



# Designing Future Scenarios of Political Culture in Iran (2023-2033)<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

**Purpose**: This study was carried out with the aim of investigating and designing scenarios of the future state of political culture in Iran, with a future-oriented approach to the category of political culture, which is the strength and distinction of this work from previous works. Knowing the political culture as a way of drawing people's attitude towards the political system is important because, while creating the conditions for understanding the relationship between the various elements of human life, it is considered to be an indicator of the social and political changes governing the future of a political system as a result of intergenerational transformations.

**Method**: In view of this, we used quantitative and qualitative methods and the Petershwartz scenario method to answer the main question. Also, in order to collect information, research literature and documents were reviewed in the form of a library method and a semi-structured interview with a panel of 25 experts. Also, the Delphi method was used, and to measure reliability, the structural analysis method based on the interrelationship matrix tables based on Micmac software was used. And to design the scenarios, we benefited from the Scenario Wizard software.

**Findings**: We identified five key uncertainties related to the future state of political culture in Iran: myth-making, seeking justice, Ashura culture and Mahdism, linking religion and politics, and seeking independence, which are based on four cultural-political scenarios of religious democracy, religious exclusivity, and democratic participation and subordinate-participatory political culture can be drawn.

**Conclusion:** Among the 4 proposed scenarios, the scenario of subservient-participatory political culture has the highest probability of occurrence.

Key words: Iran's political culture, Futurology, Scenario Writing, Delphi Phase, MicMac, Scenario Wizard

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### Introduction

Political culture means the set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings that gives order and meaning to the political process and defines the principles and rules governing the behavior of citizens (Pye, 1991: 9-10) and rulers also the reason for the importance of political culture is that Political culture, while creating restrictions and incentives for people's social action, helps to organize and form a person's perception of his social and political life and react to it, and makes predictable the future behavior of the individual, society and political development in it.(Rafi & Abbaszade, 2018, 37-38)

Based on this, the desired political culture from the point of view of the leaders of the Islamic Republic is the political culture of religious democracy. Although by studying previous researches in Iran, it has been determined that based on the division of political culture according to Almond and Verba, the dominant and inclusive political culture among Iranians is subservient-participatory political culture (Rohbarqazi et al., 2015: 101). And in the current research, we seek to identify key drivers and uncertainties affecting the future of political culture in Iran, as well as design scenarios for the future of political culture in Iran 2033.

## **Materials and Methods**

To design the future scenarios of political culture in Iran 2012, We try to use a panel of 25 experts (consisting of 20 faculty members of Islamic Republic of Iran universities and 5 political science PhD graduates in Iran) who have valuable achievements in the field of sociology and political culture in Iran. And we also use the following methods to carry out the research process.

**Library method**: Use To review the literature of previous researches and also to identify the drivers influencing the future of political culture in Iran

**Peter Schwartz's 8-step scripting method**: Use to organize research and move towards achieving research goals

Delphi method: Identification of key drivers with the help of expert panel

**Structural analysis method** (using interrelation matrix tables as well as data analysis through MICMAC software): identifying the effectiveness of each of the key drivers on each other and determining the most important key uncertainties.

**Scenario Wizard software**: Designing several descriptors for each of the key uncertainties and placing them in the matrix table of mutual relations and sending to the panel of experts and checking the impact of each descriptor on the other descriptors.

### **Results and Discussion**

Based on the studies, it was determined that Among the 46 primary drivers influencing the political culture in Iran, 18 key drivers were determined by fuzzy Delphi method

Key driving forces influencing the political culture in Iran				
Political flexibility of activists	independence	seeking justice		
No external influence	Political transparency	Publicization		
Ethnicism	Tendency to the welfare state	Myth making		
Freedom of expression and criticism	Political alienation	Political depression Idealism and perfectionism Ashura culture and Mahdism		
Level of political knowledge	The sanctity of social security			
The relationship between religion and politics	nationalism			

Furthermore, by examining the influence of the drivers on each other using the structural analysis method and the matrix of mutual relations, 5 drivers were selected as the most important uncertainty. It was determined that they are: 1. Myth making 2. Seeking justice 3. Ashura culture and Mahdism 4. The relationship between religion and politics 5. Independence

Next, we created descriptors for each of the uncertainties and then provided them to the panel of experts to determine their effect on each other. And after that, the obtained data was provided to the scenario wizard software, and among the 23 scenarios, 4 scenarios with the most impact and stability score were selected and a name was chosen for each of them. Which include:

- 1. The political culture scenario of religious democracy (Favorable and optimistic scenario)
- 2. The political culture scenario of religious exclusivity (Pessimistic scenario
- 3. Scenario of the political culture of democratic participation (probable scenario)
- 4. Subsidiary-participatory political culture scenario (possible scenario)

Scenario	Condition	sustainability	Total impact
Scenario 1	<ul> <li>Seeking justice: Drawing a Islamic inclusiveness definition of seeking justice and adhering to, promoting and supporting justice seekers in any situation.</li> <li>Independence: reducing dependence</li> <li>Ashurai culture and Mahdism: providing a holistic definition of Imams' goals of Ashura, peace with Muawiya and Mahdism, even against the desires and desires of the agents.</li> <li>Myth making: inclusive selection of myths based on a combination of identity elements (Islam, Iran and Western modernity)</li> <li>The relationship between religion and politics: an interactionist approach to promoting the link between religion and politics (the link between social acceptability and divine legitimacy)</li> </ul>		47
Scenario 2	Seeking justice: sovereign exclusivity and confronting all justice-seeking trends (regardless of any tendency and opinion)           Independence: isolationism           Ashurai culture and Mahdism: exclusivist emphasis on a specific interpretation of Ashurai and	5	47
Scenario 3	Seeking justice: selective confrontation - dealing only with justice-seeking religious currents opposed to the functioning of the government - (promotion of insider and non-insider approach) Independence: integration in globalization and negation of independence Ashurai culture and Mahdism: emphasis only on Hasni's compromise culture and promotion of welfarism and ignoring Mahdavi's promiseism Myth making: exclusive selection of myths based on one of the elements of identity (Islam or Iran or Western modernity) The relationship between religion and politics: emphasis on the separation of religion from politics	4	43
Scenario 4	Seeking justice: Selective confrontation - only confronting justice-seeking religious currents opposed to the functioning of the government - (promotion of insider and non-insider approach) Independence: Relativity in independence Ashurai culture and Mahdism: The exclusivist emphasis on the specific interpretation of Ashura and Mahdism culture according to the political and sovereign desires and without regard to its social contexts. Myth making: exclusive selection of myths based on one of the elements of identity (Islam or Iran or Western modernity) The relationship between religion and politics Exclusivist approach to promoting the relationship between religion and politics (regardless of the ratio between acceptability and legitimacy)	0	41

#### Conclusions

In the end, it can be concluded that people's feelings, attitude and orientation about the country's political system characterize the political culture of the society. And based on the current research, although the ideal political culture for the Islamic Republic of Iran is the political culture of religious democracy and the pessimistic political culture of religious exclusivity and the political culture of democratic participation is probable, nevertheless, until 1412, there is a greater possibility that Let's witness the continuation of the status quo in the form of subservientparticipatory political culture.

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