THE EFFECT OF GLOBALIZATION ON IRAN'S POST-REVOLUTION TRANSITION TO CIVIL SOCIETY

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Abstract: Globalization is a situation that has swept the world over the last two centuries as it has affected all aspects of political, social, economic and cultural life. Globalization leads to democratic practices and the transformation of concepts such as national sovereignty, political participation and culture has been effective in the acquisition of civil society. According to the research findings, a slight reflection of the effects of globalization, including the number of parties, associations, number of newspapers and publications and books, organizations of people with diverse trends and topics, pervasive electronic communication in awareness and so on, has grown in the form of an eye for the first decade of revolution.

Keyword: globalization, political development, civil society.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the civil society building context in Iran is facing many problems and the efficient party system and active social movements and institutionalization of civil rights in the field of civil society have not reached their perfection and maturity, so the Gramsci civil society model where Introducing Civic and those present as social progressive forces (the role of intellectuals and reference groups in promoting civil society) can be explanatory. Moreover, it is impossible to grow in the Gramsci approach of civil society without creating hegemonic struggles and competitions. This has also been the subject of globalization concerns in recent decades, with the intellectual struggles and the expansion and expansion of associations, foundations and NGOs with different and sometimes conflicting goals in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Some have described it as a natural process. Others see globalization as a project led by capitalist countries. Some believe that globalization is in fact the dominance of the American model over the whole world. The United States today is seeking to impose its cultural model on the world by dominating the economic and military spheres of the world. So, globalization in the general sense is nothing but the absolute sovereignty of capitalism, and in the specific sense it is Americanization [1]. In general, globalization, as a project and as a process, is like many



other phenomena. It has opportunities and threats that need to be carefully analyzed. Identifying Opportunities and Identifying and Identifying the Threats and Opportunities of Globalization and Its Impact on the Process of Forming and Maintaining and Changing Civil Society is one of the key issues that has been of particular concern to third world countries, especially the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Today, the globalization of politics has also penetrated into the fields of public opinion and global civil society. It can therefore be said that globalization and its effects on civil society have been influenced by various global cultures such as the depletion of geographical boundaries, the acceleration of technology exchange, the dependence on global information networks, the benefits of global information networks. New technological and ICT achievements include expanding transnational corporations, raising global awareness, reducing sovereignty of governments and a nation-state system. The emergence of virtual civil society areas has challenged the role of the government as a whole in identifying and influencing civil society. We are not monopolistic and we are witnessing different political developments in the civil spaces of countries. Globalization, therefore, has a significant impact on the civil society of countries. Today, the traditional notion of politics that views the state as the ultimate source of distribution, exercise, and exercise of power is lost. Other states in the various geopolitical, cultural, political, economic, and other domains of governance are not the final and active decision makers. Politics has become a political affair and is not limited to its traditional official domain, the state. The globalization of politics refers to the intensification and expansion of the global political interactions. One of the major manifestations of the political globalization of change is the general rule of the nation-state's sovereignty over its territorial territories. During the process of globalization, the territories under the sovereignty of the nation become permeable to ideas, goods, capital, and so on. Significant changes have been made in the scope and content of international law. From the law of war to the law on crimes against humanity, environmental issues and human rights ... rights that limit the political power of individual states ... Increasing Public and Private Agencies in Lawmaking, Regulation and Regulation [2].

In general, the globalization of politics has four consequences: the weakening of nation-states and the ideology of nationalism, the expansion of global civil society by non-state actors, the end of the Cold War and ideological conflicts, and the evolution of the concept of power and security, and more attention to transnational and transnational issues [3]. The concept of civil society in the semantic domain is considered as one of the main concepts in modern theories of political science. The concept of civil society derives from Aristotle's, and therefore civil society is a concept of history that has existed within the government of cities since ancient Greece and ancient Rome, and continues to exist in urban society today in the light of the current sophisticated information technology. It will continue [4]. The ideas of civil society were manifested in the ideas and ideas of political philosophers, and individuals such as Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, Marx, Mill, Dotqueville, as well as modern scholars of political science and sociology, such as those present in postmodernist approaches, have also analyzed and interpreted this concept.

