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Master's Thesis

**Perception of the Concept of
Political Leadership
in
Western Europe and Iran**

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Summary

Master's thesis *Perception of the Concept of Political Leadership in Western Europe and Iran* is a qualitative research about significance of historical practices of leadership in determining academic perception of the concept. Subject of the paper is leadership approaches of Western and Iranian scholars in 20th century.

Main research question is whether *there are differences in the perception of the leadership* (1) in Iran and Western Europe, if yes, *to what extent differences in leadership perceptions in Iran and Western Europe are historically rooted* (2). Leadership perception is examined in writings of Western authors which are most representative of certain view of leadership: Weber Max, Willner Ann Ruth, Tucker Robert C, Parsons Talcott, James William, Freud Sigmund, Elgie Robert, Carlyle Thomas, Burns James MacGregor. Selection of Iranian intellectuals has been more limited due to restricted availability of their writings in English, but also they are representative of different Iranian approaches: Bani Sadr Abol - Hassan, Shari'ati Ali, Abrahamian E., Bakhash S, Bazargan Mehdi, Delkhasteh Mahmood.

Iran and Western Europe are perceived as two regions where the difference in perceiving the term of leadership is very likely to occur. Therefore, using their situations as a case, a set of dimensions or a model that characterizes possible differences in perceiving leadership is created. The dimensions, where there are 2 variations in each possible, are as follows: **Mechanisms how the society functions** - Rationality vs. Vital action, **Indicators used to measure leadership** - Followers vs. Skills, **Ideals of the society** - Religion vs. Democracy, **Expected Continuity of the leadership** - Relative vs. Absolute.

Assuming that each perception of leadership constitutes a certain model of approaching leadership, the dimensions identified would serve as variables that determine the kind of model – a certain combination of them would be characteristic for Western Europe or Iran. Historical development is taken as the empirical data assuming that the perceptions of models are determined by historical development. In that way time should be the factor according to which leadership perceptions should be tested. In each of the regions there are 4 periods in history distinguished – to every of them the determined leadership perception dimension's model is applied. If historical development of

leadership experiences and relationships in both countries has led to the current leadership perception, the leadership perception's model would change in consecutive way – seeing the combination of variables in first 4 periods, it should be possible to make an estimations about the current situation without knowing it before.

It has turned out that the model has different variations throughout the history and there is a weak continuity between he changes. Therefore the model of differences in leadership perceptions alone can not explain the changes of leadership differences in histories of Iran and Western Europe. It does not mean though that historical development has not had any impact on the perception of leadership in writings of academics, but the differences can not be explained using arguments based mostly on history.

There are other possible explanations to the study of leadership differences taking the case of Iran and Western Europe proposed.

1. Introduction

In the current situation when most of the countries in the world seem to prefer the ideals of democracy, the concepts of civil society, legitimacy and rule of law along with public administration, and authority issues are in the central position in terms of academic research. The role of leadership as associated with a particular politician or any other influential figure seems to be less important. Rule of law, rather than personalities or leaders, is considered to determine order and development of the situation.

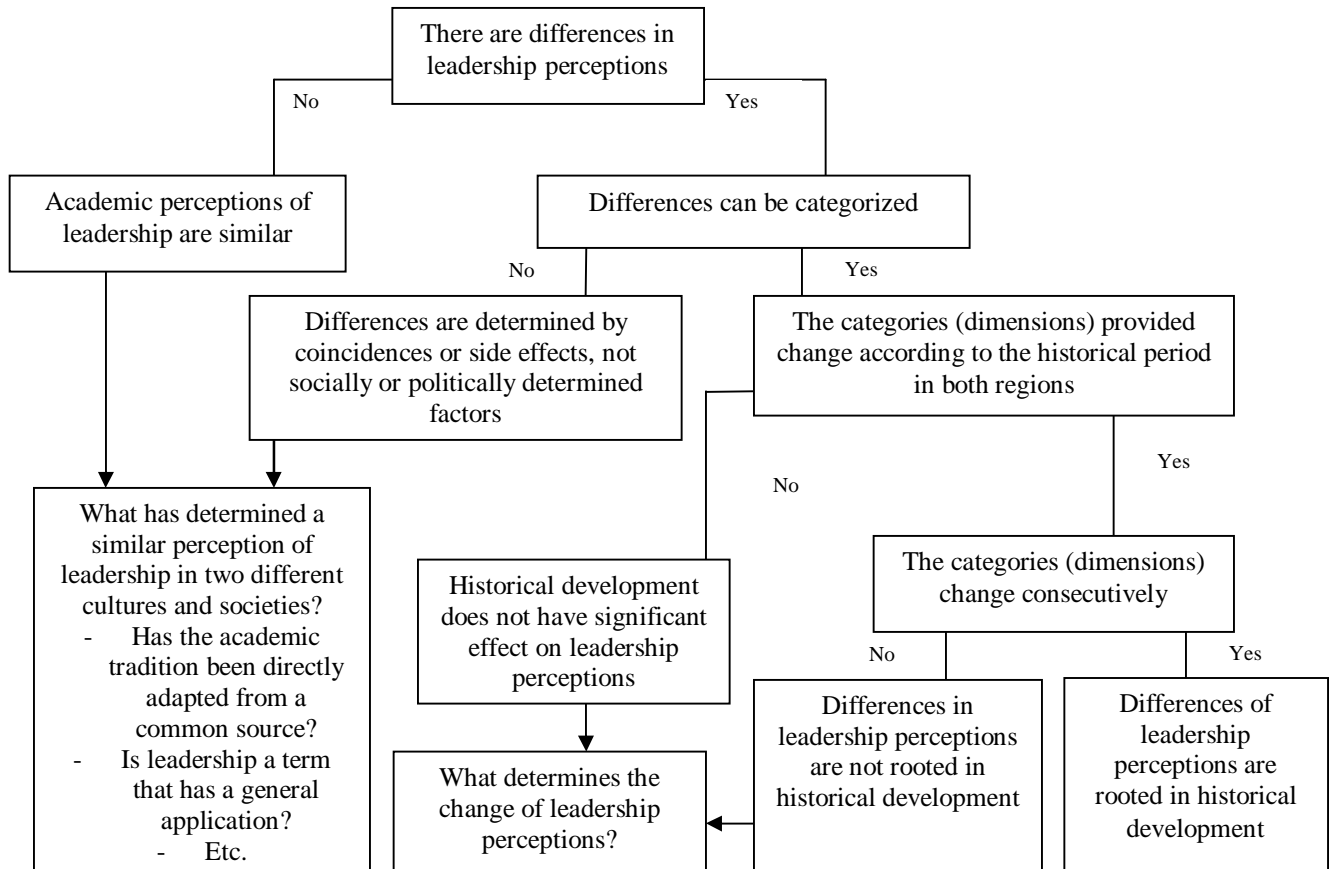
Role of law in the regime of democracy is indeed the base of the legitimacy and it keeps up the values of equality. At the same time, not only a fair execution of legal norms matters, but also provision of the norms. The principle of participation matters. Civil society, not only participation in the elections, is seen as the modern means of expressing the public interest. If rule of law determines the formal political system, the system of interests that in this case I perceive as civil society is not ruled by conventional and widely accepted norms. In this case, the interests, ideas, persuasions, lobbying/supporting and leading/following practices matter. This is a field where the leadership is essential and it will be the focus of my research. The field of civil society is different in different countries. It can be determined by welfare state regime (Esping-Andersen¹), historical development or other factors. Do these factors determine also diversity of understandings of leadership? Or the feeling and perception of a leader to follow or listen to is similar and independent from historical events, political system and other conditions.

