

A Review on Causes and Factors Affecting on the Power Structure of Rural Culture in Iranian Society of Post-Islamic Revolution

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Abstract: Although, historically, the political power structure of Iranian society has partly been under the influence of the structures of rural, tribal, and also traditional urban culture, this trend has been accelerated after the revolution in 1979 due to extreme migrations of villagers to cities and the intermingling of the rural-urban culture and also taking power of resented social groups with rural origins. Coming to the power of these social groups has made a kind of duality in Iran's political power structure. This duality led to some turmoil and disorder among government and the people on national interests and solving the problems of the society. The present article tries to examine causes and factors affecting this dispute and considers the cognitive aspects of this issue, particularly the sociological aspects. The results of this study show that the political structure in Iran and its structural characteristics are under the influence of rural culture and socio-economic aspects. In other words, the political power structure is the result of social and rural connections.

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1. Introduction

The two ways of living, i.e. rural and nomadic have always been common in Iran since the old times. Therefore, many social issues cannot be explained without paying attention to such a historical fact. Urban life has always been there as a climatic form of living, but rural and nomadic life was dominant and encompassed the majority of Iranian society. Although living in towns and cities has a history of thousands of years in Iran and some of the Iranian cities are among the oldest cities of the world, the citizens were just a minority group of elites and higher-class people, the lower class people who lived in cities just served that minority group of the society. On the other hand, urban life in Iran depended on rural and nomadic ways of living for most of its history. Thus it should be emphasized that the urban form of living in Iran had always been one limited form side by side the other forms of rural and nomadic life that included the majority of people (Fakouhi, 1383:337).

As the capitalist (industrial) relations and arrangements entered the country, urbanization began to develop and soon became the predominant form of living. This began three decades ago and now the urban population of the country has reached to 65% of the total population. We cannot deny, however, the fact that the fast reduction of the rural population in no way means that the rural society lacks the power to influence the urban life; on the contrary, it means that the migration of the rural and nomadic

population to the cities has changed the characteristics of urbanization in Iran. Therefore, there are rural or nomadic towns that in spite of having the physical form of a city, in fact, are big villages and have transferred the rural characteristics to the special form of the cities. These phenomena, which are completely new, can be called the ruralization or nomadication of cities. Most of the mechanisms which are seen in rural and nomadic systems are reproduced and become commonplace in other forms in cities (Fakouhi, 1383:337).

The power structure, in particular the political power structure, has never been an exception. The administrative, bureaucratic and political institutions and organizations of the country have historically incorporated both types of urban and rural social life. Furthermore, the relations and arrangements of capitalism brought some forms of western political structure to the society, and accordingly some institutions and organizations were founded. However, the power structure under the influence of the traditional methods remained elderly-headed, tribe-based and metaphysical. As a result, today Iran faces an unorganized set of old and new forms of exercising power, and a kind of normlessness is ruling the power structure; which is because, the management of the society has encountered difficulties in managing economic-social issues.

2. Statement of the problem

Since the old times, the political power structure and its application in Iran has been under

the influence of the leaders of ethnic group, rather than economic or class divisions of the country. This is due to the special combination of the Iranian population and other factors and elements, which has made up the Iranian society. Using this particular structure, the political-ethnic management has altered the social differences and conflicts into tribal, racial and cultural campaigns (Seifollahi, 1995:163).

According to some researchers, the political history of Iran in fact is the history of ups and downs of tribes and nomads. Due to their cultural and social potentialities, the Iranian nomads not only have acquired the local power but also have possessed power over the whole country. The nature of power exercising until the early Pahlavi reign was nomadic, so the cultural structure was based on the family relationship, security, being alien to the outsiders, wealth searching, and the unstable system of thought of the nomads (Sariolghalam, 1997: 4, 8).

