The Effect of Islamic Ideological Dialogue on the Legitimacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Jabbar Pour Hosseini, Mehdi Zakerian

Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Iran

Abstract

The essence of the present study is the notion of Islamic ideological dialogue that in other words is the impact of Islamic ideological dialogue on the legitimacy of the Islamic Republic regime from 1979 until 2011. In this context, there are three main indices of Islamic ideological dialogue which have been recognized from the researcher point of view in terms of concepts, community activism (community-oriented perspective), sacred activism (sacred –oriented perspective) and radical otherness creation. The impact of each issue on the legality or legitimacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran will be explored both in the medium and long term so the purpose of Islamic ideological dialogue is the dominant dialogue which has been dominant after 1979 revolution in Iran and has been formulated and applied by political system. First, Islamic ideology with an exclusive emphasis on the Islamic culture in a form of community activism and lack of continuous process of nation building will lead a society to identity crisis in the medium term and in the long term will lead the government to a crisis of legitimacy. Second, as the Islamic ideology is preserving guardianship of Islamic jurists from criticism in a different areas particularly in development with divinizing government and at its top giving the sanctity to their clerical status , In the medium term will lead society to the crisis of rationality and in the long term will lead it to crisis of legitimacy. Finally, specific works of radical otherness creation in Islamic ideology resulted in dividing society into insiders and outsiders and with deepening these ideological gaps within ethnic groups and different social classes will lead society to crisis of integration and unity and crisis of legitimacy in long term.

Keywords: Islamic ideological dialogue, state legitimacy, community oriented speech, sacred -oriented speech of state, language of radical otherness creation

Introduction: The crisis of legitimacy

This study considers Islamic ideology originated from dominant political power after 1979 revolution in Iran with genealogy of dominant ideological dialogue and as the knowledge created by the mentioned government, its duty is securing legitimacy of society. This study with a look at the future in terms of Islamist ideology dialogue pathology, tries to explain and interpret this issue in mentioned terms or lack of legitimacy in the medium and long term.

Three indices derived from the Islamic ideological dialogue in terms of community activism, and radical otherness creation and sacred activism in medium term ,each will result in crisis of identity, integration and unity and rationality, respectively that in the end each of these crises will lead government to crisis of legitimacy in long term if there is lack of reform process and continuous process of previous ideological dialogue.

Community-oriented dialogue /crisis of identity

Community-oriented dialogue as one of the components of the Islamic ideological dialogue has been fixed as government hyper dialogue by now

Corresponding author: Jabbar Pour Hosseini, Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Uran. E-mail:j.purhoseyni@gmail.com

after dialogue divergence of 1979 in power establishment process and has resulted in two internal and external dimensions of mainstreaming consequences (Dehghani Firooz Abadi, 2010).

In the internal dimension of Islamic ideological dialogue with one way articulation of three Iranian, Islamic and western cultures, only Islamic culture has been defined in national identity configuration with framework of community-oriented dialogue and two other identity making components i.e. Iranian and western cultures are redefined as other internal and external ideology. Emitted government from the dialogue divergence in 1979 in Iran ,showed itself in the form of religious state as organic nature government (Seyf Zade, 2011) and added more complexities to its structures because of having cultural heritage of cultural and neo patrimonial details in Pahlavi era plus power derived from non-production dollars of crude oil under Rentier governmental framework (Bashirieh, 2003). In this regard, the author has named the revolutionary government in terms of structure and content the Rentier and religious neo patrimonial government (Azghandi, 2006). The religious theme of government ,shows the organic nature that accepts decision making process as top-bottom and one-sided and monologue. Because the theocracy makes decisions and policies, not only for the world but for the life of its citizens .The more accurate, secular decisions of theocracy made based on non-secular and eternal life of its citizens. Since the majority of the population according to their beliefs are religious and according to the slogan " Our faith is same as our politics and our politics is same as our faith " has been institutionalized in society and any opposition on any reason is translated to a sign of secularism and secular tendency, working on politics by religious scholars is considered as an extracted principle and is organized in an absolute guardian ship of Islamic jurists framework. Thus, comparison of organic nature and theocracy with mechanical nature and liberal-democratic government cannot be properly correct . Words and concepts such as civil society, citizen rights (according to its meaning in the West), people's legitimacy, accountability of government to society, civil liberties and the like has not been meaning defined in vocabulary of the organic and Islamic Republic regime with themes and religious nature and even there is no real effort to do genealogy and extracting necessary concepts ,sufficient to adequately govern the only

