



## A look forward to ethnic groups' participation in Iran with special emphasis on Kurds

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### ABSTRACT

This article aims to examine the nature and totality of patterns of participation of Iranian ethnic groups with special reference to the Kurds in the future. Through examining the current conditions of multi-ethnicity Iranian society, it can be concluded that the nature of ethnic groups and their function in subsequent changes is closely tied to cultural, political, social, and civil operations in Iran. The careful consideration of this independent variable along with social and political domains reveals the fact that such a state of affairs will lead to crisis in the future. However, by means of logical manipulation, Iran seems to be capable of institutional democracy. Before law, the majority of ethnic groups in Iran are equal but there is not equity in rights. Such a situation leads to specific conditions in the future with which the present paper deals. The riddle of security and freedom is a hypothesis which comes handy in explaining the integral identity of the central government and in restricting federalism in Iran. Based on this hypothesis, security and self-governing are mutually exclusive i.e. behind freedom and self-governing urges is the threat of separatism, and moreover, local self-governing and freedom are suppressed in the name of security. The main hypothesis of this article is that the improvement of Kurds political engagement lies in the heart of mutual respect and interaction between the governmental politicians and local leaders. To fulfill this goal it is necessary to form a community democracy or federalism. This connection is especially important because of the extension globalism, prominence of transnational organizations and the limitation of government roles. This research adopts a critical approach to analyze the current condition, and aims at providing new territories and facilities for Kurds to engage in Iran national affairs.

**KEY WORDS:** Identity, institutional democracy, security, lighter tea, role, federalism, totalitarian, Iranism, new order, aesthetics, globalization, civil liberty, political liberty, monopolization of rights..

### INTRODUCTION

Political engagement has turned into a very popular topic receiving a lot of attention from researchers for the past decades, and socio-political theorists and thinkers have profoundly focused on it. This is especially important in the third world countries since development and underdevelopment are among the most difficult challenges in these countries, and all political, social and economic events and upheavals are to some degree influenced by it (Gill, Graeme, 2000). Lucian Pye, one of the pioneers in political development research, speaks of political framework in societies in transition. In these countries, politics is not so much separated from social and personal relationships. Furthermore, political relations are majorly determined by personal and social relationship patterns. The unavoidable consequence is that politics revolve around the axis of prestige, power and even personalities instead of addressing basic questions or novel policies.

The main model of political framework in such societies is communal framework. Political behaviors are very much under the influence of social identities. On the other hand, immense social groupings are determined by ethnic and religious factors. In such a condition, instead of a free competition among different views, political debates emerge in form of arguments between different communities who try to justify their stance to each other, and as a result, freedom of change and political allegiance is deeply restricted (Pye, Lucian, 1968).

There is no integrity (or little) among members of different communities due to the lack of an integrated communication system. Political activities are not a part of a general united trend, but they surface as several irrelevant political processes. Mass media is only limited to urban agents engaging in national political affairs.

The majority of population have no access to media, nor their views are reflected across the system. Gradually, political affairs only exist in cities, in some cases only in capitals (Pye, Lucian, 1968). Pye notes some features that are completely evident in Iran. Therefore, political engagement of different ethnic groups especially Kurds is a very important issue in Iran in the 21st century (Farahi, Farideh, 2006).

In this research, we try to propose some solutions to overcome the existing limitations and problems which have for long blocked the way of Kurdish community engagement in politics.

It should be noted from the very outset that the author neither has a comprehensive understanding of the future trends of ethnic groups' participation in Iran nor is he going to predict and analyze it. Thus, this paper seeks the way through which the problems may be identified and at best solved. It is hoped this paper paves the way for subsequent solutions. One of the principles of scientific thought is making use of prediction rather than foretelling in an attempt to understand the future; that is, considering relations the special to social sciences one can predict future based on the present factors. It follows that ethnic groups' participation in Iran cannot and should not be understood solely on the basis of the speculation. If there is to be any participation, undoubtedly it is an amalgam of co-existence conditions of all Iranian ethnic groups.

