Comparison of Competition Patterns and Political Participation in the Islamic Republic of Iran and Discourse Analysis of Political Participation from 1376 to 1396

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Abstract

The present study, with a descriptive-analytical method based on critical discourse analysis theory, indicates that fundamentalist and reformist discourses do not have the same view on political participation. In political participation, the fundamentalist discourse, with the pillar of Velayat-e Faqih, believes in installation and considers legitimacy from top to bottom. It regards the people's vote as his approval, believes in the necessity of Congressional Oversight, and emphasises the strengthening of Islamism compared to the republic. The pillar of the reformist discourse is political development around the main sign of political participation. In the context of political participation, it considers the government's legitimacy from the bottom to up. It believes that the government should be formed based on the people's vote and opinion and believes less than the fundamentalists in Congressional Oversight. It emphasises the importance of republicanism and believes in a wide range of political participation, from voting in elections to establishing associations and organisations, working in the press and trade union activities, to determine one's destiny. However, the findings indicate that different patterns can be considered in Iran's political competition and participation.

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Introduction

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1357, the governance structure of the Islamic Republic provided a basis for political competition and participation between different groups in the society. Establishing a religious democratic system based on religious authority is a new experience in discussing political systems, which have the necessary talent and power to attract political participation and competition. Shia political jurisprudence, considering methodology and response to emerging issues, has a remarkable ability to accompany the political system with the foundations of democracy.

One of the main features of the Velayat-e Faqih system in the Islamic Republic is the combination of two essential elements, namely Islam and democracy. Today, along with the discussion of political participation, the element of competition plays a vital role in political development. Sects, as the cogwheels of democracy, are considered one of the primary indicators of political action. Establishing political parties is one of the new concepts in which citizens demand their rights (Abtahi and Heydari, 2013AD/1392SH).

This article evaluates discussions between 1376 to 1396. The main question of the research is 'How can the pattern of political competition and participation in the Islamic Republic of Iran be defined and analysed from 1376-1396?'

The present study aimed to evaluate the political competition and participation from the presidential elections in 1376 to 1396 based on the theoretical basis of critical discourse analysis.

1. Research Background

Research has been conducted about political participation, while less research has been undertaken regarding political competition among groups.

In his book "Political Order in Transforming Societies" (1996 AD/1375 SH), Huntington paid attention to the process of party transformation about the identity in four stages: "The stage of factionalism, bipolar tendency, expansion and institutionalisation". At the level of factionalism, individuals and groups could not transform new political organisations despite breaking the traditional frameworks of political behaviour. In the second level, the trend towards polarisation appears due to the evolution of the political system. In the third one, factions form a coalition. Finally, which is interpreted as institutionalisation, the existing patterns and procedures are confirmed, and through that, the shape of the party system is clarified.

Delavari divides political competition into four levels in the research entitled "Investigating the Roots of Political Violence and Instability in Iran" (1999 AD/1378 SH). The first is the competition between the government and rival or opposition political groups outside the ruling body. Second is the competition between different sects of the ruling body and sometimes between various government institutions and organisations. Then, the competition between other political opposition groups and, finally, the competition within each opposition group.

In a study titled "Introduction on Red Lines in Political Competitions" (2002 AD/1381 SH), Eftekhari and Tajik have identified the principles for fulfilling. Accordingly, the political competition is fulfilled by five prerequisites for plurality, freedom, powerful sovereignty, institutionalisation and culture.

In the book "Political Competition and Political Stability in the Islamic Republic of Iran," Gholamreza Khajesarvi (2003 AD/1382 SH) examined the political factions from 1357 to 1380.

Muhammad Reza Hosseini (2016 AD/1395 SH), in the article "Political Competition and Strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Drawing the Optimal Situation," believes that political competition is less visible in the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the inactivity of groups with different tastes from the government.

Also, in foreign research, we can refer to the article "Theocracy vs Democracy: Iran Considers Political Parties" written by Stephen Fairbank (1998), which considers the discussion of political competition between parties before the Khatami era.

2. Jurisprudential Foundations of Partisanship

Regarding the jurisprudential foundations of partisanship, there are two general attitudes. One approach, emphasising the modernity of the party, considers it one of the new era necessities, especially in western democracy; in the prophet of Islam era, there was neither a political system based on democracy nor a multi-party system (Shabestari, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 136). In the second attitude, there is an optimistic view. The words "Sect" and "Party" in the Holy Quran suggest that each of these words were clear and well-established concepts in Islamic culture and early Islamic society, and each had a positive and institutionalised social meaning (Thaghafi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 17).

