign policy.

In finding the roots of how the discourse of reforms came about, we can point to a number of subjective factors such as spirituality, freedom, the rule of law, defense of civil institutions, negation of violence, emphasis on consensus and agreement about the constitution, which are widely accepted by the new middle class. And Shahri, intellectuals and academics, women and young people faced.

The discourse of reformism in the first half of 2016 by using various signifiers related to "democracy" such as "political development", "civil society", "freedom" and "reforms" and "law" which are in the field of the

discourse of silence. had been able to gain significant control over public opinion, in other words, this discourse was repeated regularly from 1997 to 2003. And he suffered from sclerosis, freezing and semantic blockage.

2. According to the central signifier and the type of articulation of the reformist discourse, what are the characteristics of political participation in the mentioned period? During the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, the broad participation of the people in Khordad 2th did not only mean saying yes to Khatami, but saying "no" to the existing situation. In this way, the reform discourse was formed around the central sign of "the people" with the aim of creating a religious democracy. He also created this quasi-charismatic metaphoric space for himself in the form of Sayyid Mohammad Khatami and formed a new articulation by using important words such as civil society, law, freedom, democracy, tolerance and political development.

3. How does the semantic system of political participation discourse of the Khatami period alienate its identity against the rival discourse (justice-oriented fundamentalism)? The reformist discourse is one of the two discourses and intellectual traditions that alienate within the group of Islamists. It was formed after the revolution. The reformists are a broad spectrum of political and social forces in Iran, who gathered in the 18 groups of Khordadi II, with the support of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and gaining an unexpected victory, in the seventh presidential election. Their goal is It was to benefit from the benefits of winning and gaining political power, and to participate in running the country and running the society, and in this way, to fulfill their thoughts, ideals, and goals. They discussed the presence of women in the public arena of the society and emphasized the necessity of full implementation of the constitution. With Khatami's victory, many sections of the society, personalities and influential forces who were on the political margins felt victorious. The independent press flourished, the student groups and other social campaigns seriously put their democratic demands on the agenda. Especially in the years 1999-2000, the society of Iran faced a kind of reforming and universal social movement. It was through this force that the reformists achieved victory in the first period of the city and village councils (1999) and the sixth assembly elections (2001) and won the majority of seats.

4. What is the view of political freedom in the discourse of the reformist government? The most prominent signifiers of the discourse of the Khatami era in the social scene are the signifiers such as people, freedom, civil society, popular participation, citizenship rights, the private sphere of individuals and human dignity. Freedom of associations, parties, unions and social groups of non-governmental organizations, freedom of the press, protection of the rights of women and minorities, communication with the outside world, especially the West, and insisting on the idea of cultural and religious protection. 5. What is the attention to the freedom of expression of political participation in the speech of the reformist government? Khatami's political discourse started from the concept of freedom, and in the light of this moral value, one can translate and interpret his other political verses and understand the meaning of the literature used by this discourse. In fact, Khatami, by accepting the primacy of the cognitive value of freedom over justice, tries to determine the geographical location of each of the other concepts in his theoretical map.

The central importance of freedom in Khatami's value system was so important that this value was important for maintaining religiosity as well as justice. In other words, the desirability of freedom can be intrinsic, and since it is considered as a prerequisite for maintaining justice, it has instrumental necessity and desirability. In other words, the durability and survival of religion and justice is due to the existence of freedom. Considering the priority and delay of the two values of justice and freedom in Khatami's political discourse, we can see Khatami's closeness to right-wing thoughts in the field of political thoughts. The issue of civil society is also in line with the development of freedom. On the other hand, the main axis of all values is the elimination of human beings. In his opinion, man is the axis of political development and its goal. Civil society is in fact the field of realization of human freedom and sovereignty over his own destiny. Islam has given us freedom. This freedom is a right that God has given to man and even man who is against me or against my religion. In society, the limit of freedom is determined by the law, the limit of freedom within the framework of our constitution is that it does not disturb the principles of Islam and is not against

public rights. The limit of freedom is only this and there is no other limit. There was no freedom in our history and today, thanks to the blessing of the revolution, we have obtained freedom, which is a gift from God. Today, the defense of our religion and our strengthening is to defend freedom and officially recognize the right of people to criticize (Khatami, 2000: 169).

The birth and growth of the free press took place during this period. 6. How is cooperation and interviews with the media to influence the political system in the discourse of the reformist government? During the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, he cooperated and interviewed with the media in order to influence the political system in his discourse, and he tried to provide a suitable and flexible platform for the activism of different political spectrums active within the framework of the system and the constitution by maintaining hegemony. types of media can criticize and review the existing situation in different fields.

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