

Obstacles to localizing and institutionalizing Politics

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Abstract: Politics as a new science and an academic and methodical discipline in Iran is not more than 100 years old. There is a gap between politics and political society in Iran and these two are not linked together. In other words, politics in Iran is not the one which is associated with social framework and political system of Iran. In this circumstance, politics is faced with some problems and obstacles and won't get the necessary conditions or space to grow and develop. Moreover, politics won't move ahead, but in many ways will get a retrograde step. Finding a solution to this problem is only possible by the identification and clarification of the existing barriers and by critical evaluation of its status and solutions. This article is aimed to explain some existing barriers to the formation and development of politics in Iran, and to achieve this goal it will refer to Bikoparkh's approach in expressing the identity and the whys of institutionalized politics in some societies, and its lack of formation in the others.

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1. Introduction

Politics is a very complicated and ambiguous concept in the field of humanities and has always been noticed in the history of human thought. In classifying sciences into theoretical and applied, Aristotle places politics in applied sciences beside ethics and home counseling. In consistency with Greek classical thought and in modern and contemporary discourses and why of this concept has always been a controversial issue in the philosophy of West. Like other modern sciences specially the humanities, this science has not been productive, efficient, and effective, and is still unproductive, In Iran due to different reasons such as lack of coordination with power structure, lack of political research tradition, and not being native. Although in Iranian-Islamic tradition, from Iranshahri thoughts to those of Islamic philosophers, Politics has been noticed and emphasized besides other concepts, this article is aimed to investigate and study this concept as an independent subject and within an intellectual framework, separate and independent from tradition. This matter can be studied from different points of view and with regard to different approaches, thus this article tries to investigate the reasons of the lack of formation of politics as a modern science in non-western civilizations (Iran) and based on BikoParch approach in its explanation. In other words, why, unlike developed countries, in some other countries (like Iran), this science has not been institutionalized, and has been unable to appear as a dominant discourse to affect the current condition.

1.1. Biko Parch's approach to political science

When Hobbes founded modern political science by writing his classical book, he mentioned the main objective of this knowledge as the establishment of civil peace and the citizens' comfort. Although during the past four centuries after his claim, western societies have experienced lots of political abnormalities, it could be surely said that political knowledge in institutionalized societies, raised certain questions, which became the origin of the formation of some new rules and regulations which itself made a perfect form of social life. However, political knowledge was unable to be institutionalized in all civilizations, to raise certain questions, and to form a perfect way of social life. There are different approaches in relation to the reason of this politics lack of institutionalization in various civilizations including Biko Parch approach. Biko Parch began its work in political philosophy with a fundamental and historical question which was why political philosophy develops in some civilizations but does not in the others and constantly declines there. He views the western tradition of political philosophy with a philosophical look and basically looks at political philosophy from a philosophical perspective (Lane, Ruth (1996)). Political philosophy is one of the most ancient kinds of probes dealing with major issues of social life. Parch believes that although political philosophy has emerged in critical circumstances, crisis is not necessarily its condition. There are many cases in which no certain political philosophy has emerged in critical situation; on the other hand, in some circumstances, political philosophy has flourished without any crisis or conflict. Parch himself referred to some conditions which he thought were necessary

for political philosophy and discussed them with reference to the history experiences (Stoner, J. R. 2008). First: There must exist politics, the main subject of political philosophy, in a clear way which is easily recognized so that politics raises its own questions to draw attentions and theoretical knowledge towards itself and to care about a systematic philosophical research about it. Second, society must have developed political research more than political knowledge as a systematic discipline. Political sciences can be realized when the issues which are raised in the natural trend of political life are changed into philosophical form and are introduced again as philosophical issues. Third: There must be a connection between political life and philosophical research; political philosophy is raised only when politics and philosophy are interrelated, i.e. when the issues and problems of political life require philosophical research and when philosophy is interested in them and is capable of dealing with them. Fourth, having the atmosphere of tolerance and freedom of intellectual exchanges. A political scientist cannot tell in advance what results his studies will produce for political life. They might be willing to criticize or even to overturn the established order, and raise some questions about the dominant beliefs and behaviors, anyway. Parch distinguishes what a political philosopher does from what the political philosophy does. "A political philosopher might do historical or sociological research and so on, to realize his philosophical goals, but the fact that political philosophers are conducting these various researches, doesn't make all these researches necessarily philosophical." (Hampton, Jean (1997)). Philosophy is ultimately formed by means of certain inferences drawn from the nature of politics and philosophy and their relationship. New inferences from philosophy and also developments in political, economical, social areas and so on, have generated new methods of relationship between politics and philosophy which a political philosopher couldn't ignore; but none of those mentioned challenges which were, in some way, in favor of separation of radical and traditional political philosophy, were able to disrupt the continuity of that tradition. According to Barends, Ingo, ed. (2004), a political philosopher is not abstracted or floated in a historical vacuum, but is an individual existing in surrounded place and time. Human mind is a complex whole in which the intellect, lusts and desires are all intertwined. Hence, it can not be divided into separate parts, so that each part is able to do its tasks by itself separate from other components. Thinking is not a process not solely related to the brain and mind, but it is quite a human existence. It is not the mind or the wisdom, but the human existence which thinks, meditates, and