Since determining these conditions to predict future and discovering dialectic relations among them is easier said than done, the author Diehl's with the issue from the vantage point of political philosophy although several other views can be used to design the future of ethnic groups' participation in Iran which will be discussed later in the paper. It should be noted, however, that due to some political considerations in this society, certain ideas as discussed here may not be in line with some individuals' tastes and interests. The contents of this paper are a personal impression fire from any ethnic buyers for identity belonging hence no claim is made concerning the accuracy of the ideas presented and they should be viewed just as a proposal which may come to any curious mind.

The present discussion is in some way an invitation to examine the complexities involved in ethnic groups and accordingly their international conditions. It looks deep into a socio-political phenomenon, i. e., ethnic groups, from the philosophical point of view which is based on the general assumption that in turn could be presented academically. Thus, the following hypothesis has been formulated: The formation of the structure and democratic political culture of ethnic groups in Iran is related to overcoming the fundamental conflict between Liberty-Security on the one hand and Identity-Role on the other. This hypothesis consists of three key concepts; that is, political culture, liberty-security and identity-role the first of which can be defined as participation of ethnic groups in civil occasions and events that are mainly determined by the capacity of society to provide such an opportunity. Thus, the philosophical aspects of the present discussion may shed some light on the relations of governments and ethnic groups.

#### *Methodology:*

In order to answer the question posed at the very beginning of the article, one can draw on the ideas of critical theory, the theory which has been dealt with in sociology via the question that "how is the present situation?" [4] and accordingly the current situation is also examined. Critical research is that domain associated with Frankfurt the school and its leading scholar Habermas. This theory criticizes capitalism as well as liberal ideology and culture emphasizing the public domain. Habermas believes that the concept of attitude consists of cultural elements and the development of inter..... relations. In his view, attitude is a trace left behind an object or a social subject and is a tendency to respond to that trace. Based on this view, attitude is a mechanism which controls behavior. Critical theory unlike the philosophy of argumentative science which tries to prove the current reality, criticizes the present conditions (Bashirieh, H., 1995). In contrast to argumentative science, this view describes the present situations critically as a corollary of which one can predict the future. Once in Iran, Habermas was asked, how do you predict the future of Iran? to which he replied, see what is going on in the minds of the youth and then you can design and predict the next 30 years. In general, the main assumption underlying this view is that individuals by and large are actively seeking situations which provides them with most constant and liberty whose degree depends on the individuals' authentic needs and interests (Haghighat, S.S., 2005). The more individuals feel the real life situations satisfy their needs, the more they will adapt to and empathize with the situations and will likely choose them. An example can be found in the creation of relative capitalist conditions which have made the individual somehow in different regarding his public domain. The theory discussed here tries to study the society's mentality in various ways with regard to the dominant government functioning.

There are several types of interpretation concerning this theory. First, Those who, in the domain of political thinking, argue that the critical theory has some tastes of Marxism and second, those who have rephrased and modified Habermas' concerns and claim that this theory is an indicator of Germany's power. Such an interpretation has been improved in a different way as a result of recurrent revisions (Seif-zade, S., 2005). In the revised version of the theory, emphasis has been made on the development and expansion of rationality along with public domain and culture. Drawing on this modified view, it is suggested that social conditions of ethnic groups in Iran as the independent variable will determine their future as the dependent variable. Both Social

conditions and individuals mental structures affect the future trends concerning civil participation in positive and negative ways. Applying the results of such a study to other aspects (of life) will lead to a situation which can be referred to as the future of Iranian ethnic groups' participation.

One of the axioms of critical theory is that both the ethnic groups and government may set to communicate while holding different views; that is, the relationship between civil society and political system may turn out to be different. In line with the principles of critical theory, and in order to accept or reject several relations (occasions) from the future perspective towards the phenomenon of ethnic groups, first, the hidden relations should be recognized and then one may seek to come up with motivations underlying change and changing attitudes to stable behaviors. Observing this theory, the researcher should find out that all ethnic groups necessarily take side with functions which bear rational content. Moreover, the dominant relations do not indicate the idea that all ethnic groups will be satisfied. Different ethnic groups in Iran will pursue various impetuses and goals based on mental structuring and its realizations and as a result will get various feedbacks from their relations with political system which they will apply in their feelings and internalization and the domain.