component used in national identity configuration of Islamic republic i.e Islamic culture in a form of community activism and has been just remained in slogan aspects . In other words, the there is an otherness creating and other-oriented interpretation of Islam in order to process resistance identify and after revolution there has been no theoretical effort to process the Islamic culture to codify and to complete national identity configuration in order to redefine the legitimizing identity inside the country (Castells, 2006). Hence community-oriented dialogue inside the country instead of absorbing and accepting ethnicity, groups, classes, and individuals around is censoring and eliminating them by a weapon petro-dollars and rents from the state Rentierism in addition to anti-religious labels.

Accordingly, the lack of nature transformation of resistance identity of revolutionary dialogue to legitimizing identity of government in a form of Islamic republic regime inside the country could not contribute in sufficient national identity in order to attract and accept different groups, different ethnic groups and the opposed groups of this regime (Essays Collection, 2001).

Based on external dimension, community-oriented dialogue with relying on global integrated community in a form of comprehensive theory appeared that acted as hyper strategy of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran since 60s. In contrast, the two global processes of modernization and globalization take place. Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in a bipolar system with the slogan Neither East nor West , the new way was traversed in inter-governmental relations and a theoretical model of Islam as an independent model of development was proposed to the world away from emulating and following the linear theory of liberal - democratic development and also communist theory and after the collapse of communism and the rise of the new world order , in contrast the process of globalization also acted the same . This pattern could make many opportunities in order to attract strong and powerful allies in Muslim world to achieve national interests in suitable time and place after passing the nation-building process inside the country (Ghavam and Zargar, 2008). But it might be the time not enough to put this debate away in foreign policy, it could promote community-oriented dialogue in a form of comprehensive theory coinciding with designing and implantation of nation-building process inside the country. As the -Iraq war against

Iran gave this golden opportunity to governors opposing against the revolutionary dialogue of Islamic republic also was reinforcing the other-oriented structures of community-oriented dialogue in order to attract and mobilize Muslim nations and states to have its own benefits against them, but the lack of energy and existed revolutionary fervor control in strategic structure of foreign policy of Islamic Republic 's revolutionary government and lack of sufficient experience in the art of diplomacy along with no logical connection between the intellectual elites and instrumental elites in policy-making and decision -making in the revolutionary government causes each of these opportunities was turned into threatening against itself. Now in the fourth decade of the Islamic Revolution we witness the lowest strategic ally for ourselves in the Muslim world in international relations.

Community activism was more reaction against Pahlavi's nationalism dialogue and it was more defensive rather than being spontaneous and this trait spreads not only within borders of Iran but also beyond these borders and in all Muslim countries. And thus their positions of identity were processed on the cultural borders of the Islamic world

In modern times, the main resort was cultural communities based on religious-regional foundations. for who have been rejected during the individualism of identity derived from living in global networks of power and wealth in the globalization process or are resisting toward west-oriented modernization dialogue offered by dominant power .The nation-building dialogue has different features : this debate was in response to prevalent social trends in the time of Mohammad Reza Shah and was resisting against Pahlavi 's pseudo modernism dialogue from the independent new meaning sources.

Community -oriented dialogue was a defensive identity at the beginning that its special task was to establish integrity and to prepare shelters and to protect citizens and its followers against the world derived from modern west abroad. This dialogue is based on the cultural nature and is organized around the Islamic values with Shia interpretation and thoughts. These defensive reactions arose by constructing the identity making components archived on the sidelines of Pahlavi period i.e. Islamic culture and these cultural-historical materials became identity sources and meaning against official and national dialogue in Pahlavi period. This type of authentication and identity making process

is processed fundamentally based on center of resistance identity and the main legitimizing identity will be in the institutional crisis. But the main argument is that the resistance identity of the future of revolution must be converted to legitimizing identity in transition process for a new dominant system.

