Study of Press effect on Social-Political Structure Development in Iran

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Abstract: Iran history witnesses four periods of opening in sociopolitical structure that affected press by other institutions and phenomenon. Press qualitative and quantitative development in mentioned periods, are one of the positive changes in journalistic zone. If development in sociopolitical structure affects press, it will play an important role in supporting and maintaining of the structure. This takes place by reforming a semantic system that calls for the support and development of this structure. In this paper by using discourse analysis, four newspapers in the periods of Iranian Constitutional Revolution 1285-1289), Premiership of Doctor Mosadegh before the Revolution (1330-1332), the Islamic Revolution (1357-1358) and seventh terms of presidency election after the Revolution (1376-1380) have been studied so as to determine common and separate features of them after recognition of semantic system offered by papers. Common features of the periods, development of sociopolitical structure and common features of chosen newspapers indicate supporting the structure and attempt to keeping it. The results indicate that Constitutional Revolution up to now has been represented in different ways by putting in a row the semantic system of newspapers while having development in sociopolitical structure that enjoy common features than separate ones. "Law", "Freedom" and "People" have been the main factors of press semantic system within the period (1285-1380, Solar Calendar).

Introduction

Formation of "Press" phenomenon began first in West and dawning of 18th century by publication of first European periodicals. Lapse of time and development of political and cultural interaction among countries prepared Eastern countries to receive press so that the first newspapers in fourth decade of 19th century published in Turkey, Egypt and Iran.

Press history in west explains ups and downs of a longueur. In this way when autocratic system was dominated on western societies, press survival was depended upon policies forming out of autocratic system. Hereupon, press replete with censorship and to be in the service of authorities' interests, began its first historical period under the label of "Autocratic Press" (Motamednejad. (1368). p. 357).

Occurrence of Democratic Revolutions provided a context to publish revolutionary, political and doctrinal press. Such newspapers on behalf of freedom followers and popular governments were considered important tools of support for low class society against autocratic states. In this context "Freedom" as an important request of Revolution seekers, promised extended and lucid atmosphere for press (Bizhani (1384). p.7).

Opinion extension and thoughts of philosophers and thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Jacque Raussou, John Steward Mill, John Lock and so on who believed that human being's intellectuality guaranties personal freedom and emphasized on government officials' obedience from public opinion that was similar to God obedience, (Bashiriyeh, (1379). P.11) led into liberal political systems out of autocratic systems and little by little press began its third social period after passing second historical period- political and doctrinal press era. It was the period that by supporting factors such as investment, circulation, ads and so on then under the context of socio-political structure opening in modern systems made publication of commercial and predicative periodicals and the following items considered priority: notification targeting people consciousness from social changes, situation criticism and encouragement of people to participate in social and political affairs (Bizhani (1384). p.9). Thus, press was considered as a fourth factor of democracy.

Press history in Iran indicates a gap of 200 years between the world of East and West. The first newspaper published under the autocratic atmosphere of Mohammad Shah Qajar in 1253 (in Lunar Calendar) while western newspapers had started commercial and predicative era. It seemed that autocracy of the king did not accept press publication but social and political changes in western countries one after another challenged immovability and indolence of the East then they tried to make people within the state to think about this backwardness.

"Kaghaz Akhabr" the first Iranian newspaper published but finally under the political and social changes led to publication of some periodicals that within the periods of our history played an important role to propagate liberal thoughts and philosophies. Step by step it made a chaotic atmosphere in there and publishing of the new words like National Government, Parliament, Independence, Social Security, and Law and so on (Kohan (1362). p. 13) played an important role in social changes.

Question Making

Effective presence of press without doubt has close relationship with the manner and condition of socio-political structure of the society. Supervision role of press, criticism of current situation and guidance of society members require extended structure and criticism institution guaranties media's security including press. This atmosphere on the one hand vindicated with regulation and their stabilities and on the other with the people and governor's welcome rate. General overview to the world's press history indicates that those periodicals consequently were treated problematic because of having a look at things from critical and specifically political point of views then they were to defend of their own existence (Habermass (1383). p. 291). Perhaps press important attempts were to achieve the atmosphere formed out of discourse. The atmosphere that social citizens having of personal rights interacted each other by using Free Periodicals, Parties and unions based on democratic and lawful relations (Mirsepasi (1381). p. 48) and people participation in socio-political structures takes place based on interactive logic or logical dialogue among citizens (Ibid p. 54).

Since victory of constitutional revolution up to now, it seems that there are periods of socio-political structure changes and press role in developing and reproduction of related factors. In these periods for limitations decreasing, formal and informal pressures, the press supervisory and critical role has been more and more regarded then periodicals came out of neutral situation and started publishing new thoughts and ideas, these things led to discourse contrasts.

The first change of the period without doubt begins for the press after issuing constitution order on 14th of Mordad in 1385 (Solar Calendar) then Iran entered a new period of social and political existence. Constitution order that has been issued under the internal and external factors changed the chaotic socio-political environment of press to new discipline. Newspapers under the influence of new atmosphere found new experiences provided changes on newspapers in future (Kohan (1362). p. 20).

Second historical period formed with the premiership of Dr. Mosaddegh. In his time because of the prime minister support, formal institutions were hindered to attack and confiscate the press, and except some newspapers, press had multidimensional development (Khamehei (1380). p. 101).

After Islamic Revolution, two historical times led to development of this structure because of social and political changes. General conditions of press in first 2 years of the victory were in a way that several opportunities provided for journalist's activities (Aminzadeh (1371). p. 25).