gives reasons. Social assumptions or social affairs are the means of recognizing philosophers from their under-study assumptions. A political philosopher is not a single and transcendental entity which is never contingent due to his social existence. A political philosopher cannot claim credit and life for something which is inherently limited to time and pace (Blattberg, Charles. 2009). Therefore, political philosophy is not a single unlimited matter and free from sociable and historical man. Concepts such as freedom, equality, justice, community, patriotism, loyalty, commitment, authority, power and responsibility are all defined in different forms in various societies and cultures and there will be a relationship between them. Certainly, no political philosopher is able to escape from his society entirely. The society of a philosopher constantly affects his knowledge and makes the reference point of his studies (Angell, Alan et al. 2001). Barends, Ingo, ed. (2004), with reference to intellectual and critical properties of Western political philosophy, refers to the challenges which lie in front of it: 1. the effect of hidden assumptions on thought through the life conditions and experiences. 2. Tendency towards public rights in spite of existing variety in the real world and cultural differences. 3. Subject reticulum property dominating Western thought since 16 C and contemporary challenges in front of it. 4. The current situation that globalization process has made for political questions (Thompson. Cf. John B. 1984). After a brief explanation of Parch approach, the application and use of the conditions of assumed political knowledge will be elaborately explained in his model.

1.1.1. There must exist politics, Philosophy major subject, for society in a fairly clear form to be easily recognized.

Politics has been one of the Greeks' innovations. Tight relationship between politics and philosophy was formed in Greece. Politics cannot be formed in a legendary cultural community, as a vast area of myth, religion and philosophy, that is, intellectual thought uncommitted to religions and myths. The collapse of Mocrnai system in Greece provided the necessary conditions for the formation of politics; in other words, it was in this era that Polis (Polis) was developed as political reunion of free and equal people, and or the concept of city and citizenship and rational thought was formed (John C. Bock. 1991). Rational thought, which in turn created political system and rational governmental pattern, was primarily raised on the clear issues of government and cities. This means that government and cities which were moving from a national mythical world to a philosophical world, raised clear

and non-mythical issues and this new generated atmosphere became the basis and foundation of political questions which in turn draw the political looks towards itself. But in the system previous to government-city, that the issues were hidden in the ambiguity of myths, they couldn't draw theoretical – political attentions towards themselves; Therefore, a society which is still surrounded by an aureole of myths and ideology, and political transparency and political issues are delayed and not expressed explicitly in it, cannot draw political looks towards itself in its exact scientific and philosophical meaning and cannot develop rational political models. Considering this explanation, Iranian society, as well, was not capable of raising political issues clearly in occurrence of political events in its past history, mainly due to the lack formation of political atmosphere and rational thoughts, and because of dominant ideological thoughts. Therefore, political sciences cannot achieve their clear and recognizable political goals in the context of such a society which is dealing with not only the problems of traditional structure, as mentioned above, but also the problems of premature modernity. About the disadvantages of premature modernity in formation of opaque and ambiguous political issues, we can refer to a situation which is called cultural schizophrenia by Kain, Philip J. (1993). He believes that such situation in traditional countries is due to the fact that the authors of these countries are placed between two paradigms or between two classifications of knowledge. They have separated from tradition or in better sense, are in ignorance towards tradition without the ability to be bond with the idea of modernity (Kain, Philip J. (1993)). So, as mentioned in introduction, theories are the reflection of future “issues” they deal with, and their accuracy and scientific validity depend largely on the matters' and issues' being clear, recognizable, and unambiguous which are studied by them. Objectivity and clarity of the subjects in the area of technical and natural sciences, is the origin of their scientific validity and strength. What makes the studied subjects in humanities valid and objective is their clarity and recognition in a non –ideological atmosphere. Political issues and ideology are closely intertwined in countries that are politically underdeveloped countries. This intertwining of political issues, which is the subject of politics, and ideology, will cease their objectivity and clarity. Lack of clarity and objectivity of political issues in general and particularly in underdeveloped countries have caused the field of politics to vanish and political theories not to develop; therefore, since there is a gap between the realities of Iranian political life and the superficial and strict contents of politics, it could be said that politics is faced with a critical

