

Turkish Studies - Economics, Finance, Politics



eISSN: 2667-5625
Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

Iran's Foreign Policy Making Process' Affecting Factors and the Organizational Behaviour

Iran'ın Dış Politika Oluşturma Sürecini Etkileyen Faktörler ve Örgütsel Davranışlar

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Abstract: States determine their foreign policies at the end of making qualitative and quantitative evaluations on several factors from their historical processes to their geographical locations, from their political structure to their social values. This study combines concepts from analysis in political data and from organizational behavior better to understand variation in the organization-government interface in the example of Iran and its foreign policy making process. We argue that variances in organization-government relations across countries can be better understood by examining the institutions through which culture and government interact with certain attention to formal restraints such as rules that individuals develop and informal restraints—such as norms and culture of behavior. We also present that characteristics of the institutions involved in the interaction of organization and government can be better comprehended by observing how individuals are appealed to, selected by, and choose to stay as members of institutions. In the study, the factors affecting Iran's Foreign Policy were tried to be explained. Organizational behaviour is the academic study of the paths people act within groups. Its principles are implemented primarily in attempts to make businesses as well as states operate more effectively. Therefore, the Historical Process, Geopolitical Situation, Political Culture, Social Values, Ethnic Structure, Social Structure, and Petroleum Revenues, Public Opinion, Shiite Islamic Understanding were assumed to be independent variables in the analysis process of Iran's Foreign Policy and organization. These independent variables were tried to be analysed in the study by determining the Decision-Making Process and Dependent Variables in foreign policy analysis. While the study mentions that leadership is an important factor in Iran, the influence of religion on the leaders in power tried to be explained. The study states that religion and leadership are influential factors, especially in Iran's foreign policy.

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Cite as/ Attf: Mikail, E. H., Çora, H., Karabulut, A. (2020). Iran's foreign policy making process' affecting factors and the organizational behaviour. *Turkish Studies - Economy*, *15*(2), 875-884. https://dx.doi.org/10.29228/TurkishStudies.42956

Received/Geliş: 18 April/Nisan 2020Checked by plagiarism softwareAccepted/Kabul: 20 June/Haziran 2020Published/Yayın: 25 June/Haziran 2020Copyright © INTAC LTD, TurkeyCC BY-NC 4.0

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Structured Abstract: Certain factors are particularly influential in states' determining of their own policies. While Hans Morgenthau refers to "Elements of National Power" in this regard, many scientific research states that variables should be evaluated independently and objectively (Morgenthau, 1970: 285).

The fact is that Iran is a regional actor in the Middle East region and it has started to be accepted in the international system. Especially considering the historical experience of Iran, intervention of foreign states in the internal political system of Iran, heterogeneous population structure, Iran affects the foreign policy making process.

Power factors such as geographical location, physical military structure, military and economic opportunities, agricultural fields, political systems are the factors that determine the characteristics of the national power of the state (Morgenthau, 1970: 290). Academicians working on foreign policy analysis state that national characteristics and attitudes of decision makers have an impact on the country's foreign policy (Efegil, 2012: 54, Roskin, 2014: 240).

Historical Experience: Iran, which exists over the location of the Persian heritage, is an important trade route between the East and the West, and one of the links between the Middle East and Asia, has been conceived by the invasions in many respects. It has a long history in terms of civilization (Telhami and Bernelt, 2002: 111).

Geopolitical Status: Some parts of Iran, which is 1,200 meters above sea level and has a barren plateau, are free of precipitation and desert. Irrigation areas are a geography developed in historical time. It is in Southwest Asia. Caucasus, Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, Gulf of Oman, Turkey, Iraq and Turkmenistan are bordering.

Political Culture: Persian nationalism is rapidly increasing in Iran. Among the reasons for this situation, the imperial attitudes of Western countries have increased their feelings of nationalism in Iran. While having a Shiite tradition strengthens family ties, it tries to protect the perception of "homeland" with nationalism. The fact that Shiism affects and strengthens family ties makes the politician's family ties a reference.

Ethnic structure: 51% of Iranian population consists of Persian and 24% are Azeri Turks. The ethnic division of Iran causes Iran to feel that it will attempt to disintegrate by external forces. The late Ebulfeyz Elçibey defended the thesis that Southern Azerbaijan and Northern Azerbaijan will unite in the 1990s. Indeed, Turkmenistan, Iran to the east, the west of the Iraqi Turkmens, not the north, Turkey is concerned about Iran's possible Turkism against the current.

