

SOCIOLOGY OF THE STATE UNDER THE ISLAMIC REGIME IN IRAN

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of the state occupied the minds of many thinkers and researchers, and great efforts were made from many different angles and aspects to study and explain the nature of its form, and to study the issues related to it, the general framework of political sociology. As for what is related to the nature of the state in Iran, there are different theories and visions, such as the dependent state theory, the patrimonial state theory, the rentier state theory, and the ideological state theory, each of which derives its methodological value from the basic sources and rules of these three trends. The ideological state theory and the patrimonial state theory can be explained on the basis of the intellectual adoptions of rationalism, and the dependent state theory can be clarified in addition to the rentier state theory based on the orientations of the Marxist doctrine based on the tendency of conflict between social classes. Among these models, the vassal state model is the weakest in explaining the state in Iran. This is because after the Islamic Revolution, the Iranians formulated the concept of the state on the basis of a serious desire to achieve independence in the light of popular and popular aspirations and aspirations. The emergence of the state in its subservient, subservient form will lead to the robbery of national sovereignty and social dignity and make them an instrument controlled by the eastern and international changes. It seems that the theory of the patrimonial state is the closest to being a one-dimensional political vision in explaining the process of managing the country, meaning that the interest in the state in it is through in-depth knowledge of the political interactions of the internal dimension of the state, as it is not a vision that deals with issues and interactions from outside the framework of the state and far from the system used in it. Hence, the process of employing such a theory to explain the post-revolutionary Islamic period in Iran was not useful in understanding the nature of the behavior of the political community, and it was also incapable of explaining the nature of the interactions between the state and society. As for the theory of the rentier state, it is consistent with the dependence of the Islamic Republic on the sources of natural wealth, such as oil and its revenues, as a tributary basis for its economic reality. It deals with issues related to the political system and the process of state administration from a narrow angle; It ignores the other main dimensions and angles in explaining the nature of the relationship between society and the state. As for the ideological state theory, which means that state that claims to be capable and capable of managing and organizing the country's affairs, whether political, economic, social or cultural, by employing a comprehensive vision and an integrated intellectual system, and it seeks through a set of ideological bases and rules to consolidate power On the various behavioral and ethical dimensions in society. This state is a product of the reality created by successive crises and objective problems that accompanied the transition from traditionalism to modernity in the twentieth century, challenges that the state did not manage to interact with and answer its questions. But in the course of our criticism of this theory, it should be said that Islam, as an intellectual basis and a mature and integrated creed system, is not among the sum of modern intellectual visions and doctrines that can be framed in a narrow ideological template, Answering the problems of all dimensions and the essential questions of the nature of the state after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Keywords: state, dependent state, rentier state, patrimonial state theory, ideological state.

INTRODUCTION

What is related to the study of the state and related topics within the framework The general framework of political sociology revolves around referring to three main intellectual trends, which are as follows:

- 1_ Weber subjectivism approach
- 2_ Parsons structural and institutional approach
- 3_ Marx classes approach.

It seems in this regard that Max Weber did not have the opportunity to write a separate book dealing with the sociology of the state in all its details. However, there are ideas and visions on the same subject that can be drawn from what he published in some research and articles, especially in his famous book (Economy and Society); Relying on the ideal approach, he was able to review and explain some of these aspects, and Karl Marx touched on the institutional standards of the state and the manifestations of class struggle, the accumulation of wealth and the struggle for dominance over the market and others, and despite the presence of many books attributed to him in various fields, the discussion of an important topic In such a direct manner, he did not receive much attention from him, and his attempt in his famous book (Critique of Political Economy) to find a fit between the nature of the existing policies in Western countries and the intellectual trends of those countries, despite their value and scientific importance, however, this did not receive the attention of many scholars The meeting seeks primarily to reveal the importance of the state and its roots. Frederick Engels was able to shed light on the nature and nature of the state more clearly than other thinkers, in what he presented in his famous book (The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State). Parsons in explaining and reviewing the institutional performance of the state in a manner that can be considered the most brilliant achievement in contemporary sociology; Parsons considers that the political system is the system that consists of different parts, and in order to be able to perform its functions in the light of the modern state, this requires the existence of modern institutions and organizations that enable it to move towards change in a stable pattern (Bashireh, 1374). In classifying political systems, such as constitutional law or the nature of the relationship between authorities, we can find a different sociological criterion in classifying political systems based on the nature of the relationship between the state and society or the relationship of the state with the social base on which it is based, on the other hand. Hence, the different trends of political systems, as well as the process of imposing power and the level of its strength and weakness in society, whether on the social or economic level ; According to this adopted sociological criterion, the main and most prominent question in this research is: What is the sociology of the state in Iran that is consistent with the principles of the revolution and manifested through its Islamic republican system? Studies and research on issues related to the state and political authority after the Islamic revolution in Iran. However, knowledge and awareness of the relationship of the state and society and the societal trends of the Islamic Republic in dealing with internal and external issues are still insufficient and unconvincing; This is because those research and studies often deal with the state and its nature in a one-way manner; It derives a single theoretical direction to understand the state and the nature of the issues raised around it. This research is a sociological analytical attempt to match the intellectual trends proposed regarding the process of state building and political power in Iran, and it will review the theories and intellectual trends that are most consistent and applicable with the nature of the state in Iran and its

political structure after the Islamic revolution In view of the peculiarities and orientations of the Iranian social reality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. The concept of the state

