

## **Analysis of Effective Cultural Components on Political Development of Iran (Second Pahlavi Era)**

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**Abstract:** *The present study aims at identifying and analysing the major cultural components that influence the political development of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi era and explaining and analysing the fundamental issues of the weaknesses and gaps in the Iranian society and political system during this period. Had, done. In this research, using the historical and analytical research method and inspired by Weberian approach to the importance of culture as well as the revised Inglehart approach, the sociological explanation and analysis of the cultural components appropriate to the political development of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period have been attempted. The present study shows that the formation of political development and democracy is, above all, a cultural issue, and that Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period, due to the authoritarian culture of society and the political system, specifically related to some of the essential cultural components. Examples: free access to independent media and cultural rights, the spirit of criticism and questioning in society, public participation in cultural and political affairs, and critical thinking about society have suffered severe pathological deficiencies that have deprived Iranian society of political development.*

**Keywords:** *Cultural Components, Criticism and Questioning, Authoritarian, Culture, Political Development, Second Pahlavi.*

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### **Introduction**

Until a few decades ago, most social scientists believed that development had an economic meaning and that developing countries such as Iran were promoting their economies in order to achieve development. However, this situation changed with the failure of countries that only included economic criteria in their planning for development and led to other aspects of development including cultural dimension (Salehnia et al., 2010). Many social scientists now believe that the basis of any kind of development, including political development, requires special capacities and cultural contexts. Governments and development planners, therefore, have in the sense of generalization and political development in a particular sense the effort to change their view of man as a cultural being. Because some of these social thinkers have come to believe that individuals in the community can contribute to the social development that is an important part of political development by preserving indigenous cultural beliefs and enjoying universal values including libertarianism, democratic spirit, values of justice, and a culture of participation. That is, be it.

The question of the place and role of culture in development has long been the subject of much debate and debate in the social sciences (Smassler & Swedberg, 1994: 58). But in recent decades, global narratives of culture and development have advanced significantly (Hooper, 2005; Klamer, 2014). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also called the end of the 20th century a decade of culture, stipulating that member states should strive for the development and promotion of culture in this decade, with the task of the UNESCO government and national commissions in this area. Each country entity. The developmental, pioneering and creative elements in the culture of every society as the cultural assets of that society are effective backing for development in general and political development in particular, the capital only in the process of development and relative success. , Find themselves able to reproduce (UNESCO, 2015 Quoted by Saleh Nia et al., 2010). Therefore, it is

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essential to provide a proper model of development in the sense of political development, in particular, to recognize the cultural identity of the community and to identify cultural features appropriate to political development, and to incorporate these culturally appropriate features with new liberal ideas and ideas. Contemporary developed societies respect the cultural identity of Iranian society. Iranian scholars, on the other hand, emphasize this point Development has been an all-encompassing interpretation. Culture and economics, social cohesion, political structure, scientific, technical structure, livelihood structure ... all must accept certain changes for development to take place (Azimi, 1999).

Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington (2009) have also argued in *The Importance of Culture* about the role of culture in economic development and political development: How do cultural factors shape economic development? If they are, how can the cultural barriers to political and economic development be removed or changed so as to pave the way for development? ” (Harrison & Huntington, 2009: 29). Thus, the decisive role and influence of culture on various aspects of development, including the political development under consideration by world-class social and political and cultural thinkers such as Max Weber, Alfred Weber, Parsons, Ronald Inglehardt, Christian Wiesel, Ronald Robertson, Almond and Verba. .. As well as indigenous thinkers and experts. In this regard, the review of the various development schools indicates that although the concept of culture was ignored by first and second generation theorists, it has been accepted as one of the pillars of development from the perspective of third generation theorists of culture. Amartya Sen is one of the pioneers Third-generation theorists of development see human as the center of development, hence emphasizing the cultural dimension alongside other aspects of development (Nobakht, 2011: 225).

In the present study it is suggested that Iran of the second Pahlavi era, which, according to Mohammad Reza Zaplavi, claimed to have reached the gate of the great civilization and the establishment of a developed country, why in the field of political development and ultimately with the February 1979 revolution, its political system from Break up. One of the main causes of the inefficiency of the political development of the Second Pahlavi government seems to be the lack of appropriate cultural components and foundations for political development. The main purpose of this research is to explain the sociological aspects of cultural development appropriate to the political development of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi era and to show that the formation of political development and democracy in society is, above all, an endogenous cultural issue and cultural values and beliefs, behaviors. Form social actors in society. Other goals of the research include: identifying the link between culture and political development, and revealing what the Iranian society and political system in this period is. There were weaknesses and gaps in relation to these essential cultural components. In this regard, the present study seeks to answer the fundamental question that which lack or deficiency of cultural elements in the society and political system of Iran during the Second Pahlavi period has led to the failure of Iranian society to achieve political development? And analyzing and explaining their impact on the achievement of society in political development and their failure to do so will result in the failure of society to achieve political development.

