

## **Socio-cultural Policy to Manage Ethnical Diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran**

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### **Abstract**

Socio-cultural diversity is a comprehensive phenomenon across the world so that there are only a few monoethnic countries. Every country attempts to plan its policy to manage its ethnical diversity on one hand according to goals and approaches of its political system and on the other hand according to its specific ethnical diversity pattern. The Islamic Republic of Iran also is among countries with ethnical diversity and attempts to administrate its policy according to its political system approach toward ethnical diversity and the features of that diversity. In this paper it was tried to represent some socio-cultural suggestions, employing the positive experiences of countries with ethnical diversity and regarding opportunity-based approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran toward ethnical diversity and recommendations of the leaders of the revolution. The research method used here is a combination of documentary method with studying of resources and available studies, formation of elites' panel, interviewing with elites. Also Smith's general policy making model was used in the process.

### **Keywords:**

Policy Making, Cultural Policy, Social Policy, Ethnical Diversity, Islamic Republic of Iran.

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### **Introduction**

Ethnic diversity is a common and universal phenomenon. Today, most countries experience diversity of language, religion, and tribe among their people so that only in 14 countries there isn't a remarkable minority (Brown, 1993: 43). This heterogeneity resulting from ethnic diversity in countries results in basic questions about how to solve problems produced by it and how to make appropriate ethnic policies in this regard. Iran is among countries having ethnic diversity and experiencing diverse ethnic policies during different courses of time. The approach taken by the revolutionary leaders and high -rank documents such as the fundamental law and major policies of the system show that ethnic diversity in Iran has been defined within the framework of an opportunity which can lead to development of culture and multilateral progress if a planning suitable to common and international conditions is prepared for it. On other hand, a glance at the history ethnic diversity in Iran specifically during the contemporary age indicates that the problem of ethnic diversity has been one of opportunities for ethnic elites and conflicting countries to exert pressure upon Iranian governments during the contemporary era. Of course the emergence of ethnic crises in Iran has been under the influence of the policies taken by its previous governments specifically the process of modernization during the time of Pahlavi, imbalanced development and regional inequalities, and consequent feeling of deprivation and discrimination among ethnic groups, but during recent years, conflicting countries have focused on ethnic issues related to Iran pretending to support ethnic separatist groups through employing satellites and internet networks with their final aim to bring Iranian different tribes under influence and put forward human rights themes within the realm of tribes, and this, shows the importance of this subject to show their hostility toward Iran. For this reason, preparing of an appropriate, up-to-date, and efficient ethnic policy will minimize any threat and

damage resulting from policies and administrations of the government, elites, and foreign governments in addition to providing the possibility of taking the advantage of opportunities of ethnical diversity to produce multilateral development across the country. Accordingly, today it is necessary to administrate the ethnical diversity policy and to use the positive experiences of other countries in order to manage diversities from one side, and identification of social and cultural realities, Iranian historical background and ethnical diversity from the other side. In fact, this kind of policy is appropriate to cultural, historical, political, and ideological demands of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Generally, in this paper, it is tried to employ the general model of Bruce Smith's policy making to study the issue of ethnical diversity in Iran and to represent appropriate suggestions for necessary policies so that in addition to maximal employment of opportunities, ethnical conflicts and crises can be minimized and national identity and solidarity can be empowered. Naturally, it is not possible to investigate all realms of ethnical diversity in this paper; therefore, here only socio-cultural scope will be represented.

### **1. Research Questions**

A. What are perspectives and strategic socio-cultural goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran to manage ethnical diversity?

B. What socio-cultural policies can be suggested to manage ethnical diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran?

### **2. Theoretical Framework of the Research (Policy Making Models)**

The concept of policy making is very complicated and related to other realms of social sciences and political sciences. Policy making is a process or a series of governmental activities and decisions administrated which have been planned to solve a social problem (Malekmohammadi, 1383: 20) and have influence directly or indirectly upon lives of citizens (Peters, 2004: 21). Although this is a common term, it can be used for institutions of private sector and even

for real person in addition to government and public sector, (Gholipour et al., 1389: 13). It can be used for political decisions made in order to administrate plans to achieve social goals too (Cochran & Molone, 1995: 36). Generally it can be claimed that policy making includes political decisions made by governments to implement plans in order to achieve social goals (Birkland, 2005: 21). Accordingly, policy making is a concept with several value-based features which is different in different cultures, and the value system of any political system and any society play a determinant role in its policy making process (Ashtarian, 1386: 16). In order to achieve a policy making process with such characteristics, different models have been represented. Thomas R. Dye believes that these models are not opponents of each other so that one of them can be chosen as the best one, rather, each of them looks at problems from a specific angle and helps us understand different things about policy making (Dye, 1387: 45).

