The civil claims movement in Iran

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Abstract: Development process after Iran and Iraq war wasn't balanced and it had a caricaturized mode. On the other hand, the middle class especially university graduates increased day by day that the political sovereignty wasn't aware from it. As this new generation needed the social base especially the social status and subsequently a stream of the hidden perverse were getting fat in the shadow of bureaucracy. Following the relative deprivation between the middle class and elites of society culminated that at first its consequences caused doubt about the legitimate religious building sources of the political sovereignty and was crystallized in mentality of the new generation. In addition to, this new generation caused by the negative attitude about the Islamic revolution ideals an after 20 years from the Islamic revolution of Iran, they chose Khatami the pragmatic and reformist candidate in election of president in 1989 with the most high despite the political sovereignty (principles oriented) and wanted own civil claims codified in constitution. Regarding to the severe limitations against Khatami during the eight-year presidency, performing the reforms within constitution wasn't very successful, but it increased the political development in society, so it caused despair of the middle class and educated spectrum and elites of society. So reform thought didn't loss but was hidden in the social bottom layer. Then it appeared with excuse to cheat in election of president in 12 June 2009 and wanted own civil claims within green movement with more experience. More importantly, this movement wasn't based on the charismatic leadership, because they connected to flow of knowledge in the modern world using the information technology (IT). Its members are often citizens of the virtual environments such as internet and other media that they have the political discourse via it. Beginning pro-democracy movements in the Middle East area and North Africa in 2011 indicates the role of the modern media and the cyber environments in forming today movements. So it is used in the civil claims movements of Iran in order to decrease the campaign spends and avoiding violence resorting to the dichotomy culture as a campaign tactic against the political sovereignty i.e. it used being secular the religious and idealistic mottos used in the draft of Islamic revolution of Iran (1979) in order to speed to movement and falling in box of the political system especially creating doubt in rule followers. But according to the experience of Islamic revolution, there is no rush in achieving the victory and the political system change, because it wants the secularism discourse extends in all social aspects of Iran in order to perfect the constitutional revolution project that was unfinished. However today the civil claims movement process is performing in the accordion shape in the disobedience field and follows the sudden rise and getting the golden opportunities to perform own goals. Lack of consensus between the traditional opposition and the new generation prevents forming the political discourse in process of the political relations with rule.

1. Introduction

It is crucial that in beginning of 21 century, the political and social movements are interested to reach own wills away from violence and the financial and human costs and especially they aren't affected by the revolutionary romanticism like the political movements. Especially they aren't so dependent on the charismatic leadership because of information technology (IT) development. So a kind of the relative rationalism is extending on 21 century movements and it is from speed of knowledge between the social sections that indicates the civil rises development in today world that more than anything wants elements such as regarding human rights, secularism, democracy, justice and the intellectual freedom. So the shadow of such thoughts has developed on movements of developing countries. Different hypothesis and theories have been mooted about appearing movements. One of the movements appearing reasons is conflict in coexistence of value systems of groups together or being escape from margin. **1-** But the most suitable social environment to crystallize mass movements is societies that they have experienced the special solidarity and correlation that it has been weakened for some reasons and has been broken out. **2-** No doubt, movement needs promising motive between supporters and sympathetic to have dynamics and identity in order to use investment resources in several fields especially deciding. **3-** Also a special devil proportionate to movement nature will appear that has an important role in creating and quality of movement and will cause the versatility and