Since the end of last century clash of two different understandings of world and social order have become the main coverage of mass media and international politics. Islamic part of world vs. Western part world has become one of the brightest international issues. There are no strict frames of this distinction – some define the religion to be the cleavage, others talk about geography, levels of welfare or shortage of natural resources. Inevitably not only the interests of both sides are contradictive, but also the understanding of world. It includes also leadership as sociological phenomena. I will use it to see how inevitable the differentiation between East (or Islamic Countries) and West are, what the

¹Esping-Andersen "Social security in a long life society" 4th International Research Conference on Social Security, Antwerp, 5-7 May 2003

differences in this aspect are, where do they (differences) come from and if differences should be perceived as eternal and academic perceptions on leadership - incompatible. I will not draw a strict line in defining East and West. Instead, I will use Iran and Western Europe as representative terms of geographically wider spread perceptions.

Scheme 1 Methodology framework



According to this framework, I can formulate several questions that will be answered during the research:

- Are there differences between perception of leadership in Iran and in Western Europe?
- Can the differences be linked to specific spheres?
- Are there differences in leadership relations in different periods in Iran?
- Are there differences in leadership relations in different periods in Western Europe?
- Do the changes of leadership relations in different periods form a certain sequence or order?

- To what extent is it possible to estimate the leadership perception according to the possible model of modifications in the next period of history knowing the change and order of previous periods?
- To what extent differences in perception of leadership in Iran and Western Europe are consecutive outcome of history?

I expect that *there are differences in the perception of the leadership* (1) in Iran and Western Europe and expect to find out *to what extent differences in leadership perceptions in Iran and Western Europe are historically rooted.* (2). In some cases leadership can be perceived as purely political phenomena – associated with legal authority, political power and state regime, while in other cases it might be associated with influence, promotion of change and personal qualities with a person. To what extent does the leadership determine the order or system and to what extent does it help a person to change the behaviors of others? Are societies of Iran and Western Europe so different that in no time they can be analyzed according to the same leadership approach?

In modern society the leadership is also divided in two factors determining it: leadership environments and the personality of a leader. Political system forms the leadership environment restricting someone or giving the legitimacy, as the welfare state that tends to remain the status-quo for reducing all kinds of the risks in the society (“legitimate leader”, “evenful man”). On the other hand the persuasive and on personality depending part of the leadership requires a personality with resources to make a change. Resources might be external, for example, followers, flexible legal system, developed civil society, or internal like talents, charisma, values (“great man”, “event making man”).

In order to examine the concept of leadership, I will explore two different societies. The perception of leadership in Western Europe and Iran as representative of Middle East. I have chosen these regions due to their different historical development, different geographical situation, different religion and political system. The two regions, on the other hand, have developed at the same time in the history, they have had a common history at the time when the modern philosophy (as we know it today) started to develop, the religions originally come from the same geographical place and are based on the same historic sources. They are two cultures that have developed from the same place, at the same time, but have not had stable interactions for more than 1500 years.

This research will use leadership as a case of perception that might represent a difference in social understandings that occurs during many hundreds of years. It will also show the ways that a development of social thought can take, given the same starting point and time frame.

In order to do the research I will look into the writings of the academics of Western Europe and Iran (as the representative of East or Islam) – how they talk about leadership, what is important, what the most fundamental paradigms are and how the philosophy of leading/following has changed over the time. I will use the brightest academics of Western Europe and the academics of Iran. In the case of Western Europe I will give brief insight in quite many authors, representing the development of academic thought on leadership. According to the Iran, the choice of writings will be more limited, I will use the writings of the authors that are available in Europe, but the principle for the selection will also be the representativeness of a certain opinion of development of the idea. The approach that I will use will be point of view of sociology.

I will proceed by looking into historical development in the both regions to provide the empirical illustration of leadership experiences. The time frames will correspond to those used in describing the development of the leadership ideas. I will consider the sociopolitical events and changes in the society to describe the historical development. Leadership as a concept has sociopolitical nature, therefore this kind of comparison is valid.