### **Theoretical Foundations of the Relationship between Culture and Political Development**

Culture is the basis of human behavior and social groups, and the various dimensions of human behavior and actions Takes. For this reason, it can be said that a considerable part of the political behavior of individual and group actors is influenced by the culture of that society. Therefore, it can be inferred that development is closely related to culture, beliefs, and cultural components in the sense of political development. In other words, political development in society can be likened to a tree whose root is the beliefs, beliefs and cultural elements of that society. The cultural beliefs that govern each society have their own characteristics. The first characteristic of cultural beliefs lies in the fact that the origin of cultural beliefs is different and therefore not a harmonious, harmonious set, but rather a set of different and sometimes contradictory elements. Cultural origins can be traced in many fields such as ethnicity, nation, international, religion, etc. (Azimi Arani, 2012). In that case, some cultural beliefs are rooted in specific climatic conditions (arid climates) or in particular political conditions (despotic, authoritarian, populist, and popular) or specific economic conditions (tribal, tribal, and tribal). Has a community. A

group of cultural beliefs derives from the course of the country's historical, political, and economic developments.

The concept of development and developmentism, as defined by itself and the way it is perceived, as a process of rationalization, progress of the Enlightenment, It has been formulated (Peters, 1986: 35) and social and political scholars have provided different definitions of political development, which is a dependent variable of this research and one of the important aspects of development. In the book *Challenges of Political Development*, Ghavam writes: "Huntington assessed the concept of political development based on the degree of industrialization, social mobility, economic growth and political participation. It is believed that since new demands for participation and new roles emerge in the process of political development, the political system must have the capacity and abilities to change the situation, otherwise the system will Instability, chaos, authoritarianism, and political deterioration will be encountered, and it is possible that society will respond to these disasters in the form of a revolution" (Qavam, 2014: 16).

Huntington argues that the more a political system grows from its simplicity to complexity, from its dependence on independence, from inflexibility to flexibility and from fragmentation into unity, the more it increases its political development (Ibid: 15). The process of political development and modernization is transforming traditional society. In traditional society, traditional groups usually play a role, which can be religious, ethnic, tribal and ethnic. But due to the process of political development due to social and political changes and the transformation of traditional society into modern society, traditional groups enter into political competition with modern social groups and their representatives for the sake of their political life. Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba in their survey of the five countries of England, Germany, America, Italy and Mexico. They conclude that the major cause of political underdevelopment in Third World countries is related to psychological, historical, and cultural issues. This means that historically, in these systems due to authoritarian and unpopular governments, a culture has emerged that impedes the development of political development. They believe that by using mechanisms such as raising the level of literacy and redistribution of wealth, they can gradually eliminate the psychological and historical effects of allowing individuals to take on new responsibilities and political roles, as well as to enter the decision-making process. Getting ready. In this way, Almond and Verba attempt to somehow link Orthodox systems and theories of culture to political development (Almond and Verba, 1968: 36, 35 quoting Consistency, 2014, p. 18). According to Almond and Verba's research, the existence and spread of participatory culture in any society is a very important factor in the process of political development in that society. Therefore, in order to achieve political development, it is necessary to educate and strengthen participatory and democratic culture in various social institutions. Favorable culture and cultural beliefs can not only pave the way for political development and democracy in society, but also provide a social context for economic development in different societies. Max Weber's (1904-5) persistent research entitled "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism" correctly and effectively determines the Protestant beliefs, especially Calvin's branch, in providing a socially appropriate context for capitalist system development and economic development in the West. Shows (Weber, 1974). According to Anthony Giddens, "The gist of Weber's theory is that the attitudes embodied in the capitalist spirit derive from religion" (Giddens, 2009: 958). Bella's research in Japan also showed that the economic growth of that country was due to religious beliefs, cultural beliefs, and the moral system of its people (Hariri, 1999: 51). All these researches show the relevance of culture and development and the importance of culture and the impact of its essential components on the development of society, especially its political development.

### **The Research Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework of this study was inspired by Weber's thought about the importance of culture on different aspects of social and political life, including the importance of authoritarian culture and Eastern patriarchy in the formation of the modern Pahlavi paternalistic system (Weber, 1995: 329). The use of a combination of cultural and political ideas and theories of modernization has been revised and incorporated into the related ideas and opinions of a number of social and political scientists of the world and Iran who fall into this category has taken. In other words, the conceptual framework of this research

is a combination of Weber's cultural theory and Inglehart's revised cultural theory as well as some of Samuel Huntington's approaches to the importance of different societies' cultures in shaping political development and democracy in those societies and theorists' views. Iranians including Mohammad Ali Homayoun Katouzian, Hossein Azimi and Hossein Bashirieh. In Inglehart's (2000) view, culture is very effective in shaping important social phenomena, including democracy and democratic institutions. One of the important aspects of transcultural differences is their special importance to public participation and democracy. Different societies differ in their emphasis on vital values and existential values. Communities that emphasize self-expression values are more conducive to the realization of public participation and democracy. Economic development seems to drive a gradual shift from critical values to existential values, which helps explain why wealthy societies have a participatory democracy based on maximalism. The relationship between vital / existential values and participation and democracy is very strong. Do they work together because existential values (including trust in others, tolerance and participation in decision making) are the source of democracy, or do democratic institutions bring about these values?