Fourth period can be seen in 1376 by occurrence of social and political changes. In this period press under the influence of public atmosphere, formed social and political discourses, was published by periodicals. Criticism of political, social, cultural and economic programs was one of the press important features that have been returned to supervisory and critical role by socio-political structure development.

Survey Questions

1- What has affected press under the development of socio-political structure in historical times regarding quality and quantity?
2- What had reproduced different factors under the logical system of press within the periods of this structure?
3- What are the similarities and differences of press logical systems within investigated periods?

Survey's Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework of the survey is the mixture of Laclau and Moffee discourse communication theory from Post – Structuralism's scholars and communication action theory by German philosopher and sociologist- Jurgen Habermass. Discourse relevance theory indicates all actions, phenomenons and social and political events as a discourse, analyses logical contrasts of discourses in socio-political head-stock in macro period (Soltani (1384). p.70-71).

In this research the relational view of discourse is used to demonstrate how the discourse of the newspapers discussed here which support the development of the sociopolitical structure react against the significant events in each historical period and what semantic system has been represented by each of them. In addition, the most important components of each newspaper which has been influenced by sociopolitical circumstances have been specified, analyzed and evaluated.

Habermas considers communication action as the most noticeable and comprehensive human phenomenon which forms the basis of the whole

social and cultural life. Criticizing the distorted communication, based on communicative action which lacks distortion and coercion, he notices the social structures which may eventually distort communication (Habermas, 1995:211-12).

According to Hubermas, realization and development of democracy is related to what he calls "public sphere". In this sphere, individuals play their roles in the destiny of the society by participating in democratic institutions (Mirsepasi). He also believes that in order to reach the truth "ideal speech situation" must be provided which relies on better reasoning and the power of logic and evidences. Press and other media have significant potentials in this regard, as they enhance all-sided communication and understanding, and cause a free and emancipated communication by promoting communicative rationality. Habermas, also, regards understanding a discourse resulting from the heart of the society as an outcome of processes that will finally turn into understanding and communicative power.therefore, the media including the press must be free from the bounds of pressure and restrictions so that they can establish, reinforce and sustain the discourse level, development and enlightenment of the people's thought (Nozari).

Methodology

This research has been done in library & documentation analysis manner. Discourse analysis, which is a qualitative method, is an offspring of studying language as a social development and has the required efficiency for systematic analysis of the structure and content of the press (Soltani). In other words, discourse analysis consists of applying suitable strategies to discover and clarify the relations between the text and its mental and social function (Yarmohammadi). Moreover, using a library and documentation research and with reference to a theoretical framework, a large time span of the time after the Constitutional Revolution up to the last period studied (1380) has been divided into four periods on the basis of the development of the sociopolitical structures. The strong presence of the press in public sphere and reproduction of semantic system along with the changes in this time has been studied. The subjects of this research are all editorials, articles and sociopolitical texts published in the newspapers which support the development of this structure and freedom of speech in the studied time span. These newspapers have been chosen based on the formalistic evaluation and expert's opinion. On this basis, Sur-e –Esrafil daily newspaper has been chosen by the experts, Bakhtar-e- Emruz for the second, Keyhan Daily for the third and Salam Daily has been chosen for the fourth period. Sample

selection has also been done through a study of all the texts related to the subject and a purposeful or evaluative method has been used to choose texts closest to the subject of the research. These selected texts have been evaluated using a discourse analysis method in order to identify the semantic structuring, othernesss, hegemony, deconstruction, foregrounding and backgrounding (marginalization).

In the discourse analysis method, the semantic system consists of a group of signifiers and each discourse is evaluated based on their own priorities. Hence, the most important signifier, i. e. the nodal point is a signifier around which all other signifiers find unity. This signifier charges other signifiers and keeps them in its semantic orbit. Other signifiers which gather around the nodal point are called "moments". Hegemony demonstrates the semantic unity of other signifiers around the nodal point. The semantic system which gets consolidated in the collective mentality of a society, even if temporarily, and gets the social consent will become hegemonic. Consolidation of meaning, in fact, contributes to the production of hegemony which causes the signifier to lose its meaning and hegemony fades away. Moreover, a text is the center of the conflicts along with the nodal points and moments tries to bring about the "otherness". Otherness can be domestic (internal) or external. The text tries to bring the "self" to the foreground and sent the "other" to the background. In a text, the positive pole always aims at foregrounding of the self and the negative pole wants to eliminate or marginalize the other. Theis marginalization (or backgrounding), therefore, follows foregrounding and is of two types: software and hardware backgrounding; verbal behaviors are software and non-verbal behaviours are called hardware. Thus, the reflection of the semantic system and street movements, detention or closing down a newspaper represent hardware methods (Soltani). In this research, through discourse analysis method, a whole article or a selected text is analyzed.

First Period: Constitutional Revolution
Sociopolitical Contexts and the Condition of the Press

By the time of the Constitutional Revolution, the centralized, concentrated and unruly government was challenged and people sought a drastic fundamental change in the system of the government and administration of the society. People's attempt was based on the military settlement to take their participation for granted. In this period, the modernist intellectuals denounced the past and criticized the present while looking at the future from a novel viewpoint. At the threshold of the revolution, the traditional middle class, regardless of their

differences, pointed their attack at one target that was the central government. The social and political insight of both traditionalists and intellectuals had reached a level of consciousness that had come to a consensus about the inefficiency, moral corruption and military incapacity of the government and therefore the whole country was looking forward to a revolution (ibid, 72). Meanwhile, the press was considered the pillars of freedom along with an increased number of communities who were endeavoring to reproduce a discourse of constitution. The number of the newspapers was also on such a rise that increased from six to one hundred after constituent assembly was founded.