Civil society is a term first used in the 17th century by the modern philosopher John Locke. Although Hobbes had emphasized this concept before, Locke divides the boundaries of civil society from that of political society and provides the basic conditions for its formation. Liberals have introduced the concept of civil society as an active, dynamic, and vibrant area in which individuals restrict the power of modern governments to organize themselves in the form of social associations. In this approach, individuals



such as John Stuart Mill and Dotkouville advocated the existence of social associations that solidified and developed social relations at the level of a society. These thinkers challenged the nature and power of government and emphasized the real liberation of the people at the community level. In the Marxist and critical spheres, civil society was also dominated by capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the attempt to liberate and revolutionize it was on the agenda of Marxist civil society. After Gramsci's approaches during the 1980s, civil society has also been heavily influenced by different currents of sociology and politics, and has been used as a rigorous method in many social studies.

In general, this historical concept in its evolution evoked various concepts and in fact meant the necessity of historical sections in different forms. Civil society once embraced the concept of government as a state, and at one time embraced the concepts of the class and the private sector. Today, it encompasses the concept of government and the space of public spaces, and areas that are beyond the direct reach of governments [5]. In fact, civil society is made up of countless popular organizations and provides the true source of people's power. Civil society brings a new way of thinking and a new attitude to the world for the political arena. It is an endogenous process that results from the internal dynamics of society by being aware of the progress of science and the nature of each society's culture and minimizing the internal recession of any society [6]. In the political environment of civil society, individuals have legal abilities that influence their processes and movements. The rights that human beings receive in the form of civil society include: Human rights (the right to join human society); Citizenship rights (membership in the nation-state phenomenon); Civil rights (membership in civil society organizations)

Therefore, civil society is defined as non-state domains that are composed of a set of societies and associations (the result of the development of civil society). Civil society emerges from societal and cultural developments in societies and can pressure or alter the government and make it change based on public opinion. Today, in civil society, civil society strives to Provide support and guarantee for the rights of individuals in different layers of society and provide the opportunity to hear social voices in a community. In general, the development and establishment of civil society depends on the extent to which civil culture is developed at the community level, which has the most to do with the functioning of the educational system, the elite social activities of each society, how individuals are sociable in each society, and the political structures of that society. All of this has an impact on the political development of a country and the formation of democracy in it. The process of functioning and strengthening of civil society in the field of political development has also received much attention, and therefore this process plays an important role in political development in societies.

In the process of strengthening civil society in political development, societies with intermediary institutions (parties, organizations, and institutions) are turning to civil society, and societies that do not exist should strive to create them. Prevent the possibility of atomization in the community. In societies where civil society has not been established, competitions are individual and massively organized and not organized. In this way, the conditions for attracting slogans are met by the catalyst or the political leader, and on the one hand the dense oppressed people (social potentials) can disrupt the social order and national unity and even challenge the political system [7]. In societies where civil society does not have the capacity to operate, security is formed in dreaded intelligence and repressive forces to control probable riots and powerful secret police, and a violent, domineering face will rule society and the absence of civil society will pose such risks. Communities are created [8].



2. CIVIL SOCIETY AND ITS STRUCTURE AFTER THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

With a historical look at the structure of political power in Iran, the construction of prehistoric political power has revolved around the centralization of the sources of power and its monopoly on government. Scholars who have studied the construction of power in ancient Iran (the Medes, the Achaemenids, the Parthians, and the Sassanids) have concluded that: The power structure in Iran was not initially centralized but rather oligarchic in structure. It became a form of government and was transformed into a centralized government in the Sassanid era, and one of the most important reasons was the influence of religious missionaries on the structure of power. The researchers conclude that the reason for the formation of Iran's first centralized government, the Medes, was the geographical location of Iran and a powerful foreign enemy named Assyria [9].