This will be a qualitative research using the research of academic literature as the main methodology. Considering the qualitative nature, the role of the author will be especially significant. Specifics of the paper – comparing Western Culture and Iran suggests belonging to one of the two parts or sides. In this case author belongs to the Western School of Politics and Sociology. That is a fact that will be considered in order to provide as much objectivity for the research as possible.

The main method for this paper will be the research of literature. Therefore it will be a theoretical rather than empirical work. I will look at the writing of academics and intellectuals starting from the end of 19th century.

In my paper I will provide theories about the leadership developed mostly in 20th century and follow the changes in the exploration of the topic. That will lead to identification of current leadership perception in both of the regions. After having done

that I will look for differences in perceiving the concept of leadership in works of Eastern and Western academics. I expect that there will be differences in perceptions of the leadership term. If there will be differences I will discuss the possible reasons for these differences and try to link them to wider perceptions of social phenomena or classify the aspects of differences. Then I will go on examining leadership experiences of both societies.

In the first chapter I will try to identify the main differences between the two perceptions of leadership. I will try to identify not only different opinions, but look at the differences in wider perspective – the sphere or the cleavage where the differences exist.

In the second part of the research I will follow the historical development line of the leadership. Social development and leadership relations will be my main focus. I will try to look at the historical development of leadership relations through the dimensions or fields of differences identified in the part about leadership perceptions. I will try to analyze each of the dimension in several historical periods of development in both of the geographical regions. I will not go deep into the historical facts and details, but according to historical change come up with several large periods. I will explain my reasoning about providing the balance of opinions within the dimensions considering general tendencies of societies in particular periods.

By identifying dimensions of differences of leadership perceptions and trying to look at the history through the same dimensions, I will be dealing with a system of perceptions. It will be my assumption that;

- 1) there are differences in leadership perceptions
- 2) they can be categorized
- 3) the categories (dimensions) provided change according to the historical period and region
- 4) the categories (dimensions) change during history according to some kind of logic – the nowadays situation (perceptions of leadership) are consecutive continuation of historical development

If all these assumptions would prove to be true, also the research question will be answered. The system that is constructed from leadership perceptions and historical development should be logical (consecutive) if the components of the system have impact on each other. It is very likely that there are differences in leadership perceptions in Iran

and Western Europe, if so, there would probably be some ways to categorize them as leadership is a social component and is linked to certain social factors. The third point will be interesting to explore – if the leadership relations have remained the same, with the same differences between the two regions, over the time, or they have changed. If they have remained the same, no matter in which period of time, historical changes can not be the factor that influences the differences. If changes occur during different periods, it also does not mean yet, that the historical development as time line, determines the different perceptions. There might be coincidences of other, stronger, factor that might have influenced the differences. Only in the case if the 4th point – logical order of changes in dimensions over the time proves to be true, historical development can be perceived as the main factor having the impact on the differences in leadership perceptions in Iran and Western Europe.

Already starting this research it is clear that it is impossible that only one factor (historical development in this case) can determine the whole sociological perception of phenomena (political leadership). I aim to explore how significant the influence of historical course has been and how clear its impact has been.

2. Perception of Leadership

2.1. Introduction

In this paper I have decided to compare two perceptions of a concept in public administration, sociology, social anthropology and even in philosophy. The concept “leadership” has an interdisciplinary meaning. In this case it is more important to define the two different perceptions of the term. There are two different schools or approaches that place the concept of leadership in different place in describing and analyzing the world. Both of the approaches are represented by authors who originally come from different parts of the worlds. One perception comes from the Western scholars – meaning Europe and United States. The other perception is represented by authors who come from Middle East, mostly Iran. In this chapter I will present the theoretical assumptions and elaborations on the topic of leadership in different cultures.

I will not frame the way I look at the perceptions at the leadership before doing that. During the process of reviewing different authors and their perceptions of leadership I will try to identify fundamental points or paradigms that they base their beliefs on. After having done that with writings of Western authors I will try to look at the same points in the Iranian leadership philosophy to make the methodology of comparison valid for this research. In that way I expect to identify the main dimensions or areas where the differences of perceptions of leadership might be present.

To review the conception of leadership in Western and Eastern I will consider theories by representatives of different academic thoughts. It is very easy to find writings of Western academics as I am in the Europe now and my background is more connected with Western than Eastern (or Iranian) education. Therefore I will look into the writings of Western authors that have been very representative of certain tendency of leadership perception development. In the case of Iranian scholars, I do not have access to that wide and diverse range of representation. Therefore I will choose authors that are famous in consecutive time periods, especially because the philosophy of political leadership has also developed during the time according to certain events in the history.

I will choose authors starting from the very end of 19th century when the academic writings started to become public (published) and was influenced by the society to large

extent as there was a possibility of discussion. Therefore intellectuals and their academic thought reflect also the current (at the time) leadership perception of the society.

At the end of this chapter I will provide a summary and conclusions of both perceptions of leadership, pointing out the main dimensions where the differences occur and trying to provide arguments for their relevance. In the next chapter I will be able then to examine the role of historical development for these dimensions of differences.

To start my paper I will introduce the scheme by Wright that gives an explanation of the interrelation between the concepts of power and influence as perceived by majority of the scholars in the Western cultures in the previous century. After that I will look at the development of the leadership as an academic term and phenomena studied to analyze the society, politics and its impact in promoting the political change.

In the second part of this chapter I will pay attention to the perception of the concept of leadership in the writings of authors who do not belong to the part of the world that we define as “Eastern”. The academic papers of M. Bani-Sadr, A. Bazargan and M. Delkhasteh (and others) will be examined. After having done that I will be able to answer the first research question – what the differences in perception of leadership are. I will also know if it is possible to classify and define them within wider sociological context.

