The impact of globalization on development of civil society in Iran with an emphasis on the political parties and the press

Mohammad Tohidfam (Ph.D)¹, Arash Sadeghizeidi (MA)²

1. Associate Professor of Department of Political Science, Islamic Azad University, Central Tehran Branch, Iran
2. Graduated Student of Department of Political Science, Islamic Azad University, Central Tehran Branch, Iran

*Corresponding Author email: ma_th2000@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT: Globalization as an emerging and pervasive phenomenon has had a significant impact on various aspects of human life. Development and influence of this phenomenon has been accelerated with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the spread of neo-liberal economics and communications and information revolution since 1980s. The phenomenon of globalization is very tangible in modern life. Therefore, the impact of this phenomenon on two important institutions of civil society was discussed in this study. Civil society has selected as dependent variable in our study, because of its great significance in modern democracies. Contraction and expansion of civil society has great role in the formation or de-formation of a democratic country. But because civil society includes many institutions; research subject was limited to two most important civil institutions; namely, Iran's political parties and the press. Thus, in this study, in answers to this question that globalization as a new and inclusive phenomenon, how has influenced the development of Iran's civil society, especially the press and political parties? This hypothesis was raised that globalization with the development of political culture has led to the development of political parties and the press in Iran. To demonstrate this hypothesis, dimensions and the process of its impacts in Iran were studied in this research. Also, circumstance impact of globalization on political culture and its impact on parties and the press have evaluated consequently.

Keywords: Globalization, Political culture, civil society, Political parties and Press.

INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, we have witnessed the increasing impact of a phenomenon on various aspects of human life that called globalization. Today, a comprehensive range detection of globalization in various fields of human life, make it complicated so that scientists are notable to provide a precise definition and they have offered diverse and contradictory definitions. Some scientists have studied globalization from the negative comments points of view. Others have adopted a positive opinion and there were those who had interstitial treatment. The spread of democratic culture is one of the consequences of globalization in the world. Today, the majority of people consider democracy as the best method of governance and pursuing it. Strong civil society is one the most influential cases that help modern societies to achieve democracy. Civil society is an independent department of the state that acts as a fender against government. This community is comprised of autonomous groups and has a population of diverse values and beliefs that live in peaceful coexistence. Civil society include many organizations and institutions due to its pluralistic nature such as influential groups, pressure groups, unions, associations, the media, political parties, unions and other political groups that are competing with each other for power. So we have restricted the topic of this study. In this regard, civil society has both implications of political parties and the press which compared with other institutions of civil society has sublime position in achieving to democracy. In this article, regarding the answer to the question, to what extent globalization as a new and pervasive phenomenon has affected on development of civil society in Iran particularly on political parties and the press?. We hypothesized that globalization have provided backgrounds for civil society development by democratic culture development. In this course the parties have been more fortunate than the press. Albeit, it is worthy to say that the time domain of this article is from 1997 to 2013. So parties and press are studied in two-year period. It is essential to consider different dimensions and aspects of globalization for understanding its impact on civil society. Then we can find out various
indices and influential aspects of this phenomenon based on these cases. In discussing globalization dimensions, it is important to note that this is simultaneously apolitical, economic, cultural, social and technical phenomenon. However, in this article, we introduce two dimensions related to the research.

**Cultural dimension**

One of the aspects of globalization is cultural dimension and its impact on political, social and economical structures of countries and nations. Many intellectuals and analysts have considered globalization phenomenon based on cultural dimension and its social impacts. We are witnessing the emergence of global civilization on the cultural level. Détente and coalition for peace are major concepts that have priority in this global culture. We are also seeing the emergence of universal identities and cultural pluralism in our societies. It has contradictory appearance. Because on the one hand, we are witnessing the emergence of universal culture elements and on the other hand, while continuing particular culture identities such as fundamentalism, nationalism and ethnicity, we even witnessed the intensification of this particularistic (Ahmadvand, 2006).

Cultural and human response is different depending on social, economical and political conditions and the influence rate of globalization process and this matter has been placed in the range of absolute to fight violent reaction (Tohidfam, 2002). Despite such differences, culture and globalization relationship or cultural reactions to these processes have been classified into three categories: Cultural as simulation (Universalists), Cultural particularism, cultural amalgamation and evolution (Tohidfam, 2002).

**Universalists characteristics**

Development of Western modernity including features such as capitalism, Industrialism and surveillance of Universalists main features
- Consumerism
- Expansion of European languages, especially English
- Covering patterns
- Nutrition and Architecture
- Urban and industrial life
  
  A series of cultural values and approaches about individual liberty, human rights and secularism (Golmohammadi, 2002).

