An Analysis of the Stagnation Causes of the Iranian Political Culture

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Abstract:

In examining Iran's political culture, the "historical, cultural, cognitive and psychological" approach is of great importance. In the historical approach, political culture is criticized and explored with a long-term and historical-oriented view; in the psychological approach, the moral traits and general morals of the Iranian people are considered and in the cultural approach, the factors that underlie the political culture of Iran and the influence of the three cultural fields of "Iranian, Islamic and Western" are given priority. In the contemporary period, several dependent variables have influenced political culture, including; Demographic developments, changing levels of education and the population pyramid of the middle class, the process of industrialization and increasing urbanization, increasing the level of knowledge of the people, increasing relations with the outside world, globalization of culture and communication and information and changing the one-way flow of government with the people. He noted the growing popularity of modern reference groups (academics, intellectuals, modernist clerics). At the same time, there are serious disagreements about the causes of the immutability of political culture - despite the great political, economic, social, cultural developments of the contemporary period. From the author's point of view, the stagnant causes of Iranian political culture are a collection of various historical, structural, brokerage, political, sociological, cultural, psychological, and economic factors. For this reason, the five variables "public culture"; "Epistemological system"; "The structure of the Persian language"; "Provincial system"; "Cultural underdevelopment" and "the relationship between the state and the nation" have been considered as the main parameters in explaining the current situation. Thus, Iran's political culture is the result of political, economic, and especially cultural structures formed throughout Iran's history; To change the foundations of a subordinate political culture based on the principle of citizenship, and to establish a participatory political culture, it is necessary to reform the educational system at an early age (ration-

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al political culture) and to reform the economic structure (non-governmental production of resources and wealth). Attention should be paid to the principle of "culture building" as the top priority of "civil society" and "government" for a long period of time. Accordingly, a fundamental change in Iran's political culture and the institutionalization of participatory political culture would not have been possible without the use of the capacity of intellectual and instrumental elites. This impact will be lasting and institutionalized if it begins in the field of education, especially at an early age.

Introduction

Political culture is one of the major concepts in political and social sciences that knowledge, analysis and explanation, and especially its role and impact on socio-political developments of any society, requires extracting approaches, analyzing study approaches, drawing appropriate patterns and formats. Political culture is located in the latent part of political science and includes the subconscious part of the mind. From childhood, this subconscious is transmitted to the individual through the family, the educational system, public culture, and the nature of the political system, mainly through psychological means. Thus, people's political behavior is influenced by the structures in which the individual performs bio-physical, intellectual, and social, and any change is subject to new structures. In other words, it is the structures that shape and guide human behavior and thought. Political culture, because it is related to the collective subconscious, in most cases has a quiet but decisive function; But sometimes, in a particular situation where a nation or nation is engaged in tension or struggle with a rival or enemy, it may become aggressive and hostile due to the sanctity of collective ideals and ideologies, and a different image and image of collective political culture, be clear. At the same time, political culture differs from political beliefs and positions. In political or social beliefs and positions, awareness and information received and documents or book and scientific resources or ideals and ideologies and personal will usually play a leading role; But culture or cultural behavior originates entirely from the subconscious and the individual is immersed in it. (Ghaderi, 1996, p. 17) The political culture of any country can be examined from different political, psychological, historical, cultural, cognitive, philosophical, sub cultural and scientific approaches. In the case of Iranian political culture, the "historical" approach seems to be; "Cognitive" and "psychological" are more important. In the historical approach, political culture is criticized and explored with a long-term and historical-oriented view; In the psychological approach, the moral traits and general morals of the Iranian people are considered; And in the cultural cognitive approach, the factors that underlie the political culture of Iran and the influence of the three cultural fields of Iran, Islam and the West are given priority (which, of course, the degree of influence of each of these three factors is different from the other).

