

# The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)

Mojtaba Bayat,\* Sobhan Yahyaei

DOR: 20.1001.1.26767368.2022.4.13.6.5

1. PhD student, Department of Sociology, Kharazmi University, Tehran, IRAN.
2. Assistant Professor, Communications Faculty, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, IRAN.

(Received: 12 June 2021 - Accepted: 22 November 2021)

## Abstract

The present study aimed to identify the roots of cultural policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This article has used a thematic content analysis with a historical approach and a "Content Coding Technique" to review the works of three Islamic revolutionary scholars whose views have been frequently used as references to many cultural policy-makers before and after the revolution. The results indicated that the sharing feature of these three views, albeit from different ideas, is the two following lines "Confrontation with Westernization" and "the Priority of Reform, and the Development of Thought and Culture." Another result is the influence of the document "The Country's Principles of Cultural Policy" through the views from these scholars. At the end of this article, it is claimed that the Islamic Republic of Iran's cultural policies (elective and compound) are rooted in cultural theorists. It also claims that it cannot be accepted that the Islamic Republic of Iran, in its fortieth year, departed from the first designed artistic principles. It is a form of early thought that has been recognized and formed as usual.

**Keywords:** Islamic Revolution Thinkers, Culture, Cultural Policy, Shariati, Motahari, Fardid.

---

\*. Corresponding Author: bayatmojtaba@gmail.com

## The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)

### Introduction

Cultural policy is one of the branches of public policy. Cultural policy is a part of government strategies and actions to enhance the activities: production, publishing, marketing and artistic consumption (Mulcahy, 2006: 320). The sociological interpretation of cultural policy refers to the general principles and operating strategies that dominated the active type of the social institution in cultural affairs (Gholamreza Kashi, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 54).

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, from the beginning of its formation to all the years of establishment, policy-making and planning for cultural excellence and development have been the official declared priorities. Suppose we accept the narrative that the Islamic Revolution of Iran is essentially a cultural revolution (Ashtarian, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 54). In that case, we must also think about the fundamentals of the ideals and cultural values. Since ideals and ideologies are essential variables in determining issues, issues of intervention, and cultural policy-making (Ashtarian, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 51), the cultural values of the revolution must determine cultural policy priorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The sound of these cultural values can also be found in the writings and sayings of revolutionary thinkers. Indeed, the culture sought by the revolution is embodied in the speech of its thinkers. According to Bourdieu, it can be said that those scholars who have a prominent place in the social space form the cultural field of the new system (Mitten, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 109). On the other hand, these scholars with diverse intellectual backgrounds and social experiences have shared their interpretations of values considered by the revolution and culture with their audience as a symbolic dimension of suitable social life. However, the variations cannot be taken equally.

Meanwhile, the very concept of culture has not yet been clarified. Under the social origins and ideas, different groups derive their own priorities of meaning and value and then form their desired social structure. Therefore, it is worth discussing the features and coordinates between the cultural discourse and the cultural policy-making of the Iranian Islamic Republic in the form of politic-based order, with the revolutionary cultural values and aspirations that led to its establishment.

Therefore, to study cultural policies, we should study the "Cultural Values of Political Power" (Ashtarian, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 34) and the thinking origin of these values. The results of this study may help to clarify further the differences and similarities of the concept of culture to the scholars of the Islamic Revolution and policy-makers and agents of the Iran Islamic Republic. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to infer the key propositions that shape the cultural values of the revolution and identify

the points of difference and similarities of diverse approaches to the concept “culture” in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The second aim of this research is to discover the trace of these values in the country's cultural policy principles.

### 1. Methodology

Given that the present research has a qualitative and exploratory nature, it does not represent a theoretical basis and framework for the analysis. On the other hand, according to its aims, this research has adopted a historical, sociological approach. Our approach is historical since we seek the roots of cultural policy-making in the views of the chosen scholars of the Islamic Revolution. Dealing with "Current Processes through Time" and paying attention to "Structural Contexts" to understand the "Desired and Unintended Consequences" are features of historical- sociological studies (Skocpol, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 8).

The selected method of this approach is based on thematic content analysis that is a data reduction and analysis strategy, and it is also one of the qualitative content analysis types.

Thematic Content analysis is one of the content analysis methods that resemble "Content Analysis" in recognizing common data themes. But the researcher uses it based on an objectivist epistemology. Unlike content analysis, interpretation is used as little as possible in thematic content analysis and is merely used for naming and grouping themes. In analyzing the thematic content analysis, the researcher's feelings and thoughts about the themes are ignored. For this reason, the researcher avoids any interpretation and explanation of the meaning of the themes and only briefly explains themes in the conclusion part. In general, thematic content analysis is primarily descriptive analysis, while Content analysis is interpretive analysis (Anderson, 2007: 1).

In this study, we will extract cultural policy-making knowledge from selected sources by thematic content analysis.

Therefore, the thematic content analysis of the texts refers to three leading thinkers of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 who were known as main references and successful, influential intellectuals in forming the cultural policies of Iran Islamic Republic during or after the revolution. An indicator of the superiority of these thinkers is their influence over the two main political currents of the Islamic Republic (Left and Right wings). Ali Shariati is the most crucial left-wing ideologist, and Sayyed Ahmad Fardid is the most essential right-wing ideologist. Morteza Motahari, meanwhile, is a thinker who has influenced the formation of cultural stands on both sides of the political spectrum.

## **The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

In this study, content analysis units include the published works of the three scholars above. To sample these units of analysis, according to the principle of "Accuracy and Competence" (De Vaus, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 80), the method of "Purposeful or Judgmental Sampling" (Babaie, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 417) has been used. The judgment basis in selecting the samples has, on the one hand, been theoretical and experimental knowledge of Islamic Revolution scholars (1979) and, on the other hand, consulting with the experts of this field. Accordingly, the three books are: "Return" by Ali Shariati (reprinted in 2005 AD/1384 SH). "The Future of Iran Islamic Revolution" by Morteza Motahari (reprinted in 2015 AD/ 1394 SH) and the second edition of "Meetings of Farahi and Apocalypse Conquests" (2014 AD/1393 SH) which is a collection of Sayyed Ahmad Fardid's speeches and compiled by the efforts of Muhammad Madadpour.