Historical studies show that the way in which the political power is exercised in Iran has always caused some disturbances in the political and social arena and some social instability and periodical crises in the country, which most of the time has made it difficult to achieve the social and national agreement. This old power structure cannot cope with the nature of modern periods and is unable to conform to the new situations and conditions. Productive and active presence in the new world needs a backup of new thought and ethnics, and requires serious reflection on the modernity. The proper understanding of the historical experience of Iran can lead us to new horizons (Tabatabaei, 1975:6; Tabatabaei, 1976:290).

Therefore, the influential factors on social developments should be clearly understood and a basis be made on the historical experiences for establishing a modern system. To know the underlying factors which affect this structure would help us analyze the power structure academically and scientifically, localize the perspectives, and facilitate the decision making about more appropriate methods of dealing with political power structure.

The cultural-social issues in Iran, despite their importance, are neglected; while it seems that the root of many social flaws of every period in Iran may originate from the culture of the country. This has been the most outstanding during the last two centuries. The traditional balance has shaken due to the influence of western civilization and culture, but no new balance has taken its place yet. The conflict between traditional culture and the new one (tradition and modernity) is just one of the cultural reflection of the problems that Iran encounters. Thus the basic questions are:

1. What are the fundamental social factors that influence the power structure, particularly

the political power structure of Iranian society?

2. How does the mechanism of the effects of rural culture on power structure in Iranian society work?
3. Have the elements of rural culture after the 1979 revolution in Iran in comparison to the other eras had more influence on the political power structure?
4. Has the origin of the leaders of the movement (Islamic Revolution) had an effect upon the way power is exerted in Iranian society?
5. Do the psychological values based on rural culture have any influence on the power structure of Iran after the Islamic Revolution?
6. Have the cultural and social values originating from rural culture influenced the power structure of Iran after the Islamic Revolution?
7. Is it true that the power structure of Iran after the Islamic Revolution has been subject to the social and economic values based on the rural culture?

3. The study objectives

According to the above discussion, the overall aim of the study is to attain a theoretical paradigm for investigating the political power structure in the Iranian society. This aim is subdivided into the following objectives:

A) Primary objectives

1. To examine the underlying factors of rural culture and their relationship with the power structure of Iran.
2. To recognize the basic cultural-social factors that influences the power structure, especially the political power of Iranian society.
3. To identify the dimensions and levels of the effects of the rural culture on the power structure as a social phenomenon in the Iranian society.
4. To recognize the subjective and objective reflections of the effects of the rural culture on the power structure in post-revolutionary Iran.
5. To develop sociological researches and to apply them in order to solve political issues of Iran.

B) Secondary objectives

1. To study the power structure transformation in the Iranian society (with the aim of historical formation of the subject).

2. To determine the gap between the power structure of Iranian society and the intellectual, logical and ideal structure (ideal type) of using power.
3. To analyze and to describe the current views about the subject.

4. Theoretical framework

According to the characteristics of using power in the Iranian society as well as the political structure and culture of the country, the central and despotic power has always influenced the macro, mid and micro level of power. The political behavior of the political and administrative elites has also been shaped by these characteristics. The use of a combinational perspective for formulating the theoretical framework originated from these conditions. The complex structure of using power in Iran and the way it is influenced by the cultural features (in particular the structure of rural culture) requires a theoretical and conceptual framework, which is combined and multi-dimensional. The theoretical framework makes use of the fundamental thoughts and notions of Ibn-e-Khaldon with respect to the emergence, growth, climax, deterioration and fall of the governments and the influencing factors involved. In addition, the opinions of Ibn-e-Khaldon about the nomadic and urban societies can be a basis for making comparisons between these two entities, and designing rural culture indicators (Ibn-e-Khaldon, 1995; Tabatabaei, 1995; Lagost, 1984).