Available evidence suggests that the formation of democracy is, above all, a cultural issue (Inglehart & Baker, 2000 quoted by Harrison & Huntington, 2009: 182). The rationale behind this research is that the political development of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period required appropriate cultural elements and features that would support and support political development and democratic institutions in society. But because of the long-standing rule of authoritarian regimes in Iranian society throughout history, as well as the continuation of this situation during the period of authoritarian and authoritarian culture under consideration, this important development of political development did not materialize. Weber's influence in the field of culture was such that it inspired a great deal of research by later social and political scholars. Including: Francis Fukuyama (1995), Lawrence Harrison (1997, 1992, 1985), Samuel Huntington (1996) and Robert Putnam (1993), inspired by Weber's views, argue that cultural customs of political and economic behavior of societies Today. Huntington (1996 and 1993) argues that the world is divided into eight or nine civilizations on the basis of cultural differences that have existed for several centuries and that future conflicts and challenges across cultural boundaries separate these civilizations. Will happen.

In Huntington's view, the most crucial aspects of political development need to be examined in three components: rationality of political authority, functional and structural differentiation, and the development of political participation (Huntington, 2002: 139). Scientific and detailed research. According to Inglehart and Wellesley (2010), scholars of the revamped school of thought, since Almond and Verba studied the process of the civil culture crisis, students of political culture have noted that mass values (values and norms of community citizens) They play an important role in fostering democracy and political development. Influential writers have argued that trust, tolerance, and effective emotions represent "civil virtues" that make democratic institutions more effective (Lasul, 1958; Synderman, 1975; Putnam, 1993; Gupp, 1997; Inglehart, 1997; P Grove, 1998; Dalton, 2000; Newton, 2001; Norris, 2002). Also, Eckstein (1966) and Eckstein and others (1966) have noted that democratic systems can only be established if citizens internalize democratic norms and apply them in their relationships (Inglehart and Wellesley, 2010: 215). In line with this argument, the failure of Iranian society to achieve political development in the second Pahlavi era, the lack or deficiency of cultural beliefs supporting and supporting democracy and political development in Iranian society is assessed.

Mohammad Ali Homayoun Katouzian (2007,2013) in his numerous works considers the cause of the underdevelopment of Iranian society in the lack of a culture of public participation and political authoritarianism in Iranian society which, in the author's view, is particularly attributable to authoritarianism and political tyranny in the period. The second side has been the main obstacle to the development programs in Iran. In this connection, Katoozian has been conducting a lot of research to prove his claim and has come to a very rich conclusion and findings about the devastating consequences of Mohammad Reza's death on Iranian society. In one case, quoting the words of science (the court minister and the secretary of the Second Pahlavi Secrets), Katoozian says: "Unlike most Iranians who believed that western imperialism was its main obstacle, it hampers political development, indicating

that the main cause of political development in Iran is failure." Iranian society is in fact a tyrannical and superficial modernity, and the authoritarian and authoritarian personality of the Shah has played an important, indeed decisive, role in both fields. According to Bashirieh (2008), there have been reciprocal, intensifying and reproducing relationships between the structure of absolutist power, social and cultural fragmentation, and ideology and the attitude of the political elite, and this set of relations that reflect the status quo of the political system in Iran has evolved from contexts. Political competition and compromise have been prevented in a democratic way. According to Bashiriyyah, therefore, the development of a modern absolutist state along with the expansion of social and cultural fragmentation and the continuation and reinforcement of patriarchal political culture have been major obstacles to Iran's political development.

### **Research Method**

In this research, using historical, analytical, and documentary research methods, accessing real and virtual libraries, and reviewing ancestors' books and research through archiving, collects historical information and credentials relevant to the research and exploitation of community research. The ontology of the second Pahlavi authoritarian regime has been carried out by major Iranian social thinkers and elsewhere in the world, to answer the basic research question, and has been formulated, analyzed and meta-analyzed in the context of historical sociology.

### **Analyzing Research Findings**

Based on the conceptual framework and context of this research and based on the findings of this research based on sociological and historical research by forward-looking researchers and other social scientists and the analysis and meta-analysis of historical information and documents and other research done by other researchers, The ability of the underlying cultural components to influence the political development of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period has been elucidated and analyzed in a number of specific cases, which are as follows:

1. The sovereignty of scientific and rational attitude and critical thinking over the cultural beliefs of society and avoidance of fatalism and superstitious beliefs
2. Cultural beliefs and attitudes about the importance of people's participation in cultural and political affairs
3. Cultural belief in justice and equal access to human resources and cultural resources
4. Cultural belief in the system of civil rights and citizenship principles
5. Cultural beliefs and attitudes towards social responsibility
6. Cultural belief in free access to media and cultural rights
7. Cultural belief in inquiry and culture of criticism