Technically, this research exposure to content analysis units has been formulated by "Value Coding". In this technique, codes are applied to the values, beliefs, views, and worldviews (Saldena, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 170). Using the value coding technique, we have extracted concepts from which cultural policy principles can be applied.

### **2. Data Collection and Thematic Content Analysis**

This study examines the views of three scholars of the Islamic Revolution (1979); Ali Shariati (1977-2003), a historian and sociologist who is a leading thinker of the Islamic Revolution (Abrahamian, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 571; Abrahamian, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 257; Fouran, 2003 AD/1382 SH; Mirsepahi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 67; Boroujerdi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 162). Morteza Motahhari (1919-1989) was the essential clerical thinker of the revolution while holding the position of professor of theology at Tehran University (Abrahamian, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 585; Bahrami Komil, 2013 AD/1393 SH: 293; Boroujerdi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 143). Ahmad Fardid (1910- 1994), the philosopher Heidegger (1889 -1976) before revolution added the concept of "Westernization" to Iranian philosophical literature (Ashouri, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 7; Bahrami Komil, 2013 AD/1393 SH: 174; Abdul Karimi, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 44; Ashouri, 2014: 4) and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution based on its excellent foundations and critical view of the West (Abdul Karimi, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 44) joined the ranks of supporters of the revolution.

#### **2.1. Ali Shariati and "Return to the Self"**

In the 1961s, Jalal Al Ahmad (1923 - 1969) and in the 1971s, Shari'ati led to Weststruckness and Return to the self, the central discourse topics of the intellectual flow (Boroujerdi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 162). Culture and the

idealistic portrayal formulated by Islam were the focus of Shariati's debates about "The Return" (Roshan, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 340). His aim of bringing up "The Return" discourse was to "Overcome the Cultural Uncertainty in Daily Routine" (Mirsepassi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 87), in which "Cultural Imperialism and Westernization Weststruckness" (Abrahamian, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 57) played a significant role in its creation. He did all of the above by playing an intellectual role by forming Islamic Protestantism and ultimately presented revolutionary ideology by reading Shiite genealogy. Shariati's ideas about this subject have been published in his book "The Return" (collection of four works) (2005 AD/1384 SH), which contains two books, "Return to the Self" and "Return to Which Self." "The first book is the transcript of Shariati's lecture (Ahvaz Jundi-Shapur University), whose exact year is not known (Dr Ali Shariati Cultural Foundation Web site: Revision Date; Fall 2019; <http://drshariati.org>). His second book is a long description of his life, listed in the first edition in 1977 and published in the final years. The analysis results of "The Return" book that aimed at extracting statements of cultural policy categories are as follows (Table 1):

**Table 1: Excerpts of Shariati's Return Book and Cultural Policy-making categories**

Number	Excerpt from the Book
1	..."The problem is" return to the self" ... If you have heard I rely on religion, my reliance is on a reformed and revised Islam and is based on an Islamic Renaissance movement. "(P. 22)
2	...His history and culture must enlighten every society, and it must play his intellectual and missionary role by relying on history, culture and the common language." (P. 23)
3	..."When it comes to the issue of return to the self, religious or non-religious both share the same social responsibility and have reached a common understanding. There comes up with a question of returning to the self and our own culture and knowing who we are." (Pp. 23 and 24)
4	"...Returning to Islamic Culture and Islamic Ideology and Islam, Not as a Tradition, Inheritance, System or Belief in Society ..." (p. 24)
5	..."To be wild or to become a Western civilized! These are the two destinies that every human being must choose. All the efforts of the West over the last two centuries have been made to build this faith in the West and the disbelief in the self." (P. 25)

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of  
Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

Number	Excerpt from the Book
6	..."And because civilization means Western consumption, so whoever consumes the West becomes civilized, and to become a consumer of Western production. Everyone must believe that their own indigenous culture, or independent personality, has no meaning and cannot build culture and civilization themselves. And they have to accept Western tools, forms, and values as civilized. In our society, a civilized man is the one whose consumption, not his intelligence, has gone up."(P. 26)
7	"It is a lie that until a nation has not reached the level of intellectual and cultural production, it can reach the level of economic and industrial production, and even if it reaches it, it is still at the level of a Western imposition." (p. 29)
8	..."It does not tell us that you are not a culture maker, it even gives a lot of compliment... it has negated African's past culture and has deprecated our past culture, which is worse than negation ... He says you have everything, but it depicts despicable faces in my eyes to escape to western culture." (p. 32)
9	"If the eastern wishes to associate himself based on humanistic, Western human originality, he has drowned into a fictitious and fantasy system of humanism and has negated its existential personality and authenticity, and as long as we are indigenous to them, and they are human beings, any humanistic partnership with them is a betrayal of our existence." (P. 36)
10	"If I go back to my racial self, I have become fascinated by racism, fascism, ethnic and racial ignorance, and this is a reactionary return." p. 37
11	"The scissors of Islamic civilization have come and gone between our pre-Islamic and post-Islamic self, which pre-Islamic of ours is only visible in scholars and specialists that are in museums and libraries, our people remember nothing of it. This return to the historical self, which we say is not a return to the wildlife, is a return to the actual self, existing in the soul and conscience of society."(p. 38)
12	..."We rely on our Islamic cultural self, and we must return to our self because this is the only self-esteem that is close to us, and the superior culture and civilization that is alive

