



## **National order, the foundation of political stability and development<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Abstract:**

**Background and Purpose:** One of humanity's significant concerns that led to the establishment of a national institution called the state was to address the increasing needs and achieve a secure condition, allowing individuals to attain vital and important benefits in exchange for relinquishing some of their individual rights and authorities, which would not have been possible without the existence of the state. From this perspective, an efficient and successful state is one that can impose social order among its citizens, providing them with a sense of security so that they feel safe. Therefore, the most fundamental mission of states is to establish order, particularly a national-level order among the components and institutions and the citizens of that country in interaction with those institutions and each other; an order that can bring about organization, security, and welfare for society and provide the desired foundation for achieving sustainable development in all areas. Thus, the aim of this research is to answer the question of what role national order plays in creating stability and political development in society and institutionalizing it.

**Method:** The present research is qualitative, applied in purpose, "library-based" in method of collection, and "explanatory" in data analysis.

**Findings and Conclusion:** This research establishes a connection between "national order" as a macro concept at the societal level and "political development" as a subset of the development process. The researcher hypothesizes that national order positively influences the creation and maintenance of "political stability" and the course of "political development" in society through the establishment of order and organization among the system's components. It facilitates an environment that accelerates the realization of political development.

**Keywords:** *Social order, National order, Political stability, Political and social development, public participation.*

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### **Introduction**

Over the past few decades, especially since World War II, the issues of development, underdevelopment, and societal modernization have increasingly found their place in the political literature of both developed and developing countries. Diverse and sometimes conflicting viewpoints have been raised regarding the causes of development and the lack of it in some countries. Marxist theorists and various intellectual schools that support them have insisted on "historical determinism," believing that all societies inevitably follow a path through history and will eventually reach a stage where capitalism is eradicated, alienation is eliminated, and the working masses will enjoy freedom and active political participation. In contrast, liberal theorists claim that achieving a developed society and active and free participation of individuals requires order and favorable economic, social, and cultural conditions; only through economic development can we achieve political development (Badi, 1376: 112). In other words, in political literature, the necessity of order and security, especially in

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developing societies, is increasingly emphasized. According to these authors, the existence of "order" and "security" in societies is more important than free and equal economic competition and participation, and without established order and security, development is not possible.

From the perspective of modern social sciences, current human societies—traditional, transitional, and modern—possess fundamental characteristics that, according to them, make these societies simultaneously experience "order" and "security," as well as "disorder" and "insecurity," and both "progress" and "regress," as well as "dynamism" and "stagnation" (Nejati, 1402). These characteristics strengthen and develop social hope and trust in society, provide the groundwork for social participation in the political system, increase the social capital of the state-nation, and ultimately lead to national authority of the government and an increase in bargaining power in international and regional interactions in global and regional politics, which can be considered as "political development" (ibid).

This article supports the stance that the establishment of order in the broadest sense of the word in society, referred to here as "national order," can lay the groundwork for political development in society. The question raised here is: How does national order affect the process of national development? In response to this question, a conceivable hypothesis is that national order, through the creation of political stability, can positively influence the process of political development and expand political development.

### **State the issue**

The principles of order, discipline, and organization are among the central and focal topics of political philosophy and social sciences, which have continuously shaped the intellectual landscape since the inception of social thought and ideas. From the late fifteenth century, the political discourse in Europe revolved around the concept of centralized order. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, social thought, whether in an explanatory or idealistic form, consistently intertwined with the creation of social order. Since the end of World War II, addressing social order has become increasingly important in both national development and international relations, with changes in security paradigms and power balances underscoring its multifaceted significance. The issue of order and organization arises from the fact that humans are both individual and social beings, and it is in this context that the question of how a group of individuals regulates their lives and forms a society arises. Consequently, an enduring debate in political and social philosophy texts has been how the sustainability of order is achieved and how it does not materialize despite hypocrisies and conflicts in the struggle against all forms. On the other hand, where social order assumes a social characteristic, it becomes closely associated with concepts such as general order, comprehensive order for society, and national organization, perceived as a positive and obligatory phenomenon. It is seen as a duty for some organizations and institutions within society and necessitates the identification of relevant and influential factors and elements within a coherent and structured model.

However, the concept of organization, meaning structural and organizational order, was first introduced by Max Weber. Weber concluded in his studies that the formation of a state without organization would not have much meaning. He endeavored to elucidate Leviathan by Thomas Hobbes and the concept of modern order based on the necessities of capitalist economy and organization. Thus, the concept of organization can be addressed at various levels. When the concept of national organization is discussed, it implies that the construction and constituent elements of the government must possess the necessary capabilities for convergence. Parsons also noted that national organization is the result of organizing and ordering various social, bureaucratic, and governmental spheres. In Parsons' view, there is a reciprocal relationship between all spheres of social, cultural, political, and bureaucratic construction. The main axis of national organization is formed by pattern variables that possess the necessary capabilities to effectively influence the political system's structure.

Each pattern variable encompasses concepts that establish relationships between various elements and spheres of national organization. Thus, national organization takes shape when structural order thinking emerges in social relations. Concepts such as professional ethics, interactive ethical behavior,

and educational ethics can be considered elements that significantly contribute to the formation of national organization. Many development theorists, like Inkeles, suggest that national organization requires a social and bureaucratic structure that internalizes collective life ethics. Regarding national organization, two important points exist: firstly, the concept of national organization has a structural nature and relates to internal public order, government actors, and the power discourse. If power discourses possess organic organizational forms, conditions are created for reflecting a new order in society, based on organizational responsibility and collective action responsibility of citizens. Secondly, the concept of national organization possesses the necessary capabilities to connect social, political, economic, cultural, and normative spheres. If the economy and culture of society are in a state of turmoil, this cognitive and perceptual space inevitably extends to political and structural spheres, too.

A review of sources and references related to the field of order and organization and development reveals two clear points. Firstly, due to the lack of conceptual clarity, scholars in this field have paid less attention to presenting a contractual definition of order; instead, they have often described the term order with related concepts such as coherence, cohesion, regulation, and supervision. Secondly, each of the scholars has elaborated on the concept of order and the conditions for its achievement within the framework of their own theoretical perspective. For example, in one sociological tradition, two interpretations of order have been considered. In the first tradition, known as the structural-functional school, more attention has been paid to the role of common values and norms, leaving a significant gap for the national organization aspect, and in the second perspective, a materialistic interpretation of the term order is considered, based on economic wealth and political power, attempting to distance from designing a new, functional national organization pattern and emphasizing a newly born, practical and executable concept.