Using a word or term in the Holy Quran indicates the popularity and existence of such concepts and groups in Islamic society. In Islamic culture, each of these words has a specific meaning. *Rāghib Iṣfahānī* discusses in

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al-Mufradāt: "Party is a group [with a parallel ideal] to defend it with epics and special feelings." (Ragheb Isfahani, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 115)

Shia political jurisprudence has three characteristics. These three distinct characteristics have given the Shia religion a distinctive position to be more dynamic in dealing with emerging issues. They include rationalism, the principle of non-obligation/non-Velayat, and the principle of fallibility and non-approval (Firahi, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 105). Other cases are used to develop party activities in the political system of Velayat-e Faqih:

2.1. The Necessity of the Party Regarding the Obligatory Introduction

The duty of commanding virtues and forbidding vices is the principle of Islam, which is considered a kind of interference in the work of others. As a prelude to this precept (of God), God has made all people Valy and owned authority over each other (Ayazi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 12). Achieving this affair is impossible except by acquiring strength, preparation and formations. Partisanship has both the role of the effect and the cause than commanding virtues and forbidding vices; because partisanship can be one of the famous intellectual examples, commanding virtues revived and created partisanship. On the other hand, partisanship proposes better commanding virtues, even among the high ranks of the country (Ghadimi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 126).

2.2. Partisanship and the Council Issue

The council and consulting are strictly recommended in Islam. Council means asking others' opinions and involving them in a matter, and avoiding repetition and obstinacy; it is a rational way to understand the facts, which is typical among humans. People's deviation from this reasonable way is regarding their pride and selfishness, which are considered condemned according to the wise (Ghadimi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 126). Emphasis on the council has requirements that indicate the party can be a good platform for operationalising this strategy. The party proves existing differences of opinion among people. On the other hand, the emphasis on the council in Islam suggests that this system is council-accepting and allows citizens to express their views.

2.3. Partisanship and Lack of System Differences

Another discussion about partisanship in Islamic jurisprudence is the jurisprudential rule of system disruption (ibid: 20). Therefore, whenever an affair causes disruption and chaos in the Muslim system, it should be negated prohibited, even if it is a good thing. Occasionally, some issues become forbidden or obligatory in jurisprudence; because lack of such command causes system disruption. Such an issue has an intellectual obscenity, and wise men deny it, and legislators will naturally follow them (ibid: 130).

3. Political Competition in the Islamic Republic

Different groups have competed politically with each other for power since the beginning of the Islamic revolution. In the following, we discuss the four periods in the scope of political competition.

3.1. Muhammad Khatami and Reforms

Simultaneously with the beginning of Khatami's reforms, political competition arose among the rival groups of the reforms, i.e., principlists. Khordad 2, 1376, the candidate supported by the left wing in the 7th presidential election, won the election with an absolute majority of votes (Ehteshami, 2007 AD/1385 SH: 2-71). The speeches, interviews and writings of the candidates, the election headquarters and their supporting press indicate that the candidates' words have not differed. They have emphasised the necessity of building the country, observing the law, guaranteeing freedom, and protecting the nation's rights and Islamic and revolutionary values. In addition to the above, the winning candidate insisted on political development and related concepts such as civil society and political participation. Accordingly, willy-nilly, the element of political development was strengthened in the public perception from 1376 onwards. Regarding the definition of political development, the government should distribute political power by guaranteeing the nation's political freedom as much as possible and framing the nation's rights. In the following, we analyse the discourse of reforms in newspapers.

Newspapers reviewed during the reform period:

	affiliated to the government	The public institution in favour of the government	The institution emerged from the government discourse
The first period of reforms	Iran	Salam Hamshahri	Jame'e
The second period of reforms	Iran	Aftab-e Yazd	Nowruz

3.1.1.Discourse Analysis of Reforms

Description of discourse order	"Civil Society" and "Reforms" and political development
Existing discourses	Principlism and reforms
Hegemonic discourse	Principlism
Main sign	People and political development
Sub signs	Reforms, law, civil society and political development

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Making myth	Denying the issue of leadership charisma
How to develop the discourse	Political participation
Making otherness	Dominance of fundamentalism
Excluded discourses	The discourse of radical principlism
How discourse becomes hegemonic	Election
Validity	Extensive advertising in presenting a modern face in political competition and development
Access	Reformist newspapers
Political agents	Reformist newspapers and reformist students
Highlighting	People, fundamentalism, underdevelopment, the issue of women's participation, wisdom.
Rejection	The discourse of principlism and fundamentalism
Hegemonic element of discourse	Intimidation of fundamentalism