In fact, each of these models gives us a specific perspective about different issues and enables us analyze problems in a larger area and with the best quality (Alvani et al, 1387: 19). Some researchers also believe that these models are at analysis level. In other words, some models have a large analysis level while others are at microlevel (Aslipour et al. 1394: 249). Therefore the choice of policy making model is directly related to the issue of policy making. There are several policy making models (refer to Gholipour et al., 1389: 81-90). Some of those models will be investigated below:

### **1.2. Institutional model: Policy as the institutional output**

In institutional model, policy is made and administrated in centralized form by certain authoritative institutions such as government, parliament and municipalities. Regarding this characteristic, institutional policy making gives some features to policy. Firstly, government represents legitimacy to policies; therefore, beside controlling the loyalty of citizens through legislative obligation, it can

suppose the necessary punishment for offenders of policy. Secondly, these policies are common and include all members of any society within this model. All people and non-governmental organizations follow their preferences in the framework of these policies (Dye, 1387: 46-47). In fact, in this model, focus is on the institutional role of governmental institutions in different stages of policy making (Alvani et al, 1387: 19).

### **2.2. Rational model, policy making as obtaining maximum social profit**

In this model, policy making is called rational when it can obtain maximum profit for the society. For this reason, governments should choose those policies having profits for their societies so that obtained profits are higher than costs (Gholipour et al., 1389: 83). In other words, policy can be called rational if the difference between obtained values and spent values are more than other alternatives. Therefore, in this model, the policy makers should, first of all, be informed of value preferences of the society and the relative weight. The next necessity is that policy makers should consider all alternatives as feasible. Thirdly they should have enough information about the impacts and consequences of each alternative. Fourthly, they should exactly calculate the profits and losses of each alternative. And finally, they should choose the most appropriate alternative (Dye, 1387: 57-58).

### **3.2. Game theory model, policy as rational choice in competitive situation**

Game theory is the study of rational decision in a situation that two or more actors make decisions and the result depends on the choice of each of them. This, points to the realms of policy making in which there is not any best choice, rather the best choice is dependent on what others do. In this model, decision makers have reciprocal dependence and the actors should not only pay attention to their own wishes and abilities, but also they should consider others. Game theory is an abstractive and contrastive model and doesn't explain

why individuals really make decisions; rather, it seeks to find out why completely rational individuals should make decisions in a competitive condition. Therefore, this is a form of rationalism, but feasible in a competitive condition in which the results depend on the performance of two or more players (Dye, 1387: 61-62).

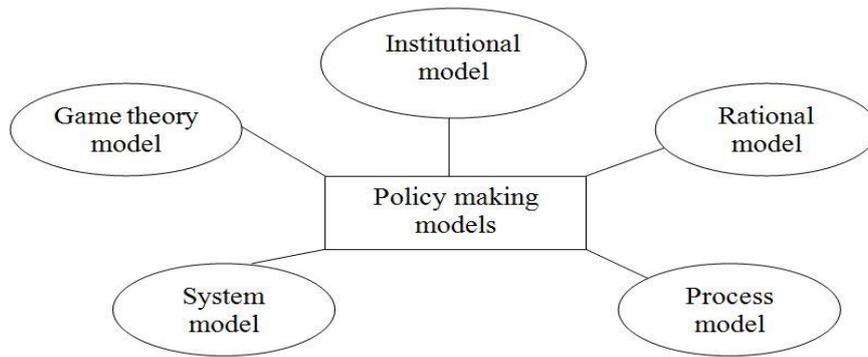
#### **4.2. System model, policy as the outcome of the political system**

Another model of policy making is based on this concept that policy is the response given by the political system to the pressures of the environment. Powers created in the environment and impacting on the political system are considered as input. The environment includes any situation or event existing outside the political system's borders. Political system also is a group of interrelated structures and processes whose performance strongly allocates some values to consensus. Political system's outputs are allocations of the system's values and this allocation forms the general policy (Gholipour et al., 1389: 86).

#### **5.2. Process model, policy as a process of decision making**

In the process model some stages should be passed in order to get to policies. Those stages include from problem assignment to evaluation. In this model, instead of focus on policy making, attention is concentrated on the process of policy making (Alvani et al., 1387: 24). This is the most understandable and the most operational policy making model because of being clear and being phased in composition of policy. Meanwhile, it is easy and feasible to investigate, and evaluate the conducted policy making ,therefore, in this paper, this model will be used in order to plan policies. This process has several patterns and in this research Bruce Smith's six-stage pattern will be employed. In this pattern, stages include problem definition, clearness and explanation of goals and values, identification of alternatives, choice, implementation, and evaluation (Gholipour, 1389: 48-49). Of course in this paper, stages of identification of alternatives, implementation, and evaluation will not be conducted.

