



**The effects of the Islamic Revolution on the structure of political power in Iran
(1978 -2005)**

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**The effects of the Islamic Revolution on the structure of political power in Iran (1978 -
2005)**

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Abstract

The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, caused the fundamental changes in the structure of the political system of the country. The Islamic republic with its particular features was replaced to the political system of the monarchy for the first time. This process has had the profound impacts on the political, social, economic and cultural relations. Over the past four decades, the Islamic Republic has also gone through the various periods of time, and it is changed from a newly established system, to an experienced system with more political maturity.

In the first part of this article, we will examine the features and characteristics of the government arising from the Islamic Revolution, and examine the differences and similarities with the previous governments. In the second part, we will examine the evolution of this government from 1978 to 2005 and examine the impact of these developments on the way in which the government exercises its power.

Key words: Islamic Revolution, Islamic Republic, Political Power in Iran



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Introduction

The study of the political power structure in different countries is considered as importance issue. By knowing and understanding the mechanisms of the power exercise by various governments, one can understand the proper understanding of relations in different countries, as well as how they relate to their societies. It is important whether the state, as one of the most important institutions in the community, and even perhaps the most influential institution, also plays a critical contribution in current affairs in the country and in a more macro-level, in the international system.

With the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution, major changes occurred in the various relations of Iranians. These changes took place in the cultural, economic, social and political issues of the society, and in all of these aspects, we witnessed the fundamental changes. One of the most important areas that has undergone major changes is the structure of political power. Before the Islamic Revolution, we witnessed the continuation of the monarchy (although this system has also changed over time). Except for a short time, the system was restored to its strongest form during nearly two thousand and five hundred years. With the advent of the Islamic Revolution, the political system changed from a royal form to the republic, and for the first time in Iran, the president was elected directly by the people. Other important forces such as the Majles and the Judiciary also experienced to fundamental structural changes

The system derived from the Islamic Revolution due to the significant role of political Islam in it, inevitably took shape of an Islamic state with its own characteristics. During the first decade of, the establishment of the Islamic Republic, due to numerous internal and external crises, including: the Iraqi invading to the country, the severe internal disputes and assassinations, the crisis of occupying the US embassy and the effects of this on the relations between the two countries, the anticipated mechanisms in the constitution and macro-level governance of the country, such as the presidential and parliamentary elections, as well as other procedures promoting overall policies, were accompanied by disputes and were virtually impossible to meet the needs of the community, as expected. But in the second



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decade, with the consolidation of the Islamic Republic as well as the suppression of unrest of the first decade, the public space became much more open and the ruling political system became more flexible. During this period, with the arrival of a new generation of youth and cultural transformations of society, Mohammad Khatami will be elected to the seventh presidency in 1997, and with this change we will see a movement in the country known as the reform movement.

During this period, the important concepts such as religious democracy, dialogue, strict monitoring on the performance of the sovereignty and so on entered into the public space of the country, and have a profound impact on the structure of power and current trends in the country.

The main issue in this study is to identify the characteristics of how to be exercise the power of the state arising from the Islamic revolution as well as the differences and similarities with the preceding governments. It also addresses the developments of this government from 1978 to 2005, and it is about how these developments have played a role in the way that the government exercised its power.

In this paper, we are going to answer the following questions:

- 1) What changes have been made to the structure of political power during the post-Islamic revolution?
- 2) What were the consequences of such political power being exercised on the political structures of the country?
- 3) How has this power influenced the structures and social practices of the country?

The structure of power and the methods of exercising power in human society rooted to the early stages of human life. Over time, and from one community to another, methods of exercising power have been different. On this basis, it can be said that in the evolutionary periods of mankind, there is no visible society in which there is no kind of structure of the exercise of power. The structure of power and its determinants have been among the main topics of interest to sociologists, politicians, and so on. (Acini, 2014, p. 27).

According to Biro, "the power means the ability to do something special, operational realization, and in general every possible means of doing the work. As soon as a person or group exercise actions on others that can be determined their direction or it requires them to



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do something, some forms of power are appeared that necessarily have a social character. Accordingly, in the sociological sense, the power means any individual or collective power or authority, Ability to subjugate others to obey them or to create a reconciliation between their demands. Authority is not one of the forms that takes power. But it is a part of the field in which power is exercised, and the exercise of real power can be recognized without authority. It must be distinguished between power as force, legitimacy, and authority. In general, the power that is exercised, will caused its own creation and will organized to be applied and sustained “(Biro, 1987, pp. 225-286).

The state and political power in general have a great contribution to creating convergence. The classical concepts of power, the judge, the embodiment of justice, the power to regulate public property, the power to realize the public good, will represent this case. In the process of convergence, Government and power interfere in four main ways: by setting rules and rituals, by organizing collective services and the general administration of society, by providing citizenship education and by enforcing the neck "(Doorogeh, 2000, p. 373), In general, the triviality of the dominant and modern (from the early 19th century) can be characterized as follows: (1) the discourse of transcendentalism, (2) the discourse of materialism, and the ideology of Islam, and the ideological discourse behind it. In the context of the discussion of the state of affairs, the discourse of democracy in the era of the revolution in the context of the Resurrection has come to light. This discussion of the seriousness of the political crisis in Iran has long been a disagreement over the past few decades, especially in the context of Westernism, nationalism, liberalism, and the growing popularity of the political system in the Middle East (Bashiria, 2002, p. 64).