#### *The significance of the study:*

That is hypothesize in this article that in order to understand the future of ethnic groups it is incumbent that Iran society undergo a change from passive participation towards active participation in political, civil, and cultural domains. The question raised here is that to what extent such a goal is, in the short term, attainable for Iran ethnic groups including Kurds. There are two contradictory answers to this question. Most scholars in the field of politics contend that the main consequence of the cold war aftermath has been the expansion of democracy throughout the world. These scholars hope that passive participation will be replaced by active participation. Huntington claims that the democratization has developed throughout the world after the collapse of Eastern and Central European dictatorship in 1989 (Huntington, S.P., 1991). On the contrary, some others downgrade the universal tendency towards democracy and discredit its terms at least in the Middle East. Recent changes, however, proves such as pessimistic claim.

Reconciling these two contradictory views along with the hardly pleasant results of observation, three related questions could be raised.

1-Is Iran really moving towards a democracy appropriate to a multi-ethnicity culture in line with world changes?

2-If now, which factors hinder the process of democratization in this country?

3-In what ways and active political participation seeking structure and culture can be achieved in Iran?

Attempts are made to provide some answers to these three questions in order to show how much persistent and long-term effort is needed to achieve an acceptable degrees of ethnic group's political participation which in itself the two institutional democracy. To achieve participation as a result of Muir change of several organize Asia and for modifying several principles of the constitution sounds too much optimism. Due to the variety of ethnic groups in Iran, there is a severe sensitivity which makes it difficult to come up with a solution to this problem.

Developmental policies of the powers have caused some kind of structural conflict with multi-ethnicity countries. In addition, because of beater experiences of the past, national governments (powers) exercise pessimism in various modes concerning the ethnic group movements and activities. As a result, there is for some kind of defense ideology against ethnic groups changes which neglects fundamentally whatever can be viewed as the participation of ethnic groups in political affairs (life). To qualify as an academic work, the primaries survey is needed, in this article, to determine the extent to which nationalistic attitudes are incongruent with the democratization of ethnic groups. It is assumed that the above and it would see has caused the destructive pessimism in Iran frightening those who hold nationalistic views. Such individuals may feel that the formation of the active participation, political and civil liberty leads to a deep change in Iran as a result of which institutional democracy may be replaced by secessionism. Below, a brief discussion is presented in this regard and then the above three questions will be explained.

#### *Iran and ethnic groups: congruence or philosophical contrast:*

Participation seeking models put forth by those inspired by western argumentative philosophy provokes the idea that the prerequisite for Iran's development is that complete permutation of the ethnic groups in the national culture. If participation seeking models are to be applied along with the rejection of national culture and philosophy, there arises some sort of worry and concern for tourists visiting Iran. Since one of the goals of forming national government in Iran during Pahlavi reign was the rejection of ethnic group culture, it was natural that promulgating and developing a national culture becomes neglected by ethnic groups. On the contrary, when the concepts of participation seeking and democracy are presented in contemporary Iran, 30 years has already been passed from the reign of the major proponent of ethnic groups dictatorship; that is, Pahlavians. Thus, the kind of fear associated with the idea that the Pahlavi model of participation seeking which was termed as the uniqueness of the culture may be imitated in the contemporary Iran is far from reality.

Principle eleven of the constitution holds that all ethnic groups and races do have equal rights. Principle fifteen of the constitution holds that the formal writing and the speaking language is Farsi although regional languages and their teaching are permitted (Madani, S.J., 2008).

Ethnic groups are not in contrast to the national culture in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In principle, within the context of multi-ethnicity society of Iran and its government, the individual is assumed to be constantly the Moslem, not unlike what John Jacques Russo thought of as the national unity or the contract between society and government, and the ultimate goal of his activities is to be conducted in this route. As a result, the facilities seem to be tied to the goals which the individual binds himself to pursue. The codification and compilation of the constitution symbolizes this notion that there are a number of maxims which lead to perfection and guide both the individual and the mass. Of these maxims and principles imply that part of the requirements of social and collective living at times necessitates that persisting the lake identity is brought about by ethnic groups or nationalism is limited because of humanistic and Islamic values.