Given that the manifestation of national organization and its explicit and practical consideration is not evident in domestic and foreign research, and instead, research and studies related to order and security both at the organizational and national levels are traceable, addressing the issue of national organization and political development in a cohesive, profound, and comprehensive manner becomes essential for conducting future research and filling research gaps and producing new literature. On the other hand, theoretical clarification of national organization and providing an analytical framework for it within the scope of the Islamic Republic of Iran opens theoretical pathways and enables scholars, intellectuals, and sociopolitical theorists to engage in theoretical discussions and practical utilization, leading to conflicting views and practical and operational exploitation at the national level of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

### **The importance and necessity of research**

Social order refers to the obedience of all members of a society to the norms, values, and laws that form the basis of that society. Thus, this term can be used to specify the set of social institutions that are well-regulated towards achieving desirable social functioning and appropriate social and political interactions. Additionally, the concept of social order can directly convey the coordination of balance and cohesion in social relations, enticing the members of society towards common life through economic and political mechanisms and facilitating desired social interactions. However, social order is mostly applied to prevailing norms that prioritize compliance of all with an established value system, favoring privileged classes and strata. The foundation of this order is based on the belief that fundamental wealth of a society forms peace and tranquility. The resulting conclusion is that all members should, willingly or unwillingly, support the social and political system or form of social organization, which in turn creates grounds for perpetuating inequalities, injustices, and causes of social conflict.

From a broader perspective, national order is one of the fundamental domains of structuring groups within society. National order creates the necessary ground for social groups to adapt to structural rules. Furthermore, national order is aimed at strategically guiding citizens and social groups, and

most importantly, it leads to the reproduction of normative and structural rules and political development. Given these points, the importance and necessity of conducting this research can be outlined as follows:

1. Since national security and order have a reciprocal relationship, if security is compromised and societal peace and tranquility are disrupted, the societal systems also collapse, leading to what is termed as a state of disorder in national order. Moreover, if national order faces a general disruption, national security is also compromised.

In essence, national order resembles threads forming a continuous network of micro-orders existing within a society. When these threads break, get damaged, or are somehow at risk of disconnection, the seeds of governmental authority scatter and disperse, leading to disarray, turmoil, anarchy, and extensive disruption. Having a cohesive and efficient model to address this issue will be instrumental in resolving this problem and ensuring its preservation and continuity.

An important aspect that needs to be addressed, due to the lack of foundation and content, is through the examination of ideologies, existing ideas, internal theories, conceptualizations, and other cognitive tools, along with directing thought and action through the creation of definitions, conceptualizations, and enumeration of existing order and regulatory features of the Islamic Republic system. Therefore, with a little contemplation on the current state of society, it becomes clear that studying and researching in this area will greatly contribute to maintaining social order and will be perceived as a strategic and necessary step.

National order encompasses political, economic, cultural, and social systems within society, in such a way that any disturbance or disruption in one of them leads to disturbances in others. Thus, a kind of longitudinal relationship between them emerges, and as long as social order exists as a condition for coherence and survival in any society, as long as order is established at the national level and this order reaches a sufficient balance and stability, a society with a strong and stable organization will exist, and we can create conditions for political and social cohesion. A vital set is healthy and coherent when it acts according to a clear and organized pattern. Therefore, when society loses its order, its tranquility is lost, its organization becomes shaky, and ultimately its cohesion is shattered, rendering it no longer a stable and healthy society but one in crisis, suffering from social or political fragmentation.

### **Research Background:**

Based on field, library, and online research from various sources, including books, articles, research papers, and theses closely related to or exactly matching the title of the current research, it can be claimed that we face a shortage and scarcity of research resources in Persian and Latin languages, particularly regarding the objectives of the current research, despite the extensive cultural developments and rapid social changes. Therefore, this concept can be considered a new, innovative, and novel topic in the literature of order, organization, and governance. However, references to related research and studies are summarized as follows:

- Hosseini Nejati (2023), in a study titled "National Order from the Perspective of Political-Sociological and Legal Sociology," emphasized the importance of sociological understanding in addressing the issue of "national order." He discussed how the success or failure of governance in today's complex and advanced society depends on how the macro management of society and the administrative bureaucracy, including the law enforcement system, deal with the various cultures and diverse lifestyles in order to shape affairs correctly, aiming to reduce the risks and dangers of modernization, globalization, media influence, and digitalization.
- Kermani, Sabet, Rajabloo, and Abadari (2022) in their study titled "Management and National Order" explained the concept of "management" as putting something behind something else with specific arrangements to achieve a certain goal. They linked divine wisdom in creating the system of existence to the concept of management. They further explored the relationship between

- management and the performance of the police force, emphasizing the importance of ethical principles in law enforcement to ensure public satisfaction.
- Darinogorani (2022) in his research titled "Revisiting National Order: What and How in Theoretical Frameworks" discussed how order, constituted by regulation and organization, is a coordination relationship among the elements of a set to achieve a specific goal, particularly in the public sphere, associated with concepts such as security and public ethics.
  - Neel Forushan, Naghizadeh, Javanmard, and Javaheri (2022) in their research on "The Role and Function of Mobilization in Achieving National Order and Internal Security" emphasized the significance of addressing issues of order and security, especially in the context of Iran, and highlighted the special role of mobilization in these areas, both in hardware and software functions.
  - Heidari (2021) in a study titled "Examining the Mutual Relationship of Security and Development in Border Areas" concluded that security is significantly related to various dimensions of development, including social, political, cultural, and economic aspects.
  - Amberi et al. (2018) in an article titled "The Impact of Renewal Process on Social Order and Security in Lorestan" examined the impact of the renewal process on social order and security in Lorestan province throughout historical periods, highlighting the contradictions of governmental modernization and its inherent challenges.
  - Rezazadeh et al. (2015) in a research paper titled "The Model of Internal Security in National Order Development" concluded that characteristics such as power production, internal and external stability and coherence, political system authority, human resource skills, and institutionalization in social power are the most important features of the internal security model in national order development.
  - Hosseini Nejati (2010) in an article on "Habermas' Philosophy and the Discourse of Order" explored how Habermasian political philosophy emphasizes ethical discourse and communicative rationality as the foundations of social order, where social norms are negotiated through consensus and rational debate.
  - Eftekhari (2000) in the book "National Order (Political Sociology of Order from the Perspective of Imam Khomeini)" attempted to define and delineate this concept within its indigenous framework. By analyzing Imam Khomeini's political thought and actions, he aimed to examine the indigenous dimensions of national order in the early years of Iran after the revolution. It should be noted that existing studies, both domestic and foreign, besides verbal similarities, lack a specific theoretical and conceptual system in this regard and have fluctuated according to the tastes and interests of translators, authors, and researchers in this field. Therefore, this paper seeks, for the first time in Iranian sociology literature, to organize studies on order and organization based on ideas and methods that are compatible with discussions related to political stability and development. This is an important endeavor that will be achieved through examining schools of thought, existing ideas, domestic theoretical developments, and conceptualizations, as well as other cognitive tools in this field and the coordinates and characteristics of it.