**Particularism characteristics**

The first feature of cultural particularism is its opposition against globalization and negation. The second feature is emphasis on location, and specific.

The third feature is emphasis on distinction and specification of borders. In all cultural particularism, there is more or less emphasis on there construction of borders and reconstruction insider-outsider place as an agenda for particularism movements.

There is a prominent anti-relativity in particularism ideology and various types of absolutists are emphasized. In fact, the key feature of the fundamentalist and the most important one is tradition that is done in traditional way.

The fifth feature is rejecting any blending and emphasizes the purity.

Another feature of cultural particularism is the Community-oriented one that is considered as a contemporary social movement and apolitical philosophy and Reaction to growing individualism in recent world (Golmohammadi, 2002).

**Political dimension**

Political globalization is a process by which social, economic and cultural affairs are released from limited fence of nation-state. And people see themselves subjected to various variables impact and particularly beyond the nation ones. From political point of view, globalization affects greatly on culture and political relations in the world. Promoting cosmopolitan ideas in relations between nations and kinfolks, Promotion of democracy and political culture in the world, conversion of communities traditional authority to competitive and systematic power, promotion and development of citizenship rights, growth of awareness with in civil society, transformation of the political insights, change of attitudes toward political life, shaping pluralist and anti-authoritarian attitudes in relations between nations and governments, Exchange of information, ideas, thoughts and political values at the macro and international level, Being institutionalized, diversity and freedom of choice in terms of policy development and civil society, all are significant impacts of globalization in political arena in the world (Mirmohammadi, 2002). It is essential to point to the regnant discourses in different levels for understanding Iranian political culture in various
historical courses. Before the arrival of the reformers, we have three political discourses in Iranian contemporary history. This will be mentioned briefly.

**Political discourse in Iran**

**Traditional Patrimonialism**
Bashiriyeh believes that the dominant political discourse in Iran before the advent of We stern modernity pressures and processes arose from Patrimonialism. He believed Qajar Patriarchate discourse was a royal-religious one and the royal court and court nobles and spirituality were the owner of developed power due to the components of the ruling class of the period that is Qajar tribe. Political culture and social practices and power relations within the Patriarchate state structure were formed in light of Iran's traditional Patriarchate. Practically, it produces an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between citizens and rulers. So the ability of citizens for civic and social life is reduced to a minimum. These features clearly indicate that this type of competition and political participation have no place in this kind of political culture and to the extent that these elements are active, creating barriers to democratic life (Bashiriyeh, 2002).

**Pahlavi absolute modernism discourse**

It combines traditional patrimonialism with development and modernization in Western modernism style. Pahlavi absolute modernism is the most dominant political discourse in the twentieth century in Iran. We saw several elements of Persian king theory, traditional patriarchate, development and modernization in Western modernism style and law and populism in this discourse. In the first period of Pahlavi, no one had the authority. All matters should be reported and what was ordered operated. Domestic politics in this period was to keep the king convinced. (Sari-Al-Qalam, 2010)

The ideology of the second period of Pahlavi is formed alongside of the first period. The difference in the second period was that the values of liberal democracy are gradually pervaded society. Accordingly Shah is attempting to exploit the form of concepts such as freedom, democracy, equality of men and women and legitimize their conservative ideas.

**Discourse of ideological traditionalism**

This discourse emerged in reaction to Pahlavi modernism and at the beginning, two different interpretations presented: one of them was from the religious Intellectuals side and the other one from some unhappy Clergymen. But totally, this discourse reflects the interests and values of declining levels of traditional society which are subjected to renewal, reform and revolution from the high level. Islamic tradition as a solution for social problems and the modern age was converted to the ideology in this discourse. This discourse has been composed of various elements such as Shi-eh political theory, some aspects of traditional patriarchate, and some elements of modernity (such as parliamentarianism), kind of populism and charismatic authority. By traditionalism, modern world ideology and democratic way of life have been assigned as the main enemy and various manifestations of Western modernity pressed. The discourse was in conflict with pluralism, civil society, liberalism, Iran nationalism and West enlightenment tradition (Bashiriyeh, 2002).

**Components of Iran political culture**

According to articulate discourses and research that has been done about Iranian political culture, Iranian political culture has always included elements such as, 1-Directorate culture 2-Political trust weakness 3-Conspiracy 4- Intolerance and tolerance 5-Charismaandsavior-oriented 6-Absolutism.