Number	Excerpt from the Book
	now. Islam must be raised in the form of repetitive and unconscious traditions that are the primary cause of degeneration, as a progressive protestant awareness Islam and as an enlightening ideology." (pp. 39-40)
13	"Cultural alienation is worse than any other forms of treatment, and it is more challenging to treat with. ... One who mirrors another's personality and culture and different spiritual values ... finds this transformation uplifting and pretending. It even strives to realize this cultural or historical reincarnation as much as possible. Even colonialism, with all its material and scientific power, helps him in this transformation." (P. 98)
14	"The first thing Colonialism did, especially in societies with rich and deep-rooted historical civilization was to cut off the present generation from history." (p. 99)
15	"The historical conscience is a unique civilized spirit ... It makes the historical connection of the present generation with its past in which is formed the personality." (pp. 103 and 104)
16	"Colonialism has carried out very sophisticated and profound scientific and sociological efforts to construct its quasi-civilizations in the civilized countries of Islam, India, and China in a way that regards progress and modernity inconsistent with tradition and history." (p. 104)
17	..."The intellectual is committed as the conscious element of society, and his commitment is clear: self-awareness of the Society." (p. 138)
18	..."Islam has two vital and urgent social missions in time. On the one hand, it is because of its particular political and revolutionary spirit and, on the other hand, because it has life and movement that builds our life, culture, spirit, conscience, and social relations of our nation. Now those two missions are as follows: 1 - Establish a direct cultural relationship. The gap is between the ordinary people and the intellectuals in our new culture, this vacuum will be filled with this spiritual power. 2. We must admit that our present society is a religious one."(Pp. 169 and 170)
19	"All our misfortune is that our old generation is suffering from concretion and the new generation is null and void." (p. 215)

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of  
Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

Number	Excerpt from the Book
20	..."The new generation is in vain: neither pious nor impious. Unbiased, without ideology, inexperienced in belief, characterless, biased, aimless, none." (p. 215)
21	..."The assimilation of the intellectuals (the saviors and prophets of their nation) is a catastrophe in which the question about death, life, existence and absence of a nation is raised with all its material and spiritual resources." (p. 219)
22	"We don't understand the true meaning of many of the social and religious issues of the past (that we raise today as opposed to or disapproved of), because we abstract it from its living body, the social environment, the temporal atmosphere, the conscience and the periodic spirit. And these elements are integral to it, and we look at it as an independent scientific abstract."(P. 237)
23	"One of the ugliest and utterly deviant works of thought is that when we say religion is a single abstract concept, as it does for non-religion. While it must be said: there are religions and non-religions." (p. 248)
24	"Political and social issues, in contrast to philosophical and scientific ones, are relative, and what has at one time or society, or produced constructive or progressive effects, are meaningless and ineffective at another time and has devastating effects, and It is degenerate." (p. 261)
25	"What goes in European society, culture, and philosophical, social and political thought is the natural and logical birth of Europe's historical and social conditions. Its transition to society also has another history, culture and social needs, just as deceptively attractive for the superficial eye between the modern and the sensual one. It is nothing but a waste of the best opportunities, the best human talents, native values and themes."(P. 261)
26	..."That's right: the ancient culture of Iran, the collection of religion, literature, art are for us and is one of our" deeply rooted, noble and glorious and spiritual cultures. But the question is, 'where this cultural self is?' There is no doubt that this brilliant and original culture exists only in history and not in society! But 'can the community be known without the help of history?' No, but history is of



Number	Excerpt from the Book
	two kinds: the discrete and continuous flow of history. Therefore, culture and civilization and the historical reality of ancient Iran exist and will exist for the historian. Because nothing was destroyed in the past, but for sociology, it has been a reality. That is, there is no community." (p.p. 270 and 272)
27	"In my school of thought, man represents God, his successor, like him, and has the moral attributes of God and his trustee, the truths taught by him, all attribute of the great and small angels and the whole being. The earth and the sky are all ridiculed by his will and science. The technique is ultimately the inherent kin of God. It is the only possession of God's four privileged attributes: 1) Consciousness, 2) Will (freedom, authority, and choice power), 3) Ideal, 4) Creativity!" (P. 330)
28	"The worldview is based on universal monotheism. It shows the belief in a powerful creator and logical conscious will that dominates the being. The human dialectic dualism believes that man has a will and consciousness. This worldview, like materialism, believes in the scientific fate and historical determinism governing human nature and destiny. It also considers human nature as material realities subject to causality, logic and constant scientific laws, and existentialism and humanism at the same time. And consider power as a choice, the real objective responsibility, but not a sentimental responsibility, human responsibility against the will and conscience of being. They are the criterion of the belief that justifies "the unity of man and man", "the unity of man and nature," and "the unity of man and God." (pp. 334 and 335)

A total of 28 propositions, extracted from Shariati's book "The Return", were used to elicit their main themes to make some headlines and inference for cultural policy-making. The present study's central themes of the used cultural policy making are classified into ten main propositions. The topics in these themes are listed in Figure 1.

**Reformed Ideological Islam:** A return to the Reformed Islamic Self that has taken on the form of culture and ideology. This Islam plays two roles in society: filling the gap between the populace and the intellectuals,

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

and the second: providing the religious content of community (inference from propositions 1 - 4 - 12 - 18).

**The State of Cultural Dissent:** The West recognizes its culture and civilization as authentic and has devoted all its efforts to depersonalize, alienate, and dissociate the Eastern and Islamic nations from their own culture and history (inference from propositions 5 and 6 – 8- 13 - 14 - 16).

**Priority of Cultural Development:** Development and cultural production take precedence over economic and industrial development (inference from proposition 7).

**Return based on Historical Conscience and Connected Culture:** Societies must enlighten and return to their self-consciousness based on their historical conscience and connected culture distinct from Western-oriented approaches, racial ignorance and archaism (inference from propositions 2- 9 - 10 - 11 - 15 - 26).

**Historical and non-Abstract Issues of the Humanities:** philosophical, social, cultural and political issues are historical and non-abstract, relative, temporal, and non-transferable to time and another society (deducing propositions and categories 22 - 24 - 25).

**Intellectual Social Responsibility:** Community Self-Awareness; assimilating an intellectual means the death of a nation with all its assets and its responsibility, making society self-conscious (deducing propositions 17-21.)

**Scientific, Humanistic, Deterministic and Monotheistic Worldview:** Shariati's monotheistic worldview elements include human-centred (human conscious, willful, romantic, creative and responsible), historical algebra and human nature of scientific logic and fixed laws (deduced from propositions 27 and 28).

**Intellectuals Agree on the Necessity of Returning while Understanding the Difference of Return:** Religious and non-religious intellectuals have an understanding of returning to their culture, although they differ on what culture they want to return to (Inference from Propositions 3 and 10 - 11 – 12;

**Anti-Concretion while Emphasizing the Necessity of Ideology;** our misery is due to the concretion of the old generation and the absurdity of the new generation (deducing propositions and categories 19 – 20).