In brief, it can be argued that through a philosophical point of view, constitution that divided the life of individuals think Iran into three parts: ideological beliefs, civil liberty, and political preferences. These three parts have been termed private domains, public domains, and values respectively. Values refer to the unity, uniqueness and uniformity of the society. This domain is assumed to be stable and unchanging which has been termed by lawyers as strict constitution. The private domain and precludes any interference with and dominance over ethnic group culture and identity. In this view, there is no conflict between ethnic groups and Iranian identity as regards language, race, and religion. The public domain assumes the national government as a comprehensive institution as well as a major platform through which political activities are conducted and finally paves the way for national power and prosperity. This division is the result of the Islamic revolution in the twentieth century.

Civil liberty and is that the citizen rights stems from his individualism. That is, all people are considered individual members of the national government who enjoy the same equal rights. As a result, any person from any ethnic group background is respectable and accepted. Political liberty denotes that change in the individuals with through which the quality and liberty are institutionalized in the society. In addition, ideological beliefs are interpreted as a kind of national insurance and the political systems' health. The political liberties which were first realized and practiced in the West by thinkers such as Hobbes, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Marx, and pragmatists such as John Stuart Mill and Bentham were the result of too much ransom. The same also happened in Iran in an attempt to consider all people equal. Constitution revolution reflects this reality. The main consequence of such a formal evidence and national convention is that humans as well as ethnic groups' sacrifices have undergone a tremendous change which is, as a process not part of their feeling, going to become a political culture. It seems that the growth of political culture and the structure of ethnic groups exemplifies the ripening of the thought patterns of Iran's society towards overcoming the fundamental conflict between Liberty-Security on the one hand and Identity-Role on the other.

#### *The present context for political functioning of ethnic groups in Iran:*

Moving towards and joining the national government intimidate individual interests and preferences. The question raised here is that to what extent Ethnic groups are ready to ignore the 30 in the light of security. In dictatorship, security Dole minutes liberty while in democratic societies/governments, these two are equally important. How far are we approaching this problem? Apart from this, there should be a balance between human identity either individual or collective and the social role.

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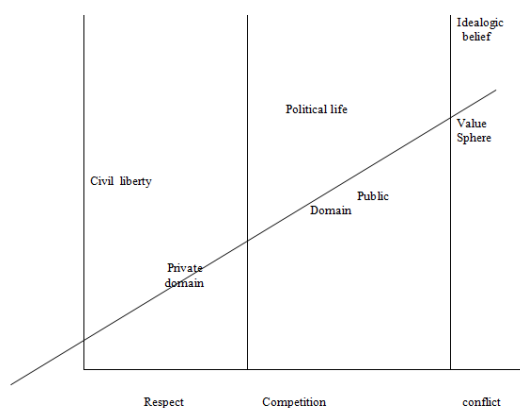
#### *Life becomes:*

Meaningful through identity. Politically, identity indicates individual liberty and national cooperation. Identity and the social role bring about civil nationalism. The different layers of identity such as descent determine ethnic group membership which in turn solves the theoretical problems of identity and prepares Iranian society for democratization. Role accomplishment should eradicate dispersion. Now how this can be accomplished? One quick answer is that the structural context has to be modified.

- Authority should be separated from governing. To cover is to be loyal to the society. In a democratic society, it is people who choose which will make the government's responsible and liable to their needs.
- People play a more significant active role in their destiny. When people are capable of being influence, then they support the public and national policy.

These characteristics being enumerated, it is time to see whether these basic characteristics are congruent with ethnic groups' culture or not. Based on principle 56 of the constitution, in the political system of Iran,

sovereignty emanates both from God and the individual which is a combination of ascending and descending forms of sovereignty (Madani, S.J., 2008). Now this question arises that to what extent this principle acts to limit the liberty of the ethnic groups by governments. There are no definite arguments in this regard. Since the majority of Iranians are Muslim, it is likely that religion is a unifying element to the benefit of national solidarity, much more akin to Alvin Toffler definition of nationalism. However, it should be noted that Islam religion has not warranted any right for ethnic group dictatorship.