**Diagram (1): Policy making models**



**3. Research method**

The method employed here is a combination of documentary, study of resources and existing studies, formation of elite panel, interviewing with elites, and using the experiences of other researchers and authors. The grounds of holding the panel and interviewing with elites were prepared by investigating conducted studies in this realm in the form of documentary from one side and higher-rank documents from another side. Regarding that interviewing with elites is mainly of qualitative type, selection of reference sample based on probabilities will not help this research to achieve its goal, therefore, some individuals with certain characteristics were chosen. In fact, sampling was conducted for interviewing in the aimed and non-probabilistic form (Seyyedemami, 1386: 299-300), so that individuals were aware, and elite in the realm of ethnical issues, and pragmatic and theoretical. Therefore, in this research, individuals who had responsibilities in ethnical realm or policy making scope, elites and researchers of ethnical realm were employed as the interviewers of the research. Accordingly, the research sample is as follows:

**Table (1): The statistical universe**

| expertise | queue administrative<br>(local authorities) | macro-<br>administrative | Strategic | Level                   |        |
|-----------|---|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|--------|
|           |   |                          |           | realm                   | number |
| 7         | 8   | 7                        | 3         | Socio-cultural          | 1      |
| 1         | 4   | 2                        | 2         | Scientific- educational | 2      |
| -         | -   | -                        | 4         | Legislative             | 3      |
| -         | -   | -                        | 13        | Academic                | 4      |
| -         | -   | -                        | 7         | Ethnical experts        | 5      |

In this paper, semi-structural interview was used. Of course regarding the positive impacts of group interview such as low cost and high level of information, environment of participants to answer the questions, helping them to remember events, and helping them to get to answers better than answers given by a single interviewee (Flik, 1387: 213), some interviews were held in collective form. It should be noted that, in this research, by elite panel we do not mean Delphi method, rather we mean a collective interview for cooperation in the direction of interviewing. What is of importance in qualitative interview method is data analysis. In this method the researcher follows similarities and differences existing in data and tries to extract some patterns. Of course searching to find these patterns is completely systematic (Seyyedamami, 1386: 308). Findings obtained from interviews were achieved through searching for common issues among interview data.

#### **4. Research findings**

##### **1.4. Ethnical diversity problem finding in the Islamic Republic of Iran (problem definition)**

The starting point in all policy making approaches is problem definition. If a problem is not well-defined, policy making will face strategic mistakes. As William Dunn believes, the greatest mistake of policy makers is solving the mistaken problem, and this, has more harmful impact comparing with inaccurate solving of a correct problem (Dunn, 2012: 68). The issue of ethnical diversity has been considered from different aspects and each approach has represented a specific definition of the ethnical diversity problem in Iran according to its ideological base. The most important definitions given on this issue are as follows:

a) Ethnical diversity in Iran as the problem of nationalities or minorities

Here, ethnicity has been thought of as equivalent of nationality or minority as two separate issues. The root of these two perspectives can

be on one side in leftist and Marxist approaches and on the other side in universal generalizations by studies conducted on ethnical problems in Western countries about Middle-Eastern societies and specifically about Iran. In this perspective, as Iranian tribes are considered as nationality or minority, rules and principles controlling over societies with different nationalities or minorities dominate the ethnical diversity in Iran. From these two viewpoints the most silent factor of deprivation and backwardness of nations is ethnical discrimination exerted by governments. In this direction, ethnical distinctions impact on the degree of ethnical discrimination, that is, the more social and cultural differences such as in language and religion between governments and nations, the more discriminating will be the governments' policy toward them. In fact, toward nations some kind of systematic discrimination is administrated because of their being in minority, and what is dominant on governmental policy is national oppression.

b) Ethnical diversity in Iran as a threat to national security

Here, ethnical diversity in Iran is considered as one of the most important security, economic and social challenges of the country with the capacity of creating a severe crisis to the security of the country. The reasoning of this approach historically returns to the emergence of ethnical crises during the time of Pahlavi and first years of Islamic Republic of Iran's revolution victory. Regarding this issue, several factors have been involved so that ethnical diversity is considered as a serious threat to the security of the country. Factors such as existence of different tribes in the other side of borders, and disagreement between ethnical identity and national identity in Iran are the most important factors of threat resulting from ethnical diversity in Iran. Individuals and groups of extremist nationalism are among inclinations that consider ethnical diversity in Iran as a threat to Iranian nationalism and in some cases as the negation of the existence of ethnicity in Iran.