**Religions and non-Religions:** Religion and non-religions are not absolute, and we have religious and non-religious (inference from propositions 23).

In his book (Return), Shariati is a bellman of Islamic Protestantism, believing that religion and non-religion are not unrecognizable; a reformed Islam that encompasses humanism, historical determinism, and Scientifics is represented in the place of historical conscience and the connected

culture of society. Proponents of Shariati's Islamic ideology are intellectuals whose primary mission is to counteract revenge, save the new generation from nothingness, and make the community aware of cultural demagoguery. In Shariati's view that the humanities issues are historical and non-abstract in form and meaningful in their particular time and place, cultural development and production are based on internal possessions and take precedence over other types of development.

**Chart 1: Cultural Policy Lines in Shariati's Views**

Religions and non-religions
Ideological reformed Islam
The humanistic, deterministic monotheistic worldview
Return based on historical conscience and connected culture
Intellectual Social Responsibility: Community Self-Awareness
Intellectuals agree on the need to return while understanding the difference
Opposition to concretion while emphasizing the necessity of ideology
east's cultural betrayal by the West
Historical and non-abstract humanities issues
The priority of cultural development

**2.2. Morteza Motahari and "The Future of the Islamic Revolution of Iran"**

Morteza Motahari, as a prominent intellectual of the Ayatollah Khomeini's disciples' group, was one of his most critical clerical figures (Kamali, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 175; Abrahamian, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 585). Motahhari, as "the Most Prominent Thinker of Islamic Jurisprudence" (Bahrami Komil, 2014AD/1393 SH: 293) was an academic scholar who, during the time of Ayatollah Boroujerdi (1944-1961) in the Qom seminary, was allowed to experience academic life. In addition to traditional knowledge, learn new knowledge too. As a preeminent figure, he reformed the clerical body, he saw it as "Demagogic" (Boroujerdi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 130) and converted Islam to a political religion (Bahrami Komil, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 293). Although Mutahari Islam, like Shari'at Islam, had many distinctions with traditional Islam, he spoke to his audience at the Hosseinieh Ershad intellectual forum, but he did not condone Shariati anti-clerical thought. In a letter to the scholars of Najaf in 1968, they demanded their position against Shari'ati. Ayatollah Khomeini did not meet a request (Abrahamyan, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 591). As stated in the preface to the book "The Future of the Islamic Revolution of Iran" (2015 AD/1394 SH), in this book, debates have

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

initially been in the form of interviews and lectures during the months leading up to the Revolution victory and afterwards, and was his most comprehensive and profound work. It is about the "Intellectual Issues" of the Islamic Revolution. The results of the thematic content analysis of the book "Forthcoming of the Islamic Revolution" aimed at extracting propositions from which cultural policy categories can be applied and described in Table 2. It is worth noting that in analyzing the content of this book, only the most prominent and policy-making material has been highlighted so that more specific topics, such as clergy and women, have not been addressed.

**Table 2: Extracted Propositions from Book "the Forthcoming of the Islamic Revolution of Iran" by Motahari and the Cultural Policy Issues**

Number	Excerpt from the book
1	"This movement has achieved great success, and it is that self-defeat against the West means taking away (a Western bloc and an eastern bloc) from our nation and telling our country that you have an independent school and thought. You can stand on your feet; you have a different identity and character." (p. 71)
2	..."any society that has a culture and that culture constitutes the spirit of that society ... It has been two or three centuries, especially in the last hundred years, when the confluence of West and East has been found, that the people of the East, the people of the world Islam felt inferior when they saw themselves in front of the West."
3	..."All our great values have been demanded by our society in the shadow of Islam and with Islamic spirituality." (p. 94)
4	"We have to respect the future freedoms in the true sense, that if the Islamic State, the Islamic Republic, the Islamic State wants to create the ground for suppression, it will undoubtedly fail. Freedom, of course, is other than chaos. Everyone has to be free in the first place; his expression and his pen must be accessible." (p. 94)
5	"Lies and betrayals must be censored. Lying should not be spread among the people like the freedom of thought and opinion." (p. 106)
6	"The central and essential point of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is that it is an ideological revolution, not merely a material class revolution or a liberal and libertarian revolution." (p. 126)
7	"Islam is a comprehensive school. The Islamic Revolution means a revolution that was all-embracing and Islam had influence in all its aspects." (p. 126 and 129)

Number	Excerpt from the book
8	..."If we have seen people who have not found a fundamental change in their spirits, we have the right to doubt their social revolution, or not much hope for the future of their revolution." (p. 132)
9	"The Pillars of the Iranian People's Spiritual Revolution: 1. Promoting virtue and the Jihad in them, 2. The Feeling of Personality." (p. 133 and 134)
10	"The ancient sages have a term called" freezing. "In some animals, such as rabbits ... If the lion falls into its eyes, the animal becomes freeze ... he loses his ability to escape and knocks to the ground. It is called westernization, loss of self, morale, and loss of confidence and self-belief." (p. 136)
11	"Sometimes a society loses itself in front of another society... The great deception of colonialism with colonial countries is to disbelieve a nation in its personality and social identity. This nation changes in a way that prefers "bad" one of imperialism to "good" one "of himself. (P. 137)
12	..."The three main pillars of the Islamic Revolution of Iran: namely social justice, independence, and Islamic spirituality ..." (p. 147)
13	..."We have cultural colonization that is more dangerous than political and economic colonization, and it is impossible to have economic colonization without political and cultural colonization. The basis of political colonization and economic colonization is cultural colonization." (p. 162)
14	"Although the natural and mathematical sciences are the same in the Soviet Union and America, the school is two, the principles of life differ entirely in them. Every nation has a school of its own and does not fall under the burden of foreign schools; it has the right to life." (p. 165)
15	"With an ecclesiastical school, two words from this, two words from that, and three words from Islam. We do not attain school independence, and if we do, we are doomed." (pp. 165 & 166)
16	..."I rely heavily on the issue of independence, political independence, economic independence, cultural independence, and especially cultural independence. Cultural independence, in particular, school independence. What a disease that some people even want to apply Islamic worldview to one of the Western or Eastern worldviews." (p. 166)

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

Number	Excerpt from the book
17	..."There must be a great circle in the promoting virtue and forbidding the wrong: the process of guidance, the direct and direction of the people, the circle of Islam propaganda, the circle of doubts elimination, the circle of Islamic construction of the people, but it is dependent on the clergy and Independence of Government, even in Islamic State." (p.197)
18	"In Islam, there is freedom of thought and freedom of thought based on thought, but freedom of opinion that is not the basis of thought [freedom of opinion that is the basis of imitation, belief, coercion or habit] never exists in Islam." (p. 307)

Extracted from Motahari's book "The Future of the Islamic Revolution of Iran," a total of 18 statements could be interpreted or directly used as headings and conceptions for cultural policy-making. The main themes of cultural policy-making are summarized in the following eight statements. The topics in these themes are given in Chart 2.