*Iran's ethnic groups: Cooperation or resistance against institutional democracy:*

Are there any structural and cultural backgrounds present for quick change towards institutional democracy in Iran? In the short term at least, the primary answer is no. however, the intensity of concerns for nationalistic potency and resistance against participation seeking is by no means similar among ethnic groups in Iran. At the same time, it should be noted that the generalizations based on ethnic groups are difficult to make. The current evidence reveals that Kurds and Baluch people have cooperated with governments in a lower rate than Turks and Turkmans did. Hence, the classification of ethnic groups seems inevitable and each of which should be evaluated individually. Using a general framework to determine and define their future is in some way a gross scientific mistake. Kurds, as compared to Turks who are seeking civil and social rights, have been struggling to obtain their political rights which is visually a factor distinguishing these two ethnic groups [9]. To date, no serious attempt has been made to do a comparative study between/among ethnic groups. With the collapse of the republics of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, the Turks greeted Iran army while the Kurds were observing the situation reluctantly. The Kurds assume the more distinguished history for themselves and state that in the era of Hakhamanesh, the Kurds were playing a major role in the army (Kuchru, C., 1998).

The theoretical generalization could be made based on a comparative study of ethnic groups' cultural policies. Therefore, attempts are made in this article to present a meaningful domain to be used as a guide.

*(A) The position of democratic structures and values in Iran:*

Steps have been taken in terms of ideological and political rights domains due to the fact that the three characteristics of democracy, several rights, and political and ideological rights have been improved in Iran. In general, due to political and bordering issues, the industry alone, health, and technological situations are considerably much lower in the ethnic group areas than in the governing group areas. Such a condition was justified in Kurd-inhabited areas with political arguments during the reign of King Mohammed Reza. In reality, in the areas inhabited by ethnic groups such as Kurdistan and the latest on, the facilities are not improved in line with those in the center. Ideologically speaking, northern Kurdistan (Sanandaj) is in a state of contradiction with others while such a condition is not that much severe in southern Kurdistan (Kermanshah and Ilam provinces). The main consequence of such formalism is that security issues are still prevalent in ethnic group inhabited areas in the spite of the fact that the world is moving towards a new form of order which is basically seeking welfare. Still, there can be seen incredible encounters between the challenging members of ethnic groups and government forces. No matter how such a state of affairs can be explained, the present situation reflects such conditions. As an example, Pejack, as a military and 90 Iran branch supported by the product Kurds, exploiting these conditions is recruiting and operating at the present time.

Simultaneously, the central government has kept the social conflicts domain in an unscientific manner as a result of which operations and counter-operations are continually occurring in some ethnic group parts such as Kurdistan, Baluchistan, and Khuzestan. Following the outer world, however, Iran like other multi-ethnicity countries such as Belgium and Swiss, has to keep the national unity; but the main concern of many scholars is that why ethnic groups have failed to reach institutional democracy?

There still exist contexts for the strengthening and believing in language, culture, attitude, and really done throughout ethnic groups including Kurds, Turks, the Baluch, and Arabs. This turns out through the talent when the strengthening each are a mention the thing and weakening national issues hence maximizing the possibility that the ethnic group values become mixed universal ones. Despite ideological assumptions distinct from social process since, ethnic groups in Iran are sometimes experiencing term or which some discover in politics examined it in the theoretical framework of centrifugal forces (Ghods, M.R., 1988). Changes in Kurd-inhabited areas Along with those in other countries such as Iraq will function as a future scale for ethnic groups' changes within Kurdish areas. Among ethnic group thinkers, there are those who, in Ahmadi's terms, exploit the conditions to reach or expand their power (Ahmadi, H., 2008) and try to hinder the process of national merging in Iran. According to the Iranian current policy, there is the possibility that some elite from ethnic group backgrounds come to power position more than ever, although there might not have been any homogenizing process going on among ethnic groups including Kurds. The so-called renewal process has increased the expectations of the ethnic groups, but reaching appropriate national and regional balance aimed at stable mass welfare necessitates a long period of time. To achieve such a goal entails a public political will. And viewed in this regard, the future is likely to be influenced by the consequences of the reconciling modernism and ethnic groups' cultures in Iran.