### **The Rule of Scientific and Intellectual Attitude and Critical Thinking on the Cultural Beliefs of Society and Avoidance of Fatalism and Superstitious Beliefs**

The first and most important cultural characteristic of the political development process is the dominance of scientific and rational attitudes and critical thinking on the culture of society. It means that individuals as dynamic social actors must observe scientific criteria and indicators in analyzing and explaining social phenomena, or, in the broader sense of society, have to study social phenomena scientifically. In the event that any event has a cause or causes, any cause or category of causes can be discovered and their discovery must be made in a scientific and rational way, with fatalism and irrational attitudes as elements that are incompatible with political development and Avoid and exclude them in order to provide one of the cultural areas of political and economic development (Azimi Arani, 2012). In other words, cultural belief in the scientific, rational and critical method and attitude and its use in the study and analysis of social issues and issues must be institutionalized in society. According to Arani Azimi, if scientific and rational attitude and critical thinking prevails in society, everyone will easily understand that doing great things such as development requires hard work and effort in many small but patience areas. (Ibid, 183). In this regard, it is easy to understand in relation to the subject of this study that the way to achieve political development is not to do the great and the great in the short term, but rather the long process that requires the removal of many of the cultural barriers existing in society. According to Al-

Qalam's view, the scientific and rationalization of society and the incorporation of scientific and disciplinary culture and critical thinking into society as a whole, both within different social classes and within the academic and academic system, provide for long-term areas of legitimacy and political development (Sariolghalam, 2013: 111).

By equipping society with scientific and rational attitudes and critical thinking, they avoid inaction and laziness as dynamic and creative social agents and actors with questioning minds. But our society has been trapped in various historical periods, including during the Second Pahlavi era, in the context of traditional, irrational and superstitious beliefs. Although fundamental steps were taken in the development of modern science and technology during the Second Pahlavi Period, the social and political sciences (critical sciences) of our society were dominated by the rule of the Second Pahlavi dictatorship and the severe censorship of the book. And the press and repression of civil society faced many obstacles, especially after the August 28, 1956 coup. Consequently, the context of Iranian society during the 25 years following the coup due to authoritarian policies of the Pahlavi regime in the face of various opinions and ideas and the elimination of appropriate social contexts and contexts for public participation and the space for criticism and ideas. , Denied access to new ideas and cultural development.

The main reason for the presence and strong presence of emotional-irrational attitudes and behaviors of monarchs, such as the nefarious and shrewd flattery of the Shah, as well as the prevalence of traditional and superstitious beliefs such as the appearance of Ayatollah Khomeini in the moon or his hair in the middle of the page. The Qur'an and other irrational beliefs in society were the lack of critical and rational thinking in Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi era, which in turn was a consequence of the intellectual, intellectual, and political blockade by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi through the suppression of critical thinkers and intellectuals. And the parties and representatives of the middle class have imposed on society and any kind of enlightenment Ray and the independent intellectuals and the free press had blocked the Iranian society so that only two national newspapers and the Universe, under the severe censorship of SAVAK, were available to the public. According to these documents and based on sociological insights and analysis, without scientific and rational attitude and critical thinking on the culture of society and avoiding traditional superstitious and distorted and irrational beliefs, development in the sense of generality and political development in the specific sense is not possible.

### **Cultural belief in the importance of people's participation in cultural and political affairs**

The second cultural component suitable for political development is the culture of public participation in socio-cultural and political affairs. In order to achieve political development, it is necessary for people in different social strata of society to have at least some social and political awareness to understand the importance of participating in cultural and political affairs. Of course, the realization of political development and subsequent democracy or democracy in a society first requires the presence and competitiveness of grassroots organizations, political parties and social groups, including intellectuals and elites. The cultural and political elites of society have a creative role to play in the development and reproduction of the dynamic cultural components of society. They are the creators of culture in different worlds. "Elites and intellectuals in every era and in every society have a pioneering role in the creation and transmission of new culture and the preservation and re-engineering of old culture and the promotion of social awareness and political literacy. The critique of power and the negation of the relation of authority, the critique of the ruling ideology and culture, the prevalence of dissent, and the rationalization of community affairs are essential to intellectual work " (Heidarpour, 2014: 170).