**Getting Rid of National Westernization and Gaining Cultural Independence:** The Islamic Revolution caused freedom from the sense of inferiority and national westernization against the East and the West, and gained identity, intellectual, cultural, and school independence (Inference from Propositions 1 and 2 - 10 - 11 – 16).

**Excellence of the Islamic School and Islamic Spirituality:** All the supreme values of Iranian society lie in the shadow of the Islamic school and Islamic spirituality, one of the essential pillars of the Islamic Revolution (inference from propositions 3 - 7 – 12).

The issue of personality and promoting virtue are the two pillars of the Islamic Revolution; the main characteristic of the Iranian Revolution is its ideological character. If people's mood does not change through this revolution, there is no hope for its continuation. The issue of promoting virtue and the prohibition of evil, jihad and the sense of personality are pillars of this spiritual revolution (Inference from propositions 6 - 8 – 9).

**Commitment to Freedom of Thought, Opinion and Pen:** The Islamic Republic commits itself to freedom of thought, opinion and pen (inference from propositions and statements 4 to 18).

**Censorship of Lies and treachery:** Lies and betrayal must be censored (inference and propositions 5).

**The Primacy of Cultural Colonization:** the basis of political and economic colonization is cultural colonization (deducing propositions and categories 13).

**Uniqueness of the schools and negation of the eclectic school:** Contrary

to the universal rules of the natural and mathematical sciences, schools are limited to societies, and diversity cannot be achieved (inference from propositions and categories 14-15) .

**Creating a Circle of Promoting Virtue and Forbidding Wrong:** There is a need to establish a circle of promoting virtue and forbidding wrong, independent of the state and under the clergy's authority to guide and dispel the doubts (inference from proposition 17).

Much of the debate in Motahari's book (The Future of the Islamic Revolution in Iran) can serve as a basis for cultural policy in the Islamic Republic. In Mutahari's view, the eclectic schools lack the necessary capacity to achieve artistic independence. He emphasized the necessity and liberation of self-esteem from the East and West and Islamic form of all values; he insisted on the warning to a continuation of the revolution as well. If the spiritual process did not occur among people, it was characterized by promoting virtue and forbidding wrong and acquiring personality. The commitment to freedom of thought and belief is one of the axes that can be deduced from policy-making.

**Chart 2: Cultural policy lines in Motahari votes**

Creating a circle of promoting virtue and forbidding wrong
The specificity of the schools and the rejection of eclectic school
The primacy of cultural colonization
Censorship of lies and treachery
Commitment to freedom of thought, opinion and pen
promoting virtue and forbidding wrong and personality sense, two pillars of the Islamic Revolution
The Value of Islamic Comprehensive School and Islamic Spirituality
Getting rid of national westernization and gaining cultural independence

**2.3. Sayyed Ahmad Fardid and "Meetings of Farahi and Apocalypse Conquests"**

Sayyed Ahmad Fardid, professor of philosophy at the University of Tehran, has been considered the most influential contemporary Iranian philosopher (Boroujerdi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 103). As Ashouri, one of Fardid's students has put it; he has impacted "the Mentality of an Important Part of Our Intellectual Community" (2014, 5). In the late 1950s, Fardid played a significant role in the evolution of the intellectual discourses that led to

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

the 1979 revolution (Mirsepassi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 53) and "Still", many Iranian intellectuals consciously or unconsciously move within the framework of his discourse (Mirsepassi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 55). Despite being no revolutions before the Islamic Revolution, by winning it and performing as a "Divine Sage," he was able to gather a large number of revolutionary Muslim youth in his debate and become the "Greatest Source of Inspiration" for the ideologues of the Islamic Republic (Ashouri, 2014: 53). Fardid has not written much of his work, which is why many call him an "Oral Philosopher" (Ghaeminik, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 233). But in the meantime, the book "The Visit of Farahi and the Apocalypse Conquests" (1393 - 2014) was first compiled in a volume by Fardid. Although this book does not mention the year of the lectures, Ashouri (2014: 11) considers that most of the book's contents refer to the years 1981 and 1982, the same years that influenced the minds of the revolutionary Muslim youth. As noted earlier, Fardid is one of the influential intellectuals in the Islamic Republic's cultural policies. The book "the Farahi Meeting and Apocalypse Conquest" emerged in the early years after the Islamic Revolution and is the most important source for his views on this subject. The results of this book's thematic content analysis aimed at extracting propositions from which cultural policy categories can be applied and summarized in Table 3.