In this study, Simmel's viewpoints in relation with the concepts of sovereignty and the dominance and the relation between the leaders and the followers and the contrastive relations or the exchange of leverage have been considered. His viewpoints on metropolitans and the characteristics of people living in these cities may give rise to formulating the range of the characteristics of urban culture and rural culture and the distinction among these two and finally designing its 'ideal type'. (Simmel, 1993). On the other hand, the thoughts of Marx Weber in the field of power and authority particularly his classification on the variety of authority (legal, traditional, and charismatic) has been reflected in this study because traditional authority and charismatic authority are two ways of ruling in Iranian society during the history. Therefore, this viewpoint may determine the conditions of exerting power in the level of macro, mid and micro. Furthermore, in designing 'ideal type' about the way of exercising power on the Iranian society, the logical authority of Weber may be a basis for the comparison in order to determine the distance of the structure of exercising power in the desirable condition (Farvand, 1983, Weber, 1994).

Considering the viewpoint of Weber with respect to pre-capitalist freemasons, Asian production system and structure of eastern authoritarian has been used in order to analyze the Iranian society realistically and precisely and also the concept of the existing ideology in the country used by the current government to make the system ethical has been studied (Weber, 1984, 2000).

In relation with the other Marxist theories, some theories has been used including: Dahrendorf theory in relation with mechanisms of power exercising in new societies and its contrasts, structural point of Althusser with respect to ideological aspect of power and the way of using ideological instruments by the governments in order to legitimate the ruling system (Althusser, 1971), Gramsci's viewpoint with respect to philosophy, culture and ideology in the revolution and the role of thought, ethical and ideological transformations in developing social transformations and also the subject of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), the Habermas's concept of legitimacy and also the crisis of constitution in the structure of political system (Habermas, 1975, 1984). Besides, the viewpoints of New Marxism will be employed in relation with designing and formulating 'type ideal' for political structure of Iranian society (McInnes, 1972).

Michel Foucault's viewpoint with respect to the genealogy of power and the role of elites and knowledge about modifying or stabilizing the structure of power in the society and also his emphasis on this fact that action is subordinate to thought and that in every era, people's actions arise from the common thought at that age has been considered and so does his theory about power and the overlooked technique on life and also the overlooked monitoring on the scene (Darifus&Rabino, 1980; Foucault, 1972, 1979-86).

The viewpoints and notions of Anthony Giddens about structural differences of modern society and pre-modern society (traditional society) may help build indicators in differentiation of these two societies. Also, the subject of control dialectic, the concept of eradicating especially in the field of traditional authority, the concept of politics-living and finally the concept of globalization and its relation with the structure of the power and the local governments has been utilized in the theoretical framework (Giddens, 1984, 2003).

5. Methodological Framework

In this study, the following methods are used:

Documentary Method:

The aim is to use all documents, lectures, memoirs, hand scripts, and required information. In this study, the historical analysis method has also been used, with the aim of using valid documents in order to

formulate the common characteristics of the historical phenomena and events and their causes. The transformation of the political power structure in the Iranian society and the basic reasons for such a trend has been analyzed on the basis of this method.

Content Analysis Method

The aim is to analyze the implications of the ideas, to reveal the hidden ideas and perspectives behind the scene, and to interpret the implicit aspects of the thoughts. In this study, we make use of the qualitative content analysis method, which is not necessarily statistical, so that the general subjects and contents could be interpreted and concluded.

Delphi Method

The aim is to determine the formal validity of the indicators and to achieve an agreement between a group of experts on the subjects that involve a combination of scientific evidence and social values (Sarookhani, 2004: 90-91).

In the present study, we attempted to examine comparatively some indicators related to the rural and urban culture by interviewing the experts, professors and researchers of the rural sociology discipline. Then, the indicators and the documents were searched for in the historical resources and the writings of the authors. Finally a questionnaire was developed which consisted of a set of indicators for evaluating the value system and the rural and urban culture comparatively; it was given to 31 experts of rural issues in three consecutive periods. After gathering the information, the indicators were finalized and evaluated in the light of hand scripts, memoirs and lectures of the post-revolutionary political figures.