### **Theoretical Foundations**

In this research, we are confronted with three fundamental concepts. Firstly, the variable "national order," which is recognized as an independent variable, then "political stability," which is an intermediate variable, and finally "political development," which assumes the role of a dependent variable in this study. To facilitate mutual understanding and clarification of the subject, after acquainting ourselves with the concept of order and national order, we will elaborate on these three variables:

#### **A) Order**

In a specific cultural context, the term "order" has been interpreted as "drawing pearls, continuity, organization, getting organized, harmonizing, organizing, coherence, orderliness, embellishment, and orderliness." It refers to the forces responsible for maintaining the order and tranquility of the nation (Mo'een, 1375: 198). Additionally, in another definition, order is described as "based on the interaction of actions based on a meaningful system," meaning an interaction, i.e., the exchange of actions in a specific direction, within a specific horizon. Any disruption or disturbance in any of these



can compromise the order (Sabet, 1400: 12). Usually, in vocabulary, instead of the concept of national order, synonyms such as order and social order are used, which are equivalent to the Latin terms "order" and "social order." The concept of order signifies order, rank, command, order, and similar concepts (Mo'een, 1376: 4576). In Arabic literature, the root of order meant connecting threads and prayer beads and everything that brings parts together. Subsequently, throughout history, this term was used for poetry and then for the forces responsible for security and discipline in society (police). In Persian literature, under the influence of Arabic literature, the term order was initially used for poetry and then for the guardians of urban security and discipline (Nizamiyya - police) in the past two centuries. Today, the term "orderly" is used for urban management and the police for this force.

However, in this paper, the concept of order and social order extends beyond the terms order and social order found in sociology and political sociology textbooks. The researcher believes that the concept of national order refers to a level of creating order in society whose purpose goes beyond individual, group, class, and factional levels. Governmental institutions and organizations, along with grassroots organizations and people's participation, are responsible for implementing a network of order to achieve the overarching goals of the political system (production, distribution, preservation, and reconstruction of security, justice, welfare, and freedom) within the framework of national doctrines and strategies. In this regard, according to Huntington's interpretation, the primary issue is not freedom but the creation of a legitimate public order (Beal & Hardgrave, 1973). Gabriel Almond also believes that the concept of civil culture is continuously linked to democratic stability (Almond, 1989). Therefore, here, the network and continuity of order at the national level and adherence to the framework of national strategy are two essential elements in ensuring social order, and, in fact, the political system thus demands order from society.

The concept of order first presented as structural and organizational order by Max Weber. Weber concluded in his studies that state formation without order would have little meaning. Weber tried to explain Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan based on the necessities of capitalist economics and modern order. Thus, the concept of order can be considered at various levels. When the concept of national order is discussed, it means that the construction and components of the state must have the capabilities necessary for convergence. Parsons also mentioned that national order is the result of organizing and ordering various social, bureaucratic, and governance spheres. In Parsons' view, there is a mutual relationship between all social, cultural, political, and bureaucratic fields. The main axis of national order consists of pattern variables that have the necessary capabilities to be effective in shaping the political system. Each pattern variable includes concepts that relate to different elements and areas of national order. Thus, national order takes shape when the idea of structural order emerges in social relations. Concepts such as professional ethics, interactive action ethics, and educational ethics can be considered elements that play a significant role in shaping national order. Many development theorists, such as Alex Inkeles, argue that national order requires a social and bureaucratic structure that internalizes collective life ethics. Regarding national order, there are two important points: first, the concept of national order has a structural nature and relates to the internal public order of society, governmental actors, and the idea of power. If the idea of power is in organic organizational forms, under those circumstances, the groundwork is laid for the emergence of a new order in society, which is based on organizational responsibility and collective action responsibility of citizens. Secondly, the concept of national order has the necessary potential to link social, economic, cultural, and normative spheres. If the economy and culture of society are in a state of disturbance and turmoil, this mental and perceptual space inevitably transfers to political and structural areas (Motaghi, 3: 1398).

National order, etymologically speaking, is composed of two words: "order" from the root "نظم" meaning the effort to create order, and "national" meaning land, population, government, and governance. Hence, national order refers to a comprehensive order of a society or a country that encompasses a wide spectrum from individual to macro levels of society as a reference for national regulatory and disruptive elements (Sabet, Ali; Rajabloo, Jafar - 1400).

With these characteristics, the fundamental concept of "national order" in this study is defined as: "The ongoing process of reproducing comprehensive systemic order in a proactive, trans-organizational,

and trans-sectional manner, systematically and cohesively, aligning the interrelations of daily life systems and micro-order within society in social, political, cultural, security, and economic dimensions with the aim of stabilizing, extending, ensuring, providing, perpetuating, and revitalizing: security, freedom, welfare, justice, and equality, within a meaningful network at the levels of nation-state (micro, meso, and macro), organizing and coordinating and managing the disruptions between them" (Rajabloo, 1402: 1).

### **Theories Related to National Order**

The existing theories that can contribute to the explanation of national order are outlined as follows, with reference to some aspects of these theories:

- 1) Durkheim's Theory: David Émile Durkheim was the first to introduce the concept of anomie, which refers to "conditions of disruption and turmoil in which social norms weaken, disappear, or contradict each other, manifested both in the individual and in society." Durkheim seeks the roots of social phenomena in the social environment rather than in human institutions, rejecting Hobbesian arguments that consider contracts as the basis of social order. According to him, the main element ensuring the continuity of social life, despite changes in our relationships and the personnel constituting it, is moral order (a set of rules governing social relations). Durkheim believed that in primitive society, mechanical solidarity based on collective conscience prevailed, but in modern society, the division of labor replaces collective conscience of traditional society, and division of labor only leads to cohesion under normal conditions. In conditions of anomie, however, the division of labor does not lead to social cohesion.
- 2) Merton's Theory: Robert King Merton constructed his theory inspired by Durkheim's concept of anomie and used the concept of disorganization to explain deviant behavior. Similar to Durkheim, he looks at the issue from a functionalist perspective and sees deviance as a result of social pressures that compel some people to deviate. He believes that deviance occurs when the social system is confronted with imbalance. Merton regards structural contradictions in society as causing increased disorder and insecurity, asserting that structural contradictions arise when there is a discrepancy between the socially approved goals of life ("social values") and the means of achieving them (norms and social opportunities). He claims that anomie occurs when there is an imbalance between the approved social goals and the necessary means to attain and support those goals.
- 3) Parsons' Theory: Parsons believes that the political institution in a society functions and is responsible for achieving goals, and people invest their trust in the political system to achieve individual and collective goals, which in turn legitimizes the system and sustains the support of the people for the system. If this mutual exchange becomes stagnant, people will no longer trust the system, leading to the legitimacy and continuity of the system being undermined, resulting in dissatisfaction and disorder.
- 4) Najati Hosseini's Perspective: "National order" can be extended to various subsystems of society as follows:
  1. In the "cultural system" as: administrative order, educational and training order in schools, intellectual and scientific order in universities;
  2. In the "economic, industrial, and market system" as: financial order, monetary order, exchange order, transactional order;
  3. In the "legal system" as: order in legislation, regular judicial pursuit, fair trial and regular and fair punishment, regular lawfulness;
  4. In the "political system" as: order in planning and budgeting and human resources, order in participation and participatory governance, order in performance and efficiency, order in expertise and entrepreneurship;
  5. In the "religious system" as: order in rituals and ceremonies, order in the organic relationship of religious rituals with individual and collective life of the people, order in the influence of religious rituals on the well-being of individual and collective life of the people;
  6. In the "social system" as: order in group, class, national and racial behaviors, gender and religious behaviors.

**Model of National Order:**

National order, as a social process and at the same time a national process, is composed of dimensions, components, and indicators depicted in the following table:

Dimension	Component	Indicator
Coordination	Existence of a constitution, regular laws, circulars, and regulations in all areas	Coordination of various social sectors such as political, social, cultural, etc., within a defined strategic framework at the national level
Standardization	Existence of a strong civil culture and respect for the opinions and beliefs of others	Adherence to common patterns and standards in various areas, where individuals in society adhere to specified legal and rational norms
Planning and	Existence of national doctrines and strategies (strategies) in the country	Driving various sectors of society towards targeted behavior, preventing their scattering and lack of planning in the future
Futurism	The presence of a strong central government while at the same time dividing tasks between the central and subordinate units in all government and private organizations	Recognizing cultural, political, national, linguistic, and religious differences in order to preserve national interests
Legitimization	The existence of laws, regulations, and regulations in all cultural, political, economic, social, etc. areas	Distinguishing illegal behaviors and deviations from recognized legal behaviors and accepted norms, so that individuals clarify their obligations to the law and act accordingly
Social acceptance and institutionalization	The presence of planning organizations and supervisory bodies to control behavior, conduct, and material and spiritual production	Creating grounds for social acceptance of individuals and adhering to social norms while institutionalizing and avoiding scattered behaviors
Cultural acceptance and identity formation	The existence of norms and institutions that regulate the social behavior of individuals, such as official and legal government institutions, political parties, and people's organizations where individuals freely join and participate	Driving society towards culturally acceptable behaviors within the framework of a unified national identity

Based on the presented table regarding the concept, components, and indicators of national order, it can be said that national order means the arrangement of all potential and actual capabilities of a society towards a macro order, the observance of which is vital for the life of the community. Thus, all official institutions of the country, including the forces responsible for maintaining order and security, are involved in shaping such an extensive concept of national order. Therefore, the ultimate goal of national order is "the formation of development and national security," and its characteristics include "purposefulness, intelligence, awareness and freedom, national identity, and social cohesion based on national doctrines and strategies." In this sense, if these matters are realized, the groundwork for the formation of a stable political system will be laid; otherwise, the political system will move towards political instability, and society will be unstable, unable to develop and progress (Zarqani et al., 1393: 21).

**b) Political Stability**

The Collins dictionary distinguishes two concepts and explains each one separately without providing an acceptable combination of the two for the reader and researcher. According to this dictionary, the



term "political" refers to the study and application of political power, and the term "stability" indicates the unlikely change and sudden, unresolved end of affairs in a society or country (Collins English Dictionary.2002). Different writers have offered different interpretations of the concept of political stability (Ehtbarian Khorasgani & Ghalehpour Moghadam, 1396: 139). The reason for this ambiguity and complexity is the nature of this concept. Some, like Claud Aches, have attempted to explain it by distinguishing between the two concepts of stability and politics. Hor and Yitz have tried to explain it by enumerating some conditions and characteristics, including the absence of violence, legality of affairs, etc. In other words, some consider the presence or absence of certain conditions as indicators of political stability or instability in a society. Huntington considered stability and instability to be related to the issue of institutionalization of societies and believed that the incomplete political institutionalization leads to instability, and full political institutionalization leads to the formation of political stability (Sanders, 1380: 234). Some emphasize three elements for political stability, including:

- 1) Continuity: meaning the absence of sudden changes and the permanence of political structures.
- 2) Balance: meaning the absence of domination of political powers over each other and the existence of a balance of power between them.
- 3) Immunity: meaning the immunity of the political system to pressures from outside the political system and also the immunity of individuals from being attacked for expressing their opinions.

The United Nations, the World Bank, and the European Union in recent decades have referred to "legitimate political system" as "good governance" to demonstrate stability in a society, whose characteristics include:

- 1- Public participation in society, especially within the political system and in vital political decision-making processes.
- 2- Accountability and auditing, especially regarding political system officials.
- 3- Efficiency and competence among rulers without considering kinship for delegating responsibility to individuals.
- 4- Equality among individuals and the universal distribution of values among them (social justice).
- 5- Accountability of rulers and managers at all levels to the law and the people.
- 6- Public participation in political decision-making.
- 7- Rule of law in all matters and at all levels.
- 8- Transparency of managers and rulers to the people in a way that leaves no doubt about rights and privileges, appointment procedures, political decision-making, etc. (Yeganeh & Bigdeli, 1399: 77).

### Pattern of Political Stability

Political stability, as a social process and simultaneously a national process, is comprised of dimensions, components, and indicators depicted in the following table.