What are the characteristics of Iranian political culture, and why such a political culture has been formed, and finally, what are

the solutions to the improvement of political culture, there are different views and different theories. A quick look at Iran's political history reveals that before the formation of the constitutional movement, limited and subordinate political culture ruled society, and people in every corner of the country, under the will of the Princes, had the least share in political power. The two spheres of politics and the people were separate and separate from each other.

Iran's political history is full of selfishness, arbitrariness, unlimited power, a desire for violence and intimidation, war and bloodshed, and authoritarian regimes. During and after the constitutional period, people's attitudes toward power and the national government changed. However, due to the construction of the epistemological system and other influential factors, there are still serious limitations and obstacles to the formation of a participatory political culture, and the Iranian society has a significant distance to reach the desired situation.

Accordingly, in this study, the stagnant causes of Iranian political culture have been considered. In this regard, several books and articles have been written and Iranian and Western theorists and sociologists have criticized and researched this issue. At the same time, there are still serious disagreements over the causes of the immutability of political culture - despite the tremendous political, economic, social, cultural developments of the contemporary period. In one approach, "the conflict between the state and the nation, the dilapidated and short-lived society" is introduced at the root of the current situation; In another analysis, the "tribal structure and economic underdevelopment" is cited as the cause; And in another approach, moral attributes and moral characteristics are the cause of the formation of today's political culture.

According to the author of this study, the stagnant causes of Iranian political culture are a collection of various historical, structural, brokerage, political, sociological, cultural, psychological and economic factors. For this reason, the five variables "public culture"; "Epistemological system"; "The structure of the Persian language"; "Provincial system"; "Cultural underdevelopment" and "the relationship between the state and the nation" have been considered as the main parameters in explaining the current situation.

Research questions
- Despite the large-scale changes in the territorial scope, political, economic and social structure of Iran from past centuries to the present day, why the central structure and variables of Iranian political culture remain constant and stable?
- To what extent is the influence and role of intellectual and instrumental elites in Iran's political culture?

Sub-questions
- Despite the wide range of globalization, especially in the cultural dimension, why was Iran's political culture not affected by this trend?
- Despite the expansion of Iran's relations with the outside world in the last two centuries, why has political culture not affected other countries?
- What are the role, weight and impact of political culture in the processes leading to growth and development and democracy in Iran?

Response
The realization of a participatory and efficient political culture is not commensurate with "absolute thinking", "stereotyping" and "destiny". In the realm of thought, absolutism

and generalism are characteristic of a society in which critical thinking is not acceptable; because everything is born of doubt. As a result, the discourse derived from such an approach is "rejecting," "simulating," and "transforming," and absolute thought and understanding automatically become dogmatic in speech and action. Political knowledge in a society is institutionalized when individuals are educated and know that better political knowledge is in the eyes of different perspectives and relativism.

At the same time, political, economic, and cultural development requires competitive activities that are inconsistent with Iranian political culture based on mistrust, negative individualism, escapism, and the method of elimination and destruction in resolving disputes. As a result, participatory political culture is not formed as a precondition for "good governance" and "participatory society".

Given that fundamental changes in contemporary Iranian history such as the "Constitutional Revolution" and the "Islamic Revolution" have not been able to change the structure of Iranian political culture, it is necessary to consider changes in the infrastructure of society, which can only be achieved by creating an educational system. Efficient is possible from an early age.

Given the lack of participatory political culture, the role of globalist and developmentalist intellectual and instrumental elites is crucial to creating an efficient educational system.

Theoretical framework (definition of concepts, determining theories and theoretical model)
Definition Political Culture
Political culture, or the relationship between culture and politics in a society, is a set of concepts that subconsciously exist between the people and the state on the one hand, and the people and the state with the international system on the other. Political culture is not the same as the political system, but goes beyond the political system and encompasses higher levels of political change, and its continuity is greater, and it maintains its continuity despite changes in governments.