Today, the nature and structure of political power in Iran, especially political power, is traditional and cannot operate in new conditions for various reasons. Although Iran has been in a new era since the last hundred years, past thoughts and structures continue to be a major challenge to the new conditions, and this challenge must end in favor of a new structure based on socio-economic and political needs, and the barriers to action democratic and people's power will be overcome and a system based on the will of the people shall be formed at all levels (Acini, 2014, p. 82).



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From this angle, the attention is drawn to the structure of power in Iran. The main structural features of the exercise of power in the Iranian society, with the historical and social roots, are including: autocratic and dense government, the authoritarian government's emphasis on the monopoly of ownership, the continuous aggression of the state towards the property of the people. The lack of security of investment), the transfer of part of the land to the close relatives of the state and the ruling body (the emergence of new classes and social inequalities), the dependence of the social classes on the state, the lack of natural and political rights independent of the state, the strong attachment of power to the ruler's personality (exercising the power based on personal desires), the divine and supra-power source (the exercise of charismatic power), the lack of social basis of the state among the people, the nomadic and tribal origin of power, the influence of foreigners in the structure of the country's power (Sariol-Qalam, 1997, p. 8).

Based on the characteristics that have been expressed in exercising power over Iran's society, as well as the combinations of the political structure and political culture of this frontier, the authoritarian and centralized power has consistently influenced the levels of power in macro, middle and micro levels throughout history. It also shapes the political behaviors of the political and administrative elites.

From the work done in relation to the subject under review of this article, it is possible to refer to a book named " An introduction to the political sociology of Iran in the Islamic Republic of Iran" by Dr. Hossein Bashirieh in which he referred to the developments of the ideological government transformations from the Islamic Revolution in different periods post-Islamic revolution, and examined the evolution of revolutionary government with its own characteristics. It is also worth mentioning the book, " Culture and Political Power Structure in Iran" by Dr. Mohsen Alini, who in this book has tried to assess the impact of the structure of political power on rural culture in Iranian society after the Islamic Revolution. Dr. Mahmoud Sariol Qalam also described the political structure of political power in Iran in his book "The Foundations of Iranian Political Culture".

Therefore, the theoretical framework in this article is based on the views of Dr Hossein Bashirieh in the book on "" An introduction to the political sociology of Iran in the Islamic Republic of Iran" as well as the views of Dr. Mohsen'Aliini in the book on , " Culture and



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Political Power Structure in Iran".

Economic, social and political background: Increasing class discrimination and people's dissatisfaction with economic, social and political conditions eventually led to the collapse of the royal system and the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the economic, social, political, and cultural system of the Shah's political administration was broken up and a new chapter was opened in the history of Iran's economic development. During these years, there were many political and social tensions that witnessed the peak of these conflicts in 1981 (Saif al-'Ali, 1995, p. 92; Kadi, 1990, 9)

The conditions of the revolution have led to intensification of the collapse of investment security, the escape of capitalists, and the emigration of efficient human resources. On the other hand, the revolutionary government has declared national large-scale agricultural industries and agricultural units. The political-economic relationship between Iran and the United States was disconnected from the tensions of relations and oil revenues declined over time, and during the eight-year war, in particular, it reached its lowest level. Still, political tensions in Iran were not calmed down and the Iraqi invasion Iran started an eight-year war and seriously damaged the industries and economic structure of the country (Furan, 1999, F 9; Abrahamian, 1999, F11).

With the collapse of the economic structure and the deterioration of the security structure, the private sector was seriously skeptical about the ownership and future of the investment. In these years, too, we see increasing population growth and the increase in the youth population rate due to the abandonment of population regulation policies that have been considered since the pre-revolutionary period. Nationalization of banks, insurance companies, some large industries, and the transfer of ownership of industrial units, agriculture and services of a group of large capitalists to revolutionary institutions, the National Iranian Industrial Organization, and ... although it was a strong blow; but in the construction of a dependent economy of Iran, the country did not make a radical change. Also, the change in oil policy did not allow the oil industry dependent country to make a decisive change (Razaghi, 1999, p. 24-24).

"Since 1989, economic adjustment policies have been implemented through the privatization of the country's economy, the liberalization of exchange rates, the opening of commercial



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doors, borrowing from abroad, the reduction of subsidies, indirectly decreasing the value of money and the relative consolidation of wages and salaries. Despite the initial relative success, some of these policies were influenced by heavy imports of about \$ 50 billion, foreign borrowing of about \$ 30 billion, and the intensification of inflation, which reached about 60% in 1995. "(Razaghi, 1999, p. 24) 25).