**History of political parties in Iran**

Here the parties’ period will be divided in to five periods four of which refers to the period before the Islamic Revolution and the fifth period includes Islamic Revolution till the year 1997:

The first period of parties (1906-1925): Political parties in Iran were formally activated in the second parliament. In this course, parties did their political activities in the board of parties’ factions outside and inside of parliament and created development mechanisms with all natural deficiencies. They not only manifested political and social participation and parliamentary elections competition, but also actually succeeded to affect on executives branch and country current affairs either directly or through the state legislature (Fouran, 1998). With the power of Reza Shah and restriction of freedom and establishment of his autocracy that ruined parties’ activities in different ways; Parties in Iran were infected with weakness, inactivity and finally collapsed.

The second period of parties(1941-1953).
A decade of the twentieth is very important among parties’ periods in Iran. Because this period coincides with the legislative period of the thirteenth to the seventeenth and due to the partial currents and specific conditions in the political-social atmosphere of the country; in fact, we are witnessing the emergence of the largest political parties in Iran. So that in terms of diversity, this course is not comparable to periods before and after (Modirshanehchi, 2000).

After 19 August 1953 coup, again the repressive, dictatorship and terror was created in the society. As a result, the parties’ activity was limited. Later, all parties were to stagnate or collapse. In this period, Shah did some political, economical and social proceedings and tried to reconstruct and modernize the country with appropriate methods of Western design patterns. In this regard, to limit and suppress and control people opposition to his authoritarian political system, he diverted the main responsibility of the parties and created state parties or puppet ones that were non-spontaneous and then served them in his autocracy (AkhavanKazemi, 1999). The fourth period of parties (from the year 1963 to Islamic revolution)

This is the peak period of government parties’ activity. Progressive Association which was established in 1339 was renamed to Iran Novin party in the fall of 1963. Iran Novin Party was the biggest and most enduring party of the majority. Iran Novin Party had majority position at the twenty periods of parliament and in the two subsequent. This party was dissolved following the establishment of “Rastakhiz party” in 1974 and merged in it and the so-called two-party system was replaced by a single monopoly party one. The fifth period of parties (after the Islamic revolution to the year 1997).

With Islamic Revolution and the collapse of Pahlavi Regime, the country was covered with huge political excitement and following the creation of social and political openness space, hundreds of the parties and groups started their activities in the country. That is why this period is called the boom activities’ period of various groups in the civil society. It was began from the victory of Islamic revolution and continued until the beginning of the war. After this period that was called “recess”; Political activities has subsided with the war beginning to accept UN Resolution 598, death of Ayatollah Khomeini and rise of the Rafsanjani government. So during the eight years of President Hashemi Rafsanjani, parties such as Executives of Construction began their activity. At this point 39 political groups were successful in obtaining a license from the Ministry of Interior.

**History of the press in Iran**

**Iran press be for the Islamic Revolution of Iran**

With the dawn of Constitution in 1906, newspapers and public journalism were promoted. Many newspapers published in Tehran and other cities and their number were added day by day (Ariyan pour 1995). The first National Legislative Assembly was formed in the shadow of these efforts. Constitution and Media Law had been approved by representatives as the first actions of the parliament on February 8 of the year 1907. (MotamedNejad2000).

Nevertheless, the press boom was ended. Mohammad Ali Shah’s strong opposition to the Constitution and freedom was led to coup him and closure of the National Assembly in the year 1326. Reza Khan 16-year reign is considered as the hardest and darkest period in the country’s press. With the rule of Reza Khan, the control on the press increased. After September 1941 and the beginning of Mohammad Reza Shah reign, a new era began for the national press. It was published again by releasing political prisoners and administrators and simultaneously free political atmosphere after the fall of the Shah. Iran press passed the hard times in 1949 winter. Shah’s assassination took place at Tehran University Law School on February 4. Because assassination agent named Naser Fakhr Arayee had reporter’s card of Islam Flag magazine photographer, it cause Shah to close this semi-open atmosphere of the press. Immediately some illegal parties arrested a number of journalists and more than 90 publications banned. (Qasemi, 2011) In an overall view, the time between Septembers in 1941 to 19 August 1953 can be considered as the comprehensive development of the press in Iran. Government agency planned books control and sensor from mid-1961. Having trained a team of qualified censor was one of the unavoidable necessities to organize the censorship of books and periodicals. Iran national TV was the first organization which began to train censor. Finally, following the establishment of the Rastakhiz party, a number of other newspapers and political parties’ activities were banned in 1974 and only a handful of newspapers like Kayhan, Etela’at were authorized to publish until the final years of the Pahlavi regime.