3.1.2. Discourse Analysis of Khatami's Media Literature

Discourse analysis: In 27/2/76 Jame'e newspaper, the composition "People's Favour towards Khatami," by emphasising the speaker's words about the Iranian nation's characteristics, confirms these characteristics' authenticity. The phrase "Rule of Law", while expressing the certainty of the speaker's statement and belief, affects presenting the desired image of the speaker to the audience regarding the use of third person pronouns and verbs. Considering the report of Salam newspaper on 31/2/76, the combination of "Political Indifference or Opposition" indicates Khatami's popularity as a reformer force that could attract the people who do not desire to participate in the elections. Also, in Hamshahri newspaper 3/3/76, using "Healthy Elections" by Nateq Nuri, who was Khatami's electoral opponent, is a reason for accepting defeat on the part of Khatami's opponent, that took Khatami's components for changing the governance procedure within the framework of presidential power. Regarding the 31/3/76 Jame'e newspaper, after the election, it can be said that "Development" in Khatami's political involvement literature is opposed to passive participation, which means that the people's was fully active.

In the second term of Khatami's presidency, the combination of "Dialogue of Civilizations," in the text of Nowruz newspaper on 2/3/80, is the central sign of this report that Khatami is introduced with this discourse. A discourse that created a positive change in domestic politics,

active participation of people, and success in foreign policy. On 4/3/80, the Nowruz newspaper "Modern Society" was a type of credit composition that promoted Khatami's attitude towards people's political participation and called for a modern look at the election's proposition. In the continuation of the text, third-person verbs and pronouns have been widely used by different authors.

On the one hand, the reforms, Khatami and the people for whom freedom and political participation are essential are considered concordant and without "I as a Speaker," which is Khatami in these texts. On the other hand, the people's desire for political participation should be depicted, considering that Khatami has invited them to participate in forming a modern society.

Intertextual analysis: Dividing development and political participation in the texts of reform newspapers shows that the tone of Khatami and the press that publishes reports and articles about his attitude is different from other presidents for the political participation of the people. Khatami has targeted the process of internalising the concept of political development in society. On the one hand, this process includes specific amounts of similar images that attribute the text to the development articulation in a culture that prioritises the construction of power. On the other hand, it is a sign of a unique identity that the text wants to create for its audience.

The text, in the form of evaluation propositions by attributing positive features to a specific concept, such as "Separation of different categories of cultural, social, economic, political and moral development" or emphasis on civil society and participation in modern society, gives a pleasant feeling in the audience, which leads to the positive sense of the audience towards the speaker and his company. What can be obtained from these editorials and notes of other reform newspapers is that the reformists wanted to focus on political development and increase the people's power in political participation. The implicit message of Khordad 2nd and the reform process was the message of change and transformation. One of the main principles discussed by the creators of the reformist discourse was the role of people's participation in political affairs and their legitimacy for the Islamic government. In this discourse, political participation means that people have a direct role in the public affairs of society, politics, government and the management of the political system, and this does not make a difference in the form of the government structure, i.e., it does not matter whether reforms are at the top or the principlism.

Reforms by creating discourse aimed to present its central sign, which was the people and political development, even in foreign policy, to

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introduce its identity and legitimacy from the people's political participation. In the meantime, both in domestic and foreign politics, it attempted to focus on de-escalation and dialogue instead of tension and confrontation, which can conclude the healthy competition. Khatami tried to continue political participation in the Islamic Republic even after his government. In his opinion, the fundamental principle of having an influential role is the active presence and direct involvement of people in the management and decision-making of society in all aspects. Meanwhile, political competition should be recognised along with political participation. Reviewing the articles of this period indicated that the participation concept in establishing freedom is the key concept mentioned by the chief editor of the newspapers during the reform period since the primary goal of political development is the participation and competition of social groups; this issue has been highly regarded. The political competition in some editorials, such as Aftab-e Yazd, on 21/3/80, deals with otherness-making and tries to reject the discourse of principlism. The main and sub-signs in most newspaper articles are reforms, law, civil society and political development. They are considered sub-signs of this period and have been repeated in most newspapers alternately. Therefore, by analysing the discourse of reform newspapers, people's political participation can be divided into three forms limited, subordinate, and civic (active).

Civic participation is a broad concept whose objective fulfilment requires a variety of individual or social activities. Activities that impact the decisions and strategies of executive bodies from low levels (municipality, education system, etc.) to higher levels (higher bodies and executive and judicial laws). Civil participation, which has received much attention in recent years, includes various individual and group actions for intervention in determining his and the society's fate and influencing the decision-making process related to public affairs. Almost all development strategies are mentioned participation as a central element. The concepts of economic growth, development, economic-social development and incredibly sustainable development during the time of Khatami show that participation has taken on a more fundamental meaning so that in sustainable development, participation is the goal and means of development. This concept of civil participation includes all aspects of human activity and behaviour. The experience of implementing development programs during Khatami's time has shown that political participation in this period was of the civil participation type.