The centralized and authoritarian structure of power continued after the arrival of Islam, and the Shari'a and the religion became one of the most important foundations of the legitimacy and authority of the state. According to one of the scholars of the Abbasid caliphate, who enjoyed independence and freedom from the Sunni center of Baghdad's caliphate, the Ghazni and Seljuk kings represented themselves as the representative of the caliph who recognized the caliph of God on earth and legitimized his power. In the Safavid era, kings could not interfere with the privileges of clergy and religious scholars with the ease with which they could interfere with the affairs and privileges of landowners or market traders and bureaucrats. In the Safavid era the sacred and religious foundations of political power were restored. Power and social, intellectual, and economic privileges were given to clerics and scholars in the Safavid and Qajar periods. The Qajar kings also established their official clergy. In the Oajar era, the intellectual and ideological influence of the clergy within society was more fundamental than the political influence of the state. Because of this influence, the Qajar rulers had to adopt a respectful attitude towards the scholars and clerics [10]. The political structure of power until the Constitutional Revolution continued to be authoritarian and oppressive, suppressing the rulers of groups and classes that were unable to accompany them. Some scholars have examined power relations in Iran in the pre-modern period (before the Constitutional Revolution), inspired by Marx and Engels's theory of "eastern despotism" and Wittfogel's "water-based society". Although they do not fully explain the structure of Iranian political power in accordance with these theories, many of the non-modern elements of political power in Iran prior to the Constitutional Revolution have been inspired by these theories (Abrahamyan, Katoozian's works are an example of this analysis).

In Iran, especially over the last hundred years, political power has always been a precursor to economic power, and has been a sufficient condition for its acquisition. Because of the dominance of most sources of power, the government is the main supporter of the continuation and reproduction of closed-circuit power in Iran. The political elite, and above all, the supreme power to carry out their programs and goals, have completely concentrated power in the institution of government, thereby ensuring their security. On the other hand, since the reproduction of state power and long-term sovereignty did not depend on material and economic bases, over time, various interpretations and interpretations of the foundations of power and consequently legitimacy took place, and the mistrust of the surrounding people day by day. The tendency to monopolize power intensified. But on the other hand, the process of concentrating power resources and the emergence of an autocratic state created a major



obstacle to the expansion of participation and competition. With the socio-economic modernization of Iran in the twentieth century, gradually, as power was weakened, civil society became stronger and parties and organizations competed and participated.

After the fall of Reza Shah, social groups began to form political parties, resulting in a large number of parties; However, the existence of a variety of ideologies such as nationalism, socialism, Islam, communism, liberal democracy, and the like largely reflects the problems of Iranian political leaders at the time. After 1332 the activity of the parties ceased and the process of development of the parties, which in the long run could lead to the organization of political social forces, remained ineffective, and the political activity of the groups then became underground, illegal or informal. Thus, the construction of absolute power prevented the development of parties as a means of political participation and competition. This construction is not only based on personal power relations; It also disintegrates politics and expands personal relationships and informs political processes, thereby creating power-seeking bands and groups around important decision-making centers and powerful personalities, and a network of personal relationships instead. Institutional partnerships and competitiveness are established that increasingly make personal life more political. The Islamic Revolution of Iran brought an end to authoritarian monarchy: "Given the nature of this great movement, the constitution guarantees the rejection of any intellectual and social tyranny and economic monopoly and strives to break the tyrannical system and entrust the people with their own destiny. (Introduction to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran). This uprising of the constitution highlights the popular and civil values and the rejection of despotism. However, the structure of power in the Islamic Republic remains centralized. Important principles regarding the rejection of individual and group tyranny and the protection of civil rights and fundamental freedoms are contained in Chapter Three of the Constitution. Article 57 of the Constitution states: "The ruling powers in the Islamic Republic of Iran are the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, which shall be exercised under the jurisdiction of the Guardianship and Imamate of the Ummah in accordance with the future principles of this law. "So, the powers that be are independent of each other." Thus, while the progressive principle of separation of powers has been recognized, it is also evident that the power and concentration of power are apparent. In the structure of the political power of the system and based on several principles in the constitution, the supreme leader and the supreme leader have both theoretical and practical power. The Velayat-e Fagih should be seen as a reflection of the discourse of political Islam, with the supreme jurisprudent overseeing political management. Overall, at a critical juncture, the concept of the hybrid concept of religious democracy, sometimes used to introduce the Islamic Republic, has not been properly explained. The experience of the last forty years has revealed some of the dual conflicts between republicanism and Islamism and the ambiguity in the distribution of power and authority between elected and appointed institutions, and the equation has largely flowed in favor of authoritarian groups and institutions in the construction of the Islamic Republic's political power. The same fact has kept the debate on political development in Iran alive.