With the majority of Azerbaijan being Shiite and the partial majority of Iraqi Turkmen as Shiite, Iran carries out the measure against the Turkism movement within its borders by using the Shiite sect.

Social Structure and Oil Incomes: Iran derives most of its income from oil. Most of the income from oil is devoted to military spending. This situation affected bribery and unfair distribution in the region and strengthened the council of guards (Erisen, Kesgin and Efegil, 2013: 14).

Increasing military spending pushed Iran to the expectation of being a strong state in its geography. Also, the power of oil was not only economical. Attempts have been made to ally with countries such as Russia for oil.

Public opinion: The public in Iran has undeniable effectiveness due to the Shiite tradition. Because the Iranian society is open to political debate. However, since the aim of the Council of the Guard is to ensure the compliance of foreign policy decisions with the Iranian Constitution, it reduces the public impact on the policy.

The Shiite Conception of Islam: 89% of Iranian people are Shia. Based on the common denominator of the Shiite minority and the Shiite minorities in Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Gulf countries, Iran establishes close relations. Along with Khomeini, the Shia Islam understanding is an effective factor in the state administration and system. For this reason, the basis of Iranian political power has been the "velayet-i fakih" system by Khomeini. Fakih: Shia means religious scholar. The first and founding faqh is Khomeini (Efegil, 2012: 29).

Leadership and Foreign Policy Making Process: The President has the authority to determine and manage Iran's foreign policy. Presidency is the center of executive power. The national security council is

also under Presidential control. The National Security Council is the main body where foreign policy developments are discussed. The council has a representative of the religious leader. In this way, the Religious leader has the power to influence the foreign policy planning process. The deputy spokesperson acts as the secretary of the National Security Council. It also represents the religious leader in the Council.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports the foreign policy making process directly to the President. The President is the head of the Council of Ministers. The Iranian Parliament can influence the foreign policy making process through the Foreign Relations Committee.

Result: Iran is an influential actor in the Middle East geography. It is seen that the structure of the state has an effect on the foreign policy decision making process. It makes the regime strong in its domestic politics, especially since it is a theocratic state. In addition, the parliament is a strong institution in Iran; It has caused Iran to become a factor affecting its Foreign Policy. Iran's advisory board and intelligence service also have a significant impact on Iran's Foreign Policy. Because, while the Iranian National Security Council constitutes the foreign policy bureaucracy, the intelligence service has undertaken the task of obtaining and protecting information in the bureaucratic process. Bureaucratic institutions and political elections are effective in long term policies rather than short term strategies in Iranian foreign policies. Because the continuity of power of the political regime is provided by elections.

Since Iran has a heterogeneous population structure, this demographic structure is especially controlled by religion. In addition, the Shia sectarian approach is an important factor in implementing the long-term policy of Iran, the "Shiite Crescent Against the Artificial Gulf Countries in the Middle East" strategy. However, the Shia became an ideology rather than a sectarian approach, provided by the Iranian Public. The fact that Iranian Shia has become an ideology is another factor affecting Iran's Foreign Policy.

Keywords: International Organizations, International Relations, Iran's Foreign Policy, Iran's Political Elements, Iran's Policy-Making Elements, Iran's Foreign Affairs