identity in movement. In addition to, the collective memory of movement will be for movement by its leaders and actors. So this subject helps identity and making native of the movement, so that people feel the closeness with movement. However we must not ignore effects of other movements especially the international and world movements to the native and religious ones. The women rise in developing countries indicates their effectiveness from world feminism movements. Generally, mass movements in the beginning of formation begin from an active and protester minority that their thought generality is a reaction from majority views in the first step. But they want to attract more followers by presenting the superior society promises and stimulating the feelings. So people are dazed with success hope and tend to movement fanatically that they will find self-confidence in this field. In the hopeless and disillusioned societies, the promising movement goals, a kind of dogmatism look is prevalent among followers and such environment will cause to remedy the personality losses and shortages of supporters. Naturally, a kind of affection is created to movement from supports and the holy ideals become permanent for movement gradually that will cause to be bold and brave the followers. At first, if they don't conclude from different ways in the political fight, they enter in the armed fight having no alternative. **4-** It is possible that movement is located in direction of revolution with such hypothesis. In view of Herbert Bluemer (1951) the life cycle of the social movements has four stages:

The first stage: The social excitement, non-organized and non-centralized riot.

The second stage: The collective excitation that clears up the basic reasons of dissatisfaction and rise goals.

The third stage: Becoming formal that goals and strategies of movement appear in partnership and harmony of members.

The fourth stage: Becoming institutionalized i.e. movement will change to a social body schema.
The fifth stage: Movements are falling and rising in own movement direction i.e. they are often oscillating and it is possible that be hidden in long-term and they proceed to own mental and organizational restoration from within. Even it is possible that change own strategies making more balance their goals. Of course this subject returns to era that the movement be institutionalized or well-organized. Because becoming institutionalized or versatility of movement are from of the most difficult stages and movements have no

member, but they have partner. So organizing and versatility of movement isn't easy, but if it has versatility getting strengthened, its dissolution and invulnerability coefficient decrease. If a movement is changed to revolution and become victor, movement process will declined gradually. In view of Gust, a generation has a thirty-year lifetime that is divided to two sections: In its first half almost revolutionaries follow advertising and promoting own thoughts and views that they have revolted for it. But in the second section, a new generation will been created in shadow of revolutionist generation that it trained that new generation. But it hasn't motives and beliefs of the first generation or revolutionists i.e. the second generation was grown in such environment that is different with the first generation environment. So they aren't very interested to extremist views and values of the first revolution generation.

The six stages: Because they became more conservative because of having recognition from own fathers and they follow creating balance in the social life process. However some of these new generations follow the revolution ideals and values of the first generation. In view of Ted Robert Ger: When revolution happens that the great majority of society feels the pinch beyond tolerance, in the opinion of some thinkers the meaning of pinch is the relative deprivation i.e. when people main needs such as freedom and security aren't met, they are in pinch or the relative deprivation and became disillusioned. This subject is from that not only wishes of society according its attempt haven't been met, but also it has been changed to despair. However despair is tolerable, but people don't tolerate the relative deprivation. The relative deprivation as the most important reason of rises and riots is defined and estimated according to difference between value expectations of people and value abilities of them and value abilities. The value expectations are goods and conditions of life and the rights of people. But value abilities are in order to reach those goods and conditions. As people think that if they had the necessary tools, they could reach what they consider in reasonable range. Of course, this relative deprivation feeling is related to mentality and the cultural and anthropology conditions of a society people. Because it is possible that in view of a objective observer his considered society that feels the relative deprivation, hasn't the relative deprivation. For example an Afghan that has escaped to Iran perforce for the civil wars and insecurity and is working, the relative deprivation has no meaning for him, but an Iranian that believe that his country has the great resources of oil. Gas and so on, he always expects that live like developed countries and this subject is from the social, civilization and so on

knowledge that will set expectations of any nation proportional to the existing facilities in his country. So Ted Robert Ger has divided the social deprivations to three main branches in order to clear up this subject.

1- Descending deprivation: The most common of it is in the traditional societies, because when the sections of this society are in transition, value expectations of individual or group are relatively constant. Against of it, there is this notion that value abilities are decreasing.

2- Ideal deprivation: It is from ambitions i.e. while the abilities are constant, but expectation of individual and group is increasing according to wishes.