Industrial Progress and significant superstructure has failed to modify the Iranian value system in such a way that different ethnic groups recognize their equal opportunities and positions in the social system. The centralization of the seventies in areas inhabited by dominant ethnic groups such as Tehran, Isfahan, and Mashhad has widened the so-called social gap and postpones the opportunities for unity which in turn blurs the future prospects. What is more significant is that ethnic groups' elites try to keep on with the current model as Ahmadi contends (Ahmadi, H., 2008). At the same time, what the elites and ethnic groups including challengers seek is liberty rather than the balanced between security and liberty which is the feature of democratic societies.

Kurds and the Baluch attest to claim just made. Groups such as Kumele and Pejack who claim to bring about liberty are endangering security similar to the past claims made by people such as Ghazi Mohammad and Pische Vari in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan republics, respectively (Ghods, M.R., 1988)]. Moreover, the attainment of liberty to some ethnic groups in Iran has been viewed as a threat to stability and solidarity specifically in contemporary ages. The dominant ethnic group deals with ethnic group issues seriously as part of its responsibility. Therefore, there is some kind of imbalance and disequilibrium between liberty and security making the future susceptible to various changes not unlike those occurred in the past. Assuming that ethnic group liberty does not endanger national security and since the governments do not bother themselves to solve the conflict between liberty and security values, the government seeks to suppress the ethnic groups claiming that it is for the sake of national security. And so it is expected that the absence of balance between these two categories as paves the way for chaos and riot. It could be also predicted that power-seeking agents or ethnic group elites along with international and universal forces search their own profits under such conditions. This idea is reiterated by no Richard Cutton who argues that the republics of Kurdistan and other by Jon were supported by Russian federation (Kutton, R., 1964). The instrumentality of Ethnic groups such as Kurds does not seem to be changed in the short to a keen to Mohammad Reza Shaw who made use of Iraqi Kurds in this way. The future prospects for ethnic groups seem to be blurred from this vantage point.

There are no clear boundaries between the role of the government and that of authority in Iran. Governments define and determine credit and legitimacy which is the main cause behind the unstable relations between governments and ethnic groups. From a historical point of view, all groups including the dominant one, individuals are considered as citizens who adapt to the government sovereignty. Currently, democratic procedures have not yet been institutionalizes and each person has his own understanding of collective interest. In this regard, national interests become the subject of much debate in the future and are likely to lead to conflicting functions.

#### *(B) Cultural barriers of assimilation and absorption of ethnic groups in Iran:*

Drawing on the past positive and negative consequences of the West, ethnic groups can run participation-seeking system. Kurdistan, the semi-independent and/or federal reveals a number of facts to bear upon in the future. But the question is that how far ethnic groups are away from the world's democratic evolution. Based on the literature, non-democratic structures hinder the society's public culture. Therefore, ethnic groups are quiet unconsciously in contrast to political culture. The comparative study of Governments encounters with tissue in Iran reflects these factors. Reza Khan's government conduct toward Turks and Arabs and the various jokes belittling them states the reality.

As the public and cultural pattern of this society are still on the deposit government, it can be concluded that The classical position of ethnic groups, at least, does not motivate or accelerate participation-seeking behaviors in the future Iran. Ethnic groups are somehow preventing effective democracy processes. Besides This situation which has led to empty cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, the elements of hero training and social abnormalities still persist. And other such circumstances, non-constructional leaders may come to power among

ethnic groups especially the Kurds, according to Webber, who have a stronger sense of nationalism. As a result of the bifurcation of contrasting cultural and social structure will increase the possibility of civil conflicts in the future state of affairs.

