

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

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ABSTRACT

Economic justice means observing economic rights in the field of economic behavior and relations. As an economic goal, this will be fully realized when each member of the society gets their right from the wealth and income of the society. In this regard, different viewpoints based on different bases have provided multiple meanings for the right. In all discourses of economic justice 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. This study aims to examine the discourses of the government of reform and construction (Hashmi Rafsanjani) by examining his bills, plans, and speeches using the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). This study is of a theoretical type, which was done in an analytical-descriptive manner using library and press sources and a survey method. Finally, the findings will be discussed based on the dimensions and components of social justice at the macro level of society in economic justice in the reform and construction of government (Hashmi Rafsanjani).

1. Introduction

Economic justice is a component of social justice and welfare economics. It is a set of moral and ethical principles for building economic institutions,

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where the ultimate goal is to create an opportunity for each person to establish a sufficient material foundation upon which to have a dignified, productive, and creative life. Justice in economics is a subcategory of social justice and welfare economics. It is a "set of moral and ethical principles for building economic institutions". Economic justice aims to create opportunities for every person to have a dignified, productive and creative life that extends beyond simple economics. Models of economic justice frequently represent the ethical-social requirements of a given theory, whether "in the large", as of a just social order, or "in the small", as in the equity of "how institutions distribute specific benefits and burdens". That theory may or may not elicit acceptance (Saha and Sen, 2023). Some ideas about justice and ethics overlap with the origins of economic thought often as to distributive justice and sometimes as to Marxian analysis. The subject is a topic of normative economics and philosophy and economics. In early welfare economics, where mentioned, 'justice' was little distinguished from maximization of all individual utility functions or a social welfare function. As to the latter, Paul Samuelson (1947), expanding on work of Abram Bergson, represents a social welfare function in general terms as any ethical belief system required to order any (hypothetically feasible) social states for the entire society as "better than", "worse than", or "indifferent to" each other. Kenneth Arrow (1963) showed a difficulty of trying to extend a social welfare function consistently across different hypothetical ordinal utility functions even apart from justice. Utility maximization survives, even with the rise of ordinal-utility/Pareto theory, as an ethical basis for economic-policy judgments in the wealth-maximization criterion invoked in law and economics (Tee and Hooy, 2022).

Rafsanjani became president of Iran after winning the 1989 election. He served another term by winning the election in 1993. In the 2005 election he ran for a third term in office, placing first in the first round of elections but ultimately losing to rival Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the run-off . Rafsanjani has been described as a pragmatic Islamic conservative. He supported a

capitalist free market position domestically, favoring privatization of state-owned industries and a moderate position internationally, seeking to avoid conflict with the United States and the West. Rafsanjani advocated a free market economy (Ali Hoseini Abbasi et al., 2021). With the state's coffers full, Rafsanjani pursued an economic liberalization policy. Rafsanjani's support for a deal with the United States over Iran's nuclear program and his free-market economic policies contrasted with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and his allies, who advocate maintaining a hard line against Western intervention in the Middle East while pursuing a policy of economic redistribution to Iran's poor. By espousing World Bank inspired structural adjustment policies, Rafsanjani desired a modern industrial-based economy integrated into the global economy. Rafsanjani urged universities to cooperate with industries. Turning to the quick pace of developments in today's world, he said that with "the world constantly changing, we should adjust ourselves to the conditions of our lifetime and make decisions according to present circumstances" (Sinaee and Akbari, 2021).

After the end of the Iran-Iraq war, the need for a road map for the future was felt in order to end the historical gap between the country Iran development programs in the first government of Hashemi Rafsanjani. The fifth government soon managed to recover the economy and moved the arrowhead of the indicators in a different direction. The first action of the fifth government was devoted to designing the first development plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The men that Hashemi had chosen to run the country took over the task of drafting the plan, and the first development plan was approved by the parliament at the end of 1990. The general goals of this program are rebuilding and equipping the defense base, rebuilding and modernizing production and infrastructure capacities and population centers damaged during the imposed war, quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of public culture, creating economic growth, providing the minimum basic needs of the people, determining and modifying the pattern Consumption, organization reform and executive and judicial management

of the country were considered. The most important characteristics of the two periods of Hashemi Rafsanjani's government were the developmental and building approach, the establishment of a free economy in the country, and the use of Extraterritorial jurisdiction managers and technocrats. Characteristic of the construction government was that it paid much attention to the development of industrial and transportation infrastructure (Rabiei, 2019).