In total, during this period, due to unfavorable political conditions and social tensions, an eight-year-old war and novice and inefficient management, and so on, the economic conditions were severely disrupted, and the political environment was always subject to contraction and expansion, a kind of obstruction and Closure of the political climate in Iranian society is seen before June 2, 1997, and then we witness a democratic leap. In the cultural and social spheres, even though the revolutionary system put forward several slogans, but in total statement, due to the lack of practical models for the younger generation, little has happened, but rather a kind of social anomalies, especially for the new generation was dominated.

The structure of the country's macro management: In the political structure, for the first time, we witnessed the collapse of the imperial system and the rise of the republican republic. In a short period of time, we saw the rule of the interim government and a layer of intellectuals, but this period of governance declined and paved the way for the left-wing revolutionaries, and the radicals took power. In these circumstances, the authoritarian structure was pursued in a new style. In the early years of the revolution, a kind of orbital-based management system (the priority of commitment to specialty) arose in the country, and part of the social descendant may have come to the governing board for the first time (Furan, 1999; F 9; Abrahamian, 1999, p. 11).

In the course of this period, we also see that, in the aftermath of the advent of the authoritarian party and the beginning of the era of construction, the injection of money and financial incentives to senior executives of the system gave grounds for the emergence of a generation of benevolent managers, and some senior community leaders took advantage of their position in the economic arena. In this situation, a little attention was paid to the system of meritocracy in the country's management, and a kind of superficial policy (factionalism) on the shadow management system (Furan, 1999, pp. 585-559; Kodi, 1999, F 9).



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In total, this course can be identified with three sub-periods:

1. Establishment and consolidation of the foundations of the Islamic Republic (1978-1988);
2. Reflections on authoritarianism and the rule of extremist right-wing (1989-1997);
3. Statements of democratic leaps (since 2 June 1997).

During this period, due to the little experience in the field of democracy, a number of tensions occurred, so the structure of power continued to be concentrated. A kind of conflict and lack of coordination between the three powers emerged due to the lack of precise definition of social and legal positions. Despite the new slogans of the system, there was no precise mechanism for the exercise of meritocracy in the country's system of governance, and effective and efficient mechanisms for supervising the ruling party were not foreseen. The existence of non-democratic filters such as the Guardian Council, the Expediency Council, and so on damaged democracy.

An Analysis of the Power Structure After the Islamic Revolution:

As mentioned earlier, in the post-Islamic period, at least, three periods of history can be considered based on the structural characteristics of different periods:

The first period: the establishment and consolidation of the foundations of the Islamic Republic (the revolutionary period and the war);

Second period: Construction period (1989-1987);

Third Period: A Period of Democratic Leakage (an attempt to achieve civil society).

Accordingly, it has been attempted to briefly examine the characteristics of the exercise of power and the power structure of the three sub-historical periods.

A. Establishment and consolidation of the foundations of the Islamic Republic

"The major political events following the victory of the revolution largely followed the line of thought of Ayatollah Khomeini and his clerical followers, hence the power and position of other groups, including the conservatives and liberals of the national front, Islamic groups and non The religious left and ethnic minorities (Kurds, Turkmens, Baluchis, etc.) and even the first clerics who criticized the revolutionary leadership "(Kodi, 1990, p. 379).

The victory of this intellectual trend, with the referendum of March 1979, as well as the referendum on the constitution, strengthened the foundations of the Islamic Republic, and established the way for the establishment of a system based on velayat-e faqih, in which



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ultimately all power would be available to one jurispudent. The confrontation of political and ethnic groups eventually led to the events of the 1981s, which led the government to crack down on all the groups and to engage in some kind of refinement.

In August 1979, the wave of seizure of journals, political organizations and political groups extended and, in one case, 22 newspapers and magazines were seized. Other publications, mostly the affiliated with political groups, were affected by the post-revolution changes, the beginning and the end of the war, and Political conflicts and differences between political groups and political organizations on the one hand, and government on the other, so they were eventually closed or confiscated by the end of 1980 and the mid-1981 (Bijanji, 2005, pp. 99-100).

This period is regarded as the golden age of official culture by the revolutionary conditions and more legitimacy of the new government. At this point, the formal culture of all cultural and social domains was conquered and, was effective and unrivaled to a large extent, and the official culture or parallel culture was not effective and active due to the country's war situation "(Malikpour, 2002, p. 192).

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With the start of the revolution and after its stabilization:

1. A large number of intellectuals affiliated with the past system emigrated from Iran, due to their lack of conformity with the Islamic Republic, along with many capitalists;
2. Most of the experienced officials at various levels in the passion and inflammation of the revolution were ousted due to their dependence on the past system;
3. During this period, the assassinations of the Islamic Republic's thinkers such as Motahari, Muftah, Ghareen, Bahonar and have weakened the top of the political power pyramid in the country;
4. The subsequent developments led to the elimination and disintegration of other expert and expert forces (mainly due to ideological or political tendencies);



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5. The clerks who at first refused to participate in the administration, gradually decided to take power, and use the intellectuals and specialists. This led to the departure of some independent intellectuals from the political scene, the lack of specialized clerics' surroundings on experienced experts, and at times the risk of religious prestige due to possible clerical mistakes (Rafi Pour, 1997, p. 116-118).