Continuing ideological conflict beyond the borders could show somehow the logic of maintaining the resistance identity as logical and rational expressions. but the continuing process of using the resistance identity in a form of new framework known as Islamic ideological dialogue could not justify the community-oriented dialogue inside the country. Because the government in communication framework between government and civil society must redefine its legitimacy through continuing the government-nation process that this could be operationalized by converting resistance identity to operational and legitimizing identity but unfortunately this not only did not happen but also people's demands for making legitimizing identity were suppressed by government that because of the lack of civil institutionalization in a form of movements close to election can be found emerged.

Sacred-oriented dialogue of government / rationality crisis

According to the rationality of political rivalry in the form of government political culture and expressing the principles emitted from existed rationality in political participation of the masses in a form of political culture of society and comparative study of what has happened in a form of political participation and competition in the Islamic Republic period, we can simply study the degree of existed rationality in free context in the two concepts of political participation and competition in Islamic ideological dialogue course based on genealogy.

The realization that none of resulted principles of existed rationality in political participation and competition of elites and masses in liberalism dialogue does not comply with current processes of Islamic ideological dialogue and in most cases of thinking basics is violating those basics that are derived from the special interpretation of this Islamic dialogue (Basharieh, 2001).

However, the results of the above mentioned principles in the political participation of the masses and the resulted elite political rivalry is the two-way process of affecting and being affected that

makes political culture of mass and elite participation in a form of political participation of masses and elite political rivalry in society and government come into existence. This process of political culture has converted both elite and mass spectra in society to a participatory political culture and with continuing it, the present rationality will be deepened in free context and will be institutionalized. But the political system in Iran with being hegemonic Islamic ideological dialogue intentionally or unintentionally seeks to institutionalize subordinate political culture (Basharieh, 1999).

Now in recognition of the political culture of Iranians in the Islamic Republic of Iran, cannot place the entire population into a form of each mentioned triple culture. Rather, classes, ethnic groups and cultures in different parts of the country are placed in mentioned trilogy.

But according to the dominance of Islamic ideological dialogue and making government the sacred with the slogan " melting in guardianship ", subordinate political culture (passive) extends in the community and in terms of political sociability of citizens are approached to subordinate education. In other words, the nature of Islamic ideological dialogue is to encourage society to the subordinate political (passive) and being Rentier state also with the help of being religious, will add to the ways of using petrodollars and resulting methods from Rentier State, leads a large part of the population, especially the middle class to be subordinate political culture in the game of carrot and stick. These features are of certain characteristic derived from being ideological and religious dialogue which were dominant in the Islamic Republic period and being a Rentier state also creates the financial independence part of government from civil society. When government approaches to religion and talks in an ideological language with juridical logic, all issues and matters related to politics will be seen with judicial lenses and at the top there is a jurist holding all conditions who is discovered by Assembly of Experts and will be the leader of this government and this jurist will take the duty of guardianship and he is above the law. Because he succeeded Imam Mahdi and His decree is same as Prophet Muhammad's decree as an obligatory. So, the legitimacy of the law (including the constitution and ordinary rules) and the legitimacy of the elected political elites , including the president is based on the Supreme Leader endorsement and permission. According to be judicial logic of politi-

cal speech, there is no dialogue and orders , policies and strategies, large and small, from top to bottom will be notified as monologue and intellectual and instrumental elites and also its people must be consistent with these policies are communicated .The type of top of hierarchical pyramid of power with sets of elected and appointed political system and also society and people and re processed the reproducing of ideal system of philosopher-Platonic king in an open and judicial form and we can call this system as "king-jurist(leader)" system based on method, vision and how to implement policy-makings and governing country.

Genealogy of Islamic ideological dialogue details can be seen through the autopsy of religious concepts (Islam) and ideology and place of intellect in this combination that their special tasks find which are overlapping and compatibility from special interpretation method in religion along with making it ideological.

Special tasks from Marx point of view is to maintain and to reproduce social cohesion, citizen identity, institutional and ideological legitimacy of social relations based on domination and motivate them to perform an action or justify it and its results (Paydar, 1993). Ideology do this by making its desire be ideal and spreads it through domination in society with producing should and should not stuffs in order to achieve the power. Ideology is making truth of it with traits like the agreeability and making frameworks with command language for its followers. Now when ideology is religious ideology will impose truth and falsehood from realities of its desire with stronger language and it can find more crass, much dogma, explicit and powerful language. "religion" also converts to being rage and collective binding commitment from the form of being mercy and free personal experience in the process of transition from a normal to ideological interpretation.