The main issue of this study is Rafsanjani's economic policy and the examination of his strategies to achieve economic justice in Iran after the war with Iraq. In this regard, Rafsanjani scrapped the system of rationing, which covered basic goods, fuel and home appliances, which had been put in place by successive administrations during the war. He, however, had to walk a fine line in promoting a free-market economy and protecting the rights of consumers and vulnerable groups who could be left behind in the new competitive environment. This is the area where most of his admirers and critics are split as to what extent his reforms fueled inequality or pulled people out of poverty. Indeed, Rafsanjani had his work cut out for him but that was a near-impossible task for a country whose constitution had unequivocally espoused the merits of a state-run economy.

Therefore, the main question of this study is, what are the elements and examples of economic justice discourse in Rafsanjani's government?

The sub-question includes the following: what are the dimensions and indicators of justice?, what elements does the discourse of justice in the Rafsanjani's government include?, What are the examples of economic justice in the mentioned government?, Based on Laclau's discourse theory, what analysis can be made of the said discourse?, The research method, as described below, is theoretical, analytical-descriptive, using library and press sources, and using a survey method.

In this study, the main sections are: Laclau and Mouffe discourse theory, research literature focusing on economic justice, the discourse of economic justice in the Rafsanjani's government, examining the most important structural and economic challenges to realize economic justice, examining the

background of the research and finally analyzing the economic discourse of the Rafsanji's government. The research method of this study is 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

2. Theoretical Foundations

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (DT) considers discourses from macro-textual and macro-contextual perspectives. Originally developed in their volume *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (HSS), DT postulates that social reality is only possible on the condition of 'discursivity', where discourse is understood as a 'social fabric' on which 'social actors occupy different positions' (xiii). Articulated through both linguistic and non-linguistic elements, discourse appears as "a real force that contributes to the moulding and constitution of social relations". Discourse is thus conceptualized as a 'structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice', where 'articulation' means 'any practice establishing relations among elements'. Discourses are stabilized by nodal points or 'master-signifiers,' which assume 'a 'universal' structuring function' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 98).

A specific discourse forms when specific nodal points and other elements from the discursive field—a reservoir of all available signs—are articulated through being equivalentially linked to one another. If one moment assumes a hegemonic (synecdochic) representation of the chain of all other elements, it 'becomes something of the order of an empty signifier, its own particularity embodying an unachievable fullness' (Laclau, 2005: 71). To be sure, this signifier is not completely 'empty' because it signifies what, strictly speaking, it is not: an impossible totality of various elements united equivalentially. If used by alternative discourses, the same signifier comes to be linked to alternative chains of equivalence; if this happens, the meaning of such a signifier appears to be 'suspended'—it becomes 'floating'.

One of the central points in the discourse theory (DT) of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) is the paradoxical impossibility yet necessity of discursive closures. On the one hand, no signification is possible without discursive closures; on the other hand, such closures are always precarious and unstable. Any ultimate fixing of meanings is inconceivable given that they can be destabilized at any time through the activation of alternative links between the elements of the discursivity field. It is here that the idea of contingency, central to DT, comes to the fore. Because signs may be linked to alternative associations, which may lead to the formation of alternative discourses, any meaning and any social configuration (as DT equates the social and the discursive) is seen as subject to change.

All social meanings and identities are both impossible and necessary: ‘Impossible, because the tension between equivalence and difference is ultimately insurmountable; necessary, because without some kind of closure, however precarious it might be, there would be no signification and no identity’ (Laclau, 2005: 70). No ultimate fixing of meaning is possible, since any constructed meaning is ‘subverted by a field of discursivity which overflows it’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 113). These formulations are always precarious and unstable, given the discord between attempts to construct collective identities (or meanings) and the discursive impossibility of their total closure.

However, prolonged discursive closures (although not eternal) do happen—either through social ‘sedimentation’ when ‘the system of possible alternatives tends to vanish and the traces of the original contingency to fade’ (Laclau, 1990: 34) or through ‘administrative practices which deal bureaucratically with social issues’ (Laclau, 2001: 12). The latter is central to this research. By banning oppositional channels, Zelensky strove to stabilize meanings favorable to his political course—taking away their precarity and instability, making them immutable and fixed—through bureaucratic procedures. As I show in the following section, to do so, he had to transform discursively the oppositional media into enemies of the people,

as well as liquidate the physical apparatus of their broadcasting—in other words, he had to disable their discursive-material assemblage. One cannot fully grasp the situation without accounting for the interrelation of its material and discursive aspects—an analytical enterprise in which Carpentier's (2017) discursive-material knot (DMK) will be a useful tool.