condition in Iran because it doesn't respond to social realities. Crisis appears whenever a science or a phenomenon cannot perform its particular tasks. Therefore, since there is a gap between politics and political issues of Iran, and they are not intertwined, it could be said that politics is in a critical situation. So, the authors approach, which states that the formation and power of politics depends on clarity and excellence of political issues in the universality of political and social tradition, indicates that the weakness of political science in countries like Iran, is due to the lack of clarity and the declining level of political issues (Leonard Shihlien, Hsü. (2005)).

2.1.1. Society must develop the tradition of political research earlier than political science as a systematic discipline.

Political research and analysis is a feedback which can and should review the functioning of the political system of society and realistically and clearly show the dynamic field of politics in society. Thus, by research and analysis of political and social issues, it is meant that each scholar or researcher, regardless of their dignity, political, social and cultural status and power, must be permitted to say and write whatever he thinks of and evaluates without any concern or fear of improper or violated reactions by the government or any official or unofficial groups. Moreover, there are various problems in terms of political and social research in Iran, including the followings: first: lack of research in Iranian society is due to not paying attention to cognition and methodology in various branches of humanities, and theorizing and theoretical analysis have a few fans among scholars and researchers (Castiglioni Dario and Iain Hampsher-Monk.2001). Second, executives who are often educated in modern sciences, think that they don't need any help in fairly any affairs, and consultation and team work is very weak and rare in management and ruling the country. Third, there isn't a clear comprehension of the method and the significance of social, political, and economic research among the political and economic elites and ordinary people. In a community with such rich cultural values and respects for spiritual beliefs, emphasizing or relying on objective methods of temporary world is not very attractive and there is little respect for social researching. Relying on the approach and methodology is one of the most remarkable features of modern science. Since traditional knowledge and cognition in Iran is still greatly respected, the principles of modern thinking and their related methods cannot develop there. However, one of the major faults of politics in Iran is its foreign, non-native nature (Andrew, stark). Considering the time and the age of political research

history, it should be said that the school of political sciences was established in Iran 100 years ago and politics entered Iran since that time. The quality and quantity of this period of time in forming and influencing political research in Iran can be divided into four periods: 1. Since the establishment of the school of political sciences to the establishment of Tehran University; 2. From the establishment of Tehran University to 1961; 3. From 1960s to the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the beginning of cultural revolution; 4. From the reopening of universities after cultural revolution to the present. Studying the CV of politics scholars in these periods of time and the development of this science, specially the events and occurrences at universities after the Islamic revolution of Iran and cultural revolution, is very appropriate and necessary for evaluation the current status and future trends. Studies have been done in this field which are worthy of appreciation, but not enough at all. With the evolution of teaching humanities, some measures were taken to develop research activities in political science, but it seems that teaching politics is preferred to doing research about it (Browne, Ken. (1992)). In addition, it's necessary to be noted that politics problems in Iran, in many cases, are not just specific to politics itself. ; In a broader look, most branches of social sciences are in similar conditions (Bilton, Tony et al. (1987)). Political science, in true sense of this term, must be a science which is developed through applying the most recent knowledge of man at present and based on the recognition of political and economic features of Iranian society and must guide political deeds. Hence, according to Larry Diamond, the role of political science in the world is to face with these challenges and to change its priorities and curriculum trends. He believes that political science is responsible for understanding and recognizing issues and phenomena and trying to find answers and solutions for them (Stark, 2002: 5). One of the criticisms of political science faculties and political scientists in Iran is the decrease of their role in daily life particularly in the culture of Iranian citizenship. This role is played by the media and the press and researches and studies that might be able to inform people, without any academic analysis which might be incomprehensible to ordinary people. Given the importance of this issue it can be said that most of politics scientists, in countries like Iran are not popular thinkers (Diamond, 2001). And the role of professors and researchers of politics in terms of public culture has faded into insignificance. In this regard, it can be referred to Jonathan Cohen's opinion that believes the reason why politics