With careful consideration of the issues raised and a deep dive into the introduced models for the two

Dimension	Component	Indicator
Legitimization of Governance	Legitimate (legal) and rational government fulfilled by free elections	Continuity of holding timely and free elections with public participation
Attention to People's Rights	Government with high capacity to accept criticism and be accountable	Existence of freedom of expression and multiple independent media without interference and with immunity
Political Freedom	Existence of democracy and human rights	Free activity of influential parties and groups (non-governmental organizations and associations)
Rule of Law and Accountability	Rule of law	Existence of independent judiciary and timely addressing of complaints, as well as safeguarding the rights of the public and minorities
Supervision and Transparency	Absence of corruption in administrative and political systems	Implementation of the constitution, ordinary laws, directives, and regulations, as well as the existence of oversight mechanisms to address administrative violations and precise auditing of individuals at all levels and government and non-government entities
Social Justice	Justice and equality in the distribution of values	Recognition of the right to private property and absence of gender, ethnic, linguistic, and religious discrimination
Psychological Security	Absence of violence in society	Absence of coups, riots, sectarian violence, and group violence

concepts of national order and political stability, it can be observed that there are commonalities between these two concepts. Therefore, it must be said that if national order is achieved in a society, the groundwork for political stability is laid, and if political stability is established, the foundation for political development is created. Therefore, it is necessary to address the concept of political development, its dimensions, components, and indicators that are related to national order and political stability. Before delving into the topic of political development, addressing one of the most important outcomes and functions of political stability, namely security, is essential.

Research and numerous theories suggest that one of the important topics in the field of development is the issue of order and security. Theoretically, four types of relationships between security and development can be assumed: the first assumption is a functional relationship, meaning each of these two processes contributes to the creation and preservation of the other. The second assumption considers security as a prerequisite for development, and based on this, maintaining and expanding security takes precedence and will be development-oriented. According to the third assumption, development can be considered a prerequisite for security. The pessimistic fourth assumption is based on the notion that there is no meaningful relationship between these two processes, and their simultaneity and coexistence are coincidental.

However, the coexistence of development and security in the theoretical realm has not remained, and it has inevitably entered the practical arenas of governance. Developed countries, under policies labeled as national security, have sought further economic growth, and with economic growth, they have aimed to increase their national security coefficient. In underdeveloped countries, development tools have mostly been used for security, and global powers have sought to impose their theories on underdeveloped countries with development patterns.

### **c) Political Development**

Development, in its literal sense, means expanding and, in terminology, refers to transforming the current state of society towards progress and modernizing its fundamental organizations. Some scholars have considered development an ideology that signifies organic transformation and reflects the values of society. Therefore, development is in conflict with stability and, at the same time, is achieved with consideration of national, cultural, and religious values; on this basis, many researchers have considered development a process that ensures continuous improvement in all dimensions of human life, both material and spiritual.

The concept of development, by itself, methodologically, is an effort to achieve a balance that has not yet been achieved, or it is a solution to alleviate the pressures and problems that have constantly existed between various sectors of social and human life and are renewed (Rosheh, 1991: 214). But the concept of political development, in its broader sense, includes the development of institutions, structures, and values that shape the political system of a society. This concept has been defined in various ways that, in total, reflect the processes of societies and have become a concern for analytical thinkers.

One type of analysis focuses on the emergence of national governance and national convergence and demand for respect and strengthening of commitments in the international system. Some insist on internal identity, characteristics, and qualities related to legal order and political stability related to the formation of established government frameworks and how alternative leadership approval and land management reinforcement methods (which lead to government institutions) are. This approach relates to nation-building and state-building in new African and Asian governments. This method is also related to the initial demands for the formation of legal-rational power, the delegation of coercive power, and obedience to command, the establishment of bureaucracy, superficial characteristics such as division of labor and specialization of functions, hierarchy and employment, and recruitment based on ethics. Furthermore, this issue is related to the development of the government's political capacity for mobilization and resource allocation in the process of turning political data into executable ranges, which increases this process. This perspective on problem-solving and adaptation to environmental changes and achieving goals helps (Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics.2003.pp: 414-415). Lucian

Pye, considering the breadth of ten definitions of features and definitions of the concept of political development, has classified it, which has been debated by other authors.

Now, the issue is how political stability is combined with political liberalization and democratization processes. Another challenge is to protect democratic transitions and strengthen intense economic reconstruction, which leads to public dissatisfaction. Overall, political development is not only about institutional reform but also includes changes in structures and political culture that can limit how political development is influenced or applied (Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics.2003.p.415). According to Gabriel Almond's interpretation, the assumption is that the concept of civil culture or political culture is continuously linked to democratic stability. Therefore, this concept emphasizes political knowledge and skills, value orientations towards political issues, and towards the political system as a whole or integrity and towards the individual as a participant and also towards the political system, elections, bureaucracy, and the like. Accordingly, all these different perspectives require attention to the establishment of national order and security at the country level, which, if not addressed, will not achieve political stability and political development.

Given the various perspectives on political development, it seems that at least in seven areas, especially in reconstruction, changes must occur to claim that political development has taken place.

### **Theories Related to Political Development**

Edward Azar and John Ein, from the Third World Security Journal, consider legitimacy, political integration, and policymaking capacity as the constitutive elements of the software dimension of security and analyze the security situation in the Third World based on these variables.

- 1) Legitimacy: According to these two scholars, legitimacy determines a significant amount of national will, spirit, and character and shapes all levels of security management. Also, effective leadership power and the public's perception of the appropriateness of national strategy and social and cultural integration originate from the level of legitimacy that the government with the ruling regime benefits from. Ein and Azar believe that most Third World countries suffer from a severe legitimacy crisis. They believe that the resort to political systems based on traditional or charismatic values plus failure to meet the basic needs of the people, suppression of increasing citizen demands for participation in various affairs, unemployment, and injustice are among the causes and effects of the legitimacy crisis in the Third World.
- 2) Political Integration: According to Ein and Azar, fragmentation and the transformation of a cause-state into ethnic groups have weakened security in the Third World. In their view, the inability to reproduce common values and norms, on the one hand, and the existence of different and almost independent identities in a single political society, which leads to damage to political integration, play a significant role in national security because it leads to the groundwork for political activities of ethnic groups and the formation of separatist movements, ultimately exacerbating internal insecurity with the increase in national security threats.
- 3) Political Capacity: Political capacity indicates the extent of national consensus on security policy goals and methods. Therefore, the more theoretical unity is around security policy goals and implementation methods, the higher the political capacity will be in this regard. Comprehensive and prompt decisions are referred to as decisions that are made regardless of political or bureaucratic privileges or personal interests. Therefore, the more decisions are based on public opinion moderation and supported by the intellectual backing of society's elites, the more political capacity will increase. Ultimately, the issue of implementing flexible and decisive decisions is the last variable to measure the level of political capacity.

### **The Model of Political Development**

Political development consists of dimensions, components, and indicators depicted in the following table.