2.2. Western scholars

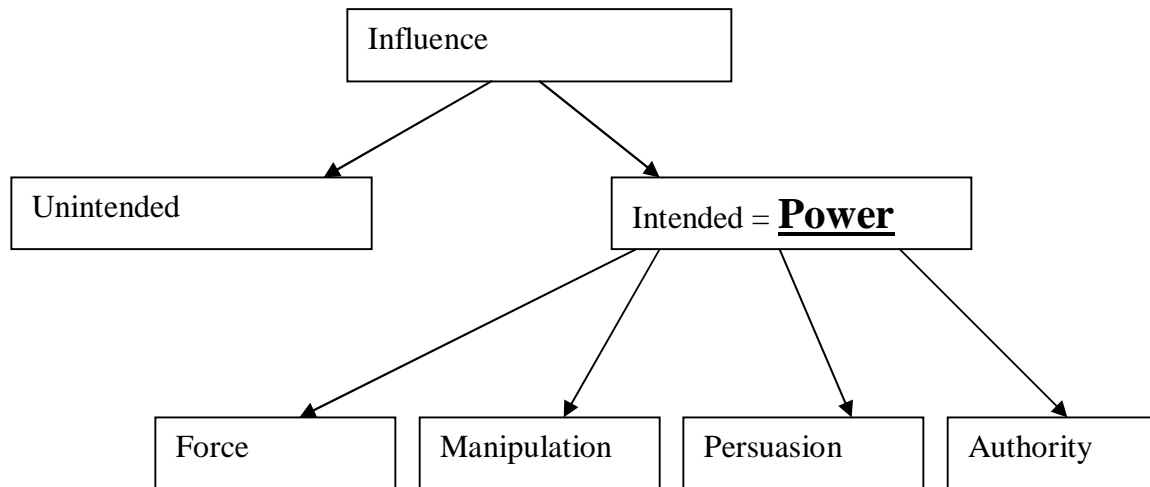
Interrelations of concepts

Generally leadership in writings is defined as “action over human beings that is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition of conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers (..) leaders inducting followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations – the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations – of both leaders and followers². It is closely related to the use of power “...The probability the one actor within a social relationship will be in position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this

²Burns James MacGregor, *Leadership*, Harper&Row, New York, 1978, pp. 12

probability exists.”³ And authority – the right or the capacity or both to have proposals of perceptions or instructions accepted without recourse of persuasion, bargaining of force⁴. I will go on presenting a scheme by Dennis Wright to illustrate one of the most conventional ways of how the concepts mentioned above interrelate and how they are linked to the leadership understanding.

Scheme 2. The division of power⁵



Development of the concept of “leader”

Western scholars in their studies analyze leadership as a concept linked to their position. All leaders exercise their leadership in certain time and in certain place. That is what to large extent determines the way and the success of the leadership. There are scholars that stand for the importance of the personality, others claim that the leadership environment determines the success. Elgie as interactionist claims that both of the two components matter.

The leader’s personality works through the 1) ambitions of the leader and the 2) leadership style. Leadership environment is further divided in 1) institutional settings and 2) needs of the society in the given society. He focuses on the success for the leadership and the way it is expressed. Personality and environment are viewed as tools for

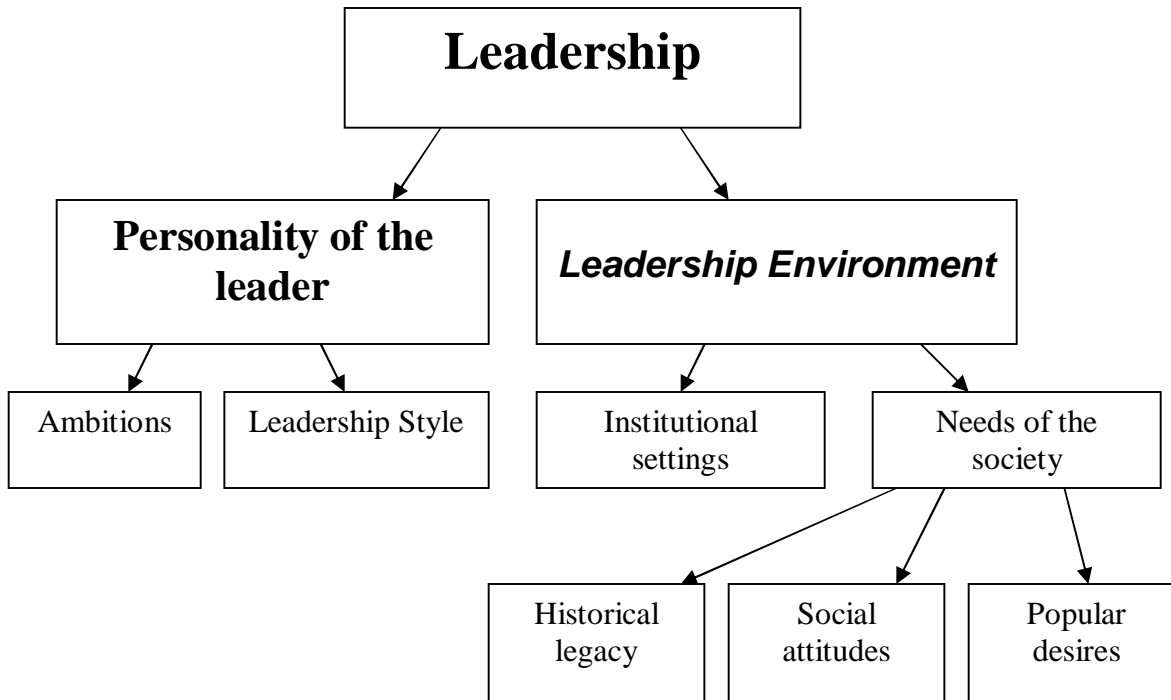
³ Weber Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, The Free Press, New York, 1947, pp. 17

⁴ McLean Iain, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996

⁵ George Kourvetaris, 1997, *Political Sociology: Structure and Process*, Allyn & Bacon, Needham Heights, MA

providing it. The division between the two factors (personality of the leader and leadership environment) is strictly set as well as the distinction between leader and the led.