Although the revolution was mainly urban, it did not mean that its leadership did not have access to the rural masses. Conversely, after the revolution, on the recommendation of Ayatollah Khomeini, the clergy went to the villages to mobilize the rural population. The socioeconomic changes of the past, especially the effects of the White Revolution, made them easier because of these changes, leaving the villagers and tribes out of the hands of the masters and queens. The villages were faced directly with the government, also pushing them into close commercial relations with the cities, turning the rural mullahs from the spokeswoman of the local masters as market makers of the petty-bourgeoisie. After the Islamic Revolution, the clerics possessed a field for themselves, as the social, economic development of the recent traditional ties between the tribes and tribes, the village chief and the villagers, and Khan and tribe's heads broke up, and thus the renewal was a marvelous role in the strengthening of traditional scholars. (Abrahamian, 1999, pp. 495-496).

war and its prolonged continuity led, on the one hand, to the revolutionary political system, which succeeded in dislodging and stabilizing liberals oriented to the West and paramilitary groups opposed to the new regime, and on the other hand, gradually, the people The youth's visa is to confront the enemy, mobilize and set off on the front. Thus, with the influential messages of the leader, with the enemy's attacks, which caused the incitement of national sentiment, the enormous forces of the Basij and the Revolutionary Guard were created, and on the other hand, the confrontation with the enemy made the important changes to the structure of the army. The Iraqi invasion of Iran, which was considered by the general public as insolent and insulting to national pride, did not dispel such national sentiments that coping with it and defending the homeland became a social value (Rafi Pour, 1997, p. 135-137).

In total, during the war, conditions were created in which the mobilization of the masses and the stimulation of religious and national emotions became an essential principle. It also provided the leaders of the Islamic Republic with the opportunity to open the way for the



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stabilization of the Islamic Republic by suppressing dissent and marginalizing non-Muslims. In other words, the war strengthened the social foundations of the revolution and brought about national solidarity and unity in the internal structures of the newly established Islamic Republic.

In general, before 1989, politics and government in Iran were influenced by the personality of the leader of the revolution as the main axis of the political system. The charismatic authority of Ayatollah Khomeini, as the founder of the Islamic Republic, was not based on government or party control, but on his personal charisma, which was among the major sectors of the political forces. The majority of people created unity and integrity. The way Ayatollah Khomeini's charismatic leadership kept the political system constantly in a state of dynamism, and movement, and was not so relevant to organizational, hierarchical, administrative, and ordinary state practices. This charismatic authority was merged with the passing of the constitution with traditional authority in the authority of Velayat-e faqih. But the leader of that era was the centerpiece of politics in Iran. Resolving conflicts between political groups, making decisions on war and peace, creating the most important political institutions in the country, and so on were among the duties of leadership. Thus, the charismatic authority was dominated by traditional and democratic authority (Bashirieh, 2002, pp. 47 and 90).

"In the shadow of the charismatic authority of the leader, a clerical oligarchic body was formed, and the clerical class of Iran finally managed to create a hierarchical system for itself and the political system. However, before the victory of the revolution, during the revolutionary mobilization, the charismatic leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini was purer and therefore the support of both traditional classes and groups intensified, but the establishment of the authority of the Velayat-e faqih, the traditional element of that leadership revealed. Ayatollah Khomeini, with the provision of the theory of the divine rule of the jurisprudent, was somehow based on the traditional Shiite theory. However, the basic aim was not to weaken that tradition, but to intensify and strengthen it in new conditions. In fact, such the divine rule of the faghil means the statehood of the provincial theory in the presence of the Shi'ah. Thus, the special nature of the Velayat-e faqih was considered to be the protection of



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the interests of the Islamic state and would not necessarily be conditional on religious and religious laws (Bashirieh, 2002, P. 90-91).

In a general picture, the structure of power that was established during these years consisted of several elements that together constituted a specific feature of the Islamic Republic. Firstly, ideologically, some of the obvious elements of the omnipotent state were found, but at the same time there were certain institutional and hierarchical elements that were not commonly associated with the ideological elements of the omnipotent government. Secondly, in terms of power structure, the characteristics of the type of political system known as formal or demonstrative democracy were evident; and thirdly, especially in the 1990s, features and elements of the kind of political system known as pseudo-democracy were developed.

Two general characteristics are significant in the ideological and omnipotent government:

1. The politicization of the whole society and social interests in the sense that the private realms and areas of life are contingent in life; naturally, the government and its affiliates, for whatever reason and at any time, are entitled to intervene in those fields.
2. The politicization of the society and social interests only came from the perspective of the dominant ideology, that is, Islamic traditionalism or traditional Islamism, which leaves little room for dissent and does not tolerate it. Therefore, due to the domination of ideology, the domain of the authority of the Islamic state, at least in the field of opinion and ideology, has no limits and is universal. In terms of the structure of power, especially in the early years of this era, there were unity and harmony among various political institutions, and executive, legal, judicial and other institutions were at the disposal of the dominant ruling faction (Bashirieh, 2002, 49-44).

The ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been based on several basic principles: The Islamic tradition is accepted as the source of all values and norms. Rights and duties and social privileges are accepted only in the traditional framework interpreted and interpreted by jurists. Nothing out of the Islamic tradition is intrinsic to its origin and value. The realization and fulfillment of its tradition are regarded as the highest value, and the system of Velayat-e faqih is responsible for the implementation of Islamic law and monitors it. The Islamic government is the author of the general law that in the Islamic tradition, it is ruled out for all



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human affairs. According to this Islamic tradition, clerics and scholars Religious, have the privilege of gaining access to religious knowledge resources and, as successors or representatives of the Shiite Imams, are themselves the exclusive monopoly of the government. As a result, clerics of the deputies and The main guardians and commentators are the Islamic tradition, and the authority of the Islamic tradition depends on the political authority of the class of clerics and religious scholars "(Bashirieh, 2002, pp. 49-50). 49). The absolute rule of the jurispudent is the main center of authority in the Islamic Republic and its legitimacy is the result of the sovereignty of God. However, the Assembly of Experts of Leadership is considered as the elected body in the discovery of a competent person as the supreme leader. In contrast to democratic institutions such as the parliament and the presidency, are the main elements of formal democracy, it is the pseudo-democratic institution itself. The constitution structure of the Islamic Republic is similar to some of the old mixed law, consisting of various elements of autocracy, aristocracy or oligarchy (clerical class), and democracy (direct election of the president and parliament). The leader oversees the tripartite government and forms the core of the political system.

"In the ideology of the Islamic Revolution, it is neither a government, a party or a particular class, but an Islamic tradition, the clergy of which is its main commentator, is bowed and revered." Tradition and public opinion as an integral part of its emergence are not necessarily linked to work, but clerics and at the head of it Velayat-e faqih is the main manifestation of the Islamic tradition. Therefore, the Islamic tradition and the Velayat-e faqih is the main manifestation of the Islamic tradition. Therefore, the Islamic tradition and the interpretation of the leader form the main link in the Islamic Republic "(Bashirieh, 2002, p. 51).

B) Construction period (1989-1997)

In the first period, the clerical class, in the shadow of the charismatic authority of Ayatollah Khomeini, found political formulation and inherited it, but after that, the charismatic authority, although more institutionalized in the form of Velayat-e faqih, became the authority of the ruling clerical class. Thus, the purity that was previously possible between charismatic authority and traditional authority was gradually fading. In other words, the conservative interpretation of the traditions of tradition was dominated by the charismatic authority, which was more in line with the interests of the ruling clerical and its main social



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base; the market and the capitalist classes of the commercial as a carrier group. By combining this kind of traditional authority with commercial capitalism and the policies of privatization and domination of the oligarchy, a charismatic and mobilizable element, the initial authority would be weakened, resulting in a potential conflict between charismatic authority and traditional authority. Also, with the escalation of political monopoly and the establishment of the ruling oligarchy, the incompatibility of this kind of traditional authority with the democratic institutions of the constitution became clearer (Bashirieh, 2002, p. 91

In this period, the agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran were thinking of changing the course of the revolution, and there were several positive elements in this path: the change of society from the closed society to the open society, the flexibility regarding the traditional-religious patterns, the use of specialist people and methods New instead of old methods that did not seem successful and reduced government control over the economy. In order to achieve these goals, one of the most important measures was the change in the constitution in which the power of the president increased in the hierarchy of power. One reason for that was the previous experience of the prime minister's power of execution in front of the president and the closure of the president's hands in fundamental actions. In addition, the most important consequence of the constitutional change was the change in the hierarchy of power at the level of the prime minister and the president, but in the system of power of the Islamic Republic (Rafi Pour, 1997, pp. 150-151).

In sum, the changes that took place during the first and second periods of the hierarchy of power led, firstly, to the new head of the power pyramid, to diverge from the head of the previous power pyramid; secondly, at the time of Ayatollah Khomeini, the position and power of the boss The republic in the political system and the constitution went much higher than the pyramid. On the one hand, he changed his distance from the supreme leader; on the other hand, his distance with the bases of power was much lower than him; thirdly, the power of the parliament declined and with various measures, including the change of the minister of the interior and the facilities available In the election, dissenters and radicals dropped from the other side, resulting in a diminution of the opposition's presence in parliament.

Thus, "the power of the president and his influence on organizations and, ultimately, the whole country was greatly increased, and measures to change the political, economic and



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social system were possible at a faster pace and with less obstacles." In such a hierarchy of power, though the work of the president Easier, but the work of the leader became more difficult "(Rafi Pour, 1997, p y of power, though the work of the president Easier, but the work of the leader became more difficult "(Rafi Pour, 1997, p. 152).