In Carpentier's (2017) view, the expansion of discourse theory to include the material makes analysis of the social richer, while also allowing otherwise invisible forces to be recognized, adding contingency to established meanings. As Carpentier (2017) puts it, the incorporation of the material into analysis 'shows a richer landscape of forces that can destabilize existing sedimentations, and create more contingency'. The increased contingency of all the DMK components works against discursive closures, thereby boosting the likelihood of established/hegemonic meanings being challenged.

By the logic of invitation and dislocation, the material participates in discursive struggles over meanings, suggesting this or that particular articulation. Objects enter the social not only by assuming the role of intermediaries or mediators, but also by acting as social agents of their own. Any event—any material change—can dislocate discourse if the latter proves unable to attribute meaning to the former; in such cases, the material destabilizes discourses by pointing to their internal contradictions and their limited capacity to represent the material world. The material can disrupt or strengthen discursive orders; however, it is also possible that its invitation could be ignored, and an alternative meaning attached to it. Carpentier's (2017) model thus allows one to see meanings/social configurations as even more contingent by accounting for otherwise invisible material forces; it provides an opportunity to understand social change through the shifting landscape of discursive-material configurations.

3. Literature Review

Wilkinsson (2022) in research by using Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (DT) showed that social ontology of discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) therefore provides a lens through which to interpret what diachronic newspaper data reveals about how British social attitudes were changing or staying the same during this time. Lehuede (2022) in his study by combining critical data studies and political theory, this article conceptualises the current technopolitical conjuncture as one of 'planetary data turbulence' in which divergences regarding the production and circulation of data have become the norm. Drawing on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the article shows that attending to antagonism and discourse makes it possible to account for the eminently political forces shaping the circulation of data. The strengths of this framework are illustrated by looking at the articulation of digital sovereignty in different geographies. Bakumov (2022) in an article provides an alternative model for qualitative studies based on the discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, with special emphasis on computer-based analysis. The model may be used for empirical research and analysis of large data corpora. The model offers a mixed-method approach of operationalization, an alternative to existing approaches, combining a quantitative coding stage and a qualitative interpretation stage. First, a list of key signifiers is obtained from open coding of the existing secondary literature on the topic. Second, the key signifiers compose a case research matrix, which includes the list of key signifiers, the word cloud (thesaurus), and subcodes. The case research matrix establishes frameworks for the computer-assisted analysis of the data corpus. Third, the use of the key signifiers in the data corpus is structured using the conceptual framework of Laclau and Mouffe. Jacobs (2019) in his study showed that class struggle and relations of production lose analytical and strategic purchase in favor of a complex and integral form of politics; there are no deeper, natural foundations determining how society is organized and structured. Post-Structuralist Discourse Theorists argue that this orientation leads to a more satisfactory analysis of political practice than

is possible through positivist research. Assessing this claim requires a survey of the hermetic terminology in which Post-Structuralist Discourse Theorists express their ideas—the discourse, as it were, of Discourse Theorists—exploring their use of sociology, structuralist linguistics, psychoanalysis, and the political theory of populism. Kronfeld-Goharani (2018) in research drawing on the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe, the study explores the discourse on corporate sustainability. It was found that of 396 surveyed companies only 61 provide commitments to and reporting on the issue of sustainability. A detailed analysis of these companies showed that there has been a shift from a voluntary to a mandatory commitment to the concept as a direct consequence of being exposed to massive pressures to meet the expectations of their employees, customers and shareholders to prevent any harm to the environment, to save resources, and follow international regulations. Graeeli et al., (2020) in research 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 and samieiIsfahani (2020) in an article showed 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.

The main innovation of this study is to examine the economic and development policies of the Hashemi Rafsanjani government with an emphasis on economic justice. This issue will be done by using the of Laclau and Mouffe discourse theory. Also, in this study, some of the most important challenges of Rafsanjani's government to achieve economic justice will be analyzed.

4. Methodology

In this study Laclau and Mouffe (1985) discourse theory (DT) used. This theory is a descriptive analytical and critical (neo-marxist) method and belongs to the field of postmodern and poststructuralist perspectives, which includes concepts such as power, politics and ideology in the analysis 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 (Wilkinson, 2022: 284). The research method of this study 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. The reason for using this method is that Laclau and Mouffe's 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 extension of discourse from the field of culture and philosophy to society and politics". Therefore, this theory has a great 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 changed and they find a new identity. Due to the use of Laclau and Mouffe's theory in this research, we describe the above method in full detail. There are three stages in Laclau and Mouffe's analysis.