**Table 3: Proposals Derived from "Farahi Meetings and Apocalyptic Conquests (Fardid's Lectures) and Mentioned Cultural Policy Issues**

Number	Excerpt proposition of the book
1	"Today both thought and economics are the same, and even though is important than economics, and if thought is right, the economy will be fine." (p. 32)
2	"Whatever is today is civilization and not culture. Humanity has become homeless today because of civilization. Urbanization has rendered non-cultivation of humankind, this civilization has destroyed and rendered homeless, and there is no sky, So it does not have a sanctified body. (p. 44)
3	Westernization has conquered us for a hundred years, and evil has destroyed us for 2500years." (p. 73)
4	"In humanism, what is not traceable is human. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not affect humanity. 'What is an obsolete human being, slavery, brotherhood, equality and freedom in the self-image and unity of all in one?' (p. 76)
5	"These Jews would destroy it if there were works of God in psychology and philosophy and in scientific and sociological methods, such as Durkheim, Goodrich, Bergson, Popper, and Eric



Number	Excerpt proposition of the book
	Freud. A revolution can be found when these go away." (p. 78 and 79)
6	..."They have gone to study science, and then Western science has interpreted itself as Qur'an science and Qur'an insight and the word of Allah. See what confusion is and what is wrong. These apocalyptic fights are from evil." (p. 89)
7	"One Hundred Years of Westernization prevails over us." (p. 103)
8	..."God willing, all fundamental issues of our country will be laid out, the universities of humanities and philosophical sciences closed and reopened. It is a movement; these are gradual but not incremental politics. Step by step means defending American politics, which results from unconsciousness." (p. 113)
9	"We are proud of many historical honors. One said that the Europeans have taken it away from us, If the Europeans have taken anything, they have taken a comment and interpretation. They have said a lot about self- fundamentalism. In our books, especially the new preachers have said a lot." (p. 138)
10	"This kind of human science is a sign of human illness. Today, human beings are paying attention to these sciences defending human diseases with painkillers that do not cure human pain, And tomorrow it begs the question."(P – 154)
11	..."None of today's humanities treat human pain. ... if it is natural and mathematical sciences it is true, but the human sciences is different from natural sciences like physics and ... " (p. 222)
12	"The true freedom of man, the horizon of all humanity, is in future, but the promise and thought of today's society is freedom. Absolute freedom is freedom from Jean-Paul Sartre, and this freedom is Sartre's escape from freedom." (p. 261)
13	"The moment that man finds death on his own, Rumi takes it in art, the complete human perfection is the pursuit of righteousness; mystical is monotheistic mysticism." (p. 283)
14	..."But the new art that is all about lust. ... in essence, the new art is "debauch" (p. 283)
15	..."Art means that we are trained to go and find true monotheism and become an artist. So this is the condition of the way." (p. 288)
16	"Our poetry, art, and politics are all in the hands of Freemasonry and imperialism, especially after the constitution ..." (p. 353)
17	..."This new sociology and its utopia and the examples they give are all from sewage, even the quasi-Islamic utopia" (p. 358)

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

Number	Excerpt proposition of the book
18	"I want to compare censorship with self-calculation. I say the difference between man and beast is that man must be a seeker. A double-minded search, one searching for evil and the other self-confident; search for Censorship that promotes virtue and avoids wrong." (pp. 408 and 409)
19	"The human science is invalid. Science is mathematic, and natural sciences, which is in the hands of the humanities, and the soul itself is in the hands of the politicians." (p. 417)

A total of 19 statements were extracted from the book "The Farahi Visit and the Conquests of the Apocalypse" that can be interpreted or directly used as headings and interpretations for cultural policy-making. The crucial point about Fardid's discussions is the expression of repetitive content and propositions that have been attempted to address only the more prominent themes in the present thematic Content analysis. Regardless of this, Understanding Fardid's arguments require familiarity with his concepts' specific language and meaning. All his topics can be interpreted under these terms: "Yesterday,"<sup>1</sup> "the Day before Yesterday," "Today,"<sup>2</sup> "Tomorrow"<sup>3</sup> and "Aftermath"<sup>4</sup> and also the fundamental concept of "Westernization."<sup>5</sup> The main themes of cultural policy-making are summarized in the following 12 main propositions. The topics in these themes are given in Chart 3

**Non-Civilization of Civilized Man:** Civilized humanity is uncultured (inference from the proposition and category 2).

**Westernization of Iranians:** Iranians, mainly since The Constitutional Period, are engaged with westernization (inference from propositions and categories 3 – 7).

- 
1. "Fardid considers past(yesterday) society a divine in which monotheism was ruled and the people in that community were a united nation and lived in this spiritual East without any straggle. Yesterday's society is the era of metaphysical reign.
2. Today is a time when man is born of a self-centered and Cartesian subject, such a man has entered the age of ignorance and eats his divine age from morning to night.
3. Tomorrow is the phase of struggle and transition.
4. Aftermath is the era of the Imam of time and the creation of a divine community and the formation of a united nation" (BahramiKomil, 2014 :173).As stated, Fardid concern is yesterday regret and a wish for the future.
5. "Westernization" was, in his term, a literal and philosophical interpretation of a general and inclusive form, referring to the general condition of mankind in the modern world and in the age of modernity. In other words, what the late master meant by westernization was the foundation of human self-centeredness in the present apocalypse" (Farno, 2007: 156).

**Opposition to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:** The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its values symbolized humanism and sensuality dominance on humans (inference from proposition and category 4).

**Opposition to Western Humanities:** Humanities and, above all, sociology and psychology against God are symptoms of human illness; they are also useless to him and originate from the wasteland of Western humanism (inference from propositions 5 - 10 - 11 - 17 – 19).

**The Necessity of a Cultural Revolution:** A cultural revolution with the aim of transformation in humanities and philosophical sciences (inference from proposition 8).

**Rejecting Islamic-based Science:** Western Science's Interpretation to Quran Science and Insight is Misleading [for example Islamic Humanities] (inference from proposition 6).

**In the Dream of the Old Art, Rejecting the New Art:** It means the death of right, an instrument of lust (deducing propositions and categories 13 - 14 – 15).

**Freemasonry's Dominance over Art, Literature and Politics:** Since the Constitutional Period, freemasons have dominated our arts, literature and politics (deducing proposition and category 16).

**The Priority of Correcting Thoughts:** If thoughts are right, economics will be corrected (inference from proposition 1).

**In the Dream of Future Libertarian:** The true liberty is after tomorrow and freedom from western freedom (deducing proposition and category 6).

**Evil Interpretation of Islamic Science and Culture in the West:** Modernist palpitations have neglected that even if Islamic science and culture have been exported to the West, Westerners will interpret it as evil (inference from proposition 9).

**Rejecting Censorship in the Sense of Enjoining to Vice:** Censorship is good if it means exploring self-consciousness and directing it to virtue. It is terrible to explore the confident self and refer it to evil (inferred from Proposition 18).