c) Weakness of national solidarity as the ethnical diversity problem in Iran

From this viewpoint, ethnical diversity in Iran is not considered as a threat, rather the most important feature of this issue is weakness in intimacy, harmony, and social and cultural solidarity among different nations and with the government. Here, individuals are faithful to their own values and ethnical norms. In fact they prefer their own ethnical interests and profits comparing to national and common profits. This process, if continued, can lead to emergence of violent ethnical crises (Hajiani, 1380).

d) Ethnical diversity in Iran as opportunities and capacities

This perspective has been taken from the spirit dominating on the Islamic approach, leaders of the Islamic Revolution and higher-rank documents toward ethnical diversity in Iran. From this viewpoint, ethnical diversity in Iran is considered as an opportunity and a capacity that is able to prepare the possibility of employing ethnical diversity to achieve goals of the Islamic Republic system in addition to producing security and elimination of threats and weakness in national solidarity. The state of being an opportunity and a capacity by ethnical diversity in Iran can be evaluated in three local, national, and trans-national levels. Of course two groups of factors impact on these opportunities and capacities. First are factors that prepare the grounds of florescence and reinforcement of opportunities and capacities coming from ethnical diversity. Second are factors that in addition to damaging capacities and opportunities, can prepare grounds for emergence of conflicts and tribe-based movements and change ethnical diversity to a harm, and if intensified, become a threat. In fact, this perspective doesn't consider ethnical diversity as denying an existing reality in Iran such as the possibility of weakness of national solidarity, rather, it is considered as a reality in Iran which plans should be prepared for its complete realization by the Islamic Republic system. In other words, ethnical diversity should be paid

attention opportunistically so that not only it cannot be a threat, but also it becomes a capacity for the country to employ it in order to achieve its goals. And it is not possible unless a forward approach is taken so that through it ,threats and damages can be eliminated and planning for achievement of major goals of the Islamic Republic system is accomplished instead of taking defensive approach toward problems and threats.

#### **2.4. Perspectives and goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran to make policies to manage ethnical diversity**

In this paper, regarding the value system dominating on the Islamic Republic system and the Iranian society, ideas and recommendations of leaders of system and high-rank documents taken from Islam religion, clear perspectives and goals have been represented for policy making about ethnical diversity in Iran. Here, these perspectives and goals will be represented. Goals and perspectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran relative to the realm of Iranian nations are close to its similar perspectives and goals specifically related to identity and cultural realms. On the other hand, since policy making in the realm of ethnical diversity is part of Iran's substantial policy, consequently it is necessary to point to some of its substantial policies such as 20-year plan and the constitutional law in order to determine perspectives and goals using its policy making. All perspectives and goals in social and cultural realms have been extracted from Iran's substantial policies in different realms. In the Islamic Republic of Iran religion is the real factor of solidarity in the society. This approach has received enough attention in our constitutional law as well. In fact, the constitutional law has represented an identity-related model on the basis of religion. In that model beside recognizing all kinds of identity such as social, ethnical, and religious identities, a greater and more important, trans-national identity has been put forward with the title of the Islamic Ommat. In fact, the Islamic Ommat or the Unique Ommat is a collection and a unit much larger than nation, being formed according

to common goals and aspirations of the Islamic world (supreme leader of the revolution, 1386/9/14). Nevertheless, in spite of national or ethnical nationalistic approaches that threaten other meager identities or significant identities, in the approach of the Islamic Ommat, ethnical diversity is considered as an ideal opportunity and every single individual supplements other individuals in the society and all members of the society help the development of the society (Asadi, 1393: 112-133). From the viewpoint of leaders of the Islamic revolution, this trans-national identity is so important that other identities are acceptable only to the extent that they are not in contrast with the Islamic identity (supreme leader of the revolution, 1368/4/22; 1373/12/11 cited by Asadi, 1393: 105-106). Therefore, based on the pattern of the Islamic Ommat identity, nationality and nationalism is sacred and respectable provided that it doesn't lead to hatred and negation of other nations (supreme leader of the revolution, 1380/8/12, cited by Asadi, 1393: 114). Totally, it can be claimed that the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the realm of identity is the realization of the Unique Ommat. Of course beside this identity, national identity and national solidarity also are important. In high-rank documents what is important is the relation of national identity to sub-national identities. For this reason, being in the situation that sub-national identities, and specifically religious and ethnical identities for the members of a society not only are not in contrast with national identity but also reinforce and support it, is of high importance. In other words, giving priority to national identity in comparison to other identities should be considered in the process of policy making. Accordingly, consolidation of solidarity and national unity, support of the Iranian-Islamic identity and culture, and national identity components (Iranian, Islamic, revolutionary) have been considered as the final goal of high-rank documents. In other words, the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding this issue is to consolidate national unity and to train members of the society according to three