Despite all the restrictions imposed upon the press at the dawn of the revolution, such as the monopoly of those favored by the government, the pre-publication control and surveillance by the ministry of the media which eventually ended in political treatises distributed secretly during the night, and optimistic, national and radical subjects were chosen by the staff and journalists of the press like Tarraghi, Bidari, Vatan, omid, etc. which was indicative of the trust and interest of the intellectuals in the new political and economic atmosphere (Bijani).

The most prominent and known print media were written by clandestine groups and five members of revolutionary committee published famous newspapers; Sur-e- Esrafil, Mosavat and Rooholghodos,. The press enjoyed the highest level of freedom in 1324. Mozaffar- al- din shah's issuing the first freedom speech command, setting of The Constitution, abolition of censorship and emphasis on the freedom of speech led to the publication newspapers such as Anjoma-e- Tabriz, and Majlis. According to the new regulations, any Iranian could ask for the publication of a newspaper and express their ideas freely (Molana). The compilation of The Constitution and Mozzaffar-al-din shah's signing it made one of the dreams of the society come true. The supporters of the discourse of The Constitution always considered law against despotism. The thirteenth article of The Constitution allowed the print medias to publish useful materials like the negotiations of the parliament in order to keep the public informed (Motamednejad) and for the first time in Iran , the right to speak and write freely (freedom of speech) was respected. The ratification of The Constitution led to the publication of several print Medias in the capital and other cities (Kohan). The first law of the press was ratified on the fifth of Moharram 1326 and in some cases imposed some limitations on newspapers (Motamednejad). Referring to this law, after Mohammad Ali Shah's downfall, many journalists were arrested. In addition to the domestic restrictions,

the foreign forces in Gilan, Eastern Azerbaijan and … imposed censorship on the media. After the occupation of northern Iran by the Russians, censorship was done increasingly again and a lot of liberal newspapers were closed down. The attempt of the government officials to add the annex 3 to the law of the press was useful and accordingly the existence of a jury to deal with the press infringes was left aside and eventually despite the course of events like the detention of several newpapers, the assassination of some journalists and finally the announcement of curfew from Ahmad Shah, the press activity continued.

First Text: Sur-e- Esrafil Daily

Of course the wise intellectuals of the country do know that in free countries everything from the most specific and ordinary to the most significant and noteworthy depend upon the will of the whole nation as the members of the government are just representatives and agents of the people and therefore their responsibility is to serve people's interest. Thus, they must consider the public opinion in the implementation of the laws which requires the efficiency and capability of the respective ministers because each minister inevitably has special capabilities that he must utilize in order to make sure that the law is not breached and no tyranny is done to the nation in the name of justice.

This is true that in well-off countries, the will of the people complies with the same votes that have been achieved by the majority rule in the parliament and that vote is considered as the law that must be enforced and the delegates and members of the parliament must be free in their votes without any force or coercion from anyone. However, the opinion of the public must also be observed as it will strengthen the votes of the parliament, that is , their agreement or disagreement, at home and abroad, ends in the further strength or weakness of the legislature body and in the case of public disagreement the king has the right to disband the parliament.

Therefore, it is clear that public opinion is so important that it can even put an end to the parliament. On the other hand, the agreement of people with the parliament and the government has further effects like the retention of the members of the parliament. All over the world, there is hardly ever a governmental body that can resist the will of the nation. It is clear that such a national power can only exist as long as it is lawful.

Interpretation and evaluation of the text

The semantic system of Sur-e- Esrafil newspaper which was pioneer in the practice of freedom and awakening of Iranian people concentrates

on signifiers such as "law", "freedom", "nation", "participation" and "law-abiding". The central signifier "law" influences other signifiers and the value judgment of the text demonstrates that in the studied period, the reason why the signifier