3- Progressive deprivation: Abilities are decreasing with increasing expectations of individual or group. James Coleman considers despair, deprivation, the social crisis and no radical as driving factors of riots appearance. For example, who couldn't find their place in life such as university graduates or war veterans that have tolerated many sufferings being unpopular, so if change conditions are provided in shadow of an advertisement, they will change own religion and counter against the relative rule. Because self-alienation is a precondition to doubt and accepting the new religion that always happens in a highly emotional environment. Studies about this subject have indicated that there is a relation between dissatisfaction of self and credulity that finally follows tendency to escape from real self especially those people haven't a good relation with the rational affairs and affected mainly by the emotional environments. Even when they are arrested by police and the security forces during struggle will resist hardly against tortures pressure, because they have member in the collection of fighters or movement that presents identity to their personality. Especially not only the hate that it is raising in own mind and heart to own enemies will cause solidarity and consolidation of campaign movement, but also it makes it more resistant against campaign difficulties, because the meaning of hate unites the most heterogeneous people. How hate is greater and more complex, the total militants act mutually more coherent and strong, so we recognize nature of movement via its enemy quality, because movement members distribute hate among others without any stinginess modestly. Hate is able to present meaning and hope to the disappointed and disillusioned lives, but conversely according to Hofer: We don't search an alien for ourselves when we fall in love. Undoubtedly, we consider people that look at our love as a rival or aggressive, but when we hate, we search always a partner. There is a relation between aggression and hate quality. How hate increases, aggression will conduct to violence. In

addition to, if people are located in the higher position in the social stratification and in one dimension and be in low position in another dimension, their tendency to aggression for a higher position is crystallized. From this way, aggression way from movements is related to the level of movement members in terms of class i.e. emotions appearance of weak classes is further and faster than another classes and role of leader especially in its charismatic form is very effective on movement solidarity, because often in the lower class of society, the patriarchal culture and hierarchical are common that has root in family education. Weakness and disability feeling especially distrust in underclass of society cause that member of this society class see own around inimically. However this society class needs mainly security not promoting position. So they often refuge to charismatic and mythological leaders. The social mobility is one of the formation fields of the social movements and even the great revolutions i.e. for some reason a range of community meets a class displacement. For example the villagers that migrate to the great cities for the higher education consequently will a class displacement. Jino Germany in his studies about the social mobility outcomes notifies that: If the great section of society is educated and a wish for the higher level is excited in it without creating the sufficient jobs for the objective realization of this wish, dissatisfaction created by the existing distance between wishes and facilities is able to move revolution forces. So one of the most important factors of Islamic revolution (1979) in Iran is the social mobility i.e. farmers and villagers migration to the great cities borders especially Tehran caused that the class differences process in Iranian society despite of the economical development movement begun by the second Pahlavi train a kind of social inflammation in society. Yet, Islamic revolution of Iran was uprising of poor slums of the great cities, while the middle class and the central urban didn't attend in beginning of fight, but when they joined to revolution such as NIOC staff and so on increased revolution speed. But underclass of society undertook revolution costs that had regression power. In climax of Islamic revolution of Iran %50 people of Iran were illiterate. In 1998 after 20 years from revolution %20 people of country were illiterate yet. But suddenly in the second decade of revolution need to high education changed to a pressing need. The historical experience has indicated that the great movements and revolutions have root in elites. In other hand the rise thought is distributed from top (elites) to low in mass level. So the meaning that Slock has presented from the great social revolutions indicates that revolution spark from top has begun by elites, but it is conducted in the name of mass. But the middle class of society has closed to elites section in 21 century with existing of