The state in the general sense is the legitimacy through which authority is imposed, and the structure through which the political authority is compatible with the constitutional law. This is after the end of the feudal rule and the demise of monarchies, especially after the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia, as the political-geographical borders of countries were drawn on constitutional legal foundations and values, meaning that the state after the emergence of constitutions and after the principle of separation of powers was introduced and after the emergence of electoral systems in conjunction with the maturation of Political parties have taken on a distinctive character and pattern through which they have distributed values and functions on legitimate legal bases (Wincent, 1371 n).

2. The country in the third world

Clarifying and interpreting political concepts and terms in the Third World often faces challenges and difficulties, as they are imported concepts that belong to an environment that is fundamentally different from the social and political conditions of the so-called Third World countries. In the Western world, on the contrary, the feudal system in the countries of the third world, due to the difference of its cultural and social environment and its political conditions with the Western world, did not have the opportunity to crystallize and appear, and therefore the traditional systems in the third world were not able to proceed according to the natural contexts towards modernity and modernization. Despite this, the urgent need to keep pace with and alignment with Western civilization, and the presence of the urgent concern about the need to respond to the internal changes and complexities of those societies, prompted the modern state in most of the third world countries to be the most appropriate alternative to the ruling royal regimes and empires at that time, and the role of factors is not hidden. Foreign affairs and its dictates, especially in the shadow of colonialism, as represented in the Many countries, even those that have undertaken to move towards modernity at a natural pace, have resorted to adopting the origin of the state according to the modernist contexts and adoptions that were adopted in the Western world. However, the institutionalization of the state can only be achieved by dealing with a conservative revolutionary style with the various social requirements and the political pressures exerted by the elite internally from the top of the pyramid of power in order to create change in society. It is worth noting that the state in the third world lacks a solid and comprehensive social base In other words, the social classes in those countries were not primarily involved and did not have a great influence in the process of change and transformation from traditional political systems to modern political systems. Hence, the talk leads us to the fact that the main factors and reasons that led to the weakness of the state and the decline in its levels of effectiveness in society, are due to the extent of the imbalance in the process of transition from traditional to contemporary and renewal, and this incomplete and distorted transition has paved the conditions for the survival and consolidation of political systems with political elements and indicators Many researchers believe that adherence to traditional traditions, etiquette and rituals rooted in Eastern societies is another reason for the lack of crystallization of the civil state in them,

but Iran's distinction in its cultural and historical dimensions has given it a regular character, And firmly established in terms of the political structure in building and crystallizing the state (Afdali, 1385).

3. Sociological buildings of the state in post-revolution Iran

What the official title of the Iranian state contains from the words "republic" and "Islamic" expresses the special and distinctive style of the form of the political system in it; It explains the close relationship between national trends (Iran) and religious orientations (the Islamic Republic) and their fusion in one crucible, and this structure basically includes achieving a modified pattern of the modernist framework of the national state prevailing in Western societies. Iranians have paid great attention to adopting religious trends more than national ones in drawing the features of the state and its political system. One of the most important functions that the civil state in Iran seeks to achieve, as indicated by the constitution, is to ensure the upholding of religious values and principles in society. The fifth paragraph of Article Two of the Constitution indicated that "the system of the Islamic Republic" is based on the belief in the Imamate and continuous leadership, and its basic role in the continuity of the revolution brought about by Islam, and the necessity of believing in human dignity and high values, and the freedom inherent in his responsibility before God. This approach is contrary to what Hans Morgenthau considered that the goal of what the national state aspires to in its general sense is to produce power, provide security and achieve full popular sovereignty in it (Gabriel, 1381). One of the Islamic principles in dealing with society. And because the political superstructure of the state is subordinate to the nature of the social structure and affected by the various social interactions in it, the loss of readiness of the social system in Iran and its inability to influence and contribute to building the civil state has led to the national state in Iran facing many failures and crises (Bashirah, 1381). The place of sect in the Iranian political system is the main engine influencing the structure of social and political systems. As he seeks to revive and reformulate the required system according to the vision of the ideal system of authority, and hence the state under the Islamic system, due to its distinct cultural indicators, has been able to reformulate the ideal ruling state model in the era of the Islamic message that the Great Leader Muhammad (PBUH) sought. It seems that the state in Iran was able, through the process of building and exercising power, as well as looking at the sources of legitimacy adopted in its construction, to crystallize as a special and unique model, embodying a distinctive structural pattern of the national state, which included a new reality of the relationship between heritage and modernity.. Hence, the state in Iran, with its ideal characteristics and its political system, which embodies the concept of sovereignty in it through the use of traditional tools in the process of imposing power, cannot harmonize and interact with the foundations of the modern national-state; Because the latter belongs in its intellectual constructs to contemporary Western philosophy, which is fundamentally opposed to the philosophy of governance in Islam. The Islamic regime in Iran was empowered through its interaction On this basis, it has been able more than any other system to pave the way for moving forward and transforming to renewal and modernity, and the main reason behind this was its enormous potential and will based on harmony and appropriateness with trends Popularity through its ability to respond to the various demands and aspirations of society, as well as its ability to mobilize and mobilize the political street in order to conform to the state's adopted policies and general orientations. On the other hand, some believe that the positive interaction of the Islamic regime with social forces internally has enabled the political elites to adopt the method of employing rational paths in dealing with these demands. From the

foregoing, it is clear that the Islamic Republic has been relatively successful in the process of state formation and building over this last century.