3.2. Mahmud Ahmadinejad and Principlists Coming to Power

The ninth presidential election in Iran was held on Khordad 27, 1384. the

competition of different discourses within the government of the Islamic Republic was an exciting issue in the election. Ahmadinejad's policy attracted the deprived people of society, the people with the most political participation in his presidential. In this regard, several months after his presidency, he started his first provincial trip in 1384 to South Khorasan, one of Iran's most deprived provinces. These trips, which included all the provinces of Iran, were repeated three times until the end of his presidency. Writing letters to the president for even the most mundane needs of daily life was an essential aspect of these trips (Akbari and Amini, 2010).

A team was obliged to analyse and read the people's letters. Although some small free loans were granted, a significant amount was distributed overall, leading to an unprecedented increase in cash in the community. A small amount of inequality and the proportion of families below the poverty line decreased during the Khatami period; it showed an increasing trend during the Ahmadinejad period. In 1383, one year after Khatami's term, the number of families suffering from absolute and relative poverty in urban areas was one and two million, respectively. In 1388, after the end of Ahmadinejad's first 4-year term, there were 1.3 and 2.5 million families (Athari, 2005).

Newspapers examined during the Ahmadinejad period.

	affiliated to the government	The public institution in favour of the government	The institution emerged from the government discourse
The first period of principlism	Iran	Keyhan Fars News	Vatan-e Emruz
The second period of principlism	Iran	Keyhan Fars News	Vatan-e Emruz

3.2.1. Discourse Analysis of Ahmadinejad's Media Literature
Inter-discourse analysis: In the editorial of 04/03/84 of Kayhan newspaper, the repetition of the phrase eliminating discrimination and destroying corruption is a kind of otherness, that the author seeks to separate Ahmadinejad's revolutionary approach from the rival candidate and introduces him more prominently than the others. Also, in the editorials of the days before the elections, the same newspaper focuses on signs from the people to introduce Ahmadinejad as the best candidate.

The additional composition "During the 7th Parliament Elections," which came to introduce the people's demands, is analysed in two ways:

First, it clarifies Keyhan's opposition to the 6th Parliament, most of whom were reformists. So, it insists that the people's demand is not open space, as Khatami said. On the other hand, it considers itself the fundamentalist

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movement representative of the people. Since the people's vote was the 7th principlist Parliament, their presidency will now be Ahmadinejad. The people's political participation is regarding the principlism and slogans of eliminating corruption and economic principlists.

The repetition of the phrase "Irreplaceable and Unique Role of the Iranian Nation" in the 5 Khordad 88 newspaper of the Islamic Republic of Iran insists on the "I" of the speaker or writer who claims ownership of the political participation of the people. According to other editorials and speeches, Ahmadinejad and the media affiliated with him believe that progress is possible by standing on the path of the revolution's ideals and moving in its direction. Ahmadinejad interprets this progress and movement in this direction with attention to himself.

Keyhan newspaper explicitly talks about the previous governments' fear and inability regarding the country's management. In fact, by highlighting the "I" of the president, he is trying to create a new discourse in front of all the discourses before him, which have not been able to divide the root of corruption.

On the other hand, Keyhan newspaper denies election fraud and somehow analyses the political participation in voting for Ahmadinejad; by focusing on "Assignment of the 10th Presidential Election Will Be Determined in the First Round."

Intertextual analysis: Mahmud Ahmadinejad, on 29/03/84, in the Keyhan newspaper, considers "Will of the Nation" as his equal weight. Using this combination, the nation's will toward his presidency means an effort to dilute the reforms discourse.

Also, on 05/04/84, the Keyhan newspaper regarded the reason for Ahmadinejad's victory to be his "Humble Lifestyle" to confiscate people's political participation. It contrasts with Khatami's discourse, which prioritised political development because it uses the word "Struggle" for the reformists against Ahmadinejad's victory to introduce the victorious discourse in the Islamic revolution and following the political participation of the people, principlism.

During the second term of Ahmadinejad's presidency, his opponents, called the Green Movement, were called "Khas and Khashak" (straw) by him.

It means that when the government does not recognise the rights of its critics and opponents to vote, the participation process will face problems, but this happened in 1388. Suppose the government does not fully recognise the participation right and does not support it, and citizens are reluctant to claim their rights. In that case, people are only obliged to participate in the political scene and are not independent decision-makers.