"Freedom" is considered one of the 'moment' or marginal signifier is the fact that the sociopolitical transformations have paved the way to an open public atmosphere and the whole nation, especially the press has found it possible to enjoy an acceptable extent of freedom. therefore, the signifier "freedom" being supported by "law" leads to an emphasis on "law-abiding" to which the nation is invited by the text. Although "nation "has been regarded positively throughout the text, it seems that the value of this signifier is gained by two other signifiers; "law" and "participation". The significance of people is emphasized in the text as far as they participate in the public affair in a lawful manner. The implicit meaning of participation is an emphasis on the consciousness and awakening of the whole nation because they are asked to participate in the society and implement the laws based on their understanding and evaluation of the authorities and laws of the parliament. The emphasis on majority rule, on the one hand, stresses the signifier "participation" and on the other hand requires the authorities to observe the laws and consider the public opinion. The text is clearly pointing to freedom of speech in the framework of "law-abiding" and considers the "participation" of the people as strengthening and supporting the important achievements of the Constitutional Revolution, especially the parliament. The interesting point regarding the text is that it does not only focus on the affirmative role of the people, but their negative role, that is, their disagreement is also dealt with. Therefore, it seems that this newspaper does not have an instrumental view of the people. So, the structuring of the semantic system based on the above-mentioned signifiers tries to become hegemonic. The most important hegemonic element of this structure, according to the writer of the text is the consensus regarding the implementation of the law. In the whole content of the text, the use of words like "enforceable" and "legally binding" is a sign of the consensus and the agreement of the writer of the text with people and those who support the law, and are aware or free democratic countries, and try to to provide the same conditions in the country. Therefore, to bring together a large number of people in the society based on the unquestioned observation of the law, the text is trying to insinuate the hegemony of the supporters of the freedom of speech and development of the public atmosphere. The most important "other" is inside the text and stands against the "self". Based on the text, the "self" is wise and understanding and aims at the implementation of the law and following the opinion of the majority and therefore seeks a type of freedom without any force or coercion for anyone. The "other" is against the law enforcement and therefore against freedom. They are mostly found inside the country as the text is not putting a negative emphasis on the "other" in foreign democratic countries. This is undoubtedly a sign of the influence of the western world on the beliefs and thoughts of the intellectuals and their imitation of the system and structure of those countries I that particular period. Contrary to internal "other which is implicitly against law enforcement, public participation and freedom, the concept of "we" is highlighted as friends of the society and knowledgeable people. Back grounding of the text is also done in a software form and the opponents of law-abiding, freedom and participation are not threatened by coercion or violence. Rather, the Sur-e-Esrafil newspaper, which aimed at keeping people informed and criticizing the society, shows that the hardware means are not employed by its authorities and only media capacity like newspapers will be used. Besides, the text tried to deconstruct the semantic meaning of those against The Constitution especially the king himself through repeatedly emphasizing the enforceability of the law. Their instrumental use of the people is also highlighted. The text is seemingly trying to insinuate that the king and the court only support people as long as they are on the same line as them and therefore emphasizes that people's opinion, no matter for or against that of the authorities must be respected.
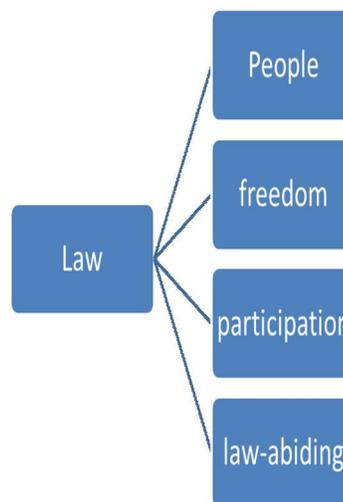
Diagram 1.1. The structuring of the semantic system in Sur-e- Esrafil newspaper

The second Period: Premiership of Mosaddegh (1330-1332)

Sociopolitical Contexts and the Condition of the Press

The withdrawal of the foreign forces from Iran by the end of the World War II, the formation of political parties especially the left parties, the detention and assassination of the journalists and banning of the newspapers were among the most important social and political upheavals in this period. In addition, "the Press Law Amendment" that was taken to the parliament by the prime minister of the time, Ghavamolsaltaneh, forced the officials of the banned newspapers to get a license for republication and caused a great deal of troubles for them (Molana). Early in 1329, political parties and groups were trying for social and political freedom, esp freedom of press and election. In ordibehesht (April) of 1320, Mosadegh became the prime minister and according to his opponents, he used people and demonstrations to reach his purposes (Abrahamian). His premiership coincided with the rivalry of the US and England in an internation level and improvement of economic condition was amongst his primary goals (Rezagholi). In 1330, the press enjoyed rather considerable freedom and although the surveillance of the governmental bodies still existed, the government was more concerned with and concentrated more on political parties than on the newspapers. Mosaddegh's oppointment as the prime minister caused a substantial change in the sociopolitical structure of the country. The freedom of the press led to the growth of the newspapers belonging to political parties and groups and Toudeh (common people) party that was on of the major parties at that time published their first newspaper " Be Sooye Ayande" (towards future). During this period, no journalists were arrested for criticizing the government, but the government and Mosaddegh himself were the target of the criticism of the left parties. Nationalization of the oil company put Mosaddegh as the target of the criticism of the press and several newspapers, especially those against the government were printed and published more and more (favaran). The confrontation of the king and Mosaddegh after Mosaddegh's attempt to amend the law of the press which was aimed at weakening the king and the court reached its peak in mid 1331 and continued up to 1332. The course of social and political changes was so that made the intellectuals and even the prime minister think of an alternative democratic republic to replace the dynasty (abrahamian). The coup of 1332, in fact, put a stop to the activities initiated by Mosaddegh, a prime minister who was always on the people's side, as his opponents called him.

The second text: Bakhtar-e-Emrooz Daily Newspaper

Following the last week referendum in Tehran, Iranian people expressed their ideas all over the country yesterday and the whole nation said 'yes' to their leader. In spite of the excessive freedom bestowed upon the opponents of the government who publish the so-called newspapers sponsored by foreigners to form a propaganda against the government and Mosaddegh in the most shameful and offensive manner, the whole nation, that is, the actual owners of this homeland, supported Mosaddegh and approved of his plans openly. Iranian people, you can now see that for the first time after The Constitutional Revolution, you have been granted with total freedom and the whole nation participated in a public affair and the referendum was done without any coercion or force. The jealous and biases vampires who lack the vision and the ability see the light say whatever they want to, but the truth can no longer be hidden in an era that is called the age of television. These people who are now against Mosadegh took pride in standing in his light as they could enjoy the respect and support of the nation, but now they claim that since they are not in the government's side, the people are not satisfied with the government either. They try to provoke people to attack the government. The government will only stop you if you try to cause turbulence in the society or commit murder or conspiracy. You were among the close followers of Mosaddegh last year, but have now turned into the puppets of the foreigners. What did you expect people to do? It coould be disappointing if they did anything but this towards you. People trust the innocence and loyalty of Mosaddegh but let us know what features you have to win the favor of the nation. Yesterday, people denounced what you say. Mosaddegh is supported by people, but you have nobody to support you. He is honestly serving the people but you only care about your own benefit. You are looking forward to gaining the support of foreign countries to overthrow Mosaddegh. This is a battle between you and the foreigners on one side and Mosaddegh and people on the other. However, do not forget that this people have the support of the god as well. Yesterday, people rejected the foreign-worshiping policy of a minority. This is a sign of the hatred of the people towards a policy supported by the hirelings of London. Around two million Iranian voted for the patriot, mosaddegh and against the spies of England in a free election to prove that they care for the independence of their country.