4. Social classes in Iran

Societies are distinguished among themselves by the observation of different circumstances, whether historical, social, political or cultural, and differ from others in the mechanism of dealing with those circumstances and variables, and although knowledge of the theories and general structures of the social structure is one of the utmost necessities in understanding and comprehending the nature of societies, but The study of each society, due to its unique privacy, should be carried out in isolation from other societies and should enjoy a high degree of independence and impartiality. Given the experience of the Islamic Republic of Iran over thirty years of governance, caution should be taken in studying and analyzing the sociological reality of its social classes. In general, the undeniable reality is that economic relations, the nature of social forces and the relationship between them, and the productive tools in industrial societies that are in their stages of growth and integration, have been affected as much as the phenomenon of globalization, especially in the last two decades, and because of the multiplication of new elements of a cultural nature in In those societies, many of the traditional historical elements have melted and disappeared in these cultural dimensions, especially after the remarkable growth and development witnessed by the movement of community awareness and the change that occurred in the process of dividing labor and the nature of production in it, where cultural needs and aspirations completely changed until they reached Human societies are at the stage of merging with each other in terms of dealing with issues of wealth and culture. Accordingly, and due to the structural transformation that affected all the political, social and economic dimensions of human societies - especially Iranian society - it is not possible to rely on traditional material sources in diagnosing and knowing these active social classes and forces. For reformist-liberal thought such as what Weber and Darandrov brought to find out. With the laying of the foundations of the new system after the victory of the revolution in Iran and after the clerics dominated and led the traditional middle class, as well as the alliance of that traditional middle class with the new middle class, the ruling class and the comprador bourgeoisie were excluded from the stage of political power in Iran. The alliance between the traditional middle class led by the clergy and the new middle class led by the enlightened and intellectuals did not last long. Soon the clergymen returned to seizing control and extending their rule to the levers of power, using the support of the commercial bourgeois class, and relying on the huge oil revenues, to find the new middle class. It is itself under the control of the state and its hegemony, and it has lost all the elements of effective critical response and performance among Iranian society. It provided the necessary services, such as employment and securing goods and the necessary needs of citizens, until it became - that is, the state - the main sponsor and organizer of the nature of consumption of goods and rationalization of their use, and the first source to provide the necessary needs of consumers. The social fabric and in order to strengthen the national unity, which is now facing cracking as a result of the challenges posed at that time by the conditions of the war between Iraq and Iran; It was expected that the private sector would reap the fruits of that supportive historical position upon the end of the war. However, the failure of the government of President Hashemi Rafsanjani in committing to activating the principle of privatization led to the consolidation of the dependence of the private sector on the state, and as a consequence it led to the consolidation of the state's unilateral dependence on natural resources such as oil and gas. (Izghandi, 1384). During the last three decades, the traditional middle class in Iran was able to seize political

power, and it was also able to extend its influence over the social and security systems, the media, and others, to the extent that it was able to reach the stage of industrial and economic supremacy in the face of the private sector. With the collapse of the dependent bourgeoisie and the reduction of the role of the industrial bourgeoisie by taking governmental measures to confiscate funds and subject banking institutions to state control and supervision, the structure of social classes in Iran has reached an exceptional situation in view of the conditions it has been through and in comparison with other strata and classes of societies. In view of the policy of political mobilization adopted by the state in the first decade of the revolution's history in order to attract the middle and lower middle classes of Iranian society, the state found itself compelled to satisfy these classes by adopting service policies that depend on providing a minimum level of welfare, providing job opportunities, and disbursing subsidies. This is what prompted the state to pursue, under compulsion or by choice, the establishment of modern social forces in harmony with the new current requirements.

Under the circumstances of the war, the state took wide-ranging reform policies to eliminate poverty and unemployment within the so-called "government development program" to improve the political, economic and cultural reality in the country, to establish a new pattern of economic relations between the state and social classes. However, these policies and for different reasons may have led to a deepening of the gap between the social classes themselves, which caused the creation of a large gap in the level of daily income between the sects of Iranian society (Saeed, 1384).