There are also no peaceful solutions to overcome the conflicts through negotiation. Therefore, to counter the incongruent emotional and cultural forces (rather than logical ones); will lead to totalitarianism in the future. In this way, the social nationalistic system will remain intact. Some pessimistic factors argue that the national culture is not the same as the past and using the concept of globalism reminds us of the other rush of the universal culture and the ethnic groups are placed in this framework. Hence, ethnic groups unable to keep on, will in to and accommodate to the universal system the evidence for which is the use of English terms among ethnic groups.

*(C) Different ways of achieving institutional democracy in Iran:*

Many prescriptions have been made by different individuals emphasizing the prevention of terrible experiences of secession and totalitarian suppression. In their view, when justice, equity, and liberty come together in Iran, one can expect in the long term, it should be noted, to provide the capacity for democratic distribution and the gathering of interests and profits have (Maghsoodi, M., 2001). The author believes that apart from constitutionalism, democratization should be simultaneously provided. The multi-ethnicity society of Iran needs to create labor a list and taller and individuals with human capacity and political fairness. The participation seeking structure entails cultural equity in order to establish the tendency to cooperate among people. The kind of equality which is accompanied by corporation culture-internalize in the individuals' minds. There is still ethnicity-specific contempt in Iran which postpones civil agreements as seen in the contents of some SMS. The question now is when to expect such activities to be performed in the society. Socializing Rather than tribalism should be able to during childhood so that values take precedence over habits. These aspects have strong positive civil consequences in the future if they are part of the content of textbooks, movies, clothes, etc as Firdausi's masterpiece-Shah name- which had a great capacity to socialize Iranians in the past.

Considering this point, Many of the that's international policy in the media lists especially in oil countries and strategic ones supports the central government and hinders the process of secessionism. In Ghajar era, these affairs were noticed by the big powers. Several other political symbols illustrate this process. In this regard, attention to the central government is followed by ignoring Ethnic groups as a corollary of which greed is left among them as before (Azghandi, A., 2004).

*Conclusion:*

With some kind of conservative optimism, this article looked critically at hopeful predictions of those who consider the ethnic groups in the threshold of democratization. It is assumed that the mere existence of ethnic groups is not incompatible with participation-seeking structures; however, some ethnic groups are compatible with cultural policies. It can be claimed that democratization in Iran entails a long and difficult journey. It is recommended, then, not to suffice to mere constitutionalism and symbolism; rather, people should strive for contexts and situations when participatory cultural and political atmosphere are brought about.

Almond and Verba distinguish two engagement models, namely democratic and totalitarian. The former happens when ordinary citizens can influence political decisions, while the latter is when citizens function subjectively in political engagement, or it is when they play a subordinated role in political affairs. Any democratic political system contains formal and functional sections such as suffrage, political persuasions, beneficiaries and media. However, there are also some other preconditions which are socio-psychological including a political culture based on freedom, individual dignity, a government based on people satisfaction, a civic culture containing the decision making procedures of the political elite, norms, citizens, their interrelations and their relationship with the government. Democracy is about norms, elite, ordinary citizens and their views in the first place.

Philosophically, democrat size Asian big gains with the efficacy of the individual and society as well. There should exist democratic individuals in order to reach democracy in the society. Moreover, the opportunities for congruence among ethnic groups should be reinforced. Political structure should also be changed to accommodate the needs of a multi-ethnicity society. It is hoped that with these changes along with a change in social structure The future of political participation of ethnic groups including the Kurds in the long run we witness institutional democracy in Iran.

As mentioned before, it can be concluded that all the ethnic groups regardless of their race, religion, and language should be subject to analysis and study. Keeping in view the fact that we are all the outcome and heir of several cultures, and each constitutes an ethnic group, policy makers are to consider this that they should not deviate from this origin. This perspective is destroying that all could be surrounded within a fixed political frame, and one specific culture can dominate other, or national policy criterion rules over others. This is clear that each culture that embeds an ethnic group is itself a truth that must be reconciled with. This that ethnic

groups are esteemed is an attempt to pave the way for “Institutional Democracy”, with underlying political changes, that maybe the main determination of the history of all countries in the coming future.

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