During the construction period, it was attempting to move out of economic gear and prevent society from collapsing economically, politically and culturally. This move began with economic adjustment and privatization, and society opened up the path to capitalism with intense economic, social, cultural and political shifts, and once again, factories, plants, and manufacturing companies with low production capacity began to work. The features of this phase are the focus on economic growth based on privatization and economic adjustment towards the development of the global economy and efforts to compensate for the backwardness and damage caused by the war (Seifollahi, 2002, p. 124).

"This era is accompanied by a reorganization and orientation for economic and social development. The features of this phase are the implementation of the first five-year socio-economic development program and the beginning of the formation of a system and economic policy that is clear that its process is over It took a decade. Political management attempted to adjust the process and functioning of the socio-economic system based on the needs and necessities of the community, and, with internal facilities and external conditions, to resolve the long-standing economic, political, social and cultural problems of society. This is an endeavor was delayed due to the domestic problems and expansionist policies of the host countries "(Saif Ullah, 1995, S169-170).

The press was not politically involved in this period, and if it were to deal with politics, their viewing angles were the same official look of the government, which was similar to that of other Friday communication devices, including radio and television. In addition to an official look at political issues, this time, the provision of materials, reports and news on post-war construction was seen as a positive development of government policies and programs, especially economic adjustment policies, was seen on the pages of the press, and rarely did it use occasional critical content in criticizing government programs, and in particular modifying policies by press officials. Thus, although the number of newspapers increased during this period, there were still many groups in the community that did not have



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representative or speakers, such as ethnic minorities, racial, religious, political, and so on. During this period, the press was mainly a follower, spokesperson and reflector of official politics. At the beginning of the 1991, the press, if criticized by the authorities, was not an influential, critical, fundamental, and critical role for criticism, and in most cases it was a superficial and pertinent social matter. The field of politics was also a prohibited area for curious journalists and analyst with knowledge of the day and committed to the people (Bijanji, 2005, 10-10-10).

During this period, in addition to the official censorship of the sovereignty of the press, unofficial groups and pressures are also threatened with intimidation, attacking critical editorial offices and creating a climate of fear and terror, the conditions and the possibility of a healthy and constructive critique of power and government. They made In this situation, the power structure was also punished by the removal of dissidents and critics and brought several journalists to court and imprisonment. The government also jeopardized the critique of the media by exerting economic pressures to cut off the quota of computer paper. The cultural policies of the ruling year provided the foundations for the formation of a culturally marginalized society, which were intellectuals, writers, journalists, and independent poets and literate, filmmakers and artists of its members (Acini, 2014, p.

"From a cultural point of view, this period is the stage of the relative halt or frenzy of official culture. At this time, although formal culture seems to dominate, but gradually loses the active state of the previous stage, it is placed in a relatively defensive position. The official culture of the arena Does not conquer new ones and tries to preserve its previous achievements. In this period, informal culture is as intangible but effective on the verge of rising and increasing influence. The greatest change of values and changing tendencies develops in this period, which is the source of the next cultural change "(Malikpour, 2002, p. 192).

During this period, the value and cultural structures of the community were transformed substantially, social issues and problems such as poverty, prostitution, addiction, bribery, embezzlement, social deviations, decreasing religious adherence, luxury, and so on. They made in these circumstances, greater class divisions and wealth were introduced as a social



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value. Also, material values were preferred to spiritual and cultural values, and eventually the social and economic inequalities in society were aggravated (Aleini, 2014, p. 164).

In total, from 1990 to 1997, traditional authority overcame legal and democratic authority.

The controversy over the nature and source of political legitimacy after 1990 continued until it appeared in the form of an acute and critical appearance at the end of the 1991. Different political factions, based on their ideological interests, relied on the same three forms of legitimacy: the charismatic authority of Velayat-e faqih, the traditional authority of the clergy, and the legal and democratic authority. In this period, the political system faced some major problems in the field of political legitimacy. On the one hand, there were three main sources of legitimacy: charismatic authority, traditional patriarchy-spirituality and legal authority, and this contradiction was reflected in the level of some political conflicts. On the other hand, none of these three sources was able to gain enough strength. In this case, the government failed to create the unity and solidarity among the forces of the bloc of power, but in practice its core constituted a kind of monopoly in government and political obstruction (Bashiria, 2002, p. 92-99).

In a general conclusion, it can be said that during the discussed period, the gap between political factions deepen more, the government moved towards more concentration and monopolization in power, and in a kind of oligarchy, it was found that the element of mass mobilization was in decline. The oligarchy of the ruling tradition during this period promoted a kind of commercial and semi-industrial capitalism that did not suit the ideals of mass mobilization. In this period, the political system faced a crisis of legitimacy as well a crisis of people's participation and somewhat lost the ability to mobilize people for effective participation in social and political scenes.