5. The nature of the state in Iran: visions and ideas

There are many theories and visions that interpret the state and know what it is. The most important of them will be discussed based on the extent and possibility of their applicability to the political structure of the state in Iran:

- The dependent state theory.
- Patrimonial State Theory.
- The rentier state theory.
- Ideological State Theory.
- dependent state theory

The intellectual foundations of this theory are rooted in a set of ideas and visions that were put forward in the late sixties of the last century by some social thinkers and researchers in Latin America under the title of the dependent approach or method in knowing the real reasons behind the suffering of the so-called developing countries in terms of significant developmental backwardness.. Hence, some thinkers and researchers were influenced by the unilateral approach adopted by the sociologist Gunder Frank, which was based on identifying the external factors in explaining the phenomenon of underdevelopment in those societies, but other thinkers - such as Cardoso and Fatu - have focused most of their interest on diagnosing the internal factors and the historical roots in knowing the causes of underdevelopment in the societies of developing countries. Among those who used the dependent state theory to analyze and explain the state in Iran, we refer to Niki Keddi, Ahmad Ashraf, Munijeh Zuwarah, Hashem Basran, John Foran, Jaziroski, and Rawasani. The backwardness of the developing countries is due to the extent of the influence left by the pioneers of the dependency approach - such as the famous sociologist Gunder Frank, Cardoso and Fatu - on the intellectual espousals of these researchers and thinkers, Development in developing countries. In his book, Fragile Resistance, following the model presented by Cardoso and Valto, he refers to the influence of internal forces and

factors in the process of change and social transformation in those countries (Foran, 1387). In the context of historical data and the semi-colonial reality in Iran and the domination of the West over its capabilities, its visitors have pointed out the influence of colonial external factors that hinder development activities and political, economic and social development in Iran. Colonialism makes use of its capabilities internally in order to motivate the various social forces for effective participation in the process of building the nation state. Structure, establishment and management of social classes there. Its loyalty to external colonial powers, and the subordinate class is not like the comprador bourgeoisie that is characterized by In a state of harmony and stability in its internal structure, rather, it is a class that includes a group of social groups with disparate ideas, such as feudal lords, capitalists, the enlightened and others. He also believes that dealing with the trends of the capitalist economy in the Qajar era, specifically during the Sultanate of Fatah Ali Shah, gave the first touches to the emergence of the dependent state, and that the social classes and spectra that crystallized as a result of the state joining the capitalist global market, were later able to dominate political power and sources Its decision in the country leaves the door open for colonial influence and domination in Iran (Rawasani, 1367). The role of the international system and its great impact on the state-building process in the third world is not hidden. However, considering the state an institution affiliated with colonialism and that the ruling political classes in it are a product of the interactions left by the external factor in the political power in those countries; It is nothing more than an ideological discourse that lacks objective considerations and is affected by the climate that prevailed in the Cold War at the time and part of the projections of that stage. Thus, the state and the ruling class in it are as if they are in a valley and society is in another valley far from them; As the state is not compatible with his ideological affiliations and tendencies, so a state that spares no effort in expanding the circle of dealing with colonial powers in order to ensure their existence and permanent stability. With regard to the factors of the emergence of the state with secessionist tendencies from society and its aspirations in Iran, it is necessary to stand within a connected historical context on the most important influences that accompanied the state-building process and its repercussions on the course of the social structure there. The separation of the state from society in Iran was not a phenomenon specific to the Pahlavi era. From eras, but extended to different historical periods (Fazali, 1384).

The extent to which the dependent state model applies to the nature of the state in Iran

The nature of the state in Iran after the Islamic revolution, whether at the level of attitudes and attitudes that Iranian society had towards the revolution and its aspirations, or at the level of the state's behavior and political performance for three decades, cannot be applied to the theory of the dependent state due to its distance from the influences of external factors, in addition. Therefore, the emergence of the dependent state before it became a cause for the state's independence from its social structure was a result of that; This is because the state, in light of the loss of a broad popular base from which it derives its power of influence, tends in most cases to extend its authority internally, using external factors that provide it with indicators of strength to consolidate its dominance over all aspects of life, while the state, after the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, has a broad mass base of support for the state. And its path, as this was evident through the high percentage of participation indicators in the political life of citizens for three decades, which led to the consolidation of the principle of harmony as a positive pattern in the nature of interaction between the state and society. In Iran, according to the aforementioned data, there is also no supporting theory in this context that helps to

apply this theory in a clear and clear manner, especially after it has been inevitably realized that the reality of the state after the Islamic revolution in Iran has emerged from the climate and space of the dependent state.

6. Patrimonial State Theory

The majority of political sociologists tend to adopt the theory of the patrimonial state presented by Max Weber as an analytical model for the study and interpretation of the state. His comparative applied studies, in which he dealt with the various religions with their orientations and ramifications, and his attention also to the role of charismatic elites and their impact on the leadership of societies, has consolidated those trends that see the possibility of applying this theory with the reality of the state with religious orientations in Iran, and even religious orientations It is one of the main pillars of the state-building process in Iran, and this is what prompted many Iranian thinkers to pay great attention to studying this theory for the possibility of its conformity with the reality of the state after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