3. GLOBALIZATION OF POLITICS AND POLITICAL TRUST (TRANSPARENCY)

Globalization and the subsequent democratization have led to waves of democratization in all countries, a democracy in which the people are governed and the rulers are the sole executors of the people's wishes and the realization of some kind of good governance. In this process, there must be some kind of "political trust" between the



government and the people, and the need for political "transparency" in political and social decision-making and policy-making, because if there was no trust Be it a government; it loses its legitimacy system so the most important tool of political trust is transparency and Transparency is a function of the world order in which countries have agreed to transparency in their bylaws, thus preventing the development of current anti-disciplinary flows that promote violence as well as easily The rulers' positions on both the domestic and international dimensions are clear. As a result, transparency creates political confidence in its domestic and international dimensions, that is, any country that has the highest political confidence can gain greater political development.

4. RIGHT ACCESS TO INFORMATION

With the ever-expanding citizen-centric approach to policymaking, awareness and the benefit of citizens with accurate and sufficient information, especially in the area of public welfare, is one of the essential preconditions for participation in public decisionmaking processes and for their effective oversight of the performance of political officials. And economics is inevitable. If governments are to give people a longer-term role in managing their affairs and to give people more responsibility in social and political groups, they need better facilities and tools. To give people this way. In this process, it is first necessary for people in an environment of freedom of information and transparency to formulate their beliefs on the basis of reliable, reliable and comprehensive information, and not on the basis of rumors that are rejected in a dark and dark environment, lacking clarity and transparency. And it turns out that this is the most important impact of globalization on political development. The need for this free and transparent environment is to recognize the right to freedom of information in the law. Explicit support for this right in the constitution or the attempt to enforce it enshrined in the constitution demonstrates its importance, in particular to prevent it. Ordinary legislators may, by ordinary laws or regulations, deny or restrict this right. Despite the recognition of this right in the constitutions of many countries, the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has not explicitly recognized such a right, but in some respects, the trace of this right can be traced. Some common law also mentions the existence of such a right. In fact, Iran, as a part of the international system, has undoubtedly been affected by the phenomenon of globalization. Politics in Iran, like all global countries, is concerned with "globalization" and its processes and consequences. Today, no state can operate without the effects of globalization, so the atmosphere of revolution and the debate over elections and the constitution and popular participation have all been influenced by the globalization of politics.

In the second paragraph of Article III of the Constitution, the legislator emphasizes the raising of public awareness in all fields by the proper use of the press, the mass media and other means, and has the responsibility of carrying out this task in accordance with the principle of the third principle. Paragraph 7 also lays down the principle of "securing political and social freedoms within the law" as another duty of the State. Article 6 of the Constitution provides that "in the Islamic Republic of Iran, affairs of the country shall be governed by the public opinion. By Elections: Presidential Elections, Elections to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Members of Shura Councils and the like, or by referendum in cases determined by other principles of this law. " Paragraph 8 of Article 3 of the Constitution also provides for "public participation in It emphasizes its political, economic, social and cultural destiny." The right to free access to information and to guarantee political and civil liberties were democratic elements enshrined in the



constitutions of most countries in the past two or three centuries. In Iran, the amendments to the constitution and the constitution of the Islamic Republic have been elaborated by the globalization of these principles. In Iran, affected by the globalization of the principle of free access to information, the law on publication and free access to information was approved by the Majlis on 6/5/1388 in six chapters and 23 principles and was notified to the executive bodies.

5. THE ROLE OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND BROADCASTING IN TRANSPARENCY

In this thesis, we examine access to information through the press through the role of freedom of expression, the press and information in creating transparency in the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In the meantime, the most important role that freedom of the press, which is a manifestation of freedom of expression in society, is to critique its power and make it transparent to citizens. A free and independent press can play a significant role in making a society transparent. Independent state-owned press can reflect the culture and internal developments of society and play an important role in the process of political development and the creation of civil society. Given the absence of independent press parties and civil society organizations in Iran, they can contribute to the political development and expansion of democracy by reflecting the realities of society and the political education of the people and avoiding a segregation. But the Iranian press, for reasons such as dependence on the government, factionalism and lack of intellectual independence, have failed to function transparently in the political system, but have even been effective in mistaking the political environment and its lack of transparency. Accordingly, in most cases newspapers have promoted the policies of the ruling system and attempted to guide public opinion toward the goals of its governors [11].