**The press after the Islamic Revolution of Iran**

The public arena reaches an unprecedented openness after revolution. Regarding to the fall of the provisional government and war beginning with Iraq, the number of newspapers and periodical publications was reduced to 62 ones in late spring 1981 (MotamedNejad, 1998).
Circulation of the press was decreased because of reductions in the number of newspapers and magazines. So that circulation of newspapers like Keyhan and Etela’at was reduced to a fifth or even less than that amount. Meanwhile, each one had over one million printing after revolution. The situation was the same with the press until the year 1990; so that new guidelines of culture ministry were presented. Therefore, these led to flourish newspapers and magazines and other periodical publications in Tehran and other Iranian cities. So the number of periodic publications rose to 550 in 1994 to 1992 (MotamedNejad1998).

In fact, although there was limited critical dialogue in the press, critics were pale and shallow and non-essential. The presence of free and independent media in the context of social activity was not significant (Sahfi2005).

Iran political parties (1997 to 2005)
Birth, growth, and competition of political parties in Iran were one of the main features of the political environment after the election on 23 May 1997. In this period, parties’ activities have been grown, NGOs promoted and new political organizations and parties such as Islamic partnership and Iran soliarity started their activity. After the arrival of Mr. Khatami, some adjustments have been made in opposing position against the system and political elites’ ideas and system could tolerate opponents based on these matters. Also, opponents found that they must stop subversive policies to survive their political life and to solve conflicts and tensions (Hersij, 2000).

That is why the numbers of parties reach to more than 500 ones in the period of Mr. Khatami presidency. Although all parties cannot be considered among the active ones, such growth shows the orientation of society toward the parties’ activities. According to the list of political parties and organizations on the website of the Interior Ministry, there are 226 parties of which the number 166 took their license in the years 1997 to 2005. That is the maximum number of licenses been issued in this time and it has been aligned with ruling political slog that is political development. Moreover, with regard to subsidies for parties the reform government causes to develop and sustain the parties. Since party is not yet institutionalized in the political culture, welcoming the parties is very low compared to other countries. That is why it is hard to recruit members for parties in Iran. And the problem is that founders want to pay financial costs through the membership fees. Establishment of house of parties was one of the actions that have been done by president Khatami to promote and institutionalize the parties in the country. This institution was formed with the ministry of interior support as a non-governmental union to regulate parties’ activities and to organize political institutions (Kahalzadeh, 2011).

The house of parties benefited appropriate attention and position at the civil and power level in this period. For instance, reform government president provided essential requirements for this house by supporting it and deploying budget and executive facilities. A kind of devotion to the parties can be seen in the reformers period regarding to accomplished actions. It is important to know that reforms government arose from the parties’ coalition that had been started their activities after “recess” period and it provided a context for promoting civil institutions. Reformers’ activities in the sixth parliamentary elections have to be considered too. This approach cause many experts to speak about public luck toward parties and their programs.

Iran political parties (2005-2013)
The year 2005 coincided with the victory of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the presidential election. He was a president who denies his affiliation to any political party and spoke repeatedly of rejection of political activity. He said: “The ninth government does not belong to any party except the God and people. Satisfaction of God and the people are important for the government.”

Mahmod Ahmadinejadand his government disagreed with this approach as the previous government insisted on the need to develop civic and political institutions. Regard to the tenth presidency disputed election and formation of high security space in the country, relation of parties and political system changed. So, one the most important affairs of reformer government to promote the parties that was house of parties, have been suspended in the period of Ahmadinejad presidency (Kahalzadeh, 2011).

Interior ministry approach of the tenth and ninth governments is obvious in issuing the license for the parties. That is why only 28 parties could get license in these periods. This number is less than the ones before Hashemi government. There are 266 parties which 166 parties during Khatami presidency and 32 other parties before there form government were able to get a license. According to the tenth presidential election that led to tension in the country, some important parties were suspended or liquidated during the eight-year presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Islamic Participation Front and Mojahed in of Islamic Revolution as the two leading reformist parties were dissolved after the presidential election process because of Article 10 of commission complaint and Judiciary vote. Many leaders and prominent members of these two parties have still remained in jail. The Commission also seized Assembly of Qom Seminary Teachers and Researchers and Graduates of Islamic Iran Organization and
approved their dissolution request and sent them to judicial for issuing final vote. National Trust is another reformist party which has not been dissolved after election of 2009 but it has been closed since then. That is why five parties and organizations were more active than the other parties were removed after election. Given that there are 226 political parties on the list, only 10 percentages of the organizations are active. Dissolution or suspension of the four main reformist parties stroke institutionalization of political parties in the country. Subsidies of parties were another controversial issue that was considered during then in the and tenth governments. Subsidizing parties began during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami but a year after Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's rise to power was cut. It causes reformists and conservatives to react against this fact. Secretary-General of Islamic Motalefe party that is the longest conservative party wanted parliament to approve subsidies of parties even if that was not enough for political activity in its open session to protest government action. Ahmadinejad has announced that: “The government has no obligation to parties; I also did not give a penny to the parties until the end. He said: “Groups and parties are respected, but they do not have the right to interfere in the affairs of the country.