C) The era of democratic mutation (attempts to gain access to civil society)

The crisis of legitimacy and participation in the previous period, as well as the emergence of economic, social, cultural and political problems provided the conditions for the emergence of the second phenomenon of June 1997. The radical and left-wing forces of the first period revised their views and principles of value with the modern right-wing forces, who had declared themselves a technocrat in the previous period, so they formed a coalition. Academic groups and dissident intellectuals also joined the coalition because of the



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frustration and disillusionment with the previous conditions, and they were also able to accompany the masses of the people (Acini, 2014, p. 165)

In this period, a new political activist class emerged that had distinct democratic demands and a fairly clear ideology, although achieved the outcomes only in recent years, the social base of this active political class is the new middle class, but its main characteristic is not pure economic demands but social, cultural, ideological and political demands, the realization of which requires the establishment of democratic institutions. The core of this new political-social force is generally intellectuals. And due to these intellectual aspirations, this new active class is structured and determined "(Bashiria, 2002, p. 130).

"In other words, a struggle between the ideology of traditionalism, the discourse of democracy and civil society has resumed, with their representatives and intellectuals arranged in the order of the clerical class and the intellectual class. The new middle classes in the absence of active intellectual power and the democracy discourse have dispersed passivity, but in the light of the new various discourses, a new political class has been produced and implemented: the domination of commercial capital, on the one hand, and the expansion of class divisions on the other, along with the traditionalist positions of the state, which intensified an increasing strain of economic, political and cultural constraints on the new middle class. Also, limiting the participation of the traditional classes, the market and the clerk classes increased the severity of the situation. Thus, the economic, social, ideological and political constraints in the emergence of the new political force were influenced by the new middle class.

Based on the provided analysis, the Democracy Movement of May 1997 was discussed to complete the deposited duties during the Islamic Revolution. The Islamic revolution, with the acceptance of freedom and democracy, and the vote of the nation as criteria, put forward slogans and goals that they had to make to their ultimate logic, but for some reason, some of them stopped. In the view of these analysts, the civil society plan is considered as the best capacity for contributing to the completion of the deposited tasks of the revolution (Hajjarian, 1998, pp 307-309)

This period is the beginning of a series of ups and downs in the field of political and cultural development, to fill the gaps of the pressures of economic development without the



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preconditions of the previous phase and to provide a platform for the sustainable development and economic-social balance. This phase, combined with intense political and cultural tensions, opened up new headlines in Iranian society, which is somewhat unmatched in the history of the socio-economic changes of Iran. But since the historical, social, political, cultural and economic backgrounds were not provided for such an emergency and effective movement, it was accompanied by calm and sluggishness and was fraught with a lot of worries, shocks and tremors. The features of this period are the attention to the dimensions of political and cultural development, the establishment of relations with the countries of the region and the world and the alignment with the global trends, the ground for admission to international organizations and institutions and the reduction of psychological pressure on social groups and Finally, efforts are being made to attract the human resources and internal and external capital of the government in order to regulate the economy and reduce the class distances and the harmful political, cultural and social classifications in the society. This stage has been accompanied by widespread transformations and the global invasion of the world in the form and content of the new (globalization) and, on the other hand, has not been met with the movements and demands that have always been raised in Iranian society (Seyfollahi, 2002, pp. 124-125).

The changes after June 1997 marked the concept of civil society strongly and promising a dynamic, growing and free society within the framework of the constitution. Because of the acceptance of the reality of plurality and the diversity of groups and organizations, this society could not be monotony, in which, in addition to recognizing differences, people also had the right to be different, and to speak differently (Acini, 2014 , P. 169).

In this period, people believed that, in contrast to the poor media structure of the past, the community would have multi-voice media, in other words, the publication of some opinions abroad, the queue of the press and book licensors, the exclusivity of the radio , Television and the rapid spread of rumors about the news will not be seen. At the same time, the increase in press circulation, the development of critical content and the relative freedom of the press were considered as a part of the demands of the community. During this period, although conflicts and attacks against the independent press took place, the government's general



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orientation was to protect press freedom in the country, emphasizing the legal rights of individuals and publications (Bijani, 2005, pp. 116-111).

The press in this period helped to create a healthy and ideal atmosphere, such as the beginning of the Islamic Revolution, but formal constraints and barriers took a different form as indirect and latency. At this point, the activity of the pressure groups increased and the attack on the offices of political parties, political groups and independent publications intensified. On the other hand, the judiciary has opposed the government's policies, so arrested journalists, and detained dissidents and journalists.