7. The concept of the patrimonial state

Patrimonialism or (the royal state), as Max Weber expresses it, is the state whose affairs are taken over by a royal family that seeks, by relying on a deep administrative body or institution, to extend its influence and forcibly impose its authority on institutions in society, and Weber considers this type of system to be the most consistent and applied To study and analyze the political reality of the countries of the Middle East, where the leadership of the state in this style is assumed by a person whose powers exceed the legal contexts; It jumps over all value restrictions and limitations in order to impose a kind of domination over the state and its institutions. The exercise of power in this style is not carried out according to legal-constitutional values, but rather on the basis of favoritism, flattery and family affiliations that play a key role in determining the course of political authority there. (Uzghandi, 1384). The political and administrative bureaucracy under the patrimonial system is considered an exclusive tool used by the ruler or the sultan in order to impose hegemony and authority on society, and this system, unlike many systems, does not find a justification for maintaining the civil activities and activities adopted by the different currents in those societies. Rather, he tries to perpetuate his role and impose his hegemony in determining the course of that social reality (Izghandi, 1384). According to Weber, the patrimonial system, with its peculiarities of being a system characterized by the presence of a tyrannical ruler dominant in power, does not attach any importance to the prevailing norms and values adopted by individuals and groups of those societies. Therefore, a system with these peculiarities is the most consistent in terms of analyzing the nature of eastern systems Middle (Shehabi, 1380). As for what James Bell sees, the ruler, under the Patrimonial regimes, as representing the hierarchy of power in them, handles its affairs on a personal basis far from the protocol and institutional constitutional contexts. the decisions it takes, and it seeks to reformulate the relationship between authority and religion to ensure that his behaviors and decisions are passed under the heading of legitimacy and acceptability that he has gained as a result of claiming his commitment to religious teachings, and thus the first person in this system becomes the shadow of God on earth; So, violating it is tantamount to declaring hostility to God, and then the violator or opponent deserves the most severe penalty and punishment (Izghandi, 1384).

8. The extent to which the model of the patrimonial regime applies to the nature of the state in Iran

Those concerned with the study of the patrimonial system consider that it prescribes a specific ideology that leads to the survival and continuation of this type of government (Uzgandi, 1384), and in light of this, we find that the state in Iran for more than a century has ranged from belonging to an Islamic ideology or a secular ideology as part of An essential part of an inherited political system and an undisputed sovereign symbol in the country. Reza Shah deliberately renewed and reformulated the form of the patrimonial regime that prevailed at that time in ancient Iran, especially when he began to promote nationalist ideology, and proceeded to employ the capabilities and bureaucratic energies of the state for this. And as soon as Muhammad Reza Shah ascended the throne, he turned his father's path in renewing the patrimonial elements in building power, but because of his loss of his father's strictness and strength in managing the state, a lot of contradiction appeared in his positions regarding this, and the latter sought to market the ideology of divine authority according to which he becomes the Shah Or the ruler is the shadow of God on earth, and by that he wanted to compel society to obey him and submit to his authority. On the other hand, and in an attempt to renew the structure of the Patrimonial regime, he proceeded to promote the principle of commitment to the Iranian national civilizational values, considering that commitment to them is considered a commitment to a sacred national duty. And national civilization, and on this basis he established the principle of exporting the Iranian national culture and its ancient civilizational heritage, which, according to his claim, is not matched by heritage, history or culture in the world. Marwin Zunes and William Shukrats on the reason for the remarkable success of Muhammad Reza Shah in renewing the patrimonial regime in Iran, attributing it to two things: the state institution, its governmental apparatus, the pro-state elites, and its decision-making center had the primary role in perpetuating the principle of the Shah's holiness and glorification, as well as what distinguishes society From a psychological point of view, the Iranian psychological satisfaction in absorbing and accepting the authoritarian tools imposed by the ruler has greatly contributed to the success of the popular endeavors. Hanshahi in reformulating the Patrimonial system in a way that ensures its domination of the pyramid of power for long periods. On this basis, Marwin Zunes goes in his book (The Royal Defeat) - despite the fall and dissolution of the monarchy in Iran - that the culture of (the savior or survivor) whose foundations and rules remained rooted In the orientations of Iranian society, its structure was renewed anew when it was manifested in the adoptions and foundations of the religious system of the Islamic Republic (Zunes, 0 137). The patrimonial system, due to the constraints of political power, has become a system with weak and fragile foundations, and with this particularity, it is natural that the salient features of these societies are the entry into revolutions, conflicts and social tendencies., then the prevailing political behavior is to resort to systematic violent methods to contain and confront crises, and the more we delve into the political history of the twentieth century and delve into the study of African and South American societies, the more emphasis is placed on the militarism model as a basis in managing state affairs and resolving its crises. Max Weber had proposed Patrimonialism as an analytical method to describe the traditional regimes located in the Near East. However, after the Second World War, researchers used its analytical method to study and analyze the performance of authoritarian regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Said, 1374). From a methodological point of view, the discrepancy between thinkers and researchers on this subject stems from a lack of distinction between the nature and form of regimes and how power is exercised in them. Hence, the theories put forward in the twentieth century have somewhat departed from the central characteristics of the patrimonial system made by Max Weber. It seems that many

of the peculiarities and definitions associated with these regimes faced either symmetry or conflict with the peculiarities of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes based on different social and political conditions. However, many modern research and studies of a patrimonial nature face today a state of dispersion, lack of coherence and stability; Most of them focus on describing and analyzing the path and trends of the modern state. In addition, patrimonialism is characterized as a political theory; It deals with issues related to the nation-state, as it is not a comprehensive social vision or theory in order to deal with issues outside the scope of the state. It is clear from this that employing this theory to analyze the nature of the state after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in order to formulate a true description of Iranian society does not is feasible; As this theory cannot determine the nature of the relationship between the government and society, and it is unable to describe the life and activities of that society.