Scheme 3 Factors that determine the Leadership⁶



Thomas Carlyle in his piece *The Leader as a Hero* claims that the personality of a man is what determines the leadership and is crucial in whole process. He says that everything we see in the world is rationally accomplished and is done by one rational person. People feels the influence and power of a man and are likely to follow him, they enjoy following a person. They like the person more if the person is more heroic and people are attracted by his capability. Author gives the refutation for argument that time and place matters in the exercise of leadership. He believes that leaders are not “the creatures of the Time” as very often it has proved that “...we have known Times call loudly enough for their great man; but not found him when they called.”⁷ He claims that great men transform the environment when they come to power to improve their leadership. They make themselves famous and make the followers follow. That is the nature of human society.

⁶ Elgie Robert, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies*, Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1995, pp.9-23

⁷ Carlyle Thomas, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1907, pp 12

“Society is founded on Hero-worship” and that makes great –men so influential that they can influence the environment.⁸

Thomas Carlyle is a very characteristic author to the end of 19th century, beginning of 20th century writers who used the “great man” theory to explain leadership. For them leader with his/her features was the central element. Not even the content was so important, but the structure of leading and following. Rationality was used to explain why a crowd should follow one man. **Followers** have always been the most important indicator for measuring the success of leadership.

Sigmund Freud talks about the importance of the personality as a *Great Man* and as a *Leader as a Group Ideal*. He agrees that it is not possible that one element forms the development of the history. Situation with all its aspects and the individual cannot be separated. Leadership however is essential element. Freud talks about the inevitability of one person as a leader going back in history when one despotic and powerful male led a horde. There are two types of psychology: 1) the psychology of the leader – one person and 2) the psychology of member of a group. These categories can also be applied as a leader and a follower.

According to Freud leadership is a natural image of society. Leader is admired and trusted, but he might also be feared and hated. Matters only the fact that he is followed. There are also two parts of leadership that concern the leader:

1. The personal features of a leader
2. The idea promoted by a leader

Each of these features is important and forms the characteristics and the style of the leadership.⁹

The focus on the idea promoted by leader was an important tendency and factor in the writings of Freud. He tried to scientifically explain the human nature and types of psychology, but the first half of 20th century indicated the **democratic** norms and following the idea rather than a person. It became rational to explain personal interests by collective benefits and ideas. Interpretation and argumentation was a part of leader's

⁸ Carlyle Thomas, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1907, pp 1-2, 11-15

⁹ Freud Sigmund, *Group Psychology and the Analyses of the Ego*, Norton, New York, 1954, pp. 54-60
Freud Sigmund, *Moses and Monotheism*, Knopf, New York 1939, pp. 136-142

success. But the psychologies still remained two and each individual, according to Freud, could have one – the individual (leaders) or group psychology.

Frames of leadership

Leadership environment consists of two basic parts: the institutional setting and the needs of the given society (according to Elgie). William James has the same opinion, but he presents it as a conflict between the individual, who has developed according to play of psychological and infrasocial forces and has the tendency of keeping all the power in his hands, and the environment that has power to reject or accept the individual and his contributions to the development of the situation. James believes that Great Men appear and have the ability to make change. But as soon as they appear as leaders the influence is modified and even the intentions are transformed. Power and authority makes people committed and the commitment requires certain natural norms to be fulfilled and therefore the modification happens. That is the power of the situation.

He also admits “Not every “man” fits every “hour””. Here he brings in the comparison with the wild birds that have the power of human speech, but, unless someone teaches them, they never develop it. The same principles work in human societies – people to large extent depend on the situation in order to exercise their power and capabilities.¹⁰

James Macgregor Burns distinguishes between Power Wielders and Leaders. “Power Wielders” refer to the legal or rational authority by Weber (will follow). That means that a person has an office and is granted a certain legitimate power, but that does not mean that the individual exercises the influence and would have many followers. It leads to the assumption that such person would not be a leader, but an authority. The environment – the existing institutional system, can grant that. Leader is the one who makes the change and has the influence over other people that are known as his followers. The main difference between power wielders and leaders is that leaders have the resources according to their motives, but power wielders have their purposes according to their resources.¹¹

¹⁰ James William, *Selected Papers on Philosophy*, E.P.Dutton, New York, 1917, pp.173-181

¹¹ Burns James MacGregor, *Leadership*, Harper&Row, New York, 1978, pp. 12-22

Motivation and reasoning is seen as essential part of leadership that determines not only the success of a leader in terms of followers, but also in terms of implementing the leader's idea or motive. The followers in this case determine if person is a Leader or a Power Wielder. The nature of the human society or the **order of the world** then determines that either the leader has resources to fulfill their motives or the person has purposes or motives according to the resources available. It is a system based on a balance of resources.

The division of leaders and people with authority is not consistent in writing of Western scholars. For example Max Weber writes about bureaucracy as a form of governing. Leaders are an integrative part of bureaucracy; in fact, bureaucracy is an element of leadership environment. Therefore the authority given to a individual is treated as a beneficial leadership environment rather than factors that makes leader less likely to practice leadership. Max Weber distinguishes between 3 types of legitimate authority. They can be also taken as 3 bases or reasons of why people have become the leaders¹²:

- Rational or legal base – people have become leaders according to the legal structure of the state, they have fulfilled all the formal requirements. This base gives them a legal right to take the office and be a formal leader with all the attached rights and duties
- Traditional base – people have become the leaders according to a belief or traditions and customs as well as the history. This gives the power and influence, but is based on the belief and tradition in minds of the followers, that can change according to the change in the environment.
- Charismatic base – regarding the belief in the qualities of a person and the persistent trust and will to follow

Ann Ruth Willner¹³ goes on analyzing these types of influence, especially focusing on the charismatic authority. She says that the legal authority is based on the right and the belief in the right to give certain commands. The traditional authority depends on the status of a person. Author claims that these two types of authority therefore give the power and refer to the certain office or status, giving the frame for the power.