In developed countries, political culture is influenced by the social contract that explains the relationship between the people, civil society and the state, and the political culture of the society directs the movement of the state. While in developing countries, it is the government that creates culture through the method of socialization and forms the political culture of society. In such societies, because the state is larger than civil society and the people, if society moves towards corruption or development, society will tend in the same direction.

Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba in "Civil Culture; "Political Stations and Democracy" define political culture as a set of cognitive, analytical, and emotional tendencies toward political phenomena. According to these two thinkers, a wide range of variables, including education and non-governmental authority in the family, school, workplace, and citizens' trust in each other, etc., affect it. Lucien Pai says that political culture is the connection between individual culture and psychology, and collective culture and psychology, which is related to political science. Thomas Springens interprets political culture as informal tendencies, beliefs, and social behaviors that prevail among members of society. (Mohammadi, 1992, p.23)

Theoretical Model
In ancient Iran, that is, in pre-Islamic times, the political-doctrinal paradigm was based on

a worldview of tents and cosmology, and the sultan and the vertical distribution of power were in the forefront of attention. In this system, there was no room for rational thought and conflict; What is called wisdom in the surviving works of the time is more of a mixture of tradition and wisdom.

In Iran, after the gradual acceptance of Islam, most of this system was preserved; The paradigms of post-Islamic political culture, and perhaps to this day, are largely fueled by three sources; "Iranian tradition and vertical political behavior based on hierarchical system", "culture derived from the teachings of Islam", which was naturally mixed during the caliphate with the political behavior of its bearers, especially mixed Arabs, and finally "theoretical perceptions and conclusions in the realm of political philosophy." Ancient Greece with a Focus on Individual and Individualism", which in modern times has become more prominent due to increased communication with Western countries, and today, thanks to the spread of communication culture and information technology and Western cultural dominance, its dominance has increased significantly.

The first wave of democracy in Iran is rooted in nineteenth-century libertarian movements that eventually led to the constitutional movement and the formation of the monarchy. With the drafting of the constitution, its amendment, and the establishment of the royal constitutional system, the people were given the right to national sovereignty in the new political system. The aim of the constitutional movement was to put an end to the traditional patrimonialism of the Qajar dynasty and to replace it with a modern parliamentary system. The movement succeeded in drafting a codified constitution that limited the king's power; However, the political traits of patrimonialism were not completely eradi-

cated from society and the political system. In other words, in this era, if we can speak with tolerance about something called political culture, there is no fundamental change in the political culture of the masses before the constitution, and the best reason to prove this claim is the rotation of the relatively free space of constitutionalism. Falling into the trap of the Leviathan government was the first side. Of course, we should pay attention to this point that beyond all the shortcomings of the Constitutional Revolution, one point is very significant and it is the acceptance of the system of thought and mental belief as a guide to action in political culture that is the unique achievement of the Constitution in Iranian history. (Zarei, 2005, p. 37)

Therefore, the first point that can be seen in the category of Iranian political culture today is the confusion caused by nutrition from various sources, both traditional and modern; Behavioral patterns have neither retained their previous and earlier form and traditional foundations, nor have they clearly taken on the shape and content of today's. The gradual presence of the people in the last hundred years in the field of society and politics, especially during major uprisings such as the Constitutional Revolution, the nationalization of the oil industry and the Islamic Revolution, has affected speech paradigms, but the institutionalization of new paradigms remains a major challenge. The formation of political culture is participatory.

At the same time, several dependent variables have influenced political culture in the contemporary period, including; Demographic developments, changing levels of education and the population pyramid of the middle class, the process of industrialization and increasing urbanization, increasing the level of knowledge of the people, increasing relations with the outside world, globalization of

culture and communication and information and changing the one-way flow of government with the people. He noted the growing popularity of modern reference groups (academics, intellectuals, modernist clerics).

The impact of the epistemological system on political culture

In a benevolent system, power comes from a force outside the human will. In this order, the power of the prince derives from the Creator of the universe, and the will of God is entrusted to consign the rule of authority and the exercise of power to a particular individual, group, or class. Naturally, this view is based on the principles of subordinate and limited political culture and is in structural conflict with participatory political culture.