9. The rentier state theory

The rentier state model is one of the most important theories that provide an objective interpretation of the nature of the state and the nature of the relationship between it and society. From an economic point of view, the word Rent means that money or income that is obtained without making any effort or effort. Through the sale of extracted local natural wealth - such as oil, iron, aluminum, metal, etc. - or acquired through the state obtaining financial aid from the external side, there is a distinction between non-productive incomes - such as natural wealth - and the revenues resulting from the production process and the export and import of goods. Historically, studies related to the global economy and the form of the state and the rentier state date back to the era of economic pioneers in Europe, such as Adam Smith, Ricardo and Karl Marx, but after the end of the Second World War, the studies and research of researchers focused on social sciences from an economic perspective - such as Philip, David Pierce, Hook Tees, Kazem and Blawi And Gicao Molossiani - on the issue of rent in order to contribute to clarifying the nature of the crystallization of the state, which depends for its rent on single crops. The rentier state is the one that obtains an income rate of 42% or more from the total external rent resulting from the export of one or two types of raw material, And that state not only has the ability to receive the rentier returns, but it also has the process of spending and investing those returns. Hence, the state acts as a large financial institution that is responsible for distributing the revenues resulting from talents and natural wealth (Ezgandi, 1384). The proponents of this theory, in their study of the nature of the oil-producing countries in the Middle East, see that the dynamics of tax-receiving countries differ from those of oil-producing countries; This is because the bureaucracy of the last states is unrealistic and unreasonable; Because the philosophy of its existence is based on the principle of not collecting taxes from citizens, which means that there are no representatives of society in that state, and there is a meaningful relationship between rentier states and their undemocratic nature. In other words, the dependence on the proceeds of natural wealth and the lack of economic dependence of the state on society is what is behind the state's dispensation of society, and is the reason for the crystallization of the undemocratic state and the exacerbation of authoritarian regimes in the Middle East (Le Siani, 1374). Hence, the rentier states seek to respond to the various popular aspirations and aspirations, provided that these tendencies do not turn into an obstacle to the conduct of the rentier policies of these states due to the demand for the release of public liberties and the provision of civil rights by society, Fulfillment of these societal demands. On the other hand, the rentier state, in order to enable it the right to use force, does not attach importance to the interests and demands of society, and at the same time tries to attract the elites and social groups

that support it in order to maintain their power and influence in society. Dealing with society according to these mechanisms will lead to a loss of the state's ability to create The appropriate harmony between the inputs represented by the existence of societal demands and the outputs represented by the existence of policies and decisions intended to respond to those demands, and therefore the state, as a result of the changes and transformations taking place in the level of rentier revenues, which are often those matters beyond its control, will lose its ability to maintain its existence. In other words, unlike countries that adopt a productive economy, where wealth is the product of continuous toil and relentless pursuit by the people of that society, wealth in the shadow of rentier states is obtained by chance, authoritarian relations, family ties, and proximity to sources of power and influence. Wealth through rent will lead to the society losing its energies, activity and vitality, and the values of laziness, idleness, and the pursuit of wealth in easy, effortless ways will be entrenched in that society (Haji, 1378).

10. The extent to which the rentier state model applies to the nature of the state in Iran

Most of the writers and researchers who were mentioned in the past emphasized and agreed on the rentier state in Iran, but the only difference between the rentier state orientations in the era of the Pahlavi Shahنشahi and the rentier state in the era of the Islamic Republic is due to the dependence of the Pahlavi state on the great bourgeoisie and its capitalist and industrialist pursuit of the path of capitalism While the Islamic Republic was well aware that its life and survival depended on the reality of the relationship between rent and the bourgeoisie led by merchants, in addition to this it should be noted that the Islamic Republic focused largely on tax and fee collection, as it was working hard on the theoretical and practical level to reduce Income and profit obtained from natural resources and wealth by doubling the size of tax income. This, but there is an undeniable reality, which is that selling natural wealth at preferential prices is an important reason for the survival and continuity of this state. Economic, industrial and commercial, all of which gave greater impetus to the meaning of rentierism and helped in expanding the rentier volume more and more than before. This means - despite the reduction in income from oil revenues in the state budget at the expense of tax and fee collection - that dealing with trends and political peculiarities in this society and ideology It has become a foundation and an important factor in the process of economic distribution. One of the declared goals that the revolution aspired to achieve was the redistribution of wealth by deducting the wealth of the affluent class at the expense of the poor classes in society. Hence, it should be said that putting forward such religious concepts and orientations is in line with rentier societies more than in societies that adopt class orientations., meaning that the individual under the Islamic state can enjoy his material wealth and become rich, but in return he should not be arrogant and mighty. Hence, the state is striving to achieve continuous and permanent legitimacy through the distribution of wealth and various economic sources. Hence, according to this theory, Skagpol based on the fact that the huge oil revenues during the era of Muhammad Reza Shah had made the state undemocratic, and this reason in itself had prepared the conditions for the revolution in Iran in 1979 AD, just as it was expected that the Islamic Republic would head towards the same fate Pahlavi state; Because it depends entirely on oil revenues in managing its affairs. Amir Muhammad Hajj Yousefi also considered that the Islamic Republic was a rentier state when the proportion of the national income resulting from the sale of oil was greater than the proportion of the public income in it, as he evaluated it as inconsistent with the values of the modern state due to its dependence on rentier sources, and this issue was from his point of view It is also noticeable, especially since the end of the Iraqi-Iranian