Apart from changing traits, religion interpretation in a form of ideology is relegating religion in Sharia. Also, truth-oriented nature of ideology will make the religious interpretation in a form of ideology without caring about this interpretation to be humanized and possibility of failure and being wrongness, a hundred times more obligatory than the essence of religion and opposing to ideological interpretation of religion is deemed to be against religious principle and if the religion becomes governmental the ideological religion approaches to a type of absolute dogmatism. Although being a Rentier

state is another reason that makes the cutting relationship between government and society reach to the final place because of financial independence of government from that absolute dogmatism process which is emitted from governmental and ideological interpretation of religion (Rezaei, 2006).

Natural consequence of this process is making religion governmental and non-customary .In other words, sacred interpretation of religion is the ideological interpretations from governmental power is expressed by like-minded clergymen with Islamic ideological and official dialogue and consistent with dominant ideology and every other interpretation of religion in society are suppressed particularly those are in contradict with the official and ideological interpretation. So there will be a context in the community to prevent any new idea to be flourished or any new religious interpretation to be offered and as a whole there will be no more making sense in order that no new religious thought opposes to sacred interpretation of Islamic ideological dialogue. Thus, there will be created a framework for thoughts in society by Islamic ideological dialogue that organizes the details of making sense process especially in the realm of religion in a way that if there is any new thought and idea out of this framework might be rejected that is in contrast to sacred religious and official ideology of government. Because the trustee who interprets religion is the Islamic ideological dialogue which has authority and is maintaining the religious rulings in Islam and transferring traditions and Islamic values, reconciling religious provisions with new time situation and is supervising its proper implementation and in no way there will not be any competitor for it.

So Islamic ideological dialogue in a form of governmental and sacred interpretation with the intent of building a paradise on earth will magnify actions, speech and even thoughts of its citizens to make related process be better . In this way sacred ideology introduces its interpretation as the essence of religion that this phenomenon includes many consequences and we named some of them such as inefficiency of special functions of religion in making people sociable, as well as lack of institutionalization of ethics - the religious values in society and religion aversion of new generations because of production and reproduction of details related to religious interpretation in society that happen due to governmentalizing religion and official blocking of religious thoughts in the norm (Aghajari, 2002).

So, the sanctity of the religion essence spreads to religious and ideological interpretation and then to religious and ideological government and makes it be uncriticizable. Even framework related to how making sense is done by defining limitations of Islamic ideological dialogue and guarantee of official power of Rentier-religious government. In this way the rationality in the community will not have free context to historical development and the setup of this process for development is complex and fundamental, i.e. " making sense of free thinker " blocks in society and takes place in state area with a rigid and anticipated frame in a certain corridor with fixed bases not floating ones by the intellectual and trust worthy elites of the power dialogue (is developed and publicized).

In order to protect this sacred ideology, a range of official interpreters will be created and there is an imitation of this formal thought by governmental interpreter that it is institutionalized as a principle in society. Thus, in each social class those who do not follow and imitate this intellectual framework they will be labeled as "other" in various ways. From. the enemy of God to spy of foreign adversaries the continuity of this institutionalized process is done by mixing the different aspects of the guardianship in society. In a segmentation guardianship can be examined in three different aspects. In this segmentation, guardianship will include three spiritual, juridical and political aspects .In the spiritual guardianship the relationship is between the apostle and disciple. the disciples are affected by guardian attraction of apostle and feel spiritual and romantic attraction toward him and are melted in him. His disciples seem to fade away themselves in him and do not leave any identity of their own . because the " guardian " is everything and sacrificing in this way for disciple is the principle of honor that disciple will reach to his aim with sacrificing himself in a way to apostle. So, the melting process in apostle and guardian needs no emptiness of identity and will. So, there will be no rationality for disciples and in fact de-rationalizing the disciples is a condition of being in this way. Following it blindly and have prejudice in words, thoughts and behavior about " apostle " is one of the consequences of this complex process . So the charisma type authority of apostle will continue of being lover and undisputed obedience of disciples. It is a complex internal process between apostle and his realm of the spiritual guardianship. But in the realm of judicial guardianship the type relationship is different . In this