¹² Weber Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, The Free Press, New York, 1947, pp. 328-363

¹³ Willner Ann Ruth, *The Spellbinders*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1984, pp. 3-8

The leadership becomes framed by granted authority – status. Charismatic leadership still exists, but it is rather an exception. By giving power on rational or traditional bases, legitimacy is the factor of **following**. Binding or legitimate norms are the ones that are followed by people, therefore the one issuing the norms has exercised a good leadership.

Robert C. Tucker talks about nonconstituted leadership is hard to be applied to any frames, as they are not constituted. These are leaders that have no legal authority. They deal not that much with the power as with the influence. As they do not hold a legal position they do not have to restrict themselves to any frame (as much as going out of frame does not harm their ability to influence) or follow any norms as there is no contract between them and the leadership environment. People follow them not because of legal grounds, but beliefs. Usually the idea of the leader is what makes one the leader and the charisma what keeps one a leader. On one hand the nonconstituted leadership is weaker as it lacks the legal and traditional authority and can rely only on charisma. On the other hand this type of leadership is much more flexible and cross-discursive. It involves higher risk of not succeeding, but has the capacity to achieve more effective result in case of success. Besides, the risk of having legal sanctions, as far as the actions do not go out of general norms, does not exist because nonconstituted leadership does not involve legal status of leader or any contracts.¹⁴

Even if having the mentioned potential and resources of non-constituted leadership or charismatic personalities in mind, it is exercised only on exceptional bases. It is essential when significant reforms have to take place, but since the Western cultures have been developing the welfare state model, the minimization of risk¹⁵ promotes also the restriction of reforms. Constituted rather than uncontested practices of state functioning have left a minor importance for non-constituted leaders.

Sources of leadership

As described before, influence is the factor that allows leadership to be exercised. Talcott Parsons has divided leaders according to the types of influence they exercise. He distinguishes between four main types of influence¹⁶:

¹⁴ Tucker Robert C, *Politics as Leadership*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1982, pp. 71-75

¹⁵ Esping-Andersen "Social security in a long life society" 4th International Research Conference on Social Security, Antwerp, 5-7 May 2003

¹⁶ Parsons Talcott, *Politics and Social Structure*, The Free press, New York, 1969, pp. 419

1. Political influence – influence that gives the power to have the person's political decisions binding to the public. Legal or rational base is to large extent exercised.
2. Fiduciary influence – influence from the right to allocate resources in the situation of plural interests
3. Influence through appeal to different loyalties – power to determine the priorities, commitments, decide the policies to apply.
4. Influence orientated to the interpretation of norms – it provides the balance between value commitments and particular interests in certain situations. Based on reputation and tradition.

By coming up these types of influence Parsons gives the idea of flexible set of resources. There are several options of what balance of types of influences should have to be to make a change or exercise leadership. There is no certain or absolute model of what a successful leader is of who the person is. Diversity in leadership qualities implies also diversity of leadership personalities. If one option is not optimal, the other can be chosen. Leader is not perceived as an absolute figure. He or she is associated with certain time, place and leadership style. Leaders can be **changed** if the necessary qualities or resources for successful leadership are known. By defining the types of influence, the defined image of a leader is created.

As mentioned above, the Western scholars tend to use the techniques of classifications and segmentation to study leaders. The concept of leadership involves a certain status and means that allow a person to hold the position. It is the balance of the society that determines the influence – weather the leader has skills to give people what they need or want or just the opposite, society decides on having/not having an authority.

The success of the leader is determined by the extent to which he/she is followed. Every individual can be placed on the leadership - follower scale. In early academic writings on leadership (before 20th century), the personality of leader is very important and followers follow because of certain qualities a person has. It is explained by science of psychology – people need to follow someone. The idea about “great man” changed after the World Wars with emergence of democratic ideals. At the beginning democracy was mostly the political regime, but soon scholars acknowledged that extent to which a

person is followed depends also on her/his motives and ideology – extent of their compliance with democratic norms. People are still willing to follow and comply, but they need to know what they get in exchange. Is implementation of common ideas what they expect from leading-following model of society? There is still the bargaining of Jean-Jacques Rousseau known as “social contract theory” present – following in exchange of achievement of desired goals. Or it might be also the principle of delegating the planning and coordinating the process of achieving the goal to the representative (leader) and supporting (following) him/her in pursuing his/her chosen way to achieve the goal (which is believed to be the “common desired goal”)

The “desired goals” are often identified with human rights and social development. Democracy has become the collective “desired goal” of the Western society. As long as the leader persuades people of having motives of enforcing liberalism, the “social contract” principle ensures the leadership.

It would have been very predictable is there was always one person with “the psychology of the leader” and the rest would have “the psychology of member of a group”. There is a competition for the leadership because in the situation of democracy people have become not only equal within the same society, but in some aspects even similar. The psychology of the leader is characteristic to more than one person in institutions. According to the norms of liberalism a free competition is provided for the position of leader. People can choose whom to follow. Even the principle that everyone has the right to change his/her mind as often as they wish is important. Leader can be changed, people do not settle for eternal trust or following. Leadership is a relative term. There are exceptions known as charismatic leaderships, but in Western world the idea of rule of law and democracy has succeeded in decreasing their amount and importance.

In the next part I will provide the Iranian perspective on leadership, pointing out the most characteristic features. After having done that I will be able to identify the main dimensions or fields where the differences of perceptions of leadership occur, if there will be any differences. I will go on looking for the causes of the different perceptions.