During the Second Pahlavi period, Iranian society suffered serious damage from this aspect because of its lack of cultural development and the lack of social insight and political literacy during the 37 years of that authoritarian regime. One of the major negative consequences of not recognizing the importance of public participation. In the cultural and political affairs of a society, it is the deprivation of society from political development. Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi era illustrates this great cultural shortcoming (Depriving people from participation in cultural and political affairs) and its impact on the failure of Iranian society to achieve political development is recognized as one of the decisive cultural

factors. According to Nedrin Peters, for development to be effective and efficient in a specific sense, development must be participatory (Peters, 1976: 97). But in the second Pahlavi era, the beginning of tangible modernization activities in Iran, the positivist and instrumental aspects of modern civilization were emphasized (Wahdat, 2003: 13), but people's participation in cultural affairs was not given much importance for cultural and political development. . According to the arguments of some scholars of sociology and history and social scholars, the nature of modernization of the second Pahlavi government is compulsory and above (Jahanbegloo, 2001: 22 and eruption, 1999: 334), spatial and physical (Azimi Arani, 2012: 105). , Authoritarian and state-oriented (Ghani Nejad, 1998: 7), technological and instrumental (unity, 2003: 132), dictatorship-based (eruption, 1999: 335), imperial (Behnam, 2012: 135), centralist and quasi-modernist (Katoozian, 2007: 234), nationalist and absolutist (Bashiriyeh, 2008: 68) and authoritarian and authoritarian (Katam, 1993: 38). Almost all scholars focus on the authoritarian and authoritarian form of modernization that focuses solely on the economic and technological dimension (instrumental rationality) of development during this period by the political elites of the Second Pahlavi government. They could, they argue, and believe that the dimensions of cultural and political development that required the cultural and political participation of the people were ignored.

### **Cultural belief in social justice and equal access to cultural opportunities and resources**

The third cultural component appropriate to political development is that the idea of justice and equality of human beings is to be institutionalized in access to cultural facilities and resources as fundamental cultural ideas and beliefs in society. According to the great Aryan interpretation, any component or cultural belief different from justice, belief, and belief is non-scientific and inhuman. If the culture is scientific and humane, the belief in social justice and equality of people in cultural and social facilities and resources, far from any ideological belonging, ethnicity or nationality, will also be part of that culture. According to scientific studies, there is no basis and attitude for the racial classification of humans and their inequality. Based on scientific research, it is not possible to divide people into first class, second and third degree citizens and so on. These divisions are specific to traditional backward or colonial societies. Their most notable examples are the "caste" system in India or the "servage" system in ancient Russia or the "apartheid" system in South Africa before Nelson Mandela came to power (Azimi Arani, 2012).

However, in this study, when it comes to social justice and equality of people with cultural facilities and resources, it is not a Marxist interpretation to assume that all members of society have the same monetary and economic income as cultural products, but that That equal social opportunities be accorded to persons in the community and that all persons of the society shall be treated in a manner consistent with their dignity and human rights. As interpreted, "Most commentators as well as the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights regard equality as the equality of rights and dignity" (Tansi, 2011: 112). The manifestations of this human equality are: - Equality before the law means obeying all classes of the ordinary laws of the country that are enforced by ordinary courts (Davis, 1941: 202). Political equality means equal political rights (e.g. voting, candidacy and citizenship) for all. Equality of opportunity means the success or failure of a job or a job based solely on the abilities or qualities of individuals, not on random factors such as wealth or dependence on rulers and pressure groups (Bonn & Peters, 1959: 128). Social equality means reducing or eliminating social distance (visibility / superiority) between social groups (e.g., classes or ethnic groups) (Ibid, 205).

Therefore, to realize this principle, its formation and institutionalization as a cultural belief, social, political and cultural thinkers and development planners must strive to foster a sense of justice and equality in society in various ways. And social justice and equality in the allocation of funds and educational, health, economic investment, and prosperity for the various communities living in the central and central provinces and capitals. To instill a sense of equality between different ethnic groups in our society. But in the second Pahlavi era, the distribution of funds and health facilities, education, and so on between the Han Border Province and the Fair Center was not made. Even at the capital level, in Tehran, the distribution of health, medical, educational, and other living amenities between the north and the south of the city was marked by a sharp difference and a strong class gap. In short, the belief in

social justice and human equality in the enjoyment of cultural and socio-economic opportunities and resources must be rooted out of any cultural belief in society before any social action is taken to enable political development. Because of this belief in social justice and equality, the freedom and collective rights of those people are respected in every social act. And provide conditions for achieving political development in Iranian society. This was not achieved during the Second Pahlavi period and is one of the reasons for the failure of Iranian society to achieve political development during that period.

#### **Cultural belief in access to the civil rights system and citizenship principles**

The fourth component or cultural characteristic appropriate to political development that is closely linked to the cultural belief of social justice and human access to equal cultural opportunities and resources is the belief in the need for respect for and access to the civil rights system and the principles of citizenship. In the great sense of the word, if people in society truly and deeply believe in the principles and systems of civil and civil rights in their own cultural beliefs, then they will automatically believe that other people have the same rights to themselves. Belief in the civil rights system and the principles of citizenship requires that the rights of others be respected. And we do not share it with others in the famous saying that we do not like ourselves (Azimi Arani, 2012). Or in the sense of limiting ourselves to social practices and behaviors and not giving up on others' rights and allowing others to be secure and secure in their rights. One of the areas and indicators needed for the political development of society, according to Al-Qalam, is that the interest in society, followed by legalization and observance of civil rights and principles of citizenship, is internalized and institutionalized among the people. That the interests of the governing body were in harmony with the interests of the people in general (Quraysh al-Qalam, 2013: 90) and these two were among the things that the Iranian society suffered from during the Second Pahlavi period.