Tuesday, mordad 20th, 1332. Issue 1168.

Interpretation and evaluation of the text

This text emphasizes signifiers like "freedom", "people", "referendum", "independence" and patriotism". The central signifier "people" in "free" conditions participate in a "referendum" to vote for the policies of a "patriot" who thinks of the "independence" of his country. So, the moments or the marginal signifiers are reinforced by "people". The importance of the signifier "people" is to the extent that the text believes they deserve total "freedom" that can now be seen for the first time after the Constitutional Revolution and I this total freedom, an example of the participation of the people, i. e. referendum is done. Therefore, the free election is the point of similarity between the government and the supporters of The Constitution.

Therefore, the text is establishing the hegemony of a semantic system which is structured with the above-mentioned signifiers. The signifier "referendum" is also pointing to another achievement of the Constitutional Revolution that is the "national council parliament" which is the offspring of the struggles of the people and the intellectuals. Thus, by emphasizing the role of people as the actual owners of this homeland and their support of the prime minister, the text is one more time highlighting its semantic system implicitly through this connection. However, in another part of the text, this connection is highlighted by association of Mosaddegh and "people". Unlike the previous period, the text has explicit reference to the internal (domestic) and external (foreign) "others". The domestic "other" is against the government and well-being of the country while the "self" is a patriot supporting the country and The Constitution. The "self" deserves freedom while the "others" due to their disagreement with Mosaddegh and the people do not deserve it. "They" rely on the foreigners but "we" depend on God. By suggesting the God's support of people, and people's support of the government, the text implies that the government is supported by God. Therefore, the borders between the "self" and non-domestic ones can clearly be seen. Moreover, due to the foreign policy and foreign relations of countries like the US and England, the foreign "other" is highlighted as they influence the condition of the country by financial support of the opponents of the government and by trying to destroy the independence of the country indirectly. The result of this influence can be seen in text in a software manner of the opponents of the government to marginalize the government through newspaper publications and in a hardware manner; by provoking people to attack or cause disorder. The text is also trying to deconstruct the semantic system of the opponents by emphasizing the signifier "independence" and separating the groups against Mosaddegh who were once protected by him. Based on this, Mosaddegh is an honest, independence-seeking hero who cannot be aligned with those biased, unscrupulous people who favor the foreigners over their own country and are not supported by the people. The reiterated use of negative modifiers to describe "other" and positive modifiers for those labeled as "self" is done for the purpose of highlighting, deconstruction, and hegemony of the semantic system.

As argued above, the backgrounding of the government by its opponents is the software manner is done through the publication of newspapers, but when the text brings about the financial support of the foreigners and inciting people to attack the government, the text is suggesting the hardware backgrounding of the government by the opponents. What is more, the government has allowed the opponents to act freely in the society and although puts them in the frontline against "self", people and God for their 'shameful acts and methods', it also suggests ways to control these opponents indirectly. While it tries to soften its position by suggesting the necessity of law and order in the society. The text's emphasis on 'two million people' in a 'free election' that ends in 'disapproval' of the 'spies of England' and the victory of Mosaddegh, the 'patriot' who seeks the 'independence' of his country by the end of the article as well as the emphasis on 'referendun' early in the text, all represent the semantic system, highlighting, deconstruction, otherness, backgrounding that is done through disapproval, a software manner done by people.
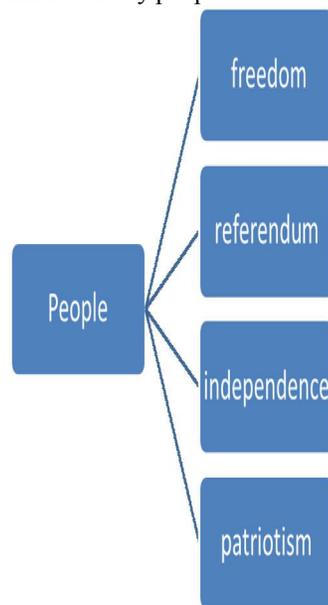
Diagram 2.1. The structuring of the semantic system of Bakhtar-e- Emrooz in the second period Third Period: Islamic Revolution

Sociopolitical Contexts and the Condition of the Press

In Bahman 1357, the Pahlavi dynasty toppled down and a republican era started in Iran in which "freedom" found special status in the light of the new system of beliefs. In atmosphere in which the laws of the previous regime no longer had any support, a lot of people entered the field of journalism and the number of newspapers and magazines increased (Forghani). The free atmosphere, away from the controlling forces of the former regime transformed journalism of the country. The attack to the library of the national parliament and putting the foreign newspapers on fire were among the events that took place as a result of the ideology of some of the forces in the society (Beheshti). After the Islamic revolution 253 newspapers were published and the publishes were from a wide range of political groups from the leftists to national-religious groups and the independent ones. The publication of newspapers without license and free from censorship or external control is a characteristic of this period. (Mohsenian Rad). In Farvardin (March) 1358, the referendum for the approval of The Constitution was held and in the following Khordan (july) the first draft of the press law after the revolution was passed. Among the main features of this law is the prohibition of any type of censorship according to article. 29 and official announcement of the press guild and its rights can be mentioned (Bijani). After six month of unconditioned activities for the press, in Mordad 1358, 22 newspapers and magazines, mostly belonging to the left group were banned or closed down. In spite of this event, the period from 1357 to mid-1359 can be regarded as a period of social and political transformations and consequently the widespread activity of various printed press. 200 hundred newspapers and magazines belonging to different parties were published in this period among which 160 had left tendencies.