In such societies, the individual is merely passive and does not show any conscious or active participation. Therefore, the pattern of political involvement during Ahmadinejad's time was secondary. One of the most used ways of expressing ideological propositions in texts and speeches is using parallel assumptions. The speaker places his intertextual ideological presuppositions in the framework of a similar context between himself and the audience. It causes the audience to accept these assumptions with less resistance. In the text of the Keyhan newspaper, the speaker, regarding the experience of Islamic civilisation and the nation's role in human culture, Islamic society and the Islamic revolution, relies on the historical memory of the country to create a parallel ground for expression, uses preparation and efforts to create a shared environment. A key role, attend to their historical representation to accept the proposed proposition with less opposition from the audience.

It is noteworthy that during the Ahmadinejad era, political participation in Iran was considered from a different perspective. It means that the press in the principlism period emphasised more on the economic dimension of development than political participation. With a bit of precision in the analysed indicators, we find that the principlists have focused on subsidies, justice, revolutionary slogans, justice equities and dealing with their opponents. During Ahmadinejad's second term, which was faced with the discussion of the Green Movement, the political competition received more attention than before, and the central sign of the principlism discourse, which was to revive the revolutionary slogans, was Velayat-e Faqih, in this way, goes to deal with or rejects competing discourses.

In other words, in the political dimension, considering the events after the elections and impacting other daily issues, the number of editorials that referred to the non-intervention of foreign governments has increased. Ahmadinejad, who came with the slogans of disenfranchisement, focused his discourse on livelihood and economic issues rather than the issues of political development and participation.

3.3. The Green Movement and Increasing Political Competition

During the presidential elections of 1388, the reformists managed to gain a part of their unity under the announcement of the candidacy of Mirhossein Mousavi and Mahdi Karrubi. A portion of this unity was also related to the political behaviour of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, which according to some, created more division among people and groups. When Ahmadinejad won the Khordad elections, the reformists claimed fraud. This streamlining followed the strong reaction of Iranian conservatives. Their figures and activists were imprisoned, exiled or retired inside Iran.

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Perhaps the most significant test tension of political competition from the beginning of the Islamic Republic until now can be seen in the discourse of Ahmadinejad's rival government.

English Al Jazeera described the situation on June 13 as the "Biggest Unrest Since the 1357 Revolution." It also reported that the protests seemed spontaneous and without formal organisation (Al Jazeera English, 2009).

In response to the reformists' protest, Ahmadinejad government supporters gathered in Tehran on June 14 to support Ahmadinejad's victory. On June 15, Mousavi rallied with his supporters in Tehran, despite being warned by government officials that any gathering was illegal. This gathering was Mousavi's first public appearance after the election. Protesters were concentrated around the Azadi Tower, and people lined up around it (Pitney, 2009).

Newspapers examined in reformist discourse.

	Independent
	E'temad-e Melli
	Kalame Sabz

3.3.1. Discourse Analysis of the Literature of the Media Close to the Reformists
Inter-discourse analysis: In the text of Khordad 22, 1388, the Kalame Sabz site, using words and phrases quoted by a Fars reporter, aimed to elaborate on the credit for the Green Movement to consider the political participation of the people in voting for Mir Hossein Mousavi. On the other hand, it expresses essential political, economic, etc., issues in popular terms. Regarding Mir Hossein Mousavi's statement in Kalame Sabz news agency, we can say that by using everyday words and expressions such as the nation of Iran, he tries to make his statements concrete and conceptual for the audience, and by hybridisation (using everyday speech in specialised speech), essential issues he expresses political, economic, etc., in mainly slang terms. He is trying to introduce himself as the leader of political participation in society, which can save the community without violence.

Intertextual analysis: The mentioned newspapers have tried to create a discourse of "I" against another. "I Manage the Rival Discourse of the Ahmadinejad Government" and seek to enforce the law, increase political participation, and allow people to express their opinions and ideas, is referred to by the combination of "Legal Objections." In contrast, "Illegal Procedures" are placed in other texts. In a way, these illegal procedures refer to the efforts of a part of the power to limit the political participation of critics of the government.

Although this discourse news was spread through different newspapers,

the fact is that apart from the website of Kalame Sabz, no independent newspaper or news agency can be found in this regard. Even the newspaper Etemad Melli, banned almost a month after the elections on Mordad 26, 1388, is not independently included in the scope of the rival discourse of the Ahmadinejad government. So, by examining different newspapers, the Etemad newspaper and Kalame Sabz website have the closest view to reflect the news of this discourse that Kalame Sabz has priority. The main sign of this discourse was free elections, which can be seen in most of Mir Hossein Mousavi's slogans. Therefore, in this discourse, both political participation and political competition are next to each other. These two concepts before the elections only meant tolerance and encouraging people to come to the polls. While after the election and the announcement of Ahmadinejad's victory changed to an effort to protect the votes (fraud) in the face of the principlism discourse and principlists making otherness and Ahmadinejad, Mousavi encouraged the people to participate in the website of Kalame Sabz to win, Ahmadinejad's government rival discourse even after the election.