Iranian, Islamic and revolutionary components. Of course, it should be noticed that emphasis on the Unique Ommat and national identity doesn't mean non-attention to the issue of ethnical and religious identity by the Islamic Republic of Iran, rather, it means to reinforce the ethnical and cultural and religious identity as well as consideration of strengthening and protecting national identity. Therefore, if the process of policy making leads to ignorance, weakening, or elimination of culture and ethnical-religious identity, it is not in the direction of goals and perspectives of the Islamic Republic. Meanwhile, reinforcement of culture and ethnical identity should lead to the centrality of Iranian nations among similar ones on the other side of borders from cultural point of view and the possibility of playing role at national and transnational levels. Maximum realization of social justice and legitimate freedom, development, deepening of cooperative spirit, participation and social compatibility, solidarity between people and governments, virtuous society, responsive and committed to the revolution and the Islamic system and florescence of Iran, are all among perspectives and goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran for policy making about ethnical diversity in cultural and social realms.

### **3.4. Planning of management of ethnical diversity policy**

#### **1.3.4. Pathology existing policies of ethnical diversity**

One of the main steps in order to choose appropriate policy and represent it to manage ethnical diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran is the pathology of existing policies in this realm. This can help us to choose the most suitable one in this realm in addition to identifying inappropriate policies for management of ethnical diversity.

#### **1.1.3.4. Impairments related to the realm of problem identification and approaches**

a) Reductionist analysis of ethnical diversity issue: This approach limits the issue to a single subject through a reductionist analysis and represents a policy based on it. For example if we become limited to the problem of livelihood in the realm of ethnical diversity in Iran, then undoubtedly the suggested policy will be related to social and economic services. In other words, this approach does not believe in any inherent value to the subject of ethnical diversity, and considers it as a secondary problem and consequently assigns its solution to the solution of greater issues.

b) One-dimensional look at the issue of ethnical diversity: Contrary to the above analysis, this analysis believes in an inherent and independent value for ethnical diversity, but has a single-dimensional approach (for example merely cultural or security approach), while the issue of ethnical diversity has several dimensions and ignorance toward any of those dimensions not only doesn't lead to solving the problem, but also it may intensify the crisis. Of course it is necessary to mention that this paper, for the reason of some limitations, investigates only socio-cultural realms of the problem.

#### **2.1.3.4. Impairments related to policy making realm**

There are some impairments in the realm of policy making also, so in order to achieve a rational and accurate policy, those impairments should be identified and avoided.

a) paying little or no attention to role of people in the process of policy making

b) Linear look at the issue of nation making: if no attention is paid to the existing realities of the Iranian society during the process of nation making, the obtained pattern cannot be the factor of national solidarity, rather, it becomes the factor of conflict between national identity and sub-cultural identities. We could see the example of this conflict during the time of Pahlavi.

c) Lack of a comprehensive theory and definition of national identity and solidarity: This impairment is somehow in relation to the above-mentioned one, but it is different from it in that it has been accepted in the realm of sub-national identities subject. This impairment is due to attention to this matter that because of lack of a comprehensive definition of national identity, the place and share of sub-national identities have not been well assigned within national identity.

d) Separation of some resolutions from existing realities: One of the common impairments of policy making is mental policy making. Ethnical diversity realm policy making also cannot be an exception, In fact, mentality of policy making and being away from existing realities can be more serious in it.

e) Positive experiences of countries with ethnical diversity in socio-cultural realm

Different countries face the issue of ethnical diversity. Every country attempts to make policies to manage this problem according to its thinking basis and the structure of that diversity. Regarding that the problem of ethnical diversity has some common features across all different countries, employment of their experiences, beside considering bases of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the characteristics of ethnical diversity in Iran, is necessary and helpful. Therefore, in this part, it will be tried to recite the experiences of some countries in order to employ them to manage ethnical diversity in Iran<sup>1</sup>. It should be noticed that these experiences have been extracted within two realms considered by the present paper.

✓ Acceptance of cultural diversity and protection of diverse cultures:

In the above-mentioned countries, acceptance of cultural diversity is considered as the main principle. Acceptance of this policy has helpful impactions on administrative realm. Some of them include: education of multi-cultural subject in schools and universities in order to achieve cultural and religious tolerance through different ways such as putting some items from the history of different nations and their

culture in text books of schools emphasizing on the supervision of governments on educational contents, public training to achieve mutual insight, familiarity with other cultures, strengthening of tolerance spirit, eliminating of fanatical orientations and as a result, weakening of the feeling of alienation, and training of managers and employees specifically those who have more relations with people such as the police.