Dimension	Component	Indicator
Public Welfare	Increasing the political system's capacity to utilize all natural and human abilities and capacities	Utilizing the abilities of all members of society regardless of gender, ethnicity, race, language, religion, and helping to grow these capabilities, rational decision-making, objective and specialized attitudes, as well as utilizing all natural talents and divine energies
Rule of Law	Legality (rule of law in all areas)	Enforcement of the law at all levels and for all individuals and no deviation and discrimination in law enforcement
Supervision and Transparency	Accountability of rulers and managers to the people and the law	Managerial accountability to the people and the existence of channels for addressing people's complaints and questions
Defensive Preparedness	Power's penetration in all areas and places in a country	Power's penetration, the extension of the law and the government's power to all parts of the country, and the implementation of constitutional law everywhere
Social Capital	Loyalty to national identity	Absence of conflicts among sub-cultures including ethnicities, races, languages, religions, and sects
Social Justice	Justice in all areas of society	Equality in resource distribution, selecting individuals based on merit rather than affiliation, and individuals' equal access to all conditions and facilities

### Research Methodology

The present research is qualitative and conducted using the explanatory method. In this method, examination and transfer of complex ideas and information are done through the analysis and synthesis of information from various sources to produce text and with the aim of increasing the reader's understanding of the research topic and issue. Explanatory study is to obtain information about the relationship between the causes and results obtained from evidence to convey the researcher and the reader to understand the situation and mechanisms of cause and effect relationships between independent and dependent variables. In this method, researchers can examine the reasons for existing observations and findings to test the subject, which includes one or all of the following cases:

- Presentation of new knowledge
- Description of a process
- Development of a concept.

### Research Findings

The central issue of order

One of the important topics is determining the central issue or issues of order. Until this discussion is clarified, order indexing will be difficult. Several issues have been mentioned in connection with the fundamental issue of order. Accumulation, segregation, social and structural interdependence, symbolic unity, political regulation, social trust, power and investment, meaning and legitimacy, and regulation of normative relations between groups and intra-group are some of the important issues of order. However, in this paper, following Parsons' theoretical framework, the issues of order are categorized as follows (Fasih and colleagues, 42, 1397):

a) Issue of order at the micro level:

The micro level refers to the order governing interactions among individuals. The fundamental elements of micro-level order are the individual and interaction, which arise from the combination of these two. Therefore, order prevails in society when it is well formed, and in its absence, order collapses.

b) Issue of order at the macro level:

The concept of order at the macro level refers to the order governing all social structures. Since at the micro level, multiple orders may form among different networks, society needs a single overarching order. Macro-level order is the umbrella that encompasses all micro-level orders. The most important dimensions of order at the macro level are:

1) Cultural regulation or epistemic dimension of order:

The cultural or epistemic dimension of order refers to the common cognitive pattern. In other words, it applies to the agreement of social groups and organizations on a relatively common set of insights, values, norms, patterns, and behavioral routines. In other words, cultural order is achieved when there is at least some cultural understanding among individuals in society. The most important issues of cultural order include:

- Cognitive understanding and common cognitive standards;
- Value consensus;
- Normative understanding or cognitive obligation.

2) Political regulation or prescriptive dimension of order:

The second issue of order at the macro level is political regulation or prescriptive dimension of order. In fact, political institution extends the necessity of common ground between us at the macro level. With the intensification of social differentiation and proliferation of us in society, the issue of common ground between group and intra-group becomes more acute, which itself requires external supervision. In other words, political regulation refers to external monitoring of order (same source, 43). The most important issues of political order include:

- Level of mobilization and power density: How does power; mobilization and density occur?
- Level of power concentration: How is control power distributed among different apparatuses?
- Legitimacy sources of political power apparatus: What are the legitimacy sources of political power?
- Level of public trust in the political apparatus: What is the level of public trust in power?

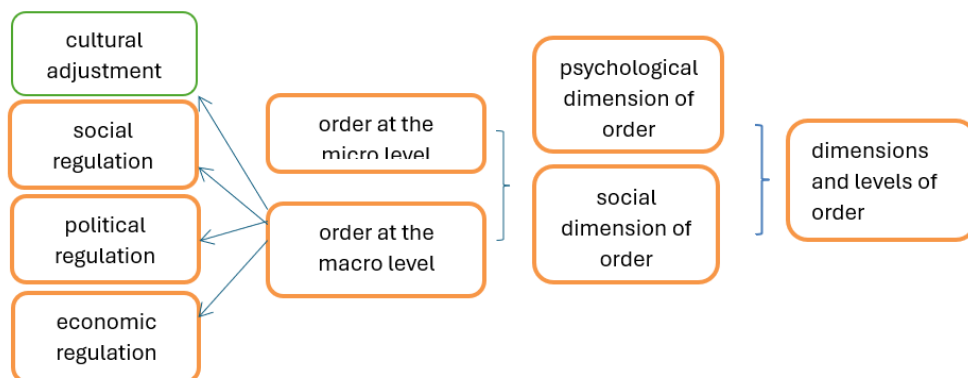


Diagram 2-1. Dimensions and Levels of Order (Fasih and colleagues, page 43, 2018)

**Political Stability and National Order:**

Eftekhari (1379) introduces the political system as the main custodian of national order and subject it to analysis. It acknowledges that the Islamic political system operates based on four main principles, which not only define the nature of national order but also delineate its boundaries. These principles are:

1. Utilizing governance to establish a new Islamic order.



2. Formulating practical principles for governance that define the content of national order, such as justice, freedom, guardianship, republicanism, etc., deviation from which is by no means permissible.
3. Central value and serious support for the spiritual reserves underpinning national order.
4. Enhancing the defense capabilities of the system and projecting its authority internationally.

Thus, national order, while possessing an independent nature based on freedom and dialogue, also has the capability to defend itself and repel existing threats in critical situations.

The survival and perpetuation of a flawless political order, much like an economic order, is inconceivable in the real world. In the interactive array of this order, political relations are predominantly dominant, characterized by coercion, and activating others is primarily based on deceit, threat, or implicit and explicit coercion. The major means of social interaction is power, and the cold and asymmetric exchange relations, a combination of these two characteristics, in exchange relations, create conditions for some form of overt or covert exploitation or, in other words, exploitation, either overt or covert. While the fabric of social interaction networks is closed in traditional orders and open in economic orders, in political orders, the fabric of social interaction networks is fragmented, stemming from intra-group interactions and the weakness of inter-group interactions, which in turn stem from the widespread mutual social distrust (Chelbi, 1386). Politically, widespread political participation occurs through coercion and a sense of conscious and wise responsibility. Comprehensive discursive relationships are comprehensive, encompassing instrumental, social, political, and philosophical contents, and are devoid of any political apologies. In the realm of social interactions, social relations have evolved into associative relations. In the new order, social positions have four relational facilities, and it is expected that these four means of communication, namely money, power, knowledge, and commitment, have equal value, and their distribution in different social positions is not concentrated and uniform. Consequently, in such an order, social rank is less qualitatively significant and more quantitatively significant. Thus, in such an order, social movement is relatively pervasive, rapid, and easy (same source).