2.3. Eastern scholars

In the Islamic world the development of social sciences and academic thought has had a different way. It has always been very much linked to the religion and all the social

events have been explained through the will of God. Even the scholars of 21st century refer to the Koran while explaining the desirable relations in the society. Until the beginning of 20th century there has been a strong monarchy period. Therefore the leadership thoughts were quite restricted and the practices of it frequently repeating. I will look at the development of the thoughts about leader's role and understanding of the terms starting from the beginning of 20th century with a strong state structure and its critics. I will go on exploring the ideas of Mojahedin and Ali Shariati. At the end I will look at the writings of Bani-Sadr – the ex-president of Iran.

Monarch as a Hero

Until the revolution on 1979 opposition to the previous power was the way how every new dynasty became the leading one. There was only one superpower incompatible with others. Leader was superior and unquestionable. It had become a tradition. Even short time before the revolutions of 1979 Empress Farah declared that “The monarchy has a special meaning for Iranian families. It is in our way-of-life. It has been integral part of our history for 2500 years”¹⁷. It implies the importance of the **traditions** as well as family customs in Eastern world. Family is treated as a unit in front of the leader and unit forming the leadership. The monarchs used to give away their positions to their sons and relatives as far as it stayed within the family.

Pahlavi monarchy period was special because it contributed to another understanding of governing and leading. For the first time it was not the issue of governing the territories and properties, but also leadership over the people. It became clear that the people should know the leader and should feel the presence of him/her in every sphere of their life. It was regarded as the leadership reaching all the villages of the country and also the leadership declining because of lack of the social support.

Means of holding the power and bases of leadership were innovative at that time and became characteristic to the new leadership style¹⁸:

¹⁷ <http://www.farahpahlavi.org/>

¹⁸ Abrahamian E., *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1989, pp. 12-13

- Military force – it was very developed and detailed. Many people were employed in that sphere – it was seen as the physical support for the authority which at that situation was inevitably necessary
- Bureaucracy – it was a tool for reaching maximum spheres and territories of Iran. The idea was that the engagement of people in the state activities and order is necessary. At the same time control is needed to provide it. For that reason a strong class system was introduced. Monarch and his family were the higher class, the bureaucrats, clerks and other administrative staff (working for the state) as well as the merchants and others according to their financial capacities were the second class and the rest of the society (majority) were the lower class.
- Court establishment – this was a mechanism how to implement the policies of the power elite, at the same time making it look legitimate to the society. It might be defined as early “rule of law” principle. Even if it served for the interests of the leaders, the role of followers was important enough to justify the actions.

R.Loeffler in his “From Tribal order to Bureaucracy: The Political Transformation of the Boir Ahmad” says that the power was acquired through a high level of centralization and intervention in almost all the spheres of life¹⁹.

Leadership was seen as characteristic to one person. It was closely associated with one person - Reza Shah Pahlavi who created a system for being more successful in his leadership. He was perceived as very wise for implementing the new system of bureaucracy and enforcement of new mechanisms of court system and military power. That was regarded as **exercise of his skills** that proves him as a good leader.

People had become a value – just like in Western world in the first part of 20th century, but they did not develop the “psychology of a leader”. Society was and to large extent also in nowadays is treated as a group or crowd that constitutes a factor for success or obstacle for it. The more skills a leader has, the faster a state develops and the more supportive rather than hindering society will be. People do not set conditions for the

¹⁹ R.Loeffler, “From Tribal order to Bureaucracy: The Political Transformation of the Boir Ahmad”, 1975. pp 21

leader, they take a person with whole set of his/her **motivations, skills and plans**. They have the nature of following, but not choosing the one to be followed.

To sum up about the Pahlavi perception of leadership the involvement of the society was important. It means that leader was perceived as a figure holding the more weight (power) in the social balance. Other players also do matter, but the success of the leader depends on his actions and policies.

Leader as a Prophet of God by Mojahedin

Mojahedin is a militant political party that advocates overthrowing the government in the Islamic Republic of Iran and replacing it with its own leadership²⁰. That is one of the public definitions of the organization, but it implies not only the political structure and activities, but also ideologies. Most of the scholars share the opinions of Mojahedin. That is also logical because of the formation of the organization. It was a group of scholars and intellectuals who started to spread their ideas decades before the Iranian revolution and formation of the current government. They have also strong opinions about the leadership and role of the individual in determining the development of the society.

There are several scholars who share the ideas of Mojahedin that are published in several united writings. The most influential authors at the stage of early Mojahedin were Masoud Rajavi and Maryam Rajavi, also Bazargan. Mojahedin is often treated as following of Masoud Rajavi and Maryam Rajavi as a personality cult. On the other hand there are other authors like Bazargan or even Bani-Sadr nowadays who share similar ideas²¹. Therefore the argument of scholars rather than ideas being followed is not relevant in this sense.

The ideology if Mojahedin was originally treated as combination of Islam and Marxism. It started to talk about Shiism as a protest against class exploitation and state oppression. There was an assumption that God sends prophets to help the masses (prophets like Mohammad, Imam Ali, Imam Hosayn²²), which is a desirable action according to Shii. On the other hand there is Sunni part of Islam – a transformation of

²⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Mujahedin_of_Iran

²¹ Abrahamian E., *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1989, pp. 91-97

²² They were the first Islamic leaders. It is supposed that the Islam was received through Mohammad. They are believed to be the true advocates of Islam at the beginning of Islam Religion in Middle East.

power that has happened historically – giving the power to Caliphs, not according to Koran. Mojahedin considers the principle from the Koran, that masses should inherit the Earth. It is impossible that one person would have the power over the others²³.

Nehzat-e Hosayni, the ideas from Imam Hosayn suggest that humans differ from animals with their duty to fight oppression and injustice. That implies the duty of every individual not only to understand the situation (distinguish between justice and injustice), but also act in a certain way. Everyone is considered to be equal in order to do so. The individual action is supported, not following anyone²⁴.