Öz: Devletler dış politikalarını belirlerken kendi tarihsel süreçlerinden coğrafik konumlarına, siyasi yapısından toplumsal değerlerine kadar niteliksel ve niceliksel değerlendirme neticesinde belirler. Bu çalışma, İran örneğinde örgüt-hükümet arayüzündeki farklılığı ve dış politika yapım sürecini anlamak için siyasi verilerdeki analiz ve örgütsel davranış kavramlarını daha iyi bir araya getirmektedir. Ülkeler arasında örgüt-hükümet ilişkilerindeki farklılıkların, kültür ve hükümetin bireyler için tasarladığı kurallar ve davranış normları da dahil olmak üzere gayrı resmi kısıtlamalar gibi resmi kısıtlamalara özel dikkat göstererek etkilestiği kurumları inceleverek daha iyi anlasılabileceğini iddia ediyoruz. Ayrıca, kurum ve hükümet etkileşimi içinde yer alan kurumlara ait özelliklerin, bireylerin Iran'da devlete ait kurumlara nasıl ilgi duyduklarını, seçtiklerini inceleyerek güncel durumun daha iyi anlaşılabileceğini belirtiyoruz. Çalışmada İran'ın Dış Politikasını etkileyen faktörler açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Örgütsel davranış, insanların gruplar içinde hareket eden yollarının akademik çalışmasıdır. İlkeleri öncelikle işletmelerin ve devletlerin daha etkin çalışmasını sağlamak amacıyla uygulanmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda İran Dış Politikasının analiz sürecinde Tarihsel Süreç, Jeopolitik Durum, Siyasi Kültür, Toplumsal Değerler, Etnik Yapı, Sosyal Yapı ve Petrol Gelirleri, Kamu Oyu, Şii İslam Anlayışı ile örgütsel davranışı bağımsız değişkenler olarak kabul edilmiştir. Söz konusu bağımsız değişkenler dış politika analizinde Karar Verme Süreci ve Bağımlı Değişkenlerin belirlenmesi ile birlikte çalışmada analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışmada, İran devletinde liderliğin önemli bir faktör olduğuna değinilirken; dininde liderlerin iktidar konumunda etkisine değinilmeye çalışılmıştır. Özellikle İran dış politikasında da din ve liderlik etkili bir faktör olduğu çalışmada yer almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararasi Kuruluşlar, Uluslararasi İlişkiler, İran Dış Politikası, İran Siyasi Unsurları, İran Politika Unsurları, İran Dış İlişkileri

Introduction

Certain factors are particularly influential in the policy-making process of the countries. While Hans Morgenthau refers to "Elements of National Power" in this issue, many scientific studies state that independent and dependent variables should be evaluated (Morgenthau, 1970).

The fact that Iran is a regional actor in the Middle East has begun to be accepted in the international system. Particularly, considering the factors such as the historical experience of Iran, the intervention of foreign countries in the internal political system of Iran, the heterogeneous population structure, Iran's foreign policy-making process is affected.

The power elements such as geographical location, physical military structure, military and economic facilities, agricultural fields, political systems are the factors that determine the characteristics of the national power of a country (Morgenthau, 1970). The academicians studying foreign policy analysis state that national characteristics and attitudes of decision-makers have an impact on the country's foreign policy (Efegil, 2012, Roskin, 2014).

In reference to the above statement, the geopolitical situation of Iran, which is referred to be among the "Medium-Sized States" in the literature, its ethnic structure, social structure, political culture, economy, public opinion, and religion are the main factors affecting Iran's foreign policy-making process. However, both having a wide sphere of influence and the "religion", especially the "Shiite" sect, which has an effective status in the history of Iran, are important factors in determining Iran's domestic and foreign policy (Doster, 2016).

In line with these descriptions, the following factors affect Iran's foreign policy:

Table 1: Factors that affect Iran's Foreign Policy

Independent Variables	Decision-making process	Dependent Variable
Historical Experience		
Geopolitical Situation		
Political Culture	Religious Leadership	Foreign Policy Behaviors
Societal Values	Constitutional Institutions	
Ethnic Structure		
Social Structure and Oil Revenues		
Public Opinion		
The Conception of Shia Islam		

Reference: Efegil, E. "Factors Affecting Iran's Foreign Policy-Making Process" Ortadoğu Analiz (Middle East Analysis), Volume 4, Issue 48, 2012, p. 55.

The study aims to examine the factors affecting Iran's Foreign Policy. Therefore, the previous studies in the literature will be included in the study. The study was scaled with the headings of Historical Process, Geopolitical Situation, Political Culture, Social Values, Ethnicity, Social Structure, and Petroleum Revenues, Public Opinion, Shiite Concept of Islam.

Historical Experience

Iran, which has become the location of the Persian country, an important trade route between the East and the West, and one of the links between the Middle East and Asia, has always been exposed to invasions similar to China in many ways. It has a deep-rooted past in terms of civilization (Telhami and Bernelt, 2002).