6. Description and Analysis of the Results

Historical and Documentary Study Results

This study includes four periods: Before the social-economic system of capitalism; from the constitutional Revolution to Land Reform; from Land Reform to the Islamic Revolution; and after the Islamic Revolution.

1) First Period: Before the social-economic system of capitalism

This period, the time between the formation of the first human communities in Iran and the Constitutional Revolution, includes some fast, slow and sometimes regressive economic, social and political processes. It can be divided into subcategories below:

1. Period of food gathering that existed before the arrival of Aryans to the Plateau of Iran, and was dominant way of economic-social living.
2. Period of pastoralism that reached its highest point by the invasion of Aryans to the plateau of Iran.

3. Period of subsistence agriculture that began with the inhabitation of Aryans and continued until the start of the Constitutional Revolution. In this period, which is the longest in the formation of social-economic structure in Iran, different and sometimes heterogeneous ways of economic, social and agricultural life existed (Seifollahi, 1995: 163-164).

2) Second Period: from the constitutional Revolution to Land Reform

The Constitutional Revolution called the centralized and unharnessed government for a great challenge. The people, under the influence of different factors, wanted fundamental and structural change and transformation in the ruling system and the management of the Iranian society. The focus of the people was on the establishment of a system that paid more attention to the people's participation. So the reasons behind the Constitutional Revolution can be summarized as below:

- 1) The influence of western culture and civilization and the theoretical challenge with the west caused the Iranian society to compare itself to the western world and feel its sever backwardness, which in turn stimulated the people's dissatisfactions.
- 2) The growth of the traditional urban middle-class in the Iranian society increased the dissatisfaction among people and paved the way for uprising of revolutionary power in the urban society.
- 3) The advent of intellectual class and the establishment of secret associations and parties deepened the social awareness, extended the social demands, and thus prepared the ground for revolutionary conditions.
- 4) Lack of justice and the prevalence of oppression (extensive social dissatisfaction)
- 5) Sever poverty and inequality between the social classes.
- 6) Weakness of the central government, and the endeavor for harnessing the uncontrolled power (Frasatkhan, 1993; Abrahamian, 1999; Forah, 1999; Kasravi, 1990, Haeri, 1988; Zibakalam, 1998).

3) Third Period: Land reform to the Islamic Revolution

The downfall of the national government of Dr. Mosaddegh in July 1953 by an English-American coup changed the post-war Iran radically in different aspects. First of all, America took the traditional role of Britain and Russia in Iran and became the only foreign power that controlled the country. The very big share of Americans in the new oil consortium (40 percent) and their great share of providing supplies and weapon consultancy confirm the above fact.

Secondly, the American backing of the Shah dictatorship weakened the Iranians' hope of enjoying the support of America for establishing a more democratic government. Thirdly, Shah showed a great deal of interest in modernizing the Iranian society and economy, and strengthening the military basis of the country to become a western country. These ambitions and the tendency to implement big formal projects made Iran increasingly dependent on the western countries and America in particular. Fourthly, Shah chose the way of oppressing and intimidating the opposition, and paid less attention to the people's participation; he limited the right of free speech severely and made the country's atmosphere very oppressive. The establishment of 'the Intelligence and Security Organization of the Country' (SAVAK) and putting the opposition and critics of the government under pressure made people more hateful and angry (Kady, 1990: 217-222).

4) Fourth Period: After the Islamic Revolution

In 1978, the increased class conflicts and people's dissatisfaction of the economic, social and political conditions of the country led to the triumph of the Islamic Revolution. The Revolution disintegrated the foundation of the economic, social and political and cultural system of Shah's reign and opened a new chapter in the history of economic development of Iran. In these years, a lot of political and social tensions occurred, which reached its pick in the fights and conflicts of 1981 (Seifollahi, 1995: 92; Kady, 1990: chapter 9). The revolutionary conditions endangered the security of investments, and aggravated the migration of the investors and efficient human resources. On the other hand, the revolutionary government nationalized the big-scale industries and agricultural entities. The tensions between Iran and America put an end to their economic political relations. The oil incomes of Iran decrease gradually, reaching its lowest point during the eight-year war. The war started with the Iraqi aggression, which harmed the industries and economic structure of the country seriously (Foran, 1999: chapter 9; Abrahamian, 1999: chapter 11).