In 1358, 20 newspapers and magazines got republished. By 1359 and with the start of the war and political conflicts the number active printed press decreased and by mid-1360 and with the consolidation of the new Islamic republic, press and journalism experience a limited number and variety.

The third text: Keyhan daily newspaper
The Constitution: toward freedom for everyone

1. As the time moves forward, and while the excitement of the revolution is diminishing as a result of the resumption of daiy activities, a majority of people are looking forward to obtain the precious jewel for which they have sacrificed their blood; needless to say that precious jewel is nothing but freedom.

2. Now, two characteristics of the new era is crystal clear though accurate explication of these characteristics and especially the practical context of enforcing them is not clear yet. The national policy of Iran is undoubtedly an anti-imperialist one and The Constitutional law of Iran, as far as the historical condition allows, is democratic and meets people's for public freedom.

3. The content of the new constitutional law is clearly stated from a democratic viewpoint and despite the claim of those who, either knowingly or unknowingly, try to spread the poisonous thought in the society, we are moving towards a free Iran. The Constitution that reflects the most comprehensive historical demands of a nation shows two things: first the share of different social classes in production which is written in a legal form in the law. Then, considering the recent revolution in Iran as the end of a movement started in Constitutional Revolution which has achieved its victory thanks to the power of Islam, the most important demand of the society at this stage of history is the freedom of people.

4. To society adapts itself to these demands. The form of the government changes from a middle-age dynasty to a republic which is announced by the demand of millions of people and the leader of the revolution. This change reflects the historical need of the society;
   - Freedom of speech, societies, political parties and press
   - Freedom of people to take part ingoverning the country through councils.

5. It can be expected that all social organizations must be able to act and advertise freely. All the laws and regulations restrictiong the freedom of the people must be eliminated and also the demands of all groups of people whose representatives go to the parliament through free elections should be reflected in The Constitution. Women must enjoy the same freedom as men. Reflection of these demands in the law and practical implementation of them will put an obstacle in front of the plots of the enemies and allows Iranian society to further its evolution on the route of history.

Wednesday, farvardin 8th. 1358. Issue: 10669

Interpretation and evaluation of the text

It can be seen that the signifiers "freedom", "The Constitution", "people's sovereignty", "republic" and "Islam" are regarded positively. The central signifier is this structure is "freedom" which is expressed in different forms, namely the freedom of

political parties, press and societies. Beside the central signifier, there is "The Constitution" or the "law" in general which finds its significance and value from "freedom". The constitutional law in this text is the offspring of a democratic process that is the participation of people which, by itself, highlights the "people's sovereignty". Also, the suggestion of the signifier "republic" and "Islam" at this level, in addition to emphasizing the role of the people in choosing the form of the government, points to the content of the new government as well. Along with the signifier "freedom", the text strongly emphasizes "law" and "people's sovereignty" and regards "republic" as its result which turns into an Islamic republic due to the demands of millions of people and the leader of the country.

By mentioning the demands of millions of people and the leader of the country", the text is stating the hegemony of the semantic system and differentiates it from other discourses and semantic systems. The repetition of "the historical demands" and the relation between "the Islamic Revolution" and the Constitutional Revolution is also representing the hegemony of the semantic system of the text on the one hand and causing "otherness" on the other. The "others" stated in the text are mostly domestic and against the signifiers of the semantic system. "They" postulate laws or regulations restricting the general freedom and spread poisoning thoughts in the society in which the political system is experiencing a big change. This "they" in the text appears as a deceitful enemy, while "we" refers to those who have continued the Constitutional Revolution and are defendants of "people's sovereignty" and social freedom. The text insinuates the promotional dimension of its semantic system in a way that makes it possible to relate it to the text's interpretation of "freedom", "people's sovereignty", "The Constitutional law" and particularly, "Islam".

The emphasis on general and social freedoms and the support of large groups of people and the leader backing the political system and The Constitution that is based on the above mentioned freedoms make it possible to deconstruct other semantic systems. Therefore, if "others" talk about freedom, they lack the support of the people and the leader. Considering the sociopolitical condition of the period studied here shows that this point is highly important as a majority of groups and political forces were talking of freedom at that time.