In Iran, where the Persian culture was influential together with the Arabic-Persian movements, the religious sect of Shia, which was based on a historical origin, was very influential in Iran's interior and foreign policy. After the death of Prophet Muhammad, the supporters of Hazrat Ali argued that Hazrat Ali should have been the caliph in the tragic civil war for the election of the caliphate in the Arabic geography. In line with this movement, the Shia as the "Shi'atul Ali" (the Party of Ali) has begun to be mentioned in the Arabic geography. The Umayyads, which was the reign of the Arabian peninsula of the time, defended that only Arab people could be the administrators, which started the movement of "Externalism". According to Externalists and non-Arabs, each Muslim has the right to rule. However, this situation was not accepted by the Umayyads and the civil war was fueled. The most important name of the Externalist and opposition

movement, Abdullah ibn al-Zubayr and Mus'ab ibn al-Zubayr both fought against the Umayyad and spread the Shiite culture in Iraq and Iran (Vali, 2007).

During this historical process, Shia has been an effective factor for Iran today as it was in the past. Iran, which aimed to be an important actor in the Middle East region and has achieved it, has tried to be the leader of its sect in the world in determining its foreign policy with its historical experience (Efegil, 2012).

Geopolitical Situation

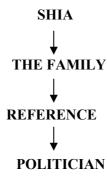
Some parts of Iran, which is 1,200 meters above sea level and has a barren plateau, are deserts and have little precipitation. It is a geography of irrigated fields developed in the history. It's Southwestern part is in the Asia continent. It has borders with Caucasus, Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, the Gulf of Oman, Turkey, Iraq, and Turkmenistan (Graham. 1979).

Iran, which has a quite important land in terms of geostrategy, tries to increase its effectiveness in Asia with this feature. Having an active role and even an influencing role in the Gulf countries, Iran aims to provide military support to the Gulf countries and to have the strongest military power in the region. The reasons for this situation are the constant invasions in the region and the existence of the Shiite sect in the middle east, which cannot be underestimated. Therefore, Iran considers itself as the caliph and supporter of the Shia sect (Vali, 2007).

Political Culture

Persian nationalism has been rapidly increasing in Iran. The imperial attitudes of Western countries increased the feelings of nationalism in Iran. Besides its Shiite tradition strengthens the family ties, it tries to preserve the perception of "homeland" with nationalism. Since Shia affects and strengthens family ties, the family ties of the politicians become a reference for them (Graham, 1979).

THE EFFECT OF THE SHIA ISLAMIC SECT ON THE POLITICS



Radicals in Iran are strictly attached to the design of Khomeini. This group, which is socialist in terms of economy, supports government control over the economy. There are conservative, reformer, and liberal thoughts in Iran. However, radicals are more effective in Iran than other thoughts.

The political culture also differs between young people and the elderly (Telhami & Bernelt, 2002). The reasons for this situation are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Differences in Political Culture Between Young and Elderly People

Tuble 2. Billerences in I chilear culture Between I cang and Elderly I copie			
YOUNG PEOPLE	ELDERLY PEOPLE		
Being educated in Europe	Their experience		
Secularization	Conservatism caused by Shia		
West or westernization gets attractive	Unreliability towards the West		

In the past, the instructors used to be clergymen in Iran because of the education on religion. As a result of Iran's transition to the modern education system, foreign missionaries started to come to Iran between 1929 and 1973. After 1979, Iran has left the "secular and modern education concept" and developed a curriculum to train revolutionary cadres that would continue the Khomeini revolution (Badii and Atwood, 1986) However, when the young generation, which went to Europe for education from Iran in the 21st century, returned to Iran, the Young Iranian generation emerged. Young Iranians have been against the current administration.

Ethnic Structure

51% of the Iranian population consists of Persians and 24% Azeri Turks. The ethnic division of Iran causes leads the people to think that foreign powers will attempt to disintegrate the country. The late Abulfaz Elchibey defended the thesis that Southern Azerbaijan and Northern Azerbaijan would unite in the 1990s. Iran has been concerned about the possible Turkism movement due to Turkmenistan on the east, Iraqi Turkmens on the west, Turkey on the North (Erisen, Kesgin, and Efegil, 2013)..

Since the majority of Azerbaijan is Shia and the partial majority of Iraqi Turkmens are Shia, Iran takes the measure against the Turkism movement within its borders by using the Shia sect (Ludder, 1979).