However, political parties are formed with the aim of controlling the actions of governments and political power everywhere in the world. So, we can understand the president view about anti-party approach. Ahmadinejad believes that, "Iran has apathy, and it is supreme leadership. These words included many reactions. So if we consider reaction of ther reformers naturally, we will reach pro-government conservative reaction. For example, Hossein Kanani Moghaddam, the spokesperson of Hezbollah, has rejected these speeches and said that parties' presentation and their influence in shaping the state is the main attribute of democracy and republicanism. Parties' negation is negation of the constitution. It is also contrary to the policy of Imam. Another objection of the government is the failure to enforce the laws passed by parliament. One of the MPs said, "We have problem with law enforcement not the laws. It means we have good laws but no body run them correctly. In six parliaments, we investigated the parties' law. This new law is good however, law enforcement is important. The government should not deny the existence of political parties because the yare made up of elites. It is a long time that parties have been prevented. They are not allowed to work or hold congress. There are some criticisms about the adoption of new amendments and lacks of survey of representations are the major criticism. According to the parliament internal affairs and the head of councils, Regular meetings have been held with Parliament Research Center, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Interior and also Qom Seminary. With regard to Qom Seminary as institution symbol in the country, it is considered that political sociologists have always contributed to the non-establishment of parties and have reduced their efficiency indirectly (Akhavan Kazemi, 2006).

**Iranian press during the reforms period**

A new era began in the growth and development process of the press after the seven the presidency election in 1997. In this period, a new discourse was formed in political history of the country specifically after Islamic revolution. And the press played an important role in it. The press could develop and train reasonable and principled political speeches on various social and political issues. It could stimulate the community and specify social and legal positions for people and could force the government to response and prepare appropriate backgrounds for ideas conflicts and also could present innovation (Jafari, 2004).

Numbers of issuing and Publication License applicants are among the development evaluation criteria of the press. According to statistics, license issuing has experienced a growing trend since 1997. This index has had ascending trend from the beginning of the seventies decade till the end of presidency period. You can see how this index travels the path in the following curve.
The ascending trend of issued licenses shows the quantitative development of this variable during Khatami’s presidency.

The press circulation is one another quantitative indices of the press development. Before 1997, the number of publications reached to one million copies hardly. This number grew dramatically after 1997 and got about three times (Jafari, 2004). And promote press capita in the country. In addition to the above statistics, Mashallah Shamsolvaez in, a journalist and president of the Association for the Defense of Freedom of the Press announced that press daily circulation reached about 3.8 million copies during the reforms government which shows a significant increase compared to previous periods.

Press seizing caused its development in Iran. Prior to the reform, due to the low number of publications and low impact of them, Press banning in Iran were not obvious. But for the first time in 2000, press banning became headlines of the news around the world. Thus the judiciary seized 25 dependent and independent newspapers and within two months, the number reached to one hundred publications. Many journalists were jailed on charges of acting against national security.

The statistics showed the challenges of the press in the early 2001s. Mohsenian said that: These conflicts are “debate between two ideologies”. Association of Iranian Journalists Foundation is one of the cases which have been done in the reforms period. It is obvious that press development succeeded with the support and cooperation of media formations. This guild was founded in 1997 and later had activity as the largest and the most comprehensive news organizations in the country. In addition to the above, the allocation of financial assistance in support of the press has taken place during this period. Anticipated funding of the budget law to help the press, has been89 billion Rials in 2004. It is so minimal against a budget of 164.5 million Euros to help the French press in 2004. If the exchange rate of EUR and Rials is considered 11.580 (updated 02.02.2005) then:

\[ 164,500,000.904,910,000,000 \times 11,580 = \text{Rials} \]

We find that a country like France, while having a strong press, has spent 214% more than our country in 83 years.