scientist, especially in certain countries mentioned above, weren't able to become popular thinkers and scholars lies in the methods and approaches they have applied in their studies and in the fact that they have drowned in obscure theoretical aspects which are difficult for ordinary readers to comprehend and which ruin their values and benefits for the readers and even for the politicians themselves. As a result, political science currently offers products which, at least in appearance, have few applications in the real world of politicians, bureaucrats and citizens and other unions of Iranian political society. If it is possible to compare the role of politics scientists in public culture of citizens with the role of sociologists and economists, it can be said that the latter group's activities are more than those of politics scientists. Specially those who have just theoretical and academic tendencies have confined themselves to political science faculties and have separated from others. Unlike professors of social sciences, economy, and psychology, professors of political sciences write fewer materials for public audiences and ordinary people (Rutner, Maryam.2010). Of course this issue has not been ignored by many professors of political sciences and has been referred to several times. Rutner, Maryam 2010 believes that we don't know in what social relations in Iran, politics is formed and how the action and reaction between people and the power of government is. Politics competence in Iran is not scientific since neither is the subject of politics clear nor we can do anything to understand that subject. Those political sciences in real sense are still in early stages in Iran and have a long way ahead to maturity and productivity. Achieving this goal not only requires scientific premises and equipments, but also the conflict of ideas and opinions and a patient spirit and tolerance of beliefs and ideas opposite to conventions.

3.1.1. Relationship between political life and philosophical inquiry

The relationship between objectivity and subjectivity is one of the major relationships in the field of political philosophy, especially in modern thoughts, but subjectivity is formed in various ways in discourses of political thoughts. What is emphasized in this article in terms of the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity or between philosophy or political life is that crisis is the origin of dynamic philosophy and political thought; As Gheissari Ali. States, at first step a philosopher is faced with political crisis in society and if this crisis actually owns the required political capacities, it will draw the philosophy looks towards itself. In other words, crisis must be the origin of philosophy

formation, which is not, in fact, one way; philosophy capacities also must be such that they can attend the whys and wherefores of critical issues and raise their serious questions about the whys of those issues. (Gheissari Ali.2009). Establishing such serious relationship between philosopher's subjectivity and political issues will remove any suspicion and will substitute knowledge for it. It is in such relationships that philosophy can be directed towards the perfection of society, and political crisis can be the origin of the formation of questions and thoughts in philosopher's mind. Common forms of political life and philosophical research must face each other and be able to communicate with each other. A community might have well- organized political life and rich philosophical traditions but these two might be separate from each other. In this case, if political life moves easily and doesn't raise major issues so that the philosophers will have to think carefully about them and try to solve them, then the political philosophy will not be formed. Gheissari Ali. Believes that developed countries will make a logical and rational coalition between political thought and deed which has a significant role in the growth and development of science. If the capacity and capability of current political issues is mundane, it can't appeal to the philosopher, and if the crisis is a serious problem, it will attract the serious attention of philosophical and scientific policy to itself and provides the background and the context of requirement for scientific and philosophical approach to policy. The more complicated and the more serious is the identity of political issues , the more complicated the structure of a philosopher's mind will be and an organized philosophical system will be formed; but if political issues in society have a mundane status , it will descend philosophy to the same position. The relationship between political life and philosophical research, is a dialectic one and with internal connection. Many of the recent political researches, have just raised one of these subjects and think of the others as the effect and the result of it. In this regard, Gheissari Ali.2009 knows the intellectual and philosophical decline as the origin of political decline, from which the superiority of political thought and science to political structure can be concluded therefore, it could be said that one reason for the lack of political discourse in Iran is the nature and capability of political issues and crises. Crises which happen in a trivial and altered level and political performers in these crises will also alter, as required and under ideological atmosphere and vague and opaque political traditions. As a result, political thought which has a dialectic relationship with these crises, can't be away from this alteration, and this is

one reason of lack of formation of political sciences as the dominant political discourse in Iran.