Social Structure and Oil Reserves

Iran acquires most of its revenues from oil. Most of the revenues from oil are spent on military expenditures. This situation has affected bribery and unfair distribution of income in the region and strengthened the Guardian Council (Erisen, Kesgin, and Efegil, 2013).

Increasing military spendings has forced Iran to become a strong state in its geography. Moreover, oil has not provided just economical power. Attempts have been made to ally with countries such as Russia for oil.

Public Opinion

Public opinion in Iran has an undeniable effectiveness due to the Shia tradition. Because the Iranian society is open to political debate. However, since the aim of the Guardian Council is to ensure the compliance of foreign policy decisions with the Iranian Constitution, it reduces the impact of public opinion on the policy (Ashraf and Ali, 1985).

The Conception Of Shia Islam

89% of Iran's population is Shia. Based on the common ground of the Shia Islamic belief and the Shia minorities in Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Gulf countries, Iran establishes close relations with them. With Khomeini, the conception of Shia Islam has been an effective factor in the administration and system of the country. Therefore, the "Velayat-e Faqih" system has become the basis of Iran's political power. Faqih means scholar in Shia Islamic law. Khomeini is the first and founding faqih (Efegil, 2012).

In the 1980s, Iran adopted the expansionist Shia approach. It wanted to establish a hegemony on the Shia in the world. Iran, which wants to be influential on Shia in the region, considers Saudi Arabia, which tries to be effective on Sunnis, as a threat. While Iran's attempt to spread its understanding has gained the sympathy of the Shia minorities, this situation raises security concerns in states such as Arabia, which are mostly Sunni (Sahin, 2018).

Velayat-e Faqih administration, which was developed based on Shia, has strengthened the clergy in the state administration and formed the state culture while strengthening the Guardian Council. Guardian Council audits the opponents /competitors in elections. This situation causes distrust in elections (Lewis, 2011).

With the end of Iran–Iraq War after the 1980s, also the pragmatist leaders were in power in Iran. This situation caused Iran to revise its foreign policy after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. Iran established close relations particularly with Syria, where Shia was effective, supported organizations such as Hamas through Syria, and engaged in illegal groups.

Religion is Iran's "trump card" in its policy of opening up to the Middle East. Iran follows the policy of "exporting regime" to the Arabian peninsula. In addition, with the invasion of Iraq by the USA, the USA posed a threat to Iran. Accordingly, it has increased the discourse of religion in the region. Particularly, its support for the illegal Shia organizations in Iraq is stated by the people of the region. Iran has increased its effectiveness in the Baghdad and South Baghdad by referring to "religion" (Lewis, 2011).

Leadership and Foreign Policy-Makling Process

Table 3: Iran; Leadership and Foreign Policy-Making Process (Telhami & Bernelt, 2002)

President:	- He has the authority to determine and govern Iran's foreign policy	
National Security Council	- It is controlled by the President	
	- The place where the developments in foreign policy are discussed	
	- The representative of the Supreme Leader is also a member of the Council	
Supreme Leader	- He can criticize foreign policy or give advice	
Ministry of Foreign	- Responsible for carrying out the Foreign Policy	
Affairs		
Parliament, Foreign	- It may request a detailed explanation from the ministries	
Affairs Committee	- Express opinions about foreign policy	
Nongovernmental	- Quite Weak	
Organizations and		
Political Parties		
Public Opinion	- It can discuss foreign policy	
_	- The Guardian Council reduces this effect	

The president has the authority to determine and govern Iran's foreign policy. Presidency is the center of executive power. The National Security Council is also under the control of the Presidency. The National Security Council is the main body in which the developments in foreign policy are discussed. The representative of the Supreme Leader is also a member of the Council. Thus, the Supreme Leader has the power to influence the foreign policy planning process. The deputy spokesperson of the Parliament acts as the secretary of the National Security Council. He also represents the Supreme Leader in the Council (Erisen, et.al, 2013).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports the foreign policy-making process directly to the President. The President is the head of the Council of Ministers. The Iranian Parliament can influence the foreign policy-making process through the Foreign Affairs Committee (Doster, 2013).