Throughout history, good epistemological thought and order have been widely exploited, and many princes, regardless of their source of power, have sought to somehow support such a government for their own power and that of their successors and family. Sometimes some princes have claimed to be gods and consider themselves to be the symbol and embodiment of supernatural powers who have put on human clothes and descended on the earth to take the destiny of the creatures and their lives as they please. Some emperors, kings, and rulers have also used the benevolent system, which is more indirect than the first. According to Shahriar the providence of the obligatory essence of existence and according to God's judgment and predestination, is at the top of matters and enjoys the divine will, and in other words, the shadow of God on the earth.

At the same time, in the order based on good, the most original way of thinking in divine sovereignty can be found in the heavenly books and in the thought of the great religions of the world, including Islam. Ac-

cordingly, sovereignty is essentially the order of God; His prophets have a mission to convey divine rules and systems to human beings, and to guide the misguided, the polytheists, and the disbelievers to the truth, righteousness, and the happiness of this world and the hereafter. Therefore, the prophets are the bearers of the divine message and the indestructible religious rules for guiding the people from the source of divine revelation. The divine prophets themselves were not sent to rule, but to guide human beings to know the essence of the burden, but in some cases, such as Solomon, David, and the Prophet of Islam, to show the right way to live, by creating a utopia. They have directly taken over the government.

It should be noted that the system of knowledge based on good is opposed to the system of knowledge based on truth. Since the beginning of the Middle Ages, it has been considered by thinkers such as St. Thomas Aquinas and has human roots; In the seventeenth century, proponents of the school of natural and international law developed it and gave it the necessary precision and clarity, so much so that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was greatly influenced by it. Therefore, the idea that democracy cannot be achieved without the rule of the people is one of the old ideas. In his book Social Contract, Rousseau considers each individual to have a share of sovereignty and considers political sovereignty to be a set of sovereignty. He writes in the book; "Suppose a society is made up of ten thousand citizens. The share of each member of society is one-tenth of the ruling power."

The relationship between Persian language and political culture

One of the characteristics of participatory political culture is the predominance of "relativism" in social interactions instead of em-

phasizing "absolute reason" as a source of knowledge that has been considered since the mid-nineteenth century. Examining historical trends, it is clear that linguistic currents initiate the discussion of relativism, and since then, hermeneutic and existentialist discourses have expanded the concept of relativism.

When it comes to "language," the names of Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss linguist and semiotician, stands out. From Saussure's point of view, the language of the network is intertwined, which must be considered as a whole that existed before us, and in which we imagine and think. In fact, in his view, the language of the whole is a structure that exists in the human subconscious without the human will; This structural whole is a network of interconnected relationships that cannot be decomposed.

Undoubtedly, Saussure's distinction between "language" and "speech" further enhanced the importance of language in various fields of the social sciences. according to this;

- Language means "structure" and it effects on people's way of thinking and about society and government, which forms the political culture of any nation, is very important before and in the section "The impact of the epistemological system on culture "Political" was mentioned.
- Language in the sense of "speech" is defined as a systematic plan in the human mind, including a set of sounds and signs and situational reasons. In this sense, "Persian language" has been considered as another influential factor in Iranian political culture.

The element of language in the sense of speech includes "spoken language", "written language" and "printed language", which plays a very important and decisive role in creating national solidarity and harmony. Accordingly, the literature of each nation and is a mirror of ideals and lofty goals, which the speakers and writers describe as a "utopia" and according to which, literary, sensory, religious, political, scientific, artistic works., Epic, lyrical, educational, dramatic, tragic, etc. are created.