The third period was the period of connection and withdrawal of official culture versus informal culture. At this point, official culture did not succeed in gaining new arenas on social scene and public opinion, and adopted a vigorous passive position, so lost its relative influence on all past dimensions, and suffered from a lack of persuasion and attraction of the masses, especially the youth. The basic concern of the most important challenge in society, namely, cultural invasion and similar interpretations, was raised by the cultural organizations and public-relations media. In contrast, unofficial culture has gradually been invaded, and by recognizing the weaknesses of the official culture, it creates new issues for it every time. This new era should be referred to as the period of relative disclosure of the hidden or parallel angles of Iranian society (Malikpour, 2002, p. 193).

intellectuals formed the Central core of political power of the new middle class and supported the widespread cultural, political and social transformation. The reinterpretation of the religious tradition was among one of the common characteristics of the new generation of intellectuals. Hence, the religious reform was one of their intellectual interests. The critique of tradition, power and government was the main characteristic of this generation, so the reformist intellectuals found a certain place within the Islamic state. Their presence represents the weakness of the Islamic state in the cultural conquest of the community and the most sophisticated academic and student institutions. Nowadays , reformative intellectuals have adopted more cautious positions because of the extensive critique of the Sunnah on the one hand, and the critique of modernity in other hand, although their main ideals are summarized as concepts such as political development, civil society, democracy, human rights, peace and Collaboration (Bashirieh, 2002, p. 137).



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The struggle against totalitarianism , totalitarian ideologies and its critique, the separation of politics from religion and the emphasis on religion, at least against the widespread interference of religion and its guards in various fields of life, are the basic demands of the new generation of intellectuals. Students' organizations were used as an instrument of the Islamic state to exercise political power and suppress dissent, in the form of independent collections, and found a new identity which assumed the main burden of critique of power and the demand seeking of the people's (Alini, 2014, p. 171).

It seems that the failure of the reformists and the escalation of social, economic and political inequalities, the increase in economic problems, as well as the inability of the government to reform in preventing the violation of the rights of the mass and the failure the meeting the demands of the people have led to the frustration among the masses. And gradually the important positions and bases such as city councils, village councils, parliamentary chambers and eventually presidential administration occupy by traditional ideological groups over recent years. In the period after June 1997, the new government was in conflict with extra-judicial and non-democratic (non-selective) structures, but couldn't influence all corners and structures of power. This made it impossible to reach all the slogans, and also reach to people's views and demands. Finally, people went to economic slogans because of frustration with the reformists. The new government, according to its leaders, was neither right nor left, but a new and pragmatic stream in the political scene, set the society on the verge of a major transformation, which may be the return to the Golden Age of the Islamic Revolution (in their view) and previous values are among them...

Conclusion

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the economic, social, cultural and political structures were transformed, and a new chapter was opened in the history of economic development in the country. For the first time , we witnessed a change from the imperial system to the republican republic in the power structure.

During the establishment and consolidation of the foundations of the Islamic Republic with the presence of Ayatollah Khomeini at the head of the political power pyramid, the structure of power leads to charismatic authority. The exercise of charismatic power during this period led to the mobilization of the masses for the eight-year war, as well as the internal purge of



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dissenting political parties and political groups. In this course, the official culture began its golden age due to the legitimacy of the new government and conquered all cultural and social spheres. At the end of this period, the power structure took over the characteristics of the omnipotent government, and the society moved more and more towards becoming a politician, violating the privacy of individuals, ideologizing all affairs, and so on.

In the years 1989 -1997, the power structure moved from the charismatic conditions to traditional authority. With the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, the charismatic features of the leadership of the revolution have also been gradually weakened, and the conflict between charismatic authority and traditional authority has become apparent. Also, with the escalation of political monopoly and the establishment of the ruling oligarchy, the incompatibility of this kind of traditional authority became more apparent with the democratic constitutional foundations. In this period, although economic and social reforms were on the agenda of the government, political conditions were still oriented toward centralization and authoritarianism, and the politics was considered a prohibited area.

Between 1997 and 2004, intellectuals, mobilizing various social strata, were able to influence the structure of power and prepare society for a democratic leap. For the first time since the Islamic Revolution, a struggle between the ideology of traditionalism and the discourse of democracy and civil society took place. The structure of traditional authority was faced with serious challenges and sparkles of rational authority emerged, but due to the impossibility of historical, social, political, cultural and economic conditions, such a move went slowly and in many areas Failed. The centralized and traditional power structure was reluctant to lose its authority, thus, with the new organization, attempted to restore the political, social and cultural scene back to the early period of the revolution. During this period, slogans and actions were taken for the first time, indicating the movement towards civil society and distance from traditional culture. People's demands and demands also tended to democratic values in such a way that state intervention in the private realms was minimized, tribal, ideological and religious prejudices tended to tolerate and tolerance rather than relativism in management Society was considered. In the course of this period, due to the failure of the reformists to carry out basic and basic measures, authoritarianism re-emerged and provided the ground for the hopelessness of the people and the emergence of traditionalist views.



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Finally, the consequences of such acts of power in the social, cultural and political structures of the society are including: the extensive and permanent exercise of the power of law, the dysfunctional development of the institution of government against other institutions, the development of the historical gap and distrust the people against state, the feeling of individual and social insecurity , the crisis of the problems and the crisis of the legitimacy of the government in Iran, the government's inability to control the behavior, the small influence of the government on the people, the periodic crises and the emergence of numerous cultural and political problems in society.

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