information technology (IT) development and promoting the historical level, because we live in time that they expose to media and information change equally. It shows that today mass human is able to do the political action and deciding right was left to elites that mass have chosen them. Jose Artgani says: we are in comparison and equality era, when world continent is equal. So today mass are different with own past, the most important is that it has grown qualitatively. As they want to be dominated of elites. It is likely that with its growing it wants to displace the elites. Consequently this phenomenon has affected the social and political movements and caused movements find more dependence to leaders and elites. It seems that connective-media channels have created this ability in movements to be more rational and is less affected by revolutionary eagerness and idealism emotions than past. Almost such approach in the second half of 20 century in developed countries began that now extended in developing countries and it has caused that goals of movements be more modern and civil. Such process from 70 decade A.D. with famous movements such as environmental conservation, the feminist movement of women, anti0nuclear movement and so on indicate level growing of movements that want practically to share in human sufferings in all over the world mentioning always the power centralization and damages from it to worlds. The phenomenon that affected Iranian community could affect appearing fields of women movement. It is likely that women movement was the first civil and democratic movement after Islamic revolution that had affected other movements in terms of civil. So women power phenomenon in Iran has caused that the political rule considers this subject as the national security More important is that in today movement in developed and developing and democratic countries, university students play more effective role in the civil movements than past. As scholars flowing is always considered as tools of movements and revolutions, because that flowing acts in accordion form. If the conditions are ready, it is expanded in fight. If society environment be secure, it will be contracted and hidden. Against mess and humanism movements, today they aren't dependent on leadership and charismatic. The reform movement in 1998 was permanent in charge of students more than anything in shadow of the civil claims having the rational and modern nature more than student movements in past, as this reform movement cost the political rule dearly. As Ali Akbar Velayati the former minister of foreign affairs and leadership consultant considers reform process in Iran like reforms of Gorbachev in Soviet in a TV interview and mentioned that if reformists are employed, Iran Islamic rule will fall. Against it, Saeed Hajjarian (theorist of the second movement in May

and consultant of president Khatami), considers reformist within constitution and with help of some own reformist friends tried to explain to rule heads that the political system of country has located in the political obstruction, so they followed to remove the concerns of rule heads about the political development. So he clears up in a conversation: The second program nature of May is reform program and reformism not revolution, because we aren't successful with only haggling. 2May isn't successful in behind of closed doors and agreement and trade behind the curtain will lose own legality. We must press the political structure from down and on the other side, the political elites negotiate. Saeed Hajjarian was assassinated by pressure group in the end of 1999, but he wasn't killed and became hardly damaged and became spinal paralysis, because he believed that lack of democracy interpretation from jurisprudent guardian is from factors of lack of Iran community development after revolution and reasons that yet some of the royal structures before revolution are continuing. But this continuity form of the royal concepts before Islamic revolution today have found intrinsic value with the religious language and it threats Iran republic, of course such approach, wanted or unwanted, follows political movement. Because oligarchy is one of the main reasons of revolutions appearing for cruelty of rulers on mass people. In such political environment naturally a flowing of hidden perverse grows spontaneously that will ignore the social norms and laws via relation with ruling power. As their infractions don't be seen and if they are seen, few persons dare to fight with hidden perverse. This subject causes to create the objection movements and speeds the political change or revolution. Generally, in rules based on a charismatic leadership, the social environment is able to resist against the hardest crisis, but with death of charismatic leadership, consequently the next charismatic leader process will subside and society will meet a kind of charismatic crisis. So some believe that after death of Imam Khomeini, not only charismatic didn't transfer to his replacement in the real meaning, but also directorate of charismatic has changed to the traditional rules and bureaucratic. In spite of this, in today world conditions mass don't accept leadership like the past, because mass people of this time have become more rational than past and the most important fight tools of them are resorting to the human rights aspect, seeking peace, escape from violence and the civil wars. Today mass especially the middle class simply don't give own authority to leaders, because they know that what the leaders have is what that the followers have presented to them, because they naturally haven't charisma and leadership feature. Especially the information technology today is so developed that the followers