✓ Preventing different identities from predominating national identity:

This prevention should be conducted in different realms, for example in the realm of education, contents and educational method are chosen in such a way that ethnical diversity doesn't bring any damage to national identity.

✓ Management of ethnical societies in order to prevent them from becoming closed societies:

In some countries they try to prevent from reproduction of backwardness through separating residency place of ethnical, lingual and racial groups such as Negroes, Indians, and Hispanics. Activeness of society and prevention from closeness of ethnical society has further influences also, such as decrease in ethnical, and religious sensitivity and increase in tolerance within the society.

✓ Management of migration through enactment of restricting laws to control the process of migration by controlling systems such as the police.

✓ Positive discrimination for certain groups:

Some researchers believe that this policy is not suitable for some realms because it changes the issues of ethnicity and religion to political, problems.

✓ Preventing attempts and policies specifically positive discrimination for places with ethnical diversity from turning toward harmful orientations:

In giving advantages to some regions and even unaware classes of people, they shouldn't make this mistake that remaining in such a situation (specific and distinguished from others) is useful for them.

✓ Planned and gradual attempt in order to change the status of ethnical, religious and lingual groups to improve the mentality of the society toward them instead of a rapid attempt.

#### **2.3.4. Policy suggested by the Islamic Republic of Iran in socio-cultural realm for the management of ethnical diversity**

Regarding the Islamic approach, leaders of the revolution, and high-rank documents, the existing policies in Iran, and ideal experiences of other countries with ethnical diversity, beside the pathology of policies and experiences of elites and experts in the realm of ethnicity, the following policies can be suggested for the management of ethnical diversity:

a) Necessity of producing of discourse and promoting of the discourse of the system in the realm of ethnical diversity both, inside and outside the country through the following ways:

✓ Making discourse on national identity and ethnical identity based on theoretical basis of, the Islamic Republic of Iran:

If an appropriate discourse is not made for national and ethnical identities in Iran, then inappropriate discourses will dominate this realm and mislead the society from its right path.

✓ Planning in order for cultural discourse domination in places with ethnical diversity such as cultural Kurdistan:

Because of lower costs and higher benefits comparing to other conventional methods of producing security, cultural discourse should be dominating discourse. In fact, this policy is a feature of opportunistic approach toward the realm of ethnicity, but it does not mean to ignore other realms of security making.

✓ Making cultural references and centers in borderline regions comparing with the regions on the other side of the border:

Most tribes living on the other side of the borders have a historical or emotional interest toward Iran. Cultural capacity of Iranian tribes emphasizes on the necessity of planning for centrality of Iran in cultural realm among similar nations in the region regarding cultural content and outstanding elements. If this opportunity is lost, the peripheral regions such as Kurdistan or Turkey will take its advantage.

b) Paying enough attention to the situation of media in policy making for management of ethnical diversity through the following ways: Media competition appropriate to other active media in ethnical realm of Iran employing capacities and advantages of different languages and dialects in universal media.

Several media are active in ethnical realm in Iran. For example Turk Sat satellite has more than 200 networks in Turkish language, and 36 Kurdish media also broadcast their programs in this realm. These are in a status that none of them are as powerful as the rival, and hostile media regarding quality and quantity of their programs. Planning is necessary to employ the capacity of different nations specifically in the realm of language and dialect as a relative advantage of Iran in order to strengthen media programs and promote the cultural realm in the region. In other words, competition of the Islamic Republic in ethnical realm should be appropriate to the level and quality of rival or hostile media so that it can manage the internal realm and play its role at transnational level.

✓ Planning a comprehensive, intelligent, and quick media policy for changing situations:

Regarding the emergence of several internal and external events, the ethnical realm of the country is in need of specific attention in media realm. Regarding different dimensions of the subject of ethnicity in Iran and outside Iran, complicated planning of rival media, and the high speed of changing and situations, it is necessary to take steps toward planning a comprehensive, smart and quick policy in the

realm of media. For example, Kurdish evolutions in Iraq should be covered by our internal media in such a way that the interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran are preserved. This policy is somehow the supplementary of the policy of media competition.