On the other hand, governance of various affairs in a society with organization, orderliness, societal flexibility, and individuals' adherence to the law has a direct and close relationship. In other words, national order is a coherent and coordinated system of a society with coordinates, characteristics, and frameworks that its realization, in its entirety, requires the realization of its sub-branches and backgrounds in society (Chekhendi and colleagues, 1402: 10). Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a close relationship between the two concepts of stability and political development with national order because human experiences, especially in the present age, have well proven the fact that every positive social endeavor and every kind of growth and development in various fields only occur in the calm atmosphere of society and in conditions of turmoil and insecurity, especially in conditions of continuous aggression and the existence of wars and conflicts, the grounds for growth, development, and progress are destroyed or at least reduced (Minaii and colleagues, 1393). In other words, when society lacks national order, the grounds for stability and political development will also disappear. To better understand the relationship between these two, the following triad axes must be considered: First, the capacity of political parties and groups that directly affect national power; second, the desirable situation and political interaction among different parties, as a national value that leads to increased national security; and third, the political participation of people in society, which demonstrates the legitimacy and efficiency of governments.

#### The Political and Security Development Ratio

Society is undergoing change, and development is considered one of the important aspects of this change. Currently, development is considered as one of the instances of human rights and should possess qualities such as stability, balance, and dynamism, with its aim being the growth of human capabilities. Alongside "development," "security" is considered the most important criterion and indicator of sustainable development in societies, and advanced societies also attribute their development to their internal security. National security means the existence of social, political, economic, and cultural systems that provide the necessary conditions for the flourishing and

participation of everyone in all fields. Therefore, security, in relation to the sustainability of people's livelihoods and in confronting social damages and unexpected events, is evaluated. Today, more than ever, the necessity of designing a secure and stable society based on compatible relationships and defining fundamental concepts such as "values and ideas," "realities and interests," "individual and society, people and government, culture, politics, and power" is felt. It is impossible to believe that "security" is the highest "value" of any society. Any nation with a correct understanding of its internal and national realities can change its social and economic structures, achieve economic progress based on its own values through proper choices, and by accepting national security as the main pillar of sustainable development, a kind of value-based security judgment is recognized and its development is raised as one of the important and fundamental goals of every country, and addressing this issue will be essential for the sustainability and coherence of any country. Because national security is a necessary condition for sustainable and balanced development, and sustainable development, in turn, provides the groundwork for the expansion and strengthening of national and social security.

Alongside attention to development, the issue of security is also of particular importance in such a way that security is the foundation and basis of healthy human life, and without it, social life will be very difficult and problematic. The need for security has become a necessary requirement with the expansion of human societies. This has led to a significant portion of human efforts and national expenditures being allocated to meet this important human need. The very important issue raised here is that economic development and security are two concepts that are directly related to each other and have a direct impact on each other. Theorists such as Mohammad Ayub, Waldeter and Michel Clough have attributed most of the security problems in the Third World to their internal deficiencies. Mohammad Ayub believes that fundamentally, the security problems of southern countries have internal aspects, and changes in the international system will not have a serious impact on them. Internal deficiencies or unsafe conditions in these societies can be divided into hardware factors (military and economic power and social structure) and software factors (national identity, social cohesion, governmental managerial capabilities).

Caroline Thomas emphasizes hardware factors and considers the military-economic problems of Third World countries as the cause of insecurity in these countries. Thomas, in addition to internal security of a state, refers to economic dimensions such as health, food supply, and monetary and commercial issues as basic needs in the Third World. He believes that military security is for the preservation of regimes and ultimately leads to a lack of livelihood needs. Thomas further considers the security problems of the Third World in terms of relative weakness and vulnerability in various dimensions, to military weakness.

Another factor of insecurity in Third World countries is the unbalanced social structure of these societies; in these countries, the process of forming state-nation, has not been an indigenous and gradual process, but rather external factors (colonization) have played a significant role in the formation of these state-nations, and this factor has eliminated the traditional balance of social structure, but has not replaced it with a balanced social structure. There is no balance in the social structure, meaning that cultural, economic, and political structures are not proportionally balanced in these societies. Ignoring this principle will result in the emergence of security-dissolving structures. Alongside structural balance, another principle that is effective in ensuring effective security is the flexibility of structures in relation to changes and progress over time; rigid structures cannot meet the new needs of society. The third principle in social structures is the function of producing social equality, meaning that social structures must provide equal opportunities and facilities for all individuals; the more successful this function is, the more it provides social satisfaction and leads to more security. This is while in developing countries, there is a lot of social discrimination and inequality.

Alongside hardware factors, software factors have also attracted the attention of theorists. In most developing countries, social gaps are a threat to their national security. These social gaps can arise from tribalism or religious differences in these countries. Few societies in the Third World can be found that are not made up of various ethnic groups. In the past, the mechanism of relations between

individuals of one ethnic group with other ethnic groups was very basic and limited. These relationships have become very complicated and close in new conditions. All of them, as a result of various "awarenesses" they have gained, consider themselves partners and stakeholders in the collective and general interests existing in the countries. This self-awareness, in connection with the lack of logical communication backgrounds between various ethnic groups in the complex world of current politics and society, usually creates crises in societies.

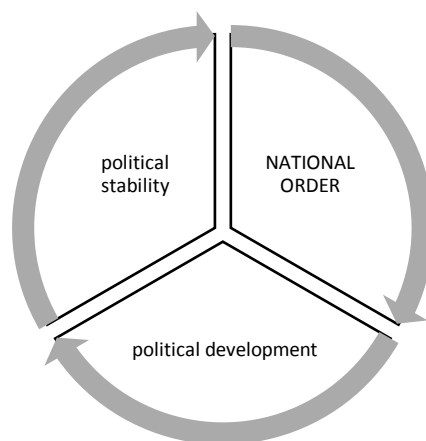
The continuation of historical deprivations (political, economic, and ...) is less tolerable for various ethnic groups. The lack of responsiveness of national governments or their inability to meet the increasing expectations of the people leads to social and political crises. Religious diversity and religious differences are another factor that can be the source of disorder and insecurity in developing societies. In places where religion is still part of the determining identities of the political and social developments of a nation, the sensitivity of the followers of various religions regarding their position in these developments is very high. Political, social, and economic deprivations in these diverse societies have a much greater impact on the awareness and sense of injustice of non-dominant religions. Naturally, they question the religious legitimacy of the ruling regime, and this feature, along with various feelings, especially in situations where the political stability of the regime is shaky, creates the greatest insecurity for the social stability of a nation. Furthermore, special internal and external factors can activate religious divides in these national communities.