type of guardianship, as is clear from its name, the qualified jurist who is knowledgeable about judicial issues in religion, will be an inheritor of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imams religion doctrines according to their jurisprudence and their own religious knowledge and he will have a type of religious authority. Jurists as religious clerics and references (Marja')as a deputy of the Twelfth Imam (as),during his occultation will gain part of Imams ' authority in non-litigious matters(rather than matters related to government) and will regulate the personal, family and interpersonal relationships in part of social relations. In this guardianship, according to the sayings and traditions part of the authority for guardian in non-litigious matters including supervision and guardianship of confined ones and minors and orphans and this range of people will be recognized.

But in the political sphere of guardianship which will be cleared in government and society area, is related to innovations of Imam Khomeini who believes in the necessity of government formation during occultation with political guardianship of jurists. In other words, an Islamic- political doctrine refers as a claim of government formation by jurists during occultation (Mesbah Yazdi, 2009).

Sacred-type look to government and at the top qualified jurist make it uncriticizable , unerring and unsupervisable and political guardianship will lead it to spiritual guardianship in a juridical framework. In other words, mixing guardianship areas results in propagation of practical spiritual guardianship in political guardianship area and Supreme leader is considered as superhuman, supra law and will be a comprehensive measure and leader's dialogue by promoting Islamic ideology of people leads to apostle and disciple's relationship and makes them be sociable and is leading people to melting in guardianship if internal nature of political guardianship is collective sense making through people's political participation and political choice and selection in free and rational competition.

Thus, the " rationality " of the community and as a whole "people's collective sense making " is interpreted as a hindrance to the continuing of Supreme leader's authority. So replacing the "Melting" process in making people sociable rather than "collaborative rationality " will make rationality crisis in society that is considered of direct and inevitable consequence of the "divinizing government" .Finally , the Islamic ideological dialogue rather than rationalizing itself concentrated on making wits ideological by de-divinizing for theocracy and its official ideology and in this way it makes the religious and ideological government uncriticizable and clears the society of rationality.

Language of radical otherness creation/ crisis of integration and unity

The political stability is one of the difficulties in countries during development and transition (Huntington, 2007). Political stability is a power structure in frameworks with social-political capacity in terms of political rivalry of elites in order to gain power and also is done by political collaboration of people in order to political choices (Weins, & Huntington, 2000). So the discussion of political cohesion and national unity and integration relates directly to the debate of existed capacities of competition and political collaboration of elites and masses in society (Opter, & Charloff, 2001). In this regard, Iran in a form of Islamic republic regime should consider and discuss preserving the stability and political unity and national integration in two areas of " ethnic gaps " and " gaps of political groups " .

The type of political structure and the specific definition and interpretation of available concepts and doctrines contained in the constitution and lack the necessary capacity for political development , which is reflected in the type of ruling operation ,has led society to the " national unity and integration ". Eliminating some of the political groups and being unkind towards some ethnic groups (linguistic, ethnic, religious, etc.) has led government to disintegrate nationally. In this section we discuss the language of radical otherness creation as a component of Islamic ideological dialogue about two treatments of government toward ethnic and political groups.

After the rise of totalitarian governments by Reza Shah and beginning of nation building process (Atabaki, 2012), in his time the continuity of these two process followed by using of two identity making culture as western culture especially in government establishment and promoting modern life style and Iranian culture in nation building area but with the lack of a formal process of Islamic culture in articulating the Pahlavi 's modernization dialogue, Islam became the political figure and as a marginalized culture in a form of anti-dialogue did the humanized political mobilization against Pahlavi (Pourhosseini, 2010). Debate divergence in 1979 and the rise of a religious