4-1) Period of the establishment and stabilization of the Islamic Republic

'The main political events after the victory of the Islamic Revolution were mostly under the influence of Imam Khomeini and his religious followers' (clergymen) way of thinking. Therefore, the status of other groups, including the conservatives and liberals of 'Jephe-ye-melli' (National Frontier), the leftist Islamic or nonreligious groups, and the racial minorities (Kurds, Torkmans, Balouches, and etc.) or even the top cleric critics, gradually faded away' (Kary, 1369: 379).

The victory of this way of thinking in the referendums of April 1979 and the Constitutional Approval strengthened the basis of the Islamic Republic system and paved the way for the establishment of a system based on 'Velayat-e-Faghih', in which the whole power goes to just one Faghih.

In July 1979, the banning of the publications, organizations and political groups started and suddenly 22 newspapers and magazines were closed down. Other publications that mainly belonged to the political groups gradually stopped releasing till the end of the year 1979 and mid 1981, due to the post-revolutionary changes, the war and the political conflicts between political groups and organizations on one side and the officials on the other (Bijani, 1384:99-100).

Although the revolution was mainly urban, the leadership had access to the rural population. According to the Ayotollah Khomeini's recommendations, the clerics (Rohanion) went to the villages to mobilize the rural people. The economic-social changes of the past, in particular the White Revolution, had facilitated their task. The changes had freed the rural and nomadic people from their masters and tribal chiefs so that they could have direct contact with the government and closer business relations with the cities. The rural Mollas had taken the role of small business workers' helpers instead of being the local masters' speakers. After the Islamic Revolution, the clerics had great opportunities to do their tasks, because the economic-social development of the time had broken the traditional links between masters and farmers, village heads and villagers, and tribal chiefs and peasants; thus the modernization played a wonderful role in strengthening the traditional clerics (Abrahamian, 1999: 495-6).

The outset of the war and its lengthened continuation could bring about the victory of the revolutionary forces over the west-inclined liberals and para-religious groups who opposed the new system, and also gradually mobilized the people specially the youth so that they could encounter the enemy and go to the front. So with the influential messages of the leader and the national emotions that were arisen by the enemies' attacks, the great force of Basij (Paramilitaries) and Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enghelab-e Eslami (Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution) were shaped. At the same time, there were a lot of changes in the army structure as a result of encountering the enemy. The Iraqi attack which according to the public opinion was cruel and insulting to the national pride stimulated the national emotions in such a way that opposing it and defending the country became a social value for the

people (Rafiepoor, 1376: 135-137). The power structure, which was realized during those years, consisted of different elements that showed the very characteristics of the Islamic Republic system. Firstly, from ideological point of view, there were explicit elements of a whole-power government, but at the same time the government lacked the institutional elements and the special hierarchy needs for such a system. Secondly, as far as the power structure is concerned, there were characteristics of a so-called formal or superficial democratic political system. Thirdly, especially during the 1370s the system had the characteristics and elements of a para-democratic political system.

4.2) Period of Reconstruction (1989-97)

In this period, the technocrats (Kargozaran) of the Islamic Republic system decided to change the direction of the revolution. There were several positive elements: to change the closed society into the open one; to be flexible about the religious-traditional patterns; to employ the experts; to use new methods in place of the old ones which seemed unsuccessful; and to reduce the government control over the economy. One of the most important steps to achieving the goals was to change the Constitution so as to give more power to the president in the hierarchy of power, at that time the prime minister had the executive power and the president didn't have enough power to take the necessary measures. Furthermore, the most important consequence of changing the Constitution was the change in the hierarchy of power, not only in relation to the presidency, but also in the whole structure of the Islamic Republic (Rafiepoor, 1997: 150-151).