In active participation, a person consciously and actively participates in political life through voting, political competition, parties and official political processes based on his discretion. It seems that during the Green Movement, active participation in opposition to Ahmadinejad's policies was created by people who needed change.

3.4. Hassan Rouhani and the Moderation Slogan

Rouhani's major election controversies are summarised in some sentences formed in the debates of 1392 and 1396 in front of the other competitors. In 1392, Hassan Rouhani, who introduced himself as a "United" candidate, severely criticised the performance of this institution and condemned it as an "Injustice" in his broadcast program. Also, his statement "I'm not a Colonel, I'm a Lawyer" against Muhammad Bagher Qalibaf significantly impacted society to vote for him. In this election, Hassan Rouhani, a member of only two political parties, the "Moderation and Development" and "Combatant Clergy Society," could attract the support of various reformist groups. Those groups, "Assembly of Militant Clerics," "Democracy Party," " Union of Islamic Iran People Party," " Will of the Iranian Nation Party," "Freedom Movement," " Council for Coordinating the Reforms Front," "Islamic Labour Party," "Worker House," "Islamic Association of University Instructors" and "United Front of Principlists" supported him. Along with these groups that act legally inside Iran, the leaders of the Green Movement, Mir Hossein Mousavi, Zahra Rahnavard and Mahdi Karrubi, who are currently under house arrest in Tehran,

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expressed their support for Rouhani. Iran's 12th presidential election was probably the most difficult second-round election for an incumbent president in the history of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

President for the second round of the election does not have a difficult task for victory. That is, people believe that the eight years presidential period of a person is inevitable, and he succeeds in achieving the necessary trust to continue his way. So, both the heat of the elections and excitement is less, and the participation rate decreases. This habit was violated to some extent in the 1388 elections. This story was different for Rouhani. In the second term of his presidency, Hassan Rouhani faced formidable rivals who entered the election campaign with a complete rejection of him and his government's actions from the beginning and tried to transfer negative votes to their basket by launching a "No" wave to Rouhani. Therefore, although Rouhani was finally elected to Pastor with broad participation and high votes, he suffered much trouble during the election campaign. If he didn't implement the policy of using the first vice president as a cover candidate, he probably wouldn't have had enough space to defend his achievements against the many attacks of critical candidates.

Therefore, we analyse the following newspapers affiliated with or in favour of united.

Newspapers reviewed during united

	Affiliated with the government	**The public institution in favour of the government**
United first period	**Iran**	**Sharq**
United second period	**Iran**	**Qanun and Sharq**

3.4.1. Discourse Analysis of Principlism During the United Period

Intercourse Analysis: The key of policy (Tadbir) is used as a descriptive combination in Sharq newspaper on 08/03/1392 next to Hassan Rouhani's "White Toyota Cressida" to present him as the better candidate in the elections, who can solve the country's problems with his policy, and on the other hand, he has shown his simple life with no luxury and using an old car. Also, on 13/03/1392, the use of "Sheikh Diplomat" in the Sharq newspaper is a credit combination that comes along with the anti-propaganda of the rival group, the principlists. In this way, it introduces the reason for the controversy in the speeches and the irregularity of Rouhani's propaganda on the part of the principlists and the rival group.

In the texts of Iran newspapers, Sharq and Qanun regarding political participation, except for some texts that used the identifier "I" and preferred its opinion, the other texts are in the third person. The people are mentioned in all the texts; here, the people are cited as the founders of political participation, especially in the last text of the Etemad newspaper. They could indicate a glorious election in the conditions where this region is facing various crises and dangerous and worrisome challenges such as the brutal and bloody resistance of the centralised and authoritarian governments against the people's will. Therefore, in the continuation of the text, the government or people's elected officials have been focused on forming political participation and democracy.

Intertextual analysis: On 18/03/1392, the Sharq newspaper emphasised Rouhani's tolerance and expertise regarding the nuclear issue. On the one hand, he has the knowledge and experience to solve the atomic problem compared to others, and even his rival, Ali Akbar Velayati, confirms this knowledge. On the other hand, he has been introduced as an acceptable face for both factions. On 02/04/1392, the Sharq newspaper, "United Discourse," clearly referred to the victory of this discourse over the principlism discourse. It introduces rationality, ethics and justice as evidence of people's political participation and reception of this discourse.