What is important in the sociological concept of behavioral language is the impact of words and sounds on individual relationships and communication at the community level. Accordingly, the Persian language has unique features. The ancient history of the Persian language and its wide demographic scope, as well as the richness of its content, have made it possible for historical poets to reflect the purest and most beautiful sensory, mystical and emotional concepts to the audience and to communicate between individuals in society. For this reason, Persian literary texts have an excellent place in the world in terms of art; Works such as Ferdowsi's Shahnameh, Hafez's Divan, Saadi's Generalities, the five books of Nezami, the works of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, etc. often try to reform the individual, society, state and government, and in a sense depict the "ideal" image of political culture.

In fact, the texts of Persian literature contain a great message and content of Persian literature, especially educational, moral and mystical texts that address all people with different religions and cultures and emphasize that all human beings from a single principle; In other words, the Persian language can be called the "language of empathy" as a unifying factor and preserving the unity of Iran. (Moazeni, 2005, p.78)

According to some published statistics, Persian is spoken in 29 countries, which is the sixth most widely spoken language in the

world after Spanish and pre-German, and is the ninth most widely used language in cyberspace. Persian is the second classical language in the world after Greek, which has all the characteristics of a classical language. In terms of proverbs, this language is one of the top three languages in the world and in terms of range and variety of words, it is one of the richest and largest languages in the world. In less languages in the world, the dictionary of 18-volume (Dehkhoda) and 6-volume (Moein's dictionary) can be found, and in a period of more than a thousand years, despite many ups and downs, it has been able to maintain its framework.

Despite the strengths of the Persian language from a literary perspective and its adornment with arrays and metaphors for conveying emotional and spiritual concepts, from a sociological perspective and its effects on the political culture of society, different interpretations can be presented and hierarchical features to This language is constructed. For example, in Persian, to communicate with the audience, different words "you, Your Excellency, His Highness, etc." are used, which evokes a hierarchical system in which people can be addressed. It has its roots in the ancient history of this land.

Therefore, the Persian language has a high synergistic capacity with some of the moral and ethical characteristics of the Iranians, which are mentioned in the section "Public Culture in Iran"; This synergy of the Persian language with the Iranian temperament has strengthened and expanded some of the special features of Iranian political culture throughout history to the present day.

Tribal Foundations of the Structure of Political Culture

In the book "Political culture of Iran" written by Dr. Mahmoud Sari al-Qalam, the socio-logical and psychological foundations of Iranian political culture are considered and the historical and tribal structure of Iranian political culture is discussed in detail. Accordingly, we in Iran face two cultural levels. "Urban and Industrial Culture" and "Tribal, Rural and Traditional Culture"; The cultural realities of Iran reflect the key point that tribal culture still dominates urban culture in Iran. (Sari al-Qalam, 1998, pp. 135-136)

The structure of political culture in Iran throughout history shows that the circle of trust between individuals and, consequently, institutions and organizations and institutions is very small and limited. One of the reasons is that the roles in the Iranian political system are divided based on relative and causal ethnic and kinship relations. As a result, the natural principle of competition, discord, conflict, and ultimately conflict between individuals and organizations has been pursued through violent means, or at least by rational logic. In fact, the individual and the citizen are alone in the face of political institutions and individual independence is not valid.

In pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Iran, knowledge of politics, government, and culture is related to the rise to power of tribes. The fact is that most of the Iranian governments had tribal and tribal backgrounds, and with that system of thought, they took over the management of the country. These include the Medes, Achaemenids, Parthians, Ghaznavids, Seljuks, Kharazmshahi, Ilkhanids, Qaraquyunlu, Aq Quyunlu, Safavids, Afshari, Zandi and Qajars. In tribal thought, the rise to power of a tribe, that is, the elimination of a tribe in power, has experienced a period of power and capacity building; This means restarting from scratch. (Sari al-Qalam, 1998, p. 42)

Therefore, the study of Iran's political history is the history of the rise and fall of no-

mads. The capacity of the nomads has made them not only have local powers, but also a major role in governing the country. This trend has been more or less current in the last three thousand years. Despite the transfer of power from one tribe to another, the basis of behavior is the same; When the tribe is in power, the local culture of the tribe dominates other areas by using force and repression, and this phenomenon is not due to law or consensus. For this reason, Iranian political culture has characteristics such as negative individualism, distrust, institutionalism, lack of consensus, kinship, favoritism, insecurity, national identity crisis, incomplete process of nation-building. In fact, the concept of citizenship is very new in Iranian political culture.