Regarding the Islamic revolution as the continuation of the Constitutional Revolution and the similarities of the two revolutions in emphasizing freedom, the unity of the people and the leader in fulfilling those freedoms, people's right in governing the country through councils, free elections and

reflection of the freedom in The Constitution will ultimately end in highlighting the semantic system. The backgrounding method, despite pointing to the plots and deceits of enemies, are of software type. This method is even maintained in discussing the transformation "from a middle age dynasty to a republic" and the text does not demonstrate any hardware methods like violence, conflicts, detention or arrest either directly or indirectly.
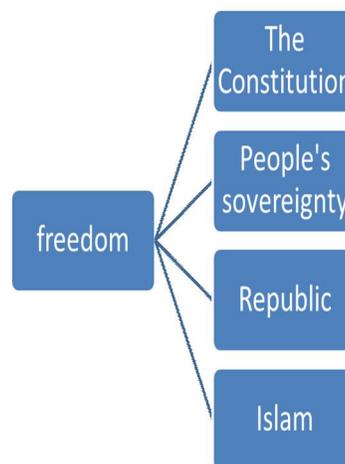
Diagram3.1. The structuring of the semantic system in Keyhan Daily

The Fourth Period: seventh presidential election (1376-1380)
Sociopolitical Contexts and the Condition of the Press

In the early years of seventies, the concept of civil society was brought up in some newspapers and intellectual circles and it turned into an outstanding concept in the management model and administration of the society after the presidential election on Khordad, 2nd, 1376. Some newspapers put special emphasis on components like The Constitution, the variety and multiplicity of groups and parties, civil and legal freedoms, political participation, people's sovereignty, etc. the period after khordad 1376 saw a considerable increase in the circulation of newspapers that unlike some periods in the past like shahrivar 1320 and 1332 did not contain any offensive or insulting materials (Molana). Another characteristic of the newspapers of this period was the heightened debate over freedom of the press. After a while, new press started to appear in the cultural arena. In this period, as a result of the differing viewpoints of the authorities, the cultural atmosphere was highly influenced by banning, detention and even attack to the newspaper offices. The general characteristics of the newspapers in this period can be listed as below:

1- Criticizing the social condition and performing a role for diversity of ideas and viewpoints in the public atmosphere (motamednejad).

2- Direct confrontation with the opposing press known as pressure groups who objected to the content and activities of some newspapers.

3- Quantitative growth of the press and their circulation

After Khordad 1376, the press guild association was founded and in1 378, after only three years, the overall circulation of newspapers increased above three million a day. In 1378, 50 newspapers were published on a daily basis among which 30 newspapers belonged to Tehran (Motamednejad).

In spring 1379, as a result of the sociopolitical upheavals, 12 newspapers were closed down with reference to the law of press passed in 1339and it later reached 20 newspapers. The press freedom association was founded in the same year and after a while the circulation of the newspapers decreased dramatically (Hamshahri 1382). The same trend can also be seen in 1380.

The Fourth text: Salam daily newspaper
The Cabinet and modernization

In its course of evolution, every society is inevitably forced to transform and modernize itself to pace up with the events taking place both inside and outside it. The continuous struggles of Iranian society in the last two centuries which was manifested in anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movements were all done in the pursuit of this goal. Unfortunately, however, the success gained is much less than the struggles. The extremist view was trying to establish a sort of western modernization and defined modernization as becoming thoroughly westernized. The opposite view, relying on the history of the past, did not approve of any sort of modernization whatsoever and even stood against the utilization of its significant tools. The Islamic revolution led bay Imam Khomeini was the end of both of the extremist views. The tree of revolution, though rooted in the Islamic tradition and Iranian long history, has grown in the contemporary condition and has now come to fruit.

The purpose of this introduction is to establish a civil society relying on components such as law-abiding, civil and political institutions, guild associations, and freedom of speech and thought, respect for opposing ideas and thoughts, and appreciating the greatness of human beings and in fact it is a new approach to the growth of the tree of the Islamic revolution. Although some may not welcome the use and reformation of the term "civil society", it must not be forgotten that today the governmental affairs are results of human experiences which is not something limited to the east or the west. Therefore, such experiences must be employed in accordance with the norms and values of the society. In fact, a religious civil society differs from other so-called civil societies in the spirit and the nature of its content though they are similar in their form and in many administrative affairs. Law-abiding is a characteristic feature of a civil society and today a society can only be fairly and properly administered in the light proper implementation of the law. In our society, by law-abiding we mean the implementation of The Constitutional law and other laws which are based on Islamic values, rules and jurisprudence. The strategy of 'immunity' against 'prohibition' in cultural contexts , and 'development' against 'closure' in political contexts which require quite different routes regarding the administrative methods and the consequences of practicing these strategies and methods will easily provide the appropriate context for actualization of the social justice strategy in the realm of economy and civil society.

Satureday; Tir, 7th. Issue: 1754, year 7.

## Interpretation and evaluation of the text

The semantic system is formed by structuring the signifiers "civil society", "law-abiding", "freedom", "cultural immunity" and "political development". The central signifier is "civil society" which encircles other signifiers and specifies and fixes their meaning. Among the background signifiers, the text is clearly highlighting "law-abiding" and "freedom" and considers the proper and fair administration of a society today as bound to a law-abiding culture, its implementation as well as sociopolitical freedoms. In the beginning of the text, the contemporary society is defined by emphasis on modernization and the necessity of new methods. By considering "pacing up with the" time as an important element is social administration during the history, the text tries to make its semantic system hegemonic. One the one hand, it discusses the political attempts and struggles in the last two centuries and by establishing such a long history, its hegemony regarding the civil society is formed. On the other hand, the text tries to deconstruct other semantic systems which lack such a historical background by labeling them as anti-imperialist or anti-colonialist. Therefore, by emphasizing "modernization" and "pacing up with the time" as well as the long and continuous history of liberal movements tries to highlight and hegemonize itself. "Otherness" is mostly done directly for the domestic "others" and indirectly for the foreign "others". Domestic "others" are those who go tp extremes. Some seek total westernization and others want to remain thoroughly traditional and do not consider governmental affairs as an offspring of human experiences. If they discuss civil society, they mean unreligious civil society, and in cultural affair