Conclusion

Iran is an influential actor in the Middle East region. It is seen that the state structure has an effect on the foreign policy decision-making process. It strengthens the regime in its internal politics since it is a theocratic state. In addition, since the parliament is a strong institution in Iran, it became a factor affecting Iran's Foreign Policy (Efegil, 2012).

Table 4: Factors Affecting Iran's Foreign Policy

Parliament: The members of the parliament are elected for four years. It is a chamber system consisting of 290 deputies.	meters above sea level and has a barren plateau, are deserts and have little precipitation. It's Southwestern part is in the Asia continent. It has borders with Caucasus, Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, the Gulf of Oman, Turkey, Iraq, and Turkmenistan. Economy: Oil revenues are the most important income. They have industrialization	Cooperation Organization, an economic cooperation organization. Interdependence/Internation al Organization Membership: United Nations,
It can influence the foreign policy-making process through the Foreign Affairs Committee.	policies. The unemployment rate is high and the production level is low.	Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Organization of Islamic Conference, Inter- Parliamentary Union, Non- Aligned Movement, Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.
Foreign Policy Bureaucracy: The president has the authority to determine and govern Iran's	Religion and Language: The majority of the population has a Shia Islam belief. Although	
foreign policy. The National Security Council is the main body in which the developments in foreign policy are discussed. The representative of the	they are in small numbers, people from Sunni and other religions also live in Iran. The effect of the Shia belief is felt	
Supreme Leader is also a member of the Council. Thus, the Supreme Leader has the power to influence the foreign policy planning process.	in the state and society. The official language is Persian. The other commonly used language is Turkish. Minority languages such as Kurdish are spoken by very few people.	
Intelligence (VEVAK): There was the National Intelligence and State Security Organization (SAVAK), which operated in 1957-1979 with the assistance of the US/CIA. With the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, the Ministry of Intelligence (VEVAK) replaced SAVAK.	S	
Consultants/Consultants Council: The Expediency Council is responsible for providing consultancy to the Supreme Leader on his legal duties. The Expediency Council meets once a year and consists of 86 "talented and educated" legists elected for eight years by a general vote.	Public opinion: Iranian society is open to political debate. However, the Guardian Council can put pressure on the public.	
Bureaucratic Institutions (Guardian Council): It ensures the compliance of foreign policy decisions with the Iranian Constitution. Guardian Council audits the opponents /competitors in elections.	Media: The media and mass media are under governmental control in Iran. This situation leads to the opinion that the media is not free.	
Political party: Radicals like Ahmadinejad are firmly bound to the Khomeini's schemes. As they have a socialist attitude in the economy, they are	Sociological Factor/Political Culture: <i>Youth</i> have a secular tendency due to the education they receive in Europe. The	

strongly opposed to Western imposition. <i>Conservatives</i> follow a more moderate policy than radicals. They want a nonfanatic Islamic Republic. <i>Reformists</i> are from the educated class. They request the	The elderly people are conservative as a result of their experience and Shia belief.	
reduction of the power of the Guardian	Khomeini and its system. They	
Council. They have a party called the		
Participation Front. Liberals are supported	especially the US.	
particularly by Iranian students. The		
Guardian Council is tough against the		
liberals.		
Elections: The Guardian Council of the	Sociological Factor/Culture:	
Constitution supervises the elections. The	Persian culture is effective	
council consists of 12 members. Just the	throughout the society.	
males can be a candidate in elections.		
Generally, those from the Shia sect are		
selected as candidates for elections.		

As can be seen in Table3, the Expediency Council and the intelligence service also have an important effect on Iran's Foreign Policy. Because while the Iranian National Security Council constitutes the foreign policy bureaucracy, the intelligence service undertakes the task of obtaining and protecting information in the bureaucratic process. Bureaucratic institutions and political elections are effective in long term policies rather than short term strategies in Iranian foreign policies. Because the continuity of power of the political regime is provided by the elections.

Since Iran has a heterogeneous population structure, this demographic structure is controlled especially by religion. Furthermore, the approach of the Shia sect is an important factor in implementing Iran's long-term policy, "Shia Crescent Against the Artificial Gulf Countries in the Middle East". However, thanks to the Iranian Public, Shia has become an ideology rather than a sectarian approach. The fact that Iranian Shia has become an ideology is another factor affecting Iran's Foreign Policy.

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