✓ Planning of media presence of regions with ethnical at diversity at national and transnational levels:

Media presence means that capacities of regions with ethnical diversity often being unknown should be introduced through media language in different forms such as making documented films about touristic attractions of those regions or introduction of Moslem Kurdish people in the framework of movies or allocating some part of nationwide news to changes and issues related to those regions. In other words, those regions should be seen through media. In this regard it can be said that Iranian nations are considered as capacities of the Islamic Republic of Iran, while the Islamic Republic of Iran also is considered as capacities of Iranian nations to represent themselves at national and transnational levels.

c) Paying attention to management of public opinion in regions with ethnical diversity and all members of the society through the following:

✓ Giving enough information about services given by the Islamic Republic to listeners in those regions through safe and desensitizing methods to eliminate the feeling of discrimination:

The feeling of discrimination and deprivation is more harmful than actual discrimination and deprivation. Paying attention to mental problems is of high importance in this regard. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran has non-discriminatorily represented some services to different regions of the country, but for some reasons, some regions are enjoying those services less than other parts. In order to eliminate any feeling of discrimination in this regard, management of public opinion with the centrality of giving correct information on governmental service in regions with ethnical diversity seems to be

necessary. Undoubtedly management of public opinion should not lead to any reaction in the target society, rather it should be away from any sensitivity.

✓ Correct representation of real characteristics of nations in the society:

What have been represented about some nations in the society have not been their real and positive qualities for some reasons. In order to achieve foreseen goals and perspectives for management of ethnical diversity, it is necessary to correct this depicting about those nations so that society members do not respond based on their mental orientations and prejudice. Some ethnicity-base crises have roots in negative prejudices and mentalities of society members.

Making patterns from among national convergent groups in the nations such as clergymen, martyrs, scientists and academicians and introducing them at local, national, and transnational levels and elimination of making false heroes. One of the methods to strengthen national consistency is representation of patterns from among nations at different levels. This opportunity is misused by some countries and ethical separationist groups. In addition to introducing patterns inconsistent with the Islamic Republic of Iran as the patterns of Iranian nations, they seize neutral features of nations and somehow make destructive patterns from them. Therefore, beside being a factor to strengthen national consistency among nations guiding them to accept Iranian groups' centrality, this capacity can be very harmful to the ethnicity realm of the Islamic Republic of Iran if not appropriately managed.

✓ Highlighting of positive points and self-devotion of nations to protect and defend their country's territorial integrity in different time frames:

In the contemporary history of Iran; Iranian nations have played roles in defending their country against enemies shoulder to shoulder with other members of the society. Highlighting of this role can be

effective in strengthening the feeling of national consistency, among Iranian nations. Meanwhile, this policy can be useful to represent real picture of those nations in the society.

✓ Management of social networks and cyberspace as the ground for the activity of ethnical groups and guiding them according to strategies of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

Among the effective instruments for ethnical groups' activity are social media. The high volume of presence of these groups in network media indicates the necessity of paying specific attention to planning for management of them in the direction of strategies and interests of the Islamic Republic

d) Planning infrastructural and cultural protection actions through the following ways:

✓ Planning to culturally strengthen borderline regions and necessary planning to prepare security for every individual against cultural, ideological and political infiltration of the enemy and extremist groups. Different regions with ethnical diversity are always exposed to cultural invasion by enemies. The degree of those ethnical groups' vulnerability is high because they are of different cultural and social groups. All individuals living in those regions as Iranian citizens must be protected against those invasions. Therefore, in addition to providing them with safety against cultural invasions by promoting cultural standards, the Islamic Republic of Iran prepares grounds to employ their capacity of eliminating cultural invasions.

✓ Planning to protect different nations' culture and dialects of Iranian nations in national culture Iranians:

Regarding ethnical diversity characteristics in Iran and the situation of culture, language and dialects of Iranian nations in Iranian national culture, if any damage is put to their culture, the national culture also will suffer. Therefore, protection of culture, language and dialects of them is in fact the protection of national culture. In this direction the

mission of Farsi language and literature academy can be started to protect language and literature of Iranian nations.

✓ Respect to dignitaries and influential individuals of regions with ethnical diversity and establishment of durable relationship with them:

Dignitaries of every nation have high capacity of making relationships with nations in addition to being part of their values, therefore offending them can lead to serious reactions. Experience shows that making relationship with dignitaries of nations can play effective roles in producing security and prevent small events from changing to serious security problems in those regions.

✓ Establishing balance in effectiveness of social reference groups in regions with ethnical diversity (balancing the social power pyramid):

Some factors have been effective in disturbance of balance in reference groups in regions with ethnical diversity in the past. Regarding that each of reference groups have the ability to mobilize a part of the society, it is necessary for every social pyramid power to be balanced and reference groups to be prevented from being eliminated by other groups.

✓ Planning to increase social mobilization in the society and to increase social communication and cultural exchange among nations and other social groups:

One of the factors of tendency of individuals living in regions with ethnical diversity toward their own place of living is shortage of social mobility and cultural relations among them and other regions of the country. Some ethnical elites also believe that limitation of individuals to their geographical region of living leads to their less development.