they believe in "prohibition" and in political contexts they favor "closure". While the "we" or "self" regards modernization in proportion with the norms or values of the society, seeks to implement a law that is based on Islamic values, rules and jurisprudence. This "self" like the leader of the revolution has a correct definition of modernization in mind, considers governmental affairs as a result of human experience, talks of a religious civil society, seeks "immunity" in cultural contexts and "development" in political contexts. This "we" has a mentality that has long caused evolutionary acts based on the values and this mentality has resulted in Islamic revolution. Deconstruction is done in two directions simultaneously. First the signifier "modernization" is questioned in two major political groups of liberals and traditionalists and then, after demonstrating their extremist views and by considering the semantic system of the text in accordance with the leader of the revolution (Imam Khomeini), specifies the first "otherness". The text even goes further to show its intensity by using the phrase "going to extremes". On the one hand, it talks about civil society, but by explicit reference to the difference between the way "self" and "other" (liberals) conceive of civil society and by stressing components like law-abiding, civil and political institutions, freedom of thought and speech and respecting the human greatness shows the difference between "we" and "others"(traditionalist). However, this distinction is not quite certain in the text as it, one more time, deals with the Islamic values, rules and jurisprudence as the source for legislature to specify the distinction between "self" and "other". The text tries to insinuate the difference between its semantic system and other political trends especially the two mentioned above. If it comes close to a group (liberals) by emphasizing the implementation of law and a modern approach to administration, it also shares a belief of Islam as the source of the laws with the other group (traditionalists). Regarding the foreign "other", it implicitly points to colonialism and imperialism. Although it negates them, by stressing the anti-colonial and anti-imperial movements, it specifies its foreign "other". There is also no sign of hardware methods to eliminate the opposing semantic system. The emphasis on law-abiding can be defined as using the legal methods and institutions (software) for highlighting itself.

Conclusion

The findings of this research show that in the four periods of sociopolitical transformations in the time span from 1258 to 1380, appropriate circumstances (from quality and quantity point of view) were provided for the press and the newspapers were able to reinforce and sustain this structure. They have considered "law", "freedom" and "people" as major discursive components. The people's sovereignty and their role in social development have been considered explicitly in some of these periods (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and implicitly in the fourth (by emphasizing the signifier "civil society"). In addition, some part of the components "law" and "freedom" is influenced by the support of people. In fact, law and freedom will only be valuable if they serve the sovereignty of people. Analysis of the historical periods shows the continuity of the structure of the semantic system of the first period and "law", "freedom" and "people" are explicitly repeated in the next periods.
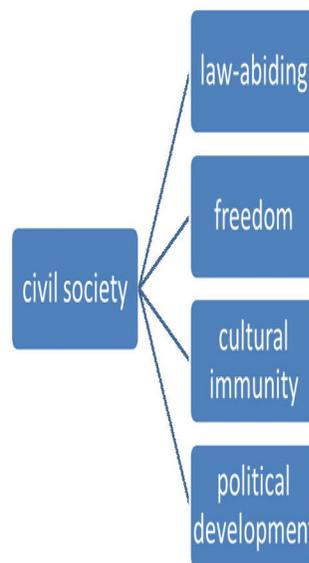
Diagram 4.1. The structure of the semantic system in Salam newspaper

Moreover, based on the sociopolitical conditions of each period, other signifiers are also influenced. In the first period, participation which is another aspect of people's sovereignty and law-abiding which is by itself indicative of the importance of "law" can be noticed. The presence of people and law-abiding shows that society requires institutionalizing these components. In the second period, sociopolitical upheavals on domestic and foreign dimensions put forward three signifiers: referendum, independence and patriotism. A glance at the domestic condition of the country shows that the signifier referendum was the priority of the time and a glance at the international condition and foreign relations of the country proves that the two signifiers, independence and patriotism, presented the spirit of the country at that time. in the third period, the highlighted signifiers are "republic" and "Islam". The signifier "republic" is a further emphasis on the

sovereignty of people and "Islam" is suggested considering the whole atmosphere of the society at that time. This necessity is also emphasized in the fourth period with a difference that in the third period it is a major component of the semantic system while in the fourth period, though it affects the central signifier and the background signifiers, it is not among the major components. This point can be understood by considering that in the third period the Islamic republic of Iran had just been established and got consolidated in the fourth period. In addition, evaluation of the transformation of the semantic system in the press supporting the sociopolitical developments demonstrates that the demands of the journalists since Constitutional Revolution have not changed substantially and if in 1285 law, freedom and people were the stimulating reasons for thought and press movements, the press which is among the most important sources reflecting the demands of the people in the society, is still dealing with these signifiers, though a society on the route of development, promotion and evolution will always redefine these components in accordance with the sociopolitical transformations going on in that society. The findings of this research shows that the press defending the transformation of the structure of the society tend towards dialogue, logic, rationality in semantic debates and illegal methods such as violence or coercion is used to a much less extent in the elimination or deconstruction of other semantic systems. As Habermas notes, If tis trend is further applied to other social institutions, groups,…, it can end in a discursive atmosphere. Also, due to the significance of these newspapers in the role and sovereignty of people in social affairs, they demand the awareness of people and therefore try to fulfill this end. Thus, the authorities are paying more and more attention to the controlling and criticizing function of the press in the development of the sociopolitical structures.

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