war, day after day, more and more (Haji, 1378). Haj Yousefi divided the Iranian economy, following the example of Logiani (dualism), into two sections: before and after the war. With this division, he confirms that the rentier nature of the state was further strengthened after the end of the war, and the state continued in this way even during the era of Muhammad Khatami's presidency of Iran (Izghandi), 1384). Despite the possibility of applying the rentier state theory to the state model in Iran, whether it was in the Pahlavi era or the era of the Islamic Republic, there are observations that should be referred to in this regard, which are as follows:

The rentier state model, regardless of the orientations of the social structure and cultural differences of societies, is just an economic vision that does not pay attention to the social role of power and does not look at the phenomenon of power and authority at all. Moreover, it neglects the fact that each state has its own social, economic and cultural conditions.

It is also a reductionist theory; Many theorists of the rentier state believe that the effects of state ownership on natural resources and wealth will lead to the modern state's deprivation of its democratic nature, while we find that many developing countries, such as Southeast Asian countries, and despite the fact that they impose taxes and fees on their citizens, It was not able to reach a democratic society similar to that of European countries, whose economy depends primarily on productive resources and exported goods.

On the other hand, the rentier state theory is an integrated extension of the eastern tyranny theory; They essentially share a commitment to the principle of class in the analysis of the state, with the difference that the Sultan's ownership of water and land resources in the past - based on the theory of eastern despotism - has given the state a character that crosses class boundaries. However, in the modern era, based on the rentier theory, the state has become Because of its dependence on oil revenues, it does not feel its need for secondary sources, such as taxes and fees, and as a result, it is not interested in responding to the demands and concerns of society (Izghandi, 1384).

11. Ideological State Theory

What is meant by the ideological state is the state that crystallizes on an ideological basis, and seeks, based on a set of values and foundations, to organize and manage all affairs in people's lives, Transition from the traditional era to modernity.

Ideological regimes are also characterized by a pattern of totalitarianism and strict dogmatism. The ideological state often has a special color of life and a single environment for living, and it is usually behind reality and behind society and gradually turns into an abnormal reality; As its followers become a minority, they try to impose their will on the majority by oppression and domination. Likewise, one of the peculiarities of these countries is that they set red lines, restrictions, sizes and quantities for all phenomena in people's lives, and they also deal with the category of culture on an ideological basis of a limited unilateral character. In the light of this, everything that is rejected is also prohibited. It cannot be done at all (Watan, 1380).

12. Ideological crises of the state

The ideological state internally internalizes a set of crises and structural problems, and thus it seeks to preserve its existence and continuity of existence through the presence of these crises and coexistence with them. Undoubtedly, the "identity crisis" is one of the complex crises that would have negative effects on the course of the state and its stability, This crisis is the result of the conflict between the prevailing traditional and hereditary values and what is renewed, civilized and civil. The ideological state, in the face of the "identity crisis" is working to find a new meaning of life that

derives its spirit from harmonious values of one color, closed character and a system of strict teachings that it dominates all parts of the country and is imposed on all its affairs, thus giving a new meaning to life, and within the framework of that understanding stemming from those ideological values, it has maintained its strength, cohesion and survival as it claims, but dealing with crises according to this vision framed by ideological restrictions is not worthy of facing challenges and crises. Not only the current situation, but is the main reason for creating other crises that would undermine the state and its stability, meaning that the ideological state, when it adopts a single-vision definition of Allegiance to man and his lifestyles may contribute to the creation of the “other” that contradicts what is adopted within the value framework that the ideological state promotes and operates on its basis. Hannah Arendt says in this regard: “With the birth of every human being creates a new meaning in life.” Accordingly, the totalitarian state is unworthy and unable to maintain this pluralistic approach, which pays attention and respect to all visions and ideas in society, and then other identities are excluded and marginalized due to their failure to meet and interact with the official “ideological” identity that is intended to be The dominant identity in a diverse and multi-adopted society (Bachira, 1381).