Public Culture in Iran

Culture determines how members of society think and feel. Culture is the guide to human actions and represents their worldviews in life. Public culture means the prevailing and widespread culture that is prevalent among the general public and is an area of beliefs, values, emotional manifestations and norms that is formally supported by social coercion and goes beyond specific groups and strata in society as a whole. acceptable. Thus, public culture is the basis for the formation of the political culture of any society, and the moral qualities and public morality of society, as an important part of public culture, form the foundation of political culture.

Many sociologists have discussed moral and ethical traits in Iranian public culture. Among them is " Our Iranian creations ", the name of a book by Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh, which was written in 1966, and the book "We Iranians" written by Dr. Maghsoud Farasatkhah has been written on this subject. It seems that the political culture of Iran is rooted in the creations that have not undergone structural changes over the centuries and there are not many differences between the Iranians of yesterday and the day before. In describing the Iranian temperaments in the above works, it is stated that bad traits outweigh good traits. Of course, the author of this research believes that many good and bad things, ugliness and beauty are different and changeable compared to time and place, and value judgments influenced by time and place have different interpretations.

Thus, in Iranian society, a series of traditions, temperaments, traits and morals or intellectual and visionary habits (Including xenophobia, conspiracy theory, extreme compliments, stubbornness, concealment and concealment of goals and motives, multipersonality, generalization, value view, absolutism, uncriticism, etc.) is dominant and current; Some of them are the result of a long history of 3,000 years of tyrannical rule in Iran, and others are the result of two centuries of dealing with Western civilization and the incomplete acquisition of Western culture, especially the entry and rule of colonialism. One of the most significant of these traits is the focus on "feeling and excitement," which sometimes presents a multidimensional personality of individuals and society. So that political culture, influenced by the "dominant atmosphere" or the "ruling atmosphere", in different situations shows different and sometimes contradictory passive, participatory, and even authoritarian and authoritarian approaches. As a result, Iranian society is "receptive" to various adjectives; "Passive"; "Screaming and roaring" etc. have been identified and analyzed, which does not create a favorable environment for the formation and consolidation of institutions and speech structures in political culture.

The Relationship between the Government and the People in Iran

From time immemorial, in ancient times and in tribal societies, the will of the tribal complex or collective consciousness (according to Emil Durkheim) was crystallized in the existence of the state. From this point of view, the institution of government - in its theoretical and historical basis - is not an element of looting, oppression, exploitation and taking advantage, but the guardian of society and all its people surrounded by aggression and looting of the environment, and in general responsible for external and internal security. It was society. Therefore, the fact that a certain government is captured by force, oppression, tyranny and exploitation is a deviation from the theoretical principle that, unfortunately, in our history, many governments have been examples of it.

Whenever there is a conflict of interests and benefits and goals and values between the state and the nation, there will be tension and rift between that state and the nation. The more intense and profound the difference in this set or one of its aspects, the deeper and deeper the gap becomes, leading to alienation and eventually to the conflict and collapse of one of the two sides.

In this context, thinkers such as Dr. Hossein Bashiriyeh and Dr. Mohammad Ali Homayoun Katozian, the current situation of Iranian society can be interpreted as influenced by the political structure and characteristics of power in Iran and based on it, Iranian political culture in the form of "American political culture" Citizenship" examines the basis of the ideology and attitudes of the ruling groups in the government, which is consistent with the construction of unilateral vertical power. This analysis considers the root of Iran's tyranny in appreciating the water scarcity of nature and the dispersion of

Iranian society, due to the same water scarcity that has led to conflicts between tribes and nomads.