4.1. Atmosphere of tolerance and freedom of intellectual exchanges

Politics life depends on its critical attitude and this is the only way it can play and effective and reformist role in society. However, the lack of open political atmosphere has made politics follow the government; moreover, the culture of Iranian society and the modernity of university graduates has separated politics and government from society. It must be said that policy in Iran, both domestic and foreign, is not basically scientific. It means the neglect of political sciences and the uselessness of their researches. There is a wide gap between politicians and political pundits, in terms of their world-view, attitudes, goals and intellectual principles. Today, the attitude of political elites in Iran is a philosophical one and based on non-interpretive hypotheses which are not affected by the scientific findings at all. Therefore politics researches cannot actually offer a solution to politicians since they ignore such solutions. At first and at the beginning of its development in Iran in 1898 (solar year) and with the establishment of the school of political sciences, politics was following a certain practical goal. School founders intended to teach the common knowledge of that time in the fields of policy, economy and law. They tried to make the students familiar with international events and development and to train knowledgeable and efficient workforce to be employed in the ministry of foreign affairs. Thus, this school was formally a section of Foreign affairs ministry until 1926, and the contents of its courses were mostly about foreign policy, teaching modern diplomacy, and international law. Then the school of political sciences gradually became the center of liberal thoughts and its teachers and students were later famous constitutionalists and played major roles in the development of this period. This matter indicates that the school, within a natural trend, was involved in political and social life of that time and provided the background for reflection on domestic policy affairs, but it didn't last a long time and was stopped by the 1299 coup and Rezakhan's coming to power (Gheissari Ali.2009). Along with this change, and with emphasis on knowledge and power relations, Pahlavi dynasty was a continuation of the same authoritative and patrimony system with authoritarian and despotic nature which was simultaneous with the formation of political sciences in Iran. In such conditions, political sciences didn't have a chance to find any space to grow and to become efficient. After that, Iranian political researchers had a conservative attitude towards

Iranian political changes and weren't allowed to critically study politics and government in Iran. Politics is strongly willing to criticize the power and the current situation and thus opposition to it will increase and its graduates are looked upon with disfavor by the ruling governments. Politics and its students must try to remove charges against them while reviewing government performance. Politics must be a mean, for directing and correcting misunderstandings and foolish deeds, and for modifying unreasonable decisions which are incompatible with national interests.

2. Discussions

In this article it is tried to briefly investigate the problems of political science in Iranian society and the factors affecting it. Due to the political culture left by centuries of despotic governing in Iran, political science has failed to take advantage of political atmosphere and scientific criticism sufficiently. It is obvious that this science, in its real sense, is still in introductory steps in Iran and has a long way ahead to become experienced and productive. It needs a fundamental and continuous attempt to develop profound political knowledge using the most recent human knowledge and based on political and economic characteristics of Iranian society. In order for politics to be scientifically and practically dynamic, there is no doubt that we must avoid absolute orientation, on one hand, to remove barriers, and we must avoid giving and offering absolutely subjective and non-rational answers and solutions for we are dealing with humanities and politics as the most sensitive ones. Politics can have an impressive and determining role in Iranian society if and only when it responds to public, national and international challenges properly and in accordance with time and place condition. Moreover, it must be able to raise certain questions which represent specific values and form a perfect social life; political science, must also identify different threats and their causes and the way of fighting with them and preventing them, by presenting a realistic political analysis of political issues and phenomena. Achieving this goal not only requires scientific premises and equipments, but also the conflicts of ideas and opinions and a patient spirit and tolerance of beliefs and ideas opposite to conventions. Since some civil concepts and subjects such as endurance, tolerance of different ideas and opinions, respect for others' ideas and votes, are new in our society and it's not more than half a century that respecting other people's votes and ideas, tolerating various attitudes, and offering different approaches to social and political issues in Iran have been raised. Therefore, the issues of Iran are advancing in a revolutionary

course, and the events that occur in the country, are moving ahead in a linear progression. Consequently, it could be said that the future of political science in Iran is in a linear progression towards revolution and dynamics

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