The extent to which the ideological state model applies to the nature of the state in Iran

From the point of view of the thinker Bashiriyeh, the ideological state in Iran depends on three basic elements:

- 1- The social component: mass populism.
- 2- The elite component: the authority of the clergy.
- 3- The intellectual element: Islamic traditionalism (Bashree, 1381).

Contrary to some writers and thinkers who consider that the revival of Islamic ideology in the Iranian state is an event that cannot be traced back to the historical heritage, and it is - in their opinion - a modern variable that is analyzed in light of the political interactions of religious scholars as modern factors. Dr. Bashiriah argues that the conditions and foundational data of the Islamic State in Iran go back to four historical stages in its intellectual foundations, after which this theory was integrated in terms of Shiite jurisprudence; Through it, the historical model of the superiority of political power in the state of the era of the Islamic message was reformulated, and the most important sociologically noteworthy result of adopting this vision is that the doctrine in the field of politics according to modern data is a historical engine that carries structural features in the nation-building process in Iran. Hence, the Iranian state, due to its unique and distinct cultural indicators, was able to reproduce the ideal state model in the era of prophecy. In fact, we can say that the state in Iran is the most distinguished and unique among the countries of the world; The model of governance in it is characterized by three areas: building power, employing it, and sources of legitimacy in governance that reflect the structural pattern between the originality and modernity of the Iranian state (Afzali, 1385). Islam, which is the intellectual and moral base of the Islamic Revolution and its Islamic republican system, is not like other modernist schools of thought that can be accommodated by narrow ideological frameworks. Change and transformation according to the change and alteration of necessities, aspirations, and cultural, political and social needs of societies, which also change according to the extent of development and growth in them. Therefore, the state in Iran should not be considered an ideological state in the modern sense; As comparing this state with totalitarian and ideological regimes is an analogy with the difference, it is true that the state in Iran has crystallized on the basis of the fixed and well-established values and principles of religion, but this is not

necessarily considered steadfastness in the management models of society, but rather leads to social and political stability in it, and this is what The state in Iran lacks it, according to Bachirih. The basic criteria - as expressed in "hot standards" - should not be subject to and a stage for continuous changes and transformations. Hence, the state in Iran has crystallized on foundations and rules - as expressed by the constitution - that do not tolerate change, such as the principle of Justice, the principle of governance of religious values, freedom, human dignity, and other such values; It is considered one of the stable rules and foundations of the state. Here it must be said that public consensus and consensus on the governance of religious values can be a base and basis for creating political consensus in that country. It derives from these fixed religious values the principle of people's governance that creates a general consensus that leads to the creation of a harmonious political society.

CONCLUSION

- The theories and visions discussed are not a comprehensive approach to knowing what the state is in Iran; because it mainly relies, in dealing with the pathology of the state and its political system, on those intellectual and ideological adoptions of the modernist school and subordination, Moreover, reproducing these models and theories and their multiple detailed patterns in an attempt to apply them to the Iranian reality without looking at the differences and peculiarities that characterize that society leads only to distortion and misinformation. The Iranian state and its authoritarian attributes, along with the behaviors and orientations of the rentier state model, are neither identical with nor identical to it at all. Such a theory is largely lacking in its comprehensiveness in knowing what the state is and defining its features. As for the other theories and models, most of them do not touch reality and are not compatible with it.
- Here, it should be said that the nature of the state, its class structure and its performance in Iran are completely different from the nature and reality of the state in its advanced historical stages. The state under the Islamic regime in Iran, which crystallized after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, was characterized by a special pattern of bureaucracy and structuralism, which is characterized by a formal and formal note of the characteristics of the modern bureaucratic model that contradicts the Weberian bureaucracy and contradicts the peculiarities of the rentier state model.
- Accordingly, we can submit to the specificity and distinction of the state in Iran, but this does not mean that it is a unique experience; throughout history, there are many countries that have imitated the theocracy in Iran. In addition, considering the state in Iran, based on constitutional and behavioral standards, as an ideological state, is an expression that refers to the reproduction of the authority of the clergy as a ruling class that adopts the principle of the authority of the jurist and interacts with the populist nature of Iranian society, and this in itself is a contradiction with the reality of the state that It still depends on rentier sources in managing its affairs.
- What should be pointed out regarding the pathology of the state, and in light of the impact of globalization and its various and diverse fields, especially in the past two decades, and as a result of assigning many governmental responsibilities to non-governmental institutions or international organizations, is that the level of the role of the national state has declined and its

influence in the Managing its affairs, which made the state face a change in its structural adoptions and traditional peculiarities.

- This means that neglecting the basic and influential role of some internal factors, especially the role of culture, geographic location, society, class structures and others, in knowing the pathology of the state in Iran has led many theorists and researchers to take the criteria of Western societies as applied models to know and explain the nature of the state and related topics., whether Iranian society or other third world societies.
- The researcher believes that the basic criteria and indicators adopted and adopted by Western societies in knowing the state and what it is and evaluating its performance lack the efficiency of application in third world countries. This is because those countries bear social, economic and historical dimensions that these criteria cannot comprehend and delve into the analysis of all their aspects. Ideological state.

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