In order to achieve political development and the establishment of democracy and national sovereignty in a society, one must first be sensitive to the observance and restoration of the rights of others. In the community. One of the most important consequences of respecting the rights of others and internalizing this feeling within individuals and institutionalizing this behavior in society is the formation of civic culture and citizenship in society. The presence and presence of this culture in the community has very positive and positive consequences, most notably the observance of the law and the formation of non-governmental organizations in support of the rights of vulnerable people, including working children, caring women. Households and other needy people and environmental protection. This sense of respect for the rights of others and its positive consequences have been and continue to exist in advanced and open societies. And in the face of the lack or weakness of this cultural belief there was no respect for the rights of others and consequently, or poverty, the positive consequences of this belief were evident in Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period. During the Second Pahlavi Period, especially after the coup of 28 August 1956, the Shah suppressed critical social organizations and further undermined civil society and the complete establishment of his "quasi-modernist oil tyranny" (Katouzian, 2007: 313) and cut off the intellectual flow from society. Through the heavy censorship of the publication of books and the press, he was the biggest violator of civil and civil rights in Iranian society. Now the question is raised in a society where government and government perceive the citizens of society as their subjects and allow them to criticize and question them. And they have no right to participate in cultural and political development of society at all. Did it have political development? Such was the situation in Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period.

#### **Cultural belief in social responsibility**

The fifth element or cultural characteristic that is effective and influential in political development is that we accept social responsibility as a cultural belief. Our view must be that things are not going well without a sense of responsibility for the affairs of an institution or social organization or society. A closer look at developed societies reveals that one of the factors behind their success is the cultural belief in social responsibility that is a prime example of such countries as Germany and Japan. According to Mahmoud Sariolghalam, "We do not have any society that has attained a degree of development but lacks a sense of social responsibility and order and organization" (Sariolghalam, 2013: 164). For this



social and political thinker, social responsibility and order and organization is one of the main rules that is shared by all developed societies.

By the second Pahlavi era, social responsibility had not yet gained its rightful place. In order to internalize this character in our society, we need to embed a culture of responsibility in the family and in school curricula from early childhood and adolescence, in which the personality of the individual develops. It is at home and in schools that people's personality is shaped. Therefore, the sense of social responsibility must become a cultural belief in order to achieve political development.

### **Cultural belief in freedom and free access to media and cultural rights**

The sixth most relevant and effective cultural attribute of political development is a firm and firm belief in cultural freedom and free access to the media and cultural rights. Freedom is the most important human essence. Freedom cannot be replaced by any other social phenomenon. Social justice has meaning in the shadow of freedom. Human values and abilities have the opportunity to flourish in societies that are free. According to Darabi's research, the formation and enhancement of political development in Iranian society during both the Pahlavi era and the present requires intermediate institutions such as free and independent media to promote civic behavior, citizenship skills, and cultural and political participation. Educate people (Darabi, 2016: 81), and this demonstrates the extent and importance of internalizing and influencing free media and institutionalizing the essential cultural components that influence political development on citizens. By knowing how to create information through the media, even children will be able to have more autonomy in their world. In addition to teachers, professors and other influential social actors, with access to free and independent media, can become effective disseminators of information, closing the gap between educational and social programs, and ultimately as audiences. Critics and social activists are sharper (Angel, 2005: 4).

In his work *The Intellectual Tradition in the West*, Brunowski and Maslich also write: "Two ideas about man were very important. The first thought was to rely on the full development of the human personality. The person is valuable in his opinion. His power of creation is considered the most important part of his existence. The second important idea that has helped shape human life is the idea of freedom. In fact, a human being without freedom It can't be perfected, so the two ideas are intertwined. If every human being does not have the freedom to grow in the world he or she wants, the possibility of developing one's personality and achieving the talents that distinguish one person from the other is possible. (Brunovsky and Maslich, 2004: 654-652). What is true of individuals also applies to human groups or societies. Unless individuals, citizens or citizens of a free society are questioned, criticized or striven to achieve a new status, the possibility of changing the state or society towards cultural and political development and attaining democracy will not arise. Such a situation prevailed in Iranian society during the second Pahlavi era.