**Iranian press in the years 2005 to 2013**

With the arrival of Ahmadinejad, the unity between the executive and the judiciary and the legislature increased. The task of dealing with the press was put in charge of the executive branch. At this time, once again, the closures of publications, journalist’s migration to abroad, and journalists’ job change began among second generation of revolution. The press circulation met with sharp decline. In the ranking of countries with a free press, Iran was placed in a very difficult situation.

In this period, license issuing has been grown. Regard to the press general manager and local news in August 2012, Iran has high statistic with 5086 media license and 3267 publishing magazine. But in terms of circulation per capita is far from the ideal situation. We must have seven million newspaper circulations per a day. While the actual numbers barely reach more than two million copies daily.

As you can see, although the numbers of issuance and publication have developed; however, we saw a decline in newspaper circulation. It shows the lack of interest toward the press in the society. The reasons were problems such as development of virtual news and widespread political distrust. For example, dealing with journalists and newspapers banning is one of the major factors in the mistrust spread. According to the reports of Iranian journalists association, 36 publications have been banned by the order of executive branch (Press Supervisory Board) in the year 2007 (2007AH.S) And the first six months of 2008 (2008AH.S) and none of them were referred to court.

The press capita reduced after the press circulation reduction. One communications professor from Allameh Tabatabai University said that: “The press daily capita in our country is less than 30 copies per thousand people”. The press closure rate is the next index considered to evaluate the press in this period. Press banning that had been entered into a new phase in the history of the press from 2000 continued in these years. So that according to human rights organizations statistics, 27 publications in 2006 and 77 ones (24 publications and 53 students journals) were banned in 2008 (Writers Association Site and the International Committee to Save the Iranian site).

In addition, after the controversial elections in 2009, the number of 450 Iranian journalists who were protesters to the election left Iran and went to Western countries (BBC, May 2011) keeping this in mind; we can find why newspaper circulation has been declined after 1997. The Association of Journalists also has not immune from the pressures in these years. This comprehensive convention was sealed with Tehran Prosecutor sentence in 2009. The Board of Directors has declared that the association of Iranian journalists cannot work until further notice, (Wikipedia) But donation to the press has continued in this course. The difference was that the paper media subsidy removed from 2007 and since then, the subsidy has been paid to publications in cash. According to the press secretary of the Ministry of Culture, $600 million subsidies have been for the press in 2012. It had been amounted to 400 billion Rials in previous years and about 20% is added to that amount by 2011.
Since inflation has been rising in Iran in the recent years, we cannot estimate increasing or decreasing rates of subsidies based on Rials. So, again we compare the amount of subsidies paid by the government and France financial assistance to the press in 2004 that has been amounted to164.5million Euros. If Euro is been equal to 47,200 Rials (03/10/2013), then:
164,500,000 × 47200 = 7,764,400,000,000 Rials

As it is obvious, Press subsidy amount is still very small in comparison with the financial support of the French government. It is important to note that, although the amount of financial assistance to the press reaches from 89 billion of reforms period to 600 billion Rials of current time; however, we find that this amount is pretty worthless compared to previous years in France. In fact the press subsidy of reform era is more than four times of the current subsidies. It is essential to present a curve of Iran situation in reporters’ organization ranking at the end of this section to reach better conclusion. According to the annual report by Reporters without Borders prepared each year; Iran won the position 172 of 174 in 2009 and Turkmenistan, North Korea and Eritrea are the countries which placed after Iran. Also regard to the 2011-2012 annual report of this organization Iran has passed a worse situation. So, Iran’s rank is 175 and is prior to Syria and China as the world’s worst countries in terms of press freedom. You can see trends of press freedom in the following curve.

![Iran press freedom curve from reporters without boundary view.](image)

According to the latest reports of the organization, Iran is the third country that violated free speech in terms of press freedom index.

**The impact of globalization on Iran political culture changing**

Structural changes in the population growth, urbanization, the urban middle class formation, literacy spread were associated with a kind of intellectual development after 1961. And led to create new civic ideas and concepts, grow political and participatory demands and change the political climate or introduce political space. (SardarAbadi, 2001)

Necessary social structures were provided by economic developments for objectification of participatory teaching in civic culture during Reconstruction period. In this period, the number of publications and the number of students gradually increased and public education was emphasized. At the beginning of the process of globalization that cause to expand public awareness towards political matters; fairly substantial changes appeared in the general attitude of the people, especially the educated classes. Emphasis on democracy, rule of law, and practice of the law, political participation development and fundamental freedoms in the political discourse that emerged after the May Second are among the signs of change (Sardarabadi, 2002).