5. Findings

5.1. The reform and construction government discourse

The period of justice-oriented government started from 1384 with the presidency of Ahmadinejad and continued until 1392. The discourse of reforms, focusing on political development and civil society, led to the emergence of empty signs of the economic type, such as: poverty alleviation, elimination of unemployment, access of the same people to wealth and

resources, construction and development of less developed areas that the earth E for appearance and The development of a new macro-discourse called "justice fundamentalism" provided. According to the opinion of the head of this discourse (Ahmadinejad), "the key to solving the problems of the country today is a justice-oriented view, broad justice and professional justice." The thing that has been missing in all our plans and actions so far. With the same justice-centered view, good works such as handing over the shares of justice, limiting government institutions from the development of new investments, appropriate distribution of bank resources and saving on consumption and current costs, and clarifying the task of insurance for the working forces in Contracting contracts are among these decisions. Justice is the common discourse and ideal of the 7th Majlis and the 9th government, and the execution of justice will shorten the hands of many people from Baitul Mal" (Atiyeh Weekly, 2005: 15).

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 and 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 (Chehrazad, 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 (Yousefy and Tabatabaiee, 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 |

Source: Research findings

Hashemi's government central and floating slab

"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 |

Source: Research findings

5.3. Hashemi's government economic justice discourse

5.3.1. Internal fields

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 Firozabadi & Yusefi, 2015).

5.3.1.2. 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.

5.3.2. Foreign fields

Strengthening of liberalism in the world relations: In 1991, 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).

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).

6. Conclusion

Post-Structuralist Discourse Theory analyzes political ideas and action from a Marxist direction. However, while classic Marxian sociology is rooted in economic processes that “structure” society and ideas, Post-Structuralist Discourse Theory emphasizes the absence of any determinative principle. Thus, it radicalizes an ongoing shift in Marxism away from economic essentialism towards indeterminacy, contingency, and openness. The ideological superstructure becomes ever more important at the expense of the economic base; class struggle and relations of production lose analytical and strategic purchase in favor of a complex and integral form of politics;

there are no deeper, natural foundations determining how society is organized and structured. Post-Structuralist Discourse Theorists argue that this orientation leads to a more satisfactory analysis of political practice than is possible through positivist research. Assessing this claim requires a survey of the hermetic terminology in which Post-Structuralist Discourse Theorists express their ideas—the discourse, as it were, of Discourse Theorists—exploring their use of sociology, structuralist linguistics, psychoanalysis, and the political theory of populism. Apart from his unique position as a central figure in Iran’s post-revolutionary years—lent in part by his special closeness to Imam Khomeini, the architect of the 1979 Islamic Revolution—Rafsanjani was a highly pragmatic—and in later years an increasingly reform-minded—cleric who saw economic progress and prosperity as key components of the nation’s strength and well-being. “Hero of Construction” was the honorific epithet bestowed upon him by his supporters for the development spree he embarked on as president in postwar years. Rafsanjani, who had seen the horrendous ravages inflicted by the eight-year war imposed by Iraq firsthand, played a key role in the country’s acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 598, which put an end to the brutal fighting. In his new role as president, Rafsanjani took major steps to liberalize the economy, adopting a set of reforms that were initially criticized by those who saw economic liberalization out of step with revolutionary values. Rafsanjani scrapped the system of rationing, which covered basic goods, fuel and home appliances, which had been put in place by successive administrations during the war. He, however, had to walk a fine line in promoting a free-market economy and protecting the rights of consumers and vulnerable groups who could be left behind in the new competitive environment. This is the area where most of his admirers and critics are split as to what extent his reforms fueled inequality or pulled people out of poverty.

Indeed, Rafsanjani had his work cut out for him but that was a near-impossible task for a country whose constitution had unequivocally espoused the merits of a state-run economy. It was only after Rafsanjani’s tenure as

president had come to an end that a special interpretation of the Iranian Constitution's Article 44 by the Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei granted legitimacy to privatization. Rafsanjani was also the force behind the establishment of offshore free economic zones in the Persian Gulf islands of Qeshm, Kish and Chabahar Port, which were intended to prepare the country for a shift from the closed wartime economic system to an open one. All of this could not have happened without the genius of a man who knew how to get things done.

On the foreign front, Rafsanjani instigated the diplomatic rapprochement with neighboring countries and regional rivals like Saudi Arabia, built amity with former Soviet states north of Iran's border and helped expand Economic Cooperation Organization. His role in brokering the settlement of regional tensions earned him the respect of many world leaders. The flurry of messages from public figures of various political leanings highlights the scale and reach of Rafsanjani's career—an era that in its entirety had spanned over five decades dating back to his pre-revolution activities.

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 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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