"Democracy and People's Sovereignty" are mentioned in the text of the Iran newspaper, 19/03/1392, that could choose the chosen candidate in different eras with elections and political participation. The announcer criticises the radio, television, and a part of the government that has a relatively other discourse from the united discourse, why live election debates were not held. "The debate of the presidential candidates is the democracy growth sign, which was held live in the previous periods, but according to the approval of the Advertising Commission, it would not be held live in this period." In these texts, the speaker is trying to confiscate the desired political participation of the people in favour of the united discourse. Here, without direct reference, other radio and television managers are portrayed with the characteristics of a lack of flexibility and compromise with others, who are placed in front of people's participatory tastes. Against these others, we are the ones who stand with authority and courage against the threat and destroy it forever.

A general look at the election campaigns of Hassan Rouhani and Ebrahim Raisi shows that Hassan Rouhani's supporters, emphasising the concepts related to social freedom and Iran's interaction with the West, were opposed to Raisi's campaigns focused on social justice and paying attention to the lower deciles of Iranian society. Rouhani's central sign was

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justice and restoration of dignity to the people of Iran; therefore, political participation played an important role in Rouhani's discourse to cause his victory after the election debates. Meanwhile, Rouhani did less political involvement in newspaper news after the election. In the three newspapers, Iran, Qanun, and Etemad, united discourse tried to focus on the sidelines rather than promote healthy political competition and refrain from his ideal, which was to restore honour to Iranians.

4. Model of Competition and Political Participation
Three elements must be examined to achieve such a model: the Guardian Council, political factions and the people.

4.1. Guardian Council
The Guardian Council is one of the leading institutions considering political competition and participation of the people; because this council is the basis of the gravity of the election candidates and the people because of the complexity of the nomination process for parliamentary elections in Iran. There are many obstacles in the way of citizens looking for elected office and more participation in power or competing with other groups. Above all, the Guardian Council says the final word on the eligibility of an aspiring candidate.

4.2. Political Factions
Conservatives are the most important political trend in the Islamic Republic of Iran; with deep roots in the revolution and the system's founding, they are arguably the single most powerful political movement in Iran. The elections of the Islamic Council (parliament) and the Assembly of Experts in 1395 show whether the conservatives could reorganise and consolidate around an attractive political platform that would allow them to gain power. The reformists have tried to introduce themselves as a tolerant spectrum in domestic and foreign policy, and the principlists have attempted to show revolutionism in domestic and foreign policy. 'Which one has performed better or worse is a separate discussion?' But political polarization seems to have caused much domestic and foreign policy damage, which requires research. Moreover, political polarisation can weaken unified agreements on foreign policies and undermine a country's position in the world.

4.3. People
Islamic ideology was established after the Islamic revolution and the governmental structure of religious politics. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (a combination of democracy and Shia religion) had different capacities. Many critical words of political development were

predicted in the law, such as the separation of power (triple powers) of the parliament, political participation and voting, parties, freedom and independence of newspapers and some personal and political freedoms. But ideological and political structures still combine the religious aspect with general legal principles in all law matters.

According to the characteristic features, Iran's political system after the Islamic Revolution is summarised in the group of ideological governance. Hossein Bashiriyeh believes that governments are designed to someone can enter the form of power in ideological governments and guide people towards themselves. So, evaluating the incorporation of groups after observing the law establishes the relationship between these two parties. In general, the ideological government is religious and legitimises itself with legal, participatory identifiers who want reforms. Some groups are removed from the stage in the process of ideological regime reforms (Bashiriyeh, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 185-189).

The social base in political sociology consists of social forces whose role in a political situation depends on people's subjective evaluations of social differences. These forces usually appear behind a political movement in sensitive situations like elections. As one of the country's main factions, Principlists have enjoyed a specific social base during the past three decades. The statistics of various elections in the Ministry of Interior show that the quantity and quality of this social base and its influence have undergone an upward and growing trend. The importance of principles, beliefs, values, patriotism, justice-based, anti-corruption, etc., indicators and, most importantly, the Velayat-accepting of the principlists' social base has caused a kind of uniformity in this social base.

Some issues are crucial in the Islamic Republic of Iran, such as establishing the Islamic government, the government role, the participation of the people, self-confidence and intellectual independence, the cooperation and consensus of the government and the people, and the oppressed sovereignty and development indicators. This view has caused duality between state-nation relations from political sociology. The government has classified valuable forces and distinct between insiders and non-insiders in its selection for government employment and sensitive jobs; it also chose practical and non-valuable criteria for its classification. On the other hand, it has selected the unity of the nation slogans, which have no one meaning, and a kind of socio-political gap has emerged from the Khatami to Hassan Rouhani.