government(theocracy) by winning the anti-dialogue of resistance identity replaced the Pahlavi 's mechanical-authoritarian government with organic nature government. As we noted, resistance identity in a form of Islamic ideological dialogue did not rely on legitimizing identity in the future of revolution because of its religious and ideological nature and having oil that made the government needless to civil society and during stability process concentrated on governmental-official institutionalization of Islamic ideological dialogue instead of civil institutionalization and strengthening the unconscious civil society in Pahlavi era. The beginning of procrustean war between Iran and Iraq deepened the component of otherness creation in dominant dialogue and domestic and foreign policy making gave it more radical face. The continuity of this process reproduced the establishment of authority of totalitarian Pahlavi government in a form of religious- petro neo patrimonial state and imperial culture and vertical relationship from top to bottom between leader and people were intensified because of power and authority sources being more diverse and transformation of government nature. This multi-dimensional phenomenon, together with the essence of otherness creator of Islamic ideological dialogue in two areas of domestic and foreign policy making in one hand and framework of more total structure of authority because of organic —nature government and promoting subordinated political culture with judicial-religious ideological nature and also Rentier government that makes the state independent from civil society on the other hand together they try to make the capacity of this regime in order to civil institutionalization in a limited structural form and the minimum form . This process can be investigated in two areas of political pluralism in a form of political rivalry between groups and parties and how groups gain power in this structure and framework in civil society and also discussion of how to attract ethnic groups and various religious, ethnic, linguistic, etc groups. How the Islamic republic government can attract different tastes in society and what policy measures have established to attract ethnic- religious minorities can be a practical record of government structure in these two areas (Ottaway, 2007). Lack of institutional capacity building in power structures of contributionalization and political rivalry results in anti-participation and competition aversion of government. Therefore, due to the intolerance of political participation and free political competition

by the religious- Rentier neo patrimonial government, there will be elimination process and demand suppression of people and elites in society. Removing political groups that have different taste and critical thought toward performance of political system and are committed to reformation and revolutionary revision in divinized assumptions in constitution and components of Islamic ideological dialogue. Relying on hardware approach of security by Islamic republic regime shows that operationalize this process with configuration of political rivalry process and making it as a rule of thumb by formal institution such as Guardian Council. Elimination of big names like Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani from the scene of presidential candidacy in 2013 and also elimination of a dissident person like Esfandiar Rahim Mashaei in this area indicates a lack of faith in legal and free competition in electoral structure of political system and also lack of faith in choosing people in a form of participation along with freedom and rationality in politics ,because of this the election is protected as a controlled process in order to decline the people's participation to political participation. To increase the political participation of people the official media also is designed and implemented in a form of different otherness creation methods based on resistance identity. In terms of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups the elimination look will take place of attraction and the details of their demand problem will be removed that eventually strengthens the tendency to central group and separation of central government through regional independence with the help of domestic and foreign powers in central mind of opponents and suppressed border tribes. So the component of radical otherness creation that is inseparable element of Islamic ideological dialogue in a form of resistance identity of time before 1979 revolution ,it is still there without identity metamorphosis to legitimizing identity, it separates high population from government in a form of social capital (Fine, 2006) day by day because the young generation and some elites of yesterday and today and ethnic-religious dissident who tend to participatory- civil culture, they do not accept the formal socialability in a form of promotion, spreading and institutionalization subordinated /passive political culture and are recognized in a form of domestic enemy/other and loss of social capital and establishing crisis of unity and integration makes a trouble in subordinated society of government in medium term.

Conclusions

Nowadays with the spread of mass media equipment in global village by globalization process which includes all cultures, traditions and values in different ways from fashion to movies and many different signology, satellite, Internet, eating styles, life styles and even the way of thinking and is along with unification of cultural-identity related values of each person, community activism dialogue cannot be the efficient articulation to help Iranian nationals inside the country and Muslims outside the country around the world to find their identity. The impact of western culture in Iran and youth tendency to it with secular national approaches along with religion escapism inside the country and also rejecting Iran as a comprehensive pole and lack of successful foreign policy in Islamic republic of Iran between Muslim countries shows clearly that community activism dialogue has not been an efficient strategy to make identity in order to attract and necessary integration inside and outside the country.

Evaluating the effective dialogue in line with solving the identity crisis problem in Iranian society that can be done by following the nation building process so the national unity and integration with Iranian who seek identity in a form of a nation through correct articulation of national identity configuration by using three components of western, Iranian and Islamic cultures and also reestablishment of Islamic republic foreign policy to result in attraction and unification and mobilization of Muslim countries in a form of following the realistic policy in foreign affairs in order to achieve benefits can be the beginning of Iran's real power seeking in region and world. Hence, redefining the details of national identity configuration inside the country and also community activism dialogue outside the country which must be done through fundamental metamorphosis in resistance identity and revising it in a form of legitimizing identity is a necessary process. Otherwise identity crisis will end in rationality, integration, unity and as a result legitimacy crisis of Islamic republic inside the country and international isolation behind the country boundaries.