✓ Management of migrations across the country in order to preserve the population all over the country and protect from suburbanization around megacities:

Although increase of social mobility is essential, some migrations from regions with ethnical diversity are harmful due to some factors such as droughts and dust. Depopulation of cities and regions

specifically in borderline regions can act as security problems to the country. On the other hand some try to accuse the Islamic Republic of Iran of changing the combination of population in regions with combinative population like what happened in Khordad, 1384, through a fake letter attributed to the presidency office assistant. Here also, when it is spoken about territorial logistics and macro-management of migration, it is naturally on the basis of the Islamic Republic's policies and strategies. Meanwhile, due to destructive effects of suburbanization, depopulation of many regions in the country and their security results, and increase in ethnical sensitivities in those regions, this kind of management becomes necessary. For example, half of the population in Ahvaz live in margins and this unfortunate phenomenon puts very unpleasant effects in those regions.

e) Accurate assigning of individuals' and elites' duties in regions with ethnical diversity toward the political system and the society and planning to increase the feeling of national commitment among individuals.

In the process of policy making by the Islamic Republic of Iran, the issue of duties and rights should receive more attention. It means that if people have rights and it is the duty of government to provide them, then people also are supposed to have, some obligations toward government. But people are not expected to do their duties unless the duties of individuals and elites are exactly defined. On the other hand, mere awareness of people of their obligations is not enough; rather, it is necessary to create some kind of commitment toward the country in nations. It must be mentioned that social responsibility is as important as responsibility toward the political system.

f) Cultivation for acceptance of responsibility by all individuals and elites toward the political system specifically through educational system and comprehensive media.

### **Conclusion**

Policy making for management of ethnical diversity has several dimensions and in order to achieve to policy ,first of all, the problem should be accurately defined. Definition of the problem of ethnical diversity indicates the approaches policy making. Regarding the definition of the problem in this paper, regarding that the issue of ethnical diversity is an ideal opportunity and capacity, the approach of policy making also is opportunity-based and cultural. This approach is seriously supported by the supreme leader of the revolution and high-rank documents. As an example, the supreme leader of the revolution says "Don't forget that cultural problem is very important. All issues on one side and culture issue on the other side... For example, suppose that beside so many military and constructive actions in Kurdistan, if you had accomplished a few cultural actions, a better result would have been resulted"(the supreme leader in the meeting of Indigents Institution, 1369/7/24). It should be noted that policy making should be comprehensive, but due to limitation of this paper, we investigated only the cultural and social realms. Totally, it seems that ethnical diversity is not a problem by itself, but several factors cause it to become an effective problem. Therefore, the bases and dimensions of policy making about ethnical diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran are different regarding the experiences of other countries and this difference should be paid attention while making policy.

**Note:**

1. Different countries' experiences on ethnical diversity was obtained from the following resources:

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## سیاست‌های فرهنگی-اجتماعی برای مدیریت تنوع قومی در جمهوری اسلامی ایران

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### چکیده

تنوع قومی پدیده‌ای فراگیر در جهان است و تنها چند کشور جهان تک‌قومی به معنای دقیق کلمه به شمار می‌آیند. هر کشور از یکسو بر اساس اهداف و رویکردهای نظام سیاسی حاکم بر آن و از سوی دیگر الگوی تنوع قومی خاصی که در آن وجود دارد اقدام به طراحی سیاست برای مدیریت تنوع قومی خود کرده است. جمهوری اسلامی ایران نیز یکی از کشورهایی است که دارای تنوع قومی است و باید بر اساس نوع نگاه نظام سیاسی‌اش به مقوله تنوع قومی و با عنایت به ویژگی‌های این تنوع اقدام به سیاست‌گذاری نماید. در این مقاله تلاش شده است با توجه به رویکرد فرصت‌محور جمهوری اسلامی ایران به تنوع قومی، ضمن بهره‌گیری از تجربیات مثبت سایر کشورهای دارای تنوع قومی، اهداف و چشم‌اندازهای سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی با استناد به سخنان رهبران انقلاب و اسناد بالادستی استخراج و سپس برخی سیاست‌های فرهنگی و اجتماعی برای مدیریت تنوع قومی در ایران پیشنهاد شود. روش تحقیق در این پژوهش ترکیبی از روش‌های اسنادی، بررسی منابع و پژوهش‌های موجود، تشکیل پنل نخبگانی، مصاحبه با نخبگان بوده است. همچنین در فرآیند سیاست‌گذاری از مدل سیاست‌گذاری عمومی بروس اسمیت استفاده شده است.

### واژگان کلیدی:

سیاست‌گذاری، سیاست فرهنگی، سیاست اجتماعی، تنوع قومی، جمهوری اسلامی ایران