These structural changes along the growth of globalization indices, made essential the need to interface with the international community which ultimately led to the transformation of political culture. At this time, the political culture of Iran went toward an active and participatory one. ArmanZareie investigates about the impact of globalization on Iran political culture and four formations of Combatant Clergy Society, Association of Combatant Clergymen, Mojahed in of the Islamic Revolution and OCU. He concluded that until the beginning of 1991, political elite tended to ward the implications such as emphasizing the pillars of the Islamic Republic regime, social justice and protecting the weak, opposition to capitalism, liberalism, and imperialism and requested politics that was
comply with such trends. From themed 1991, statements and declarations of these groups showed a turn in the political attitudes and orientations of its members. Thus, unlike the first round that Iranian elites organized their attitudes and orientations on the basis of the passage of an Islamic leftist attitude, this time they organize their attitudes based on a democratic one. It began with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decline of left is attitude and a new wave of globalization. They directed their attitudes toward freedom, pluralism, opposition to tyranny and totalitarianism, emphasizing on republican system and popular sovereignty, public participation, civil society, policy development, human rights and democracy. All of the above mentioned concepts are among the requirements of democracy. One of the causes which led to this relative change is the phenomenon of globalization and its processes and affects on political culture and Iranian political elite orientations by broad-based democratic attitudes in the world (Zareie, 2009).

In this period, the tendency to accept the legitimacy of the political system and its components has increased compared to previous periods. Emphasis on the rule of law, civil rights, government account ability and political institutions, and... was effective in changing the political discourse. The se implications became major political values of this period. So new social concepts and political values such as freedom, rule of law, meritocracy, criticism, tolerance, civil rights, political participation, the rule of man and democracy, civil liberties, political development and social security emerged in the political culture of Iran after the Khordad 2th (SardarAbadi, 2001). Thus, we are witnessing the emergence of a pattern of horizontal participation in politics that has been replaced with vertical populist participation in the first and second decade of revolution (SardarAbdai, 2001). General indicators of globalization grew by new wave of this phenomenon in Iran and caused political culture conversion. Finally with the election of Mohammad Khatami as president in 1997; discourses of democracy that has alway s existed as a discourse of resistance became the dominant discourse in society. This debate domination has continued until 2005 in Iran. By globalization, foundations of traditional and ideological discourses undermined. Notions such as freedom, civil society and political participation was replaced the traditional authority basis.

So that changes that was seen in the traditional groups such clergymen and modern groups such as academics, intellectual clergymen during the elections in1997 were another sign of political culture transformation. Democratic values have a superior position among new groups (ShahramNia, 2006).

These changes caused the traditional society to react. So that during the dominance of the discourse of democracy in Iran, the values presented in this discussion were opposed in different ways. Finally, by end the dominance of the reformist discourse of “value-oriented”, that is rooted in traditional discourse and ideology were established decades after the advent of the Islamic Revolution in 2005. In fact, “value-oriented” discourse was the product of the contrast of traditional groups’ values with the universal values of globalization. While the discourse of democracy emphasizing on the modernity and freedom, this new emerging discourse emphasizing on justice and tradition. If the discourse of democracy in Iran was a direct product of political globalization, the value oriented discourse should be an indirect product of the globalization and particularism was propounded by negative looking at the universal values of globalization. Principles and religious beliefs, fundamental principles of the constitution and the political identity of Iran are of the main factors that fueled the particularism in the political culture of Iran in the process of globalization. And it causes many restrictions on the acceptance of the political aspects of globalization. Universal attitude has been occurred by globalization process rather than cultural issues. However, a particular situation occurred due to the reasons mentioned in the political culture and has led to redefine political issues.

To understand the value oriented discourse, it is better to consider Ahmadinejad’s position in relation to globalization has been published in the official state newspaper (Gazette). According to this writing, Doctor MahmoudAhmadinejad as the face of the university announced that he does not believe the assimilation and integration in to the globalization process. He explicitly stated that “modern globalization impose culture, literature, and a special life on all nations. In fact, it ensures the continued dominated regime in the world and maintains the gap between the rich and poor countries. Globalization means removing the last cultural barriers of the nations against dominated regime. First economic development plan were not enough then they developed the political plans. That is the dominated regimes of the countries must follow an imported pattern. And today, they follow cultural development. That is cultural barriers, traditions barriers and standards and national identity against foreign domination wave should be removed to have the Omnipotent. As it is obvious, Value-oriented discourse, considers globalization as a Western project and not as a process in which the "domination system" has been set up. It is looking to spoil the rest of the world. Doctor Azqandi writes about Ahmadinejad: “He interests in serious fulfillment of fundamentalism in domestic politics and seeks to exterminate the existing global regulate through the revolution. He is an ideologically oriented person who has a strong belief in the ideas of the founder of the Islamic Republic and a nostalgic-oriented one that emphasizes on the Islamic Golden Age with an aggressive spirit. Clearly such characteristics are not analog with participatory political culture and only led to institutionalize consequential
culture. As can be seen, Iran political culture which could direct itself toward participatory political culture and democracy after many years, once again was deviated by the emergence of value oriented discourse.