Fardid can be considered a thinker who has seized the opportunity of the Islamic Revolution to redo his ideas. The ideas developed around west stuckness are philosophical and intellectual enmity with the new civilization and its enterprising spirit (humanities). For Fardid, the current state of society's thinking and culture is the product of Western dominance over Iranian minds and thoughts. He believes any improvement in economic affairs requires reforming the thought and culture first. He clarifies the points that need revision and returns throughout his discussions by distinguishing

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

empirical and mathematical sciences from the humanities and philosophies. A return to sensuality is everywhere in the world. It rests on the loss of humanity self-confidence and past spirituality. Fardid is thinking of achieving a future world through tomorrow. A future world in the emergence of the absent Imam (AS) highlights the notion of Shi'a return and references the past world. In fact, in the coordinates of Fardid's thought, all the world's human and cultural features and achievements are negated yesterday and today. That is why he is denounced by the universal declaration of human rights, new art and the humanities and the attempt to link this science and Islamic science. In the meantime, Fardid considers censorship as seek, and he denounces any search for self-confidence that ultimately leads to self-deprecating "The Self" and denying it.

**Chart 3: Cultural Policy Lines in Fardid's Views**

Priority of thought correction	The rejection of Islamic-based science	Opposition to Western Humanities	Freemasonr y's mastery of art, literature, and politics	Westernizat ion of Iranians	The non-civilizati on of civilized man
Reject the new art and dream of the old art	Oppositi on to the Universa l Declarati on of Human Rights	The Interpretati on of Islamic Science and Culture in the West	Reject censorship in the sense of denying	In the wish of future freedom	The Necessit y of the Cultural Revoluti on

**Conclusion**

As we have seen in the thoughts themes of the three thinkers of the Islamic Revolution, the origins of Shariati, Motahari and Fardid have many different points of view. As a social reformer, Shariati represents a reformed Islam that is intertwined with humanism, historical determinism, and scientism. In Mottahari view, blending Islam and Western concepts and approaches is useless, and Fardid rejects Western humanities. Shariati also believes in the relativity, place-relatedness and time-relatedness of social and political issues. Therefore the idea of returning to self cannot be regarded as a fundamentalist one. In his view, facing the material world,

religion would take a social-political role. In other words "Religion," in Shariati's view, has a secular form. Faith with an ideological face that tends to respond to social and political questions of the world. Instead, he speaks of the need for Islamic reform and Protestantism, and that reformed Islam specifies the content of a return to self. Shariati should be considered a religious reformer where it shames the concretion of the old generation and complains about the futility of the new generation. Shariati speaks of Islam to get rid of this situation, as an ideology, is consistent with the time requirements. Motahari is also a religious reformer who, like Shariati, is striving for cultural reform of society. Unlike Shariati, who has understood the early months of the Islamic Republic's establishment, he believes that the ultimate and lasting victory of the movement depends on the cultural (spiritual) transformation of society. For Mottahari, the critical element in this transformation is liberation from the spirit of "Lack of National Self-esteem," another interpretation of Shariati's concept is "Weststruckness. "But Fardid, who is a preacher of "Westernization," uses this concept to refer to everything that goes back to the civilized world of thought and culture. Fardid agrees with the empirical and mathematical sciences and considers the western humanities decadent and the gateway to the West. Based on these differences, one cannot provide a unified view of their thinking, claiming that the same or similar headings and interpretations of their opinions can be used for cultural policy-making.

But what is noteworthy is that the cultural policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran are rooted in the minds of these three thinkers.

Specifically, he puts forward a form of government guidance, where Motahari accepts the censorship of lies and betrayals as broadly interpretable concepts (despite the genuine freedom of thought). Then he provides a theoretical basis for operationalizing this idea; this idea has been rejected in Fardid's opinion, and it is not explicitly used in Shariati's opinion. Or a prominent westernization in the views of Fardid and Shariati, without Motahari's approval stamp, provides the necessary basis for its acceptance as a suitable platform for implementing and formalizing this policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Supreme Council approved the Cultural Revolution as a document of "Principles of Cultural Policy of the Country" in 1991 (Web site of Islamic Parliament Research Center, 2017: <http://rc.majlis.ir>); synthesis of thinkers opinions have the hegemony of the revolution. As stated in the Preamble of Cultural Policy: "Cultural policy is the formal agreement and consensus of officials in identifying, formulating, and defining the most important principles and priorities of a cultural movement". In this definition, the use

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

of the notions "Formal Agreement" and "Consensus" most clearly reflects the multiple hegemony and recognition of policy-makers over the "Recognition" of cultural issues, values, and priorities. This divergence goes back to different thinking styles of main post-revolutionary political flows. The document "Principles of Country Cultural Policy" is an attempt to overcome it.

But, as we have said, at the same time, we can have a more cohesive understanding of Shariati's, Motahari's and Fardid's common ideas and the distinct lines of the cultural policy principles of these three thinkers. With such an approach, the common principles of cultural policy-making with the mainstream scholars of the Islamic Revolution of Iran include a confrontation with Westernization and the priority of reform and development of thought and culture. Of course, it is necessary to explain that each of the strands and lines inferred from their votes alone or jointly can be based on the cultural policy of the Islamic Republic in different periods of the Islamic Republic. However, the most important result of this study is the identification of two plausible themes in cultural policy-making that, albeit with a different context, are shared between Shariati, Motahari and Fardid.

**Chart 4: The Common Principles of Cultural Policy-making among the Scholars of the Islamic Revolution**

Priority of reform and development of thought and culture	Confront with the West
---	------------------------

In the document "Principles of Cultural Policy in the Country" (1991 AD/1370 SH), which considers the cultural policy of the country as a revolutionary policy, the following goals are considered as cultural goals of the Islamic Republic:

1. The growth and excellence of Islamic human culture and the spread of the message and culture of the Islamic Revolution in world society;
2. Independence and deterioration of degenerate manifestations and inaccurate foundations of alien cultures and degeneration of perverse customs and superstitions;
3. Fulfill the creative and competent powers of human beings in all dignities, and activate the divine talents, and obtain the intelligence of human beings and their existential reserves;
4. Adorned with moral virtues and God attributes on the way to attain transcendent human status;
5. The total realization of the Cultural Revolution to establish the values of Islam and the Islamic Revolution in community and individual life and to observe them and to continue the cultural movement for achieving desired society;

6. Understand the requirements and developments of time and critique and integrate human societies' cultural achievements and results consistent with Islamic principles and values.