4.3) Period of Democratic movement (an endeavor to attain the civil society)

The legitimacy and participation crisis of the previous period as well as the economic, social, cultural and political problems led to the phenomenon of 2 June 1997. The radical and leftist groups of the first period revised their views and value principles to form a type of coalition with the modern rightists who had announced their existence as technocrats in the last period. The nonconformists intellectual and academic groups who were hurt and disillusioned by the previous atmosphere of the country joined the coalition and could encourage the ordinary people to join them.

'A new active political class was created in these periods that had clear democratic aspirations and rather clear ideology, though it has been in some degrees successful in organization just during the recent years. Although the new middle class is the social basis for this active social class, its principle trait is not pure economic needs but the cultural, social, ideological and political demands whose

realization requires the establishment of democratic institutions. In general, the core of the new political-social groups was the intellectual who made up this active class according to their intellectual ideals (Bashirie, 2003:130).

7. Conclusion

The historical and field studies (content analysis) show that the political power structure has always been under the influence of the rural culture with its own indicators and elements. Of course, the scale of this influence has been varied in different historical periods. The rural culture in a way has determined the power structure of the Iranian society.

Furthermore, the studies indicate that the political power structure in Iran, especially after the Islamic Revolution, has been affected by the rural culture and its principle elements more than ever. Field studies (qualitative content analysis) on the influence of the movement's leaders and political figures prove the above-mentioned fact. These affects after the revolution had been greater than other periods; there are two main reasons for that: first, the origin of the movement's leaders and the political figures was often the rural society which influenced their attitudes, views and social-political actions greatly. Second, with the Islamic Revolution, the social, cultural and political structure returned to the traditional values of the society and challenged the western codes and values. This traditional culture had its origin in the elements and components of the rural culture. Thus, with the Islamic Revolution there was a new challenge for the modern and western values, which strengthened the traditional and rural culture more than before. Besides, the political structure power in Iran after the Islamic Revolution in Weber's words was fluctuated among three kinds of authority structure (traditional, charismatic and logical) and in different periods, one kind of authority were dominated. Finally, the Iranian society still tolerates the mixture of these three authorities and is trying to achieve into democratic goals despite many challenges. The political power structure is inclined to move towards one of these authorities on the basis of the conditions and circumstances, therefore faces a kind of confusion and disorder.

The study shows that due to inappropriate principles such as traditionalism, allegiance culture, closed worldview, ethical and religious prejudice, imitations, curiosity in people's privacy and so forth, the existing rural culture brought about a kind of structure and political relations in the country that people suffer from and ask for fundamental changes. These principles and teachings in Simmel's words have established dominance and sovereignty and the relation between leader and the follower as a fundamental basis in the political and social structure.

Likewise, the nature of power and government in the Iranian society in Marx's word has become ideological and according to the notions of Dahrendorf, Althusser and Gramsci the political system and the power structure in the country made use of ideology so as to legitimize the ruling system. This system is based on religious teachings and principles and also making the whole society in the realm of politics. In spite of making use of the whole existing tools for legitimating, such political structure faces with a kind of crisis in legitimacy that originates from the lack of community involvement in the political administration. Such structure in Giddens' words is basically different from new structure power in the western society and will be in challenge with global structure and finally it is difficult for them to attend in the international scene so that the globalization process will be unreachable for Iranian society.

The implications of such power in the political, social and culture structure includes: widespread use of coercive force, development of malfunction of ruling institutions against other institutions, formulating the gap and historical mistrust of people to government, feeling of social and individual insecurity, crisis of legitimacy in Iran, government's inability in control of the behaviors, weak influence of government on people, periodical crisis and cultural and political difficulties in the society.