In the history of Iran, the government has always been independent of the social classes and has been above them. This independence of the state from the social classes meant that the power of the state was not subject to a legal framework independent of itself. These two realities, "the independence of the state from the social classes" and "the unconditional power of the state within an independent legal framework," give rise to the context and process of the state-nation conflict. The supra-class government and its conflict with the nation create a cycle of tyranny / revolt, which has always been the logic of Iran's historical developments and even the two revolutions of the twentieth century. For this reason, the history of Iranian society has been short-lived and uninterrupted.

At the same time, the conflict between the state and the nation in the past was not only due to the lack of democracy in society, and it should not be assumed that if there is no democracy in a society, there will be a conflict between the state and the nation. In European countries, for example, there was no democracy until the last centuries, and even a few hundred years of absolute rule, but the feudal system limited the power of the central government, and Shahriar gained his legitimacy from the upper classes and social traditions and rules. He controlled and limited him. As a result, the lower classes revolted in the wake of the revolution, and the upper classes, represented by the government, confronted them. In other words, European revolutions are the uprising of some sections of society against other classes, not the uprising of the whole of society against the state.

In the political culture of leadership / citizenship, the individual strives to gain the sa-

tisfaction of the ruler in any way possible and to approach his privacy, and the space for opportunism and flattery expands. Fear of various government actions is also a feature of the spread of such a culture. (Bashiriyeh, 2002, p.158)

Conclusion

Iran's political culture is the result of political, economic, and especially cultural structures formed throughout Iran's history; In order to change the foundations of a subordinate and limited political culture based on the principle of administration / citizenship, and to establish a participatory political culture, it is necessary to reform the educational system at an early age (rational political culture) and reform the economic structure. Attention should be paid to the principle of "culture building" as the top priority of "civil society" and "government" for a long period of time.

It is within the framework of the concept of culture-building that it is the globalist and developmental elites who can create the capacity to form and institutionalize a culture of trust-based, rule-based, predictable, law-abiding, and competitive politics.

It should be noted that the participation of elites in politics has various forms. These include influencing government policies or public opinion, participating in political life and seizing power, political advice, and so on. Elites and intellectuals everywhere, as opposition groups, seek to influence government policy or participate in government institutions. However, the ability of elites to create culture in political life is far more important than their direct involvement in politics.

In Iranian society, of course, the role of modern elites and intellectuals, especially at the beginning of the transformation and modernization of the country, went far beyond playing a role in political life and found a structural and fundamental aspect. Intellectuals were one of the main factors in the formation of the new government, which was established after the Constitutional Revolution. Early Iranian intellectuals were the first representatives of modern ideas, especially liberalism, secularism, and modernity. Mirza Malekam Khan, Mirza Fath Ali Akhoondzadeh, Mirza Hossein Khan Sepahsalar, Mirza Saleh Shirazi, Mirza Yousef Mostashar- Al Doleh, Sheikh Ahmad Rouhi and Mirza Agha Khan Kermani should be considered as the leaders of the Iranian intellectual movement. The main demands of these intellectuals were the re-identification of Iranian national traditions and Identity, the banning of clerics from interfering in politics, the establishment of a new European constitutional system, the establishment of new political institutions based on national sovereignty and the establishment of modern nation-states. In some cases, intellectuals have sought to attract the attention of religious scholars in order to advance their goals, calling the essence of their ideals Islamic. The intellectual background of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution was prepared as a result of the publication of the opinions of early intellectuals.

Therefore, a fundamental change in Iran's political culture and the institutionalization of participatory political culture would not have been possible without the use of the capacity of the intellectual and instrumental elites. This impact will be lasting if institutionalized in the field of education, especially at an early age. In the capacity of culture building, the "structure of the epistemological system", the "public culture", the "principles of alignment of state and nation", the "structure of kinship" and the "principle of cultural underdevelopment" can be reformed and the stability of political culture can be challenged.

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