6. ELECTRONIC GOVERNMENT

E-government has brought about changes in citizen-government relations, in fact e-government is, as its name implies, a matter of global order and globalization, and Iran cannot ignore it. The result of these changes will be the emergence of a series of issues and issues related to the balance of power between governments and citizens. The availability of information is the clearest and most important criterion for determining the level of transparency and accountability of a government. E-government breaks the balance of the former information power by removing information from government ownership and giving it to the public. Certainly, information and information technology play a significant role in creating a transparent government. In other words, governments gain legitimacy by making it transparent by informing it electronically. E-government, as a secure gateway, transforms traditional governments into modern governments, and provides the foundation for the creation of a transparent government by providing citizens with free access to information. By examining the various laws and regulations and communication axes of e-government We find that: One of the obvious weaknesses of e-government in Iran is that some important ministries and organizations lack electronic ports. None of the electronic interactions occur on the four axes. Therefore, there is no indication that efforts are being made to promote transparency and accurate information to citizens. The second criticism of the e-government of Iran is that its deployment goals are not well met. Poor provision of information and non-delivery of services except on the government-to-government basis through the Presidential Website does not address other issues. Information and e-government services are not being



pursued as seriously as might be expected. It should be noted that information is provided in a more administrative-oriented way and providing information to enhance transparency and provide access to information. People don't get information. Government web site visitors often suffer from a lack of transparency and accurate information about decisions or actions being taken or in progress.

7. SUMMARY

In terms of the quality and functioning of different sections of civil society, the institutions and sub-sectors of civil society in Iran cannot be defended. According to the criteria of the civil society outlined in the theoretical section of the dissertation, there is no institutionalized rule of law for all citizens in Iran, the spread of violence, the complexity and process of proceedings in courts and tribunals, the increase in administrative, political and economic corruption, discrimination. Political, social, and so forth indicate the failure of the institutionalization of legalism through civil society institutions in Iran. In other words, the supervisory function of these organizations and institutions faces obstacles from the point of view of Ian Schultz. State-run bureaucracy leaves no room for the activities of civil society institutions. From the point of view of internal control and civic engagement, civil society has not been successful, except in specific time periods (the reform period). Civil society institutions, especially political parties and associations, have had little success in institutionalizing transparency and have failed to account for government and sovereignty in many areas of their responsibilities. Civil society institutions have failed to have a place in the country's decision-making institutions in institutionalizing the development-oriented strategy and social evolution of social life. On the other hand, the three circles of government, civil society and the public sphere have not been able to come up with an acceptable model of community governance based on their duties and functions. In other words, civil society institutions in Iran have not been a very successful intermediary for claiming public domain rights from the government. Voluntary associations and informal groups do not interact horizontally and regularly, and this is one of their failures in monitoring, transparency, and planning to advance community goals. The relative inefficiencies of civil society institutions can be analyzed in both internal and external sectors. Internally, it refers to the structural weakness of civil society, including the weakness of the party system and the social disapproval of the activities of civil society organizations, the lack of horizontal coordination and purposeful integration of civil society institutions, the lack of rethinking of policies, strategies, and programs. Civil institutions, the power-oriented and sometimes ambitious view of political and social affairs, not the reformist, evolutionary, organizational and bureaucratic weakness, the weakness of convergence and cooperative morale in civil society organizations, and so on. From the outside, as noted above, part of the sovereignty that holds major management and decision-making bodies views globalization in general and the globalization of politics as particularly suspect and plotting the West. Globalization is mainly interpreted as Westernization, and on the one hand it suppresses civil institutions within the country, and on the other hand, the interaction of these institutions with similar global institutions considers cultural and political affiliation and devotion. Another external factor is the boycott and deprivation of political, cultural, and economic engagement with the outside world imposed on Iran by the region due to Iran's nuclear program and ideological and anti-hegemonic policies. Overall, the quantitative and hardware growth of civil society organizations in Iran has been influenced by the globalization of politics, but from a qualitative perspective, due to



internal and external barriers, they have not been able to perform an acceptable function in Iranian society. Thus, in response to the first question of globalization it has contributed to political development in Iran but has been less successful in its institutionalization due to internal structural barriers. In response to the second question, the hypothesis is incompletely confirmed, that it has had a serious impact on the quantitative and hardware perspective of civilization policy and the institutions it has formed from the globalization process of politics, but on the qualitative and hardware perspective in institutionalizing the law and The other democratic values they have enshrined have not achieved much.

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