And the study of these goals shows that confronting Westernization and priority of reform and development of thought and culture are two common principles inferred from Shariati, Motahari and Fardid's views. They are among the foundations of cultural policy-making in the Islamic Republic, and other headlines have also been taken into account. However, it cannot be asserted that the opinions of any of the three examined thinkers are entirely the basis of cultural policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, it seems that the Islamic Republic's cultural goals are set out in the principles of the country's cultural policy and the views of prominent scholars of the Islamic Revolution. It has followed a trajectory before and during the early years of the revolution by thinkers; and the gap between the theorists and the realized concept (in practice and formalization), lacks casual reasoning and specification. And it is not even noteworthy.

### References

- Abdul Karimi, B. (2015 AD/1394 SH). *Heidegger in Iran, a Look at the Life, Works and Thoughts of Sayyed Ahmad Fardid*. Tehran: Research Institute of Wisdom and Philosophy of Iran in collaboration with Amirkabir Publication Institute.
- Abrahamian, Y. (2015 AD/1394 SH). *The History of Modern Iran*. (Fattahi, M E. Trans). Tehran: Ney publication.
- Abrahamian, Y. (2002 AD/1381 SH). *Iran between Two Revolutions*. (Gol Mohammadi, A; Fattahi, M. Trans). Tehran: Ney publication.
- Anderson, R. (2007). Thematic Content Analysis (TCA): Descriptive Presentation of Qualitative Data. Institute of Transpersonal Psychology. Retrieved from: <http://www.wellknowingconsulting.org/publications/pdfs/ThematicContentAnalysis.pdf>
- Ashouri, D. (1998 AD/1377 SH). *We and Modernity*. Tehran: Serat Cultural Institute.
- Ashouri, D. (2014). "The Myth of Philosophy among Us, a Visit with Ahmad Fardid and the Theory of Westernization". *Published on malakut website*. Retrieved from: [http://www.malakut.org/dariush/ashouri\\_fardid.pdf](http://www.malakut.org/dariush/ashouri_fardid.pdf)

**The Roots of Cultural Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran: In the Speech of Three Scholars of Iran Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Shariati, Motahari and Fardid)**

- Ashtarian, K. (2010 AD/1389 SH). *Strategic Variables in Cultural Policy-making*. Tehran: Mizan Publication.
- Ashtarian, K. (2012 AD/1391 SH). *Introduction to Cultural Policy-making*. Tehran: Jame'e Shenasan Publication.
- Babaie, E. (2011 AD/1390 SH). *Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Volume I*. (Fazel, R. Trans). Tehran: Samt Publication.
- Bahrami Kamil, N. (2014 AD/1393 SH). *The Typology of Iranian Intellectuals*. Tehran: Kavir Publication.
- Boroujerdi, M. (2017 AD/1396 SH). *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism*. (Shirazi, j. Trans). Tehran: Farzane Roz Publication.
- De Vaus, D. A. (2004 AD/1383 SH). *Surveys in Social Research*. (Nayebi, H. Trans). Tehran: Ney Publication.
- Fardid, S A. (2014 AD/1393 SH). *Farahi Visit and the Conquest of the Apocalypse*. (By the Efforts of Madedpour, M.). Tehran: Nazar Cultural Research Institute.
- Farno, B. (2008 AD/1387 SH). "From Al Ahmad's Westernization to Firdid's Westernization." *YadAvar Quarterly*. Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 156-156.
- Foran, J. (2003 AD/1382 SH). *Fragile Resistance, Social Transformation in Iran*. (Tadayyon, A. Trans). Tehran: Rasa Cultural Services Institute.
- Ghaemi Nik, M. R. (2008 AD/1387 SH). "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, and Future and Aftermath of Fardidy's: A Survey on the Fardid Position in the Discourse of the Islamic Republic". *Journal of Development Strategies*. Vol 14, no.1, pp. 231 - 251.
- Gholamreza Kashi, M. J. (2003 AD/1382 SH). "Authoritarian and Democratic Cultural Policy-Making." In *Politics and Culture in Today Iran* by Wahid, M. Tehran: Baz Publication.
- Islamic Parliament Research Center Website (2017 AD/1396 SH). "Principles



of Cultural Policy in the Country." Date of Approval 1370/12/13. Reference to the approval of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution. Retrieved from: <http://rc.majlis.ir/en/law/show/101000>

Kamali, M. (2002 AD/1381 SH). *Revolutionary Iran: Civil Society and State in the Modernization Process*. (Poladi, K. Trans). Tehran: Baz Publication.

Mirsepasi, A. (2008 AD/1387 SH). *Iranian Intellectuals: Social Hope and Philosophical Despair*. (Mokhbar, A. Trans). Tehran: Development Publication.

Motahari, M. (2015 AD/1394 SH). *The Future of the Islamic Revolution*. Tehran: Sadra Publication.

Mulcahy, K. V. (2006). "Cultural Policy: Definitions and Theoretical Approaches." *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*. Vol. 35, no. 4, pp 319-330.

Roshan, A. (2015 AD/1394 SH). *Ali Shariati's Returns to Islamic Renaissance and Self*. Tehran: Tisa Publication.

Ryan, G. W; Bernard, H. R. (2000). *Data Management and Analysis Methods*. In Denzin, NK and Lincoln, YS. (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 769-802). Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage.

Saldena, J. (2016 AD/1395 SH). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. (Givian, A. Trans). Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publication.

Shariati, A. (2005 AD/1384 SH). *Return* (Collection of four works). Tehran: Elham Publication.

Skocpol, T. (2005 AD/1388 SH). *Vision and Methods in Historical Sociology*. (Aghajari, S H. Trans). Tehran: Markaz Publication.

Website of Dr Ali Shariati. Lecture Section (2017 AD/1396 SH). Lectures Section. Retrieved from: <http://drshariati.org/?cat=185>