The Shah's tyrannical regime, with its policies of policing and securing society, closed free media such as the independent press and severely censored other presses and the publication of books and other mass media and the right of free access to the media that protected all cultural rights. The people of the community have been deprived of the Iranian people. The Second Pahlavi, using "the Party of the Court, the Army, the oil resources and the bureaucracy, provided absolute power and ruled over Iranian society with total despotism in a period called the era of democracy" (Bashiriyeh, 2008: 87). According to the aforementioned documentation, in the Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period, there was no freedom of exchange and conflict of cultural, political and political opinions and access to the media and free media after the coup of 28 August 1956 because the SAVAK administration imposed the most severe censorship on the press. And the freedom of expression and access to free mass media and the activity of independent national parties, which form the basis of political development, was a lost circle that the Iranian people were struggling to obtain and Iranians in a century (20th century). They carried out two revolutions (the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 and the 1979 Revolution of February 1979) and incurred many costs and Lee failed to achieve freedom and achieve political development

### **A cultural belief in inquiry and a culture of criticism in society**

The fifth element or cultural characteristic that is effective and influential in political development is that we accept social responsibility as a cultural belief. Our view must be that things are not going well without a sense of responsibility for the affairs of an institution or social organization or society. A closer look at developed societies reveals that one of the factors behind their success is the cultural belief in social responsibility that is a prime example of such countries as Germany and Japan. According to Mahmoud Qasr al-Qalam, "We do not have any society that has attained a degree of development but lacks a sense of social responsibility and order and organization" (sariolghalam, 2013: 164). For this social and political thinker, social responsibility and order and organization is one of the main rules that is shared by all developed societies. By the second Pahlavi era, social responsibility had not yet gained its rightful place. In order to internalize this character in our society, we need to embed a culture of responsibility in the family and in school curricula from early childhood and adolescence, in which the personality of the individual develops. It is at home and in schools that people's personality is shaped. Therefore, the sense of social responsibility must become a cultural belief in order to achieve political development.

### **Cultural belief in freedom and free access to media and cultural rights**

The sixth most relevant and effective cultural attribute of political development is a firm and firm belief in cultural freedom and free access to the media and cultural rights. Freedom is the most important human essence. Freedom cannot be replaced by any other social phenomenon. Social justice has meaning in the shadow of freedom. Human values and abilities have the opportunity to flourish in societies that are free. According to Darabi's research, the formation and enhancement of political development in Iranian society during both the Pahlavi era and the present requires intermediate institutions such as free and independent media to promote civic behavior, citizenship skills, and cultural and political participation. Educate people (Darabi, 2016: 81), and this demonstrates the extent and importance of internalizing and influencing free media and institutionalizing the essential cultural components that influence political development on citizens. By knowing how to create information through the media, even children will be able to have more autonomy in their world. In addition to teachers, professors and other influential social actors, with access to free and independent media, can become effective disseminators of information, closing the gap between educational and social programs, and ultimately as audiences. Critics and social activists are sharper (Angel, 2005: 4). In his work *The Intellectual Tradition in the West*, Brunowski and Maslich also write: "Two ideas about man were very important. The first thought was to rely on the full development of the human personality. The person is valuable in his opinion. His power of creation is considered the most important part of his existence. The second important idea that has helped shape human life is the idea of freedom. In fact, a human being without freedom It can't be perfected, so the two ideas are intertwined. If every human being does not have the freedom to grow in the world he or she wants, the possibility of developing one's personality and achieving the talents that distinguish one person from the other is possible. (Brunovsky and Maslich, 2004: 654-652). What is true of individuals also applies to human groups or societies. Unless individuals, citizens or citizens of a free society are questioned, criticized or striven to achieve a new status, the possibility of changing the state or society towards cultural and political development and attaining democracy will not arise. Such a situation prevailed in Iranian society during the second Pahlavi era.

The Shah's tyrannical regime, with its policies of policing and securing society, closed free media such as the independent press and severely censored other presses and the publication of books and other mass media and the right of free access to the media that protected all cultural rights. The people of the community have been deprived of the Iranian people. The Second Pahlavi, using "the Party of the Court, the Army, the oil resources and the bureaucracy, provided absolute power and ruled over Iranian society with total despotism in a period called the era of democracy" (Bashiriyeh, 2008: 87). According to the aforementioned documentation, in the Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period, there was no freedom of exchange and conflict of cultural, political and political opinions and access to the media and free media after the coup of 28 August 1956 because the SAVAK administration imposed the most severe censorship on the press. And the freedom of expression and access to free mass media and the

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### **Discussion**

The results of this study show that the formation and consolidation of democracy is, above all, a cultural issue. In other words, the necessary condition for the establishment of democratic institutions in society and the successful conduct of the political development process require the existence and reinforcement of cultural beliefs that support democratic and liberal values. As research by well-known social thinkers such as Max Weber, Samuel Huntington, Ronald Anghelhart, Hossein Azimi Arani, Hossein Bashiriyeh, Mahmoud Ferguson and others show that cultural values and beliefs such as the emphasis on futurism, the encouragement of hard work, The strong motivation for advancement in society, meritocracy, investment and discipline, etc. can boost economic growth and development in society, and this research emphasizes, in line with previous research, that presence and reinforcement Cultural components and beliefs such as scientific and rational attitudes and critical thinking about society, the importance of participation People in cultural and political affairs, social responsibility, respect for freedom and democracy and democratic values in society and so on can create and strengthen democratic institutions and the successful transition of society from the process of political development. From ancient times until the time of this research (the second Pahlavi era), Iranian society has endured the rule of authoritarian regimes and authoritarian powers, and any phenomenon with such an age has such a heavy legacy that it simply and Speed is not down. This heavy legacy of authoritarian rule is the same authoritarian culture that contradicts the beliefs and components of democracy and political freedom that are necessary and necessary to carry out development in the general sense and political development in the specific sense. As shown in this research, Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period was also dominated by the regime's intelligence agencies, especially after the coup d'état by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, especially after the coup d'état of 28 August 1956 and the severe censorship of the press and civil society by the regime's security agencies. to the Political development suffered from political blockage. Consequently, the post-coup Iranian context of Iranian society due to authoritarian and repressive Pahlavi policies in the face of various opinions and ideas, and the dismantling of appropriate social contexts and contexts for public participation and the atmosphere of criticism and dissenting ideas, they were denied access to new ideas and cultural and political development.