8. Suggestions

The nature and structure of the present study do not allow us to give executive suggestions based on the findings. The historical and field studies of the political power structure of Iranian society, however, give the opportunity to the researchers to suggest some general theoretical solutions. Accordingly, the following observations seem appropriate to consider:

- 1) Apparently, the first step to reduce the unpleasant consequences of using political power in the Iranian society is to criticize the tradition and modernity. In other words, by refining the culture and the cultural resources, which originate from the traditions and the national customs, we should clear the cultural structure of the society of the backwardness and wrong teachings formed during the last centuries, and make the way for appearing the effective and useful elements of our own culture. On the other hand, we should criticize the modernism and use the positive results of the western civilization; we should make a deep and organic link between the refined traditions of the past and the modern conditions to clear up the social and political structures.
- 2) Disintegrating the present dual imitative dual situation, and challenging the reality and thoughts of the west will bring about the rebirth of Iran. This requires a strong ideological backing of intellectual thought and modern political philosophy, whose formation has been impossible as a result of dual imitation. Neither just returning to the past and renewing it can put an end to the present deterioration, nor will just imitating the west lead us to the streamline of insight. Criticizing the tradition, raising the basic questions of the modern time, and formulating its topics and concepts will take the first steps to the establishment of the political-social philosophy of the rebirth of Iran. In this respect, to properly understand the historical experience of the country on the one hand, and the essential experience of the rebirth in the west on the other, are necessary but not sufficient conditions.
- 3) The historical studies show that the revolutions and social norms may improve the social-political surface structure, but the social-political and cultural infrastructure doesn't necessarily change. The political power structure is the result of the social, cultural and economic factors and conditions of the society, so the improvement of the political structure cannot happen without cultural structural reforms. Thus the intellectuals, elites and the statesmen should prepare the cultural conditions for establishing the democratic structures and institutions in the society. In other words, the social and cultural changes could bring about the political changes in the society.
- 4) To acknowledge the nature and power of the informal culture in the society by the government and to try to truly understand the elements of the culture in order to adapt the political structure accordingly. In other words, the statesmen should accept the fact that the people are real origin of culture and power in the society and to try to escalate their participation in the political, cultural and social arenas, instead of having exclusive control over them. This will assure the legitimacy and authority for the government. The political power should consider the idea of civil society and the development of the people participation in different scenes of the society as something, which would diminish the people participation in different scenes of the society as something, which would diminish the people-government conflicts, and then support it.
- 5) The political structure should always attempt to facilitate the nation-building process and get away from the ethnic and religious fanaticism. The Iranian society historically consists of

different ethnic groups, and there are varied religious minorities and micro-cultures in our country. The nation-building process should focus on the participation of all social micro-groups and allocate fair proportions of the power resources and wealth of the society to them, otherwise there are serious challenges facing it. The process makes the ethnic groups and social or religious minorities think of the national interest before considering their own ethnic or group interest, and try to promote the national culture.

- 6) The endeavor to make the relations between the government and the people more rational, and to determine the limits of using power in the society could minimize the tensions and conflicts caused by lack of mutual understanding between the people and the statesmen in different social, economic, cultural and political areas, and pave the way for a constructive interactions to form a developed and powerful country.
- 7) The government, by being aware of the exact status of our own culture as well as other cultures in the world, can pursue proper and less tense interaction in the international scenes. Relying on the origins of the native culture, the government can also give predominance to rationality, innovation, futurity, social realism, social security, lawfulness, employing the worthy, competitiveness, etc. in the social and cultural relationships. This makes the world structure interact respectfully and constructively with the statesmen.
- 8) Religious clear-sightedness and religious renaissance in the Iranian society makes it possible to change the thoughts and attitudes of the people and to pave the way for basic cultural transformations. The religious-thinking reform will remove the anti-development social and cultural ideas and put progressive values and beliefs in their place. The religious elites and intellectuals can stimulate the cultural dynamism in the society by reproduction and reinterpretation of the religion.

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