have less low self-esteem feeling. One of the factors creating charisma in leaders and rulers of societies is need and low self-esteem in society, because of that yet some movements and societies especially in non-democratic environments need leadership. Naturally, if people are in comfort and peace, leaders and rulers will be their followers and in these societies, they try to understand that where do their people go in order to lead them in way that people have considered it? It seems that after suppression of reformism and student movement in 2000. This democratic movement was hidden and nearly 10 years proceeded to own organizational, social and discourse rebuilding in the figurative environment of the modern media especially internet and according to the existing opportunity in election campaign in May 2010 avoided from election with cheating excuse and needless from charismatic leadership and revolutionary romanticism could collect another protester groups in a pragmatic environment following green movement. As the political rule calls it velvet revolution that the west spy services especially U.S.A affects in its appearance. More important that this civil claims movement because of being far from populist isn't interested to speed to own activities process, because it believes with revolution experience in 1979 that people must achieve a civil rationality through time in order to happen reforms and changes process logically away from extremist in an appropriate time. Because the extreme behaviours in the civil wars will cause to distance the public thoughts from protests, because the protester leaders follows drawing the attention and people support. Against that, the political rules want to intensify the society ideology in order to create a mythical beast to make worried people wanted or unwanted, so mass refuges to rule inevitably. Thus protesters using the religious relations especially utilizing the rituals with secularity view want to make more effective expressing the political protests with the religious mottos, because the symbolic resources and religion in Iran has been always a very important unifying factor. For example green color that has root in Shiite culture being attributable to Shiite Imams indicates utilization of the religious symbols in order to create unity. In the other side, it is a cover to be secular green movement against the anti-religious accusations to protestors. As all movements haven't the financial resources and the organizational structure, basically symbols maintain the social solidarity of movement. In addition to, in the religious society of Iran ignoring the religious beliefs of mass will cause no doubt to ignore the religion potential that has many effects between people. Symbols in addition to unify the protest movements have media feature. So when the nature of movements appeared, they should have the

environment features. In spite of the former movements in Iran, green movement showed that it isn't only for men, because the most important symbol and hero was a woman that was shot and killed and her death was recorded by mobile cameras of protesters in street and distributed in medias of all over of world. Overall, that event indicates women movement growth in different dimensions especially university education. In the other hand, the civil movement of women after Islamic revolution increased, as through time it could gradually impose own civil claims on the religious rule. Approving Ojratol mesl law in expediency assembly as the greatest power source after jurisprudent guardian indicate the prostrate growth of women movement in Iran. Approving this law turned the most important achievement of women protests i.e. if a man wants to divorce his wife, he is obliged to give half of his properties that has obtained during the life to her. In addition, authorities of women to men about divorce options increased. However the most important maturity of green movement especially civil nature is estimated for effects of women movement on green movement. It indicates that in spite of media attempts, Islamic rule of Iran to limit the women has had a reverse result. Today non-compliance of Islamic veil in Iran has more protest aspect that indicates the hidden learning of society against sending ideological and religious massages of dependant media to the political rule in Iran. Indeed, we can believe in a kind of learning in Iran that isn't informed and actor proceeds to record the stimuli without knowledge and information. So this kind of learning isn't clear, but it clears up itself in the next action during an activity. According to Alvin Toffler: In all TV programs and advertisements, in movies there is another level that we can call it unintentional content or understand it during an exact study. Faramarz Rafi Pour has excited some effects on own audiences during a study about the hidden learning in media connections process of some movies and TV series (IRIB organization). In the other hand, not only they have no proportion with Islamic revolution values of Iran and Shiite, but also its effects have had reverse results. In his view: With time, the years 1992 and onwards, TV series broadcasting of the state and official TV have walked to decrease the revolutionary values, religion and similar values and promote the materialistic values and inequality. While the external and apparent layers of cinema have emphasized on the revolutionary and religious values. In addition to, value changes in Iran from 1989 and onwards affected by goods advertisement. In the other side, if audience notices the main purpose of a media produced to affect own audiences, not only those audiences resist, but also they misunderstand with the media massages. So