Second, although it is true that the culture dominating Iranian society and the political system in the aspects mentioned in this study was not appropriate for the period under study of political development, because the scientific, rational, and critical attitudes did not or did not govern it. Cultural components and beliefs such as human equality and the importance of community participation in cultural and political affairs were not emphasized. It cannot be said, however, that this cultural complex, as it is unsuitable for political development, must be changed, on the one hand, and this transformation will take time, and, if we are to, and even if we can change it today, replace the appropriate culture. It takes time. To solve this mystery and problem, one of the features of cultural belief sets represents a solution. Because cultures are opposing sets of ideas and beliefs. The way to cultural development, therefore, lies in the fact that one must search for these cultures themselves. In such circumstances, social thinkers and intellectuals of the society must, with scientific delicacy and precision, critically reflect on the cultural components and beliefs of society from the past to the present, and the irrational and opposing aspects of development in the general sense and political development in a particular sense. It segregates, undermines, rejects and reinforces the emancipatory aspects of cultural beliefs that have come from the experiences of ancestors, and combines them with modern democratic and rational ideas to aid the process of community development in its various dimensions, including political development.

Finally, since democracy and political development are perceived as a cultural matter, therefore, there is a need for essential cultural components such as the dominance of the scientific attitude to society and the rational-critical attitude to society and the political system, cultural belief in public participation, and

Democracy, equal access to cultural opportunities and resources, civil and civil rights, cultural belief in social responsibility and free access to media and cultural rights, and the existence of a culture of criticism and questioning in society are prerequisites for the realization of political development and democracy in society. . On the other hand, because development in its various dimensions, including political development, requires an independent cultural identity. No society, without having an independent cultural identity, has found development in the general sense and political development in the specific sense. The reason is that if we empty people out of culture, they become like a tree with its roots cut off. This tree cannot stand up and it takes time for new roots to emerge. Therefore, the existence of an independent cultural identity is essential for the full development of society. In the case of Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi era, it cannot be said that the existing culture does not benefit development. In other words, the qualities needed to realize all-round development, including political development, were not seen in the culture of the time. So we have a major problem. And how, while maintaining an independent cultural identity, should the culture of society be transformed? And provided a dynamic and culture compatible with development in various dimensions including political development in society? The solution to these issues must also be sought from our own set of cultural beliefs. Aspects of our culture emphasize both the individual and social responsibility of individuals in creating social events and the social situation in which they live, as well as in the judgment and magnitude or involvement of alien factors and the great powers of the world and the enemy at every event and The social situation inside the country insists. Most other cultures have more or less the same traits and characteristics. In such a situation as well Social thinkers and intellectuals, development planners and other cultural and political elites of the society should rethink the cultural identity of the community and find and enhance appropriate cultural elements and characteristics in the national cultural identity with modern ideas and ideas. Combine liberalism and democracy, and disparate, undermine and ultimately exclude impure, irrational and incompatible aspects of society in general and political development in particular, and redefine and reinforce appropriate components and components simultaneously. In so doing, it provides a platform for the community to adopt liberal ideas and ideas not cooperative and democratic and modern (away from the origin marking them) the product of intellectual endeavor and scientific research scholars, intellectuals Humanist, dedicated and dedicated scholars. Other societies have also developed in this way. Europe had witnessed more than a few centuries of cultural renaissance and the Enlightenment period before the advent of free and democratic and politically developed governments and other aspects. The cultural renaissance and the age of European Enlightenment are the cultural and scientific rebirth of these societies. For cultural reconstruction of society or, in other words, cultural development of society, one must use scientific methods with a critical and analytical approach, or in a way that the great social scientists and sociologists of the present world like Anthony Giddens (1990) and Ulrich Called "rethinking", Bag (1992) called it a proper and proper operation.

To summarize, the research period is that Iranian society during the Second Pahlavi period due to the authoritarian culture dominating society and the political system of the time having some basic cultural components such as free access to independent media and cultural rights, The spirit of questioning, criticism and independent social participation in cultural and political affairs has been deprived of political development, as well as some other factors such as the rule of scientific and rational-critical attitude to society and the political system, civil rights and justice-based citizenship, and Social responsibility has been weakened, and all of these factors in the second Pahlavi period b The failure was caused Iranian society in the pursuit of political development.

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