The socialability process of society by official medias , publicity and formal system of education tends to develop and to institutionalize subordinated political culture, but with metamorphosis of a generation in society and spreading of mass communication during globalization and foreign alternative promotion in line with establishing the norms and global values of democrat-liberal culture, there will be a tendency to participatory culture in new generation and in terms of political sociability are mostly nurtured under affection of value system out of political system. On the other hand, wrong and radical policy-making in Islamic ideological dialogue framework like gender separation in universities, guidance patrol, collecting satellites and providing caricature-like interpretation of Islam by authority put most of youngsters who were grown up by norms and democratic- liberal values and became socialable, against divinized government and because there has not been any political institutionalization in society in order to impose political rationality in line with realization of real political participation toward correct and true political rivalry, rationalized and wisdom seeking population who are anti-dialogue of Islamic ideology through moving enthusiasm method also will end in feeling centered and enthusiastic movements in order to gain their demands due to lack of rational institutionalization and instead of legal-institutional movement in line with showing legal opposition will move to enthusiastic-centered civil disobediences that this will cause dominant legitimacy system crisis and divinized government of Islamic ideological dialogue in medium and long terms. In other word, divinizing government which is one the inseparable components of Islamic ideological dialogue has led the society to rationality crisis in medium term so there are certain evidence of it that can be seen in measuring the available rationality and freedom in the type of mass political participation and method of elite political rivalry and continuity of this process will lead government to legitimacy crisis in long term without caring to negative consequences of rationality crisis in society.

Finally the component of radical otherness creation of Islamic ideological dialogue that caused the loss of social capital for Islamic republic government in medium term, with insisting on using hardware security approach and the lack of revision the rules and its performance by government in long term will result in legitimacy crisis. Political mobilization of population who are called internal other due to lack of processing, handling their demands and stored political, economic, cultural and social needs about marginalized dialogue against Islamic ideological dialogue will lead government to realm of "inefficiency" due to lack of sufficient capacity in the system, and system's urge to resolve

the issues through the use of hardware security approach and to solve a problem rather than solving problems and issues rationally and will destroy the public confidence in system in line with providing the minimum basic needs for civil life a part of population who believe in civil-participatory culture in order to play a role in their own cultural-political society. No change in hardware security approach to software security approach and insistence on maintain the glass security and not maintaining security based on sponge approach in society causes people mobilization in term of alternative dialogue and it will change from fighting in system to fight against system due to suppression and lack of handling stored demands and this will cause legitimacy crisis for government in long term.

Islamic republic of Iran with organic nature and Rentier mechanism in a form of guardianship of jurist (Supreme leader) theory defined its own details and doctrines through radical otherness creation inside and outside the country after establishing the Islamic ideological dialogue with transforming from resistance identity to legitimizing identity and redefined its new religious neo patrimonial process in a form of guardianship-nation building trend inside and outside the country with lack of establishing the process of government-nation building by total Islamic articulation of national identity configuration and marginalizing two western and Iranian cultures in this setting. Divinizing government promoted the passive/subordinated political culture as another component of Islamic ideological dialogue in jurist-controlled religious framework by uniting juridical and spiritual guardianship with political one and it is naturally against development of participatory-civil political culture in two areas of competition and participation due to structural limitations of political system capacity in civil institution building and civil and participatory issues and finally these three components emitted by Islamic ideological dialogue as nation building-guardianship ,divinizing government and also radical otherness creation components respectively cause identity, rationality and integration and unity crisis in society in medium term and will cause legitimacy crisis for government due to inefficiency of various fields and if this happens, governorship will have two ways.one is tendency to hardware equipment of security in order to survive and establishing its own ideological dialogue through imposing repression and suppressing oppositions in different ways and another is to use of software approach in a form of doing necessary modifications suitable for people's demands to reproduce legitimacy.

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