The tensions between ethnic groups in recent years in the Islamic Republic indicate that the policies of different governments in Iran to

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institutionalise the political culture of participation and solidarity have fundamental weaknesses. Still, essential elements such as kinship, tribal and religious prejudices, etc., which usually are emerged in elections, are visible in ethnic groups such as Kurd, Lor, Baluch, Arab, and Turk; it shows that ethnic identity in some parts of Iran is still preferred to national identity. Ethnic groups in Iran, such as Azeris, Kurds, Turkmen, Arabs and Baluch, go beyond the borders of Iran. Azeris are located on the walls of Iran, Azerbaijan and Turkey. Kurds go to Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Arabs are at the mouth of Iraq and the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf. The Baluchs spread to Pakistan and Afghanistan. As a result, border security has been a sensitive issue for the central government of Iran. These ethnic groups are transnational, so their threat can be highly destructive to national security. Ethnic minorities, in total, constitute almost half of Iran's population, with the people of Fars constituting approximately 51%. The rest of the population consists of Azeris (24%), Kurds (7%), Arabs (3%), Baluch (2%) and Turkmen (2%) (Saleh, 2013).

In the general form of competition and political participation in the Islamic Republic, three types of alliances have emerged from the interactions between these groups: clergy-military, clergy-technocrats, and military-technocrats. In the 1360s, the unity of the clergy and the military was dominant, and the clergy were dominant in it. In the 1370s, power shifted in favour of the technocrats. During the Hashemi Rafsanjani period (1376-1378), the clergy-technocrat alliance was dominant, and the clergy had more weight. However, during Khatami's presidency (1376-1384), this alliance changed to a coalition with the technocrat clergy, in which the bureaucrats had the upper hand. Power changed again during Ahmadinejad's era, as the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps Bureaucrat Alliance became his hard-line government's most influential group and political base (1384-1391). During Rouhani's presidency, technocrats returned to power. They were responsible for shaping the government's policies. At the same time, the IRGC was at least marginalised in the government. However, after the crisis of America's withdrawal from the JCPOA, the IRGC's power in domestic and foreign politics increased.

Conclusion

The political system of Velayat-e Faqih, as a new experience in the world's political systems, has the necessary talent and power to attract political participation and competition. In the Velayat-e Faqih system, besides the source of divine legitimacy, the role of the people in determining destiny

cannot be neglected. Parties, as one of the indicators of political development and democratic institutions, have an irreplaceable role in attracting people's participation in determining destiny. In the political system of Velayat-e Faqih, regarding the dynamics of Shia jurisprudence, the platform for the work of parties is fully provided, and it can even be one of the political requirements of Islamic society. In addition to the jurisprudential debates, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as the executive mechanism of the jurisprudence system in Iran, has recognised the rights and freedoms of the nation, including the right to freedom and the establishment of political parties. Involved parties in the political system of Velayat-e Faqih have coordinates, the vital of which are:

- Belief in the principles of Islamic beliefs and the rules and values of Sharia;
- Non-cooperation with parties and groups opposed to the Islamic system;
- Non-infringement of religious and legal freedoms of citizens;
- Observance of jurisprudence, shari'a and moral standards when they disagree with rival parties;
- Preservation of the Islamic Republic of Iran as the only standard system in the world based on Velayat-e Faqih's theory.

There must be a democratic political system and freedom from legal and social barriers to create political participation. Despite these conditions, no part of society is forced to remain silent. All kinds of political opinions show themselves for acceptance or rejection by the people. Political participation is only possible when citizens (including those belonging to religious, ethnic, sexual or political minority groups) can express themselves through an organised system and ongoing process. Having the characteristics of a modern government (national or federal), this system may include a variety of political views while ensuring the participation of different groups in society. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, left-right politics and polarization were formed from the very beginning, and of course, other subgroups also emerged under this grouping. This procedure has existed in the internal and external politics of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the manifestation of internal politics is in the presidential elections every four years. Reformists and principlists have defined two seemingly opposite poles in the Islamic Republic, which has become more prominent after Muhammad Khatami's presidency in 1376 until today. Our result is that there is no visible model of competition and political participation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the weakness in this issue requires further investigations and pathology in this field.

The discourse analysis shows that unlike the discourse of reformism

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which is relatively formed around the main sign of political participation and in contrast to the discourse of principlism in political participation, it believes in the following principles:

- Considers the legitimacy of the government from the bottom to up;
- Believes that the government should be formed based on the people's vote and opinion to a large extent and considers the people's vote necessary;
- It believes in discretionary supervision less than the fundamentalists;
- Emphasizes the importance of the system republic;
- It emphasises the importance of voluntary, spontaneous, active and organised participation;
- To determine their destiny, they believe in a wide range of political participation, from voting in elections to establishing associations and organisations, working in the press, trade union activities, etc.;
- The discourse of the Green Movement is interested in modern forms of political participation, such as activity in parties, grassroots organisations, trade unions, etc.;
- The united discourse has also accepted signs such as civil society and political development.

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