we can say a kind of anti-culture will be created in mind of audiences i.e. they resist against advertisement massage or the mentioned ideological media. If such process is repeated by media constantly, according to anti-culture element in mind of audiences, they naturally will resist against considered media massages. In addition, they also will resist against the most state media and being unilateral especially for its outreach and also effects and induction of sender massage. So the new generation has a negative attitude to ideals and values of the first generation of Islamic revolution. Against that, the developed countries media that are sometimes opposite to Islamic rule of Iran, because of need to information have a positive and affirmative attitude and don't resist against its effects. Gramshi (1930) believe that when government don't act own promises, mass become active and so the political rule is weakened. So it will resort to violence in order to support itself. Because ruling ideology in society disappear in mass beliefs and isn't able to the social cohesion like past. One of the weakness factors in the political rule in Iran to people is that seminaries and clergy as the most important theoretical centre of Islamic rule of Iran, instead to inform mass is trustee of accepting religion by people. While after three decades from Islamic revolution, people that have participated in the constitutional referendum in beginning of revolution victory according to 1999 statistics are less than 10/000/000 persons. Today the majority of Iran population are youth. Mohsen Armin assistant of minister of culture and Islamic guidance in Khatami presidency says: Our officials were unaware from generation that was growing in the hidden layers and don't provide any facilities for them. The majority of this generation were trained by video (illegal media). A generation that don't met own past during the social and political action and revolution history. So she/he hasn't a historical memory about revolution, sacrifices and epics of Islamic revolution martyrs and also 8 years war. We after 10 years from revolution understood that we are in threshold of one complete historical and generation discontinuity. Anew generation has born and speaks such that we don't understand. So this generation has the negative reaction being divergent. She/he protests to what isn't her/his favour. In addition, she/he doesn't like edifying and is analysing and studying to affairs of government and what is related to. So Soroush (the religious intellectual philosopher) says: Wisdom analyses not edify. Affection edifies and so you see that affection is humiliated in liberalism unwanted. It seems that the civil claims movement called green movement created by the new generation in spite of the first generation of revolution doesn't edify having powerful connection aspects, because the virtual environment has structure and networking. So the active members of movement can connect with each other in networking form in the virtual-media environments in order to make rational the movement discourse at the time. It shows that the green movement has challenged the political rule in a like environment or a virtual Iran following cleverly using opportunities in order to perform its street protests (because of the severe repression from anti-riot police) in the governmental marches such as Quds day (the last Friday of Ramadan 2010) that the security forces and anti-riot aren't able to confront them. Green movement could almost distribute own goals and overview strategies in media world level in these marches with the pragmatic mottos via recorded images by citizens mobiles. For example such event happened in Ashura in Shiites mourning ceremony, but anti-riot forces and pressure groups suppressed it and someone were arrested and killed. That encounter against protesters caused to decrease the protests intensity apparently, because in the general belief of the new generation and the middle class, it can advance the civil claims movement with the lowest cost and bring the protest process in the virtual scenes of internet and independent media to Iran rule to create the new opportunity for street protests. There weren't street protests in long time significantly, but with recommendation of green movement leaders in supporting the democracy movement of Egypt people, protesters in the end of February 2011 using the democracy movement's opportunities in the Middle East and North Africa came to streets and wanted directly the political system change and their claims were more than past. In the other side, the temporary incubations of green movement are a field to strengthen own political discourse and following it try patiently to intensify flowing supporters of rule process via information. However we shouldn't ignore supports of Europe and U.S.A unions in human right form from green movement. Yet, the power of green movement in media nature is that its origin has matured in the virtual environment of the modern media, so green movement has two virtual and real identities. Basically, media nature of this movement, not only has decreased movement need to charismatic leadership, but also has made it away from the revolutionary romanticism environments. Because solidarity of movement members is formed in the virtual environments such as internet and these environments are the best place to hide in insecurity and danger conditions, but as soon as the suitable condition, they will appear and continue protest.

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