The impact of globalization on Iran civil society (in two requested periods)

In the period sex a mined in this study, a total of 16 years, there are two 8-year periods that are essentially different from each other. The first 8 years includes the seven the presidential election in 1997 to the ninth presidential election in 2005. In this period, the dominant discourse of democracy that is influenced by democratic culture has been developed because of the effects of globalization. Globalization development causes some Iranian groups to direct their attitudes and orientations toward matters matching with democracy, freedom, public participation, civil society, political development and human rights. These groups have won the seven the presidential election in 1997. By the election of Mohammad Khatami as president in this period, the situation of the parties and the press were changed in the country. Parties and the press grew in this period. Khatami's political slogan that was based on the development of political and civil society, led to develop political parties and press. The opponents of globalization strengthen themselves and criticized globalization advocates after this period. They attributed the causes of the problems to the reformists. And finally they won the majority in the ninth presidential election. Ahmadinejad recovered the ideological and traditional discourse in the society by proposing value oriented discourse. Ahmadinejad explicitly rejected political development toward democracy. During is reign, all the actions that took place prior to the consolidation of political parties and the press began to reverse. He repeatedly rejected the plurality of parties and said as there is only one party in the country and it is also the leadership (Velayat-e-faqih) party, started to criticize the parties and banned them interfering in the affairs of state and government. Ahmadinejad cut subsidies of the parties to prove his words. License issuance for the parties faced some problems in this period. The number of parties which could take the license was less than reforms period. Besides, the biggest and the most effective reformist parties were dissolve. The press which had experienced a period of growth in the reformers government, was faced some problems during this period. Opposition toward the press that had been started from the late 1991, intensified. Subsequently, circulation of the press which was approached to 4 million for the first time after many years was reduced by 2 million. Oppositions against journalists and successive press seizing had been existing difficulties of the press in recent years. These oppositions were to the extent that more than 450 journalists could not resist and forced to leave the country after the tenth presidential election by 2009. Other ones which are in the country are not capable of continuing their activity for many economical problems. While the government should be supporting these publications, hum that want to cut the subsidies and provided many concerns for them. Although the press subsidies were not cut, however the low amount of subsidies against rising amount of inflation was led to close or reduce their activities.

CONCLUSION

Having arrived globalization, its public values such as freedom, civil society, democracy and human rights were developed in Iran. So that political groups attitudes matching with globalization public values, changed in the middle 1991s. So the group which was advocate of the mentioned values could win in the seventh presidential election and dominate democracy discourse in Iran. This group could also introduce political development as its goal and recover civil society in its possible extent that it had. The press and the political parties could reach to desirable growth in democracy discourse period that was unprecedented in the history of Islamic revolution. This period is the only one during Iran modern history that has had both the press and the parties’ growth along with government stabilization and dominance. These two institutions have ever had a reverse procedure in relation to government. After this period, the traditional groups that saw foundations of their authority shaken due to the globalization public value redefined the traditional-ideological discourse. So, value oriented discourse emerged by Ahmadinejad leadership. Like ideological discourse, it is in contrast with many globalization values. For these reasons, political parties and press as civil society institutions, not only not supported but they faced enormous obstacles. Therefore, during the rule of the group, once again, Iran was diverted from the road to democracy. And democratic values advocates also suffered from many disasters. In general it can be stated that walk along the global values path has brought smoother procedure for development of civil society in the process of globalization. In contrast, resistance and conflict with these values, not only drawn the civil society, but also it is much more difficult to achieve democracy and popular sovereignty. However, civil society has relatively well-developed since the first 8 years of the study and it has concrete implications for Iran. Today, after eight years of opponents’ domination of globalization, Iranian people have elected a person as their president with favorably idea toward global values and calling back to the period of development of these values.
REFERENCES

Ahmadvand Sh. 2006. Globalization and cultural diversity, Politic and Rights study, 20, 98-75