National, religious differences in Third World countries hinder the formation of national identity and the dissolution of sub-identities. This is while one of the important functions of national identity is role-playing in the process of nation-building. The infertility of this process leads to social disintegration, confrontations, and social violence. Rob Walker and Richard Little, two security studies theorists, also consider the main factor of insecurity in Third World countries to be the weakness in political-social cohesion. Rob Walker criticizes the focus on a realist approach, centered on the state in Third World security studies and believes that the realism pattern for the Third World, due to the lack of a similar level of social cohesion with the West, is not suitable (Abdollahkhani, 1383: 164).

Richard Little also believes that the pattern of security studies in the West and Third World countries is different from each other, and he considers the cause of this difference to be the political-social cohesion of these countries. According to him, Western countries are examples of unified governments, and Third World countries are examples of fragmented or unstable governments, and on the other hand, the idea of national security has emerged and developed in countries with unified governments (Western countries), and since Political-social cohesion is one of the main and important criteria for national security, it can be concluded that the idea of national security cannot be extended to Third World countries. The third effective software factor in the emergence of insecurity in Third World countries is the government's managerial capability. According to Moon and Azar, Third World countries are weaker structurally than the indicators of political power, and this structural weakness is the basis for insecurity in these countries. (Abdollahkhani, 1383: 173-175). In contrast to the first view, which considers internal deficiencies as the main cause of insecurity in Third World countries, some theorists believe that the intervention of powerful countries and their consideration of their economic interests are the cause of inappropriate security conditions in the Third World (Rabi'i, 1383: 166).

With careful consideration of the issues raised and the models presented, it is possible to discover the overlapping and relationship of these three fundamental concepts in different dimensions, components, or various indicators. Therefore, it can be said that the hypothesis of the present research, which is based on the fact that national order can lead to political development and, consequently, to political stability, has been proven.

The conceptual model of the research is shown below.



### Conclusion

Attention to the subject of development is of great importance. One of the key tasks of development is to establish security. Since national security depends on the security of different regions and sectors of the country, it is essential in every country to promote development across all regions. These regions vary depending on whether they have conducive or unconducive conditions for development, but efforts must be made to advance them without discrimination in various cultural, economic, and social dimensions. If comprehensive development does not take place in economic, cultural, social, and other areas, security will be challenged, and individuals such as drug traffickers, who always seek greater benefits for themselves, will take advantage of the opportunities available and expose the country to insecurity, turning productive forces (youth) into unproductive forces (addicts). Furthermore, considering the high physical endurance, adaptation to the desert and arid environment, and resilience against adverse geographical conditions of the inhabitants of these areas, if security exists, these efficient forces can be utilized for the development, construction, and settlement of these areas.

Considering the explanations provided regarding the concept and components of national order, as well as political stability and political development, it can be concluded that to achieve political development, it is necessary for national order to be established in a society so that the groundwork for political stability is laid. These two areas can lead to political development in its broad sense within a society. More precisely, it can be said that society initially needs to establish order in all dimensions, meaning cultural formation among different sectors based on a common covenant or pact, which is the national doctrine and strategy based on the values accepted by society. This stage sets the groundwork for standardization, legitimization of the political system, planning, and future studies. The result of this is the concentration of various sectors of a country while recognizing the relative independence of its partial units. All these processes lead to social acceptance, normalization, and institutionalization at the societal level, paving the way for the formation of national identity and civil culture. If these matters are realized, it means that national order has been established within the framework of national strategy and will lead to political stability.

If we consider political stability to include a legitimate and rational government with high capacity to accept criticism and be accountable to the people, along with democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, then there will be no corruption in this political system, nor will there be inequality and distribution of values. Also, in such a society, political violence such as coups, revolts, and sectarian and group conflicts will be unheard of. Such conditions, as Lucien Paye describes, have three characteristics: continuity, balance, and immunity. This means the continuity of the political system without sudden changes, the existence of people's participation through free and legal means, the balance between the three branches of power without one dominating the other, and the immunity of individuals against criticisms and complaints from individuals or officials of the country's official institutions. It should be noted, however, that some writers believe that political stability is inversely related to public participation, and if participation exceeds a certain limit, it may lead to political instability, often due to external interventions.

National order forms the basis of contemporary human socio-political life from the establishment of the "state-country" to the present day. In such a way that all fundamental discussions of development, whether political, economic, or cultural, regardless of their priority or delay, are entirely based on national order. Based on this, the main index of development is the nature and type of the national order pattern in each country, and without the existence of an advanced and stable system, achieving sustainable development is not possible.

If the above conditions, namely national order and political stability, are established in a society, then political development can be expected. In other words, these areas will increase the capacity of the political system for greater participation of the people and responsiveness to them, the establishment of legality and the government's authority throughout the country at all levels and fields, as well as loyalty to national identity. Additionally, social justice and equality of individuals in the distribution of values and equal selection of individuals for decision-making positions will be achieved. Moreover, political and social changes will gradually occur (without violent approaches like revolt and coup), considering specialization and differentiation of structures. Therefore, all these processes necessitate the establishment of national order within society, which, in total, will lead to a form of good governance involving collective wisdom, accountability of officials, efficiency of the political system, public participation, and transparency of institutions and officials before the law and the people. National order at the macro level, including the production, distribution, preservation, and reconstruction of security and order, justice, welfare, and freedom within the framework of the country's national doctrine and strategy based on intelligence, targeting, awareness, national identity, and social cohesion, will be realized.

The final and overall conclusion of this writing, which can also be considered a researcher's proposal, is as follows:

For the establishment and continuity of order, public order, social order, and national order to achieve political development, effective strategies in establishing national order in the Islamic Republic of Iran through macro governmental policies, which include governance, nationalism, transparency, legal legitimacy, legalism, and territorial integrity, should be considered by utilizing the potential of civil society organizations, citizen rights movements, political parties, associations, charities, legislative bodies, government oversight bodies, and security and public order institutions in their legislation and development plans, so that society inevitably moves towards "a sustainable, dynamic, and constructive national order based on participatory and citizen-centric republican science," it is evident that to regulate this policy, we must draw on the "rich historical and cultural heritage of Iranian Islam," and "modernized religious teachings and jurisprudence (dynamic Shiite jurisprudence)," as well as "knowledge of social sciences."

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