Ali-Shariati has developed the same ideas, but he has more concrete principles about individual action and following:

- 1) people should follow only God's will, no-one else's
- 2) man has an inner desire to reach higher stage of consciousness – self development
- 3) there is a class struggle in the society, which is symbolized by Abel and Cain in Koran²⁵

He believed that initially people were like the criteria above, but historically the circumstances changed and they were forced to follow. The society is now composed by two elements:

- 1) superstructure – state legal system, dominant ideology
- 2) infrastructure – exploited classes

According to Ali-Shariati the superstructure leads the infrastructure and infrastructure has no choice, but to follow, because the force and power are used.

In *Ummat va imamat* (Community and Leadership) he supports the belief that every person is an individual and should fight for the principles of justice. The only acceptable rule that is desirable to follow is that of intelligentsia.²⁶ That way he accepts the intellectual authority as the resource of the leadership that is binding. By doing that he also states the part of the society (also he belongs to that) – intelligentsia as the only possible leader to follow and sets the criteria or rules that should not be questioned. Because of that reason he is often criticized by promoting intelligentsia dictatorship.²⁷

²³ Abrahamian E., *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1989, pp 93

²⁴ Abrahamian E., *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1989, pp 91-97

²⁵ Many parts of Koran and Bible are similar

²⁶ Shari'ati Ali, *Ummat va Imamat*, *Qalam Publishers*, Tehran, 1978, pp.1-92

²⁷ Abrahamian E., *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1989, pp 111

This part of perception of leadership advocates the principle of not following, but questioning. Looking for freedom and development are obligations according to the Koran. Going back to the origins of **Islam** (that is promoting freedom and development according to Mojahedin) is the goal of society.

Revolutionary leadership

The revolutions of 1979 promoted a new kind of leaders and new perceptions of what should be done. There are 3 bright examples of what kind of leaders and opinions of leaders were dominating.

Khomeini – he was leading the opposition movement against Shah regime (Pahlavi dynasty) for a long time. He was a very good spokesman and a charismatic personality. There were no opponents for him to acquire the social support. He used the principles of Mojahedin, making it rather democratic than Marxist. He was the figure whom society wanted to see – a strong opposition to the previous regime. Manipulations and diplomacy were his tools for maintaining the leadership. Even intellectuals were likely to follow him. After some years of democratic leadership style, force and military order became the tools of his implementation of power. The majority of people followed him – they needed a strong leader.²⁸

Bazargan was a prime minister for 9 months within the Khomeini regime. His task was to prepare or reform the country for “new order”. He was a strong follower of the Mojahedian traditions, therefore, tried to justify everything with **religious** principles. “The vast state bureaucracy created by the Pahlavis is a heavy burden to the country... We must return the state to the people”²⁹ He was not supporting rapid innovation while the state was not ready yet. His idea was not a reformist leadership that society was looking for, for that reason he had a lot of opponents. The people was not supporting his way of governance either, they needed a more aggregative rather than integrative leader.³⁰

²⁸ Bakhash S., *The Reign of Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1985, pp. 19-20

²⁹ Ettela'at, 10 May, 1979

³⁰ Bakhash S., *The Reign of Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1985, pp. 53-54

He is regarded as being democratic through following Koran with the idea of giving the state to the people, but he also tried to integrate norms of rationality and graduate change in his ideology of development. But even if doing that, there was a heavy stress on common virtues of Shiism. On the other hand, he followed the old Iranian way of establishing new power as an opposition to the previous leader. He did not believe in bureaucracy, but valued the good will of people and higher religious beliefs.

Bani-Sadr's perception of unrestricted freedom

Bani-Sadr was the first president of the Iran, but his leadership was not long and it was not much determined by himself either. He was a supporter of Khomeni and instead of attracting support to himself, he was very good at promoting the image of Khomeni. He believed in ideas, not in leading the society to achieve the goals. That was the reason why after the revolt of the democratic regime by Khomeni and foundation of the totalitarianism, he is not able to spread his ideas in Iran any more.³¹ Bani – Sadr believes in skills and abilities of individual to make decisions and make an impact, but they are all equal, even similar.

Bani-Sadr is one of the brightest Islamic intellectuals nowadays. He is also following the ideas of Mojahedin as mentioned above, but he writes more about power and freedom relations in different aspects.

Bani-Sadr does not support any kind of authority or power implemented in the society, over other people. They are restrictions which hinder the development. No concentration of power is beneficial. Also domination of one ideology is harmful due to its potential of becoming an instrument for exercising power. The mechanism that allows balancing the governance and the society is religion. People exercise power over the leader through mosques – “Government of God”. Koran has given all the rules of how the state should function and that is the most beneficial way.³²

The message that Bani - Sadr sends through his writings is the personal freedom that needs to be developed without any frames of power. Leadership is a talent that a

³¹ ³¹ Bakhash S., *The Reign of Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution*, IB Tauris&Co, London, 1985, pp. 92-93

³² Banisadr M., *Hukumat-e Eslami*, pp. 62-63

person can develop just like music, art and others. It should never be used to restrict the freedom of others, but to provide the principles of development mentioned above.

2.4. Conclusion

Having looked at the perceptions of the leadership in Iran and in Western Europe, I have made general conclusion about the main feature of the political leadership philosophy in both regions. In Western cultures the leadership is measured by the number of followers of/and the extent to which they are followed. Most of the explanations about success of leader and leadership style are provided according to the scientific or rational argumentation. At the time when the modern philosophy of political leadership started to develop (end of 19th century), psychology was used to explain human nature to follow one leader as a hero. During the development of leadership thoughts and political development, the rational assumptions of democracy and balance of interests (“social contract”) became the framework of explaining leadership relations. By having the whole perception rationalized, criterions or requirements of leadership were indirectly defined. Having done that, the role of personality in process of leading became less relevant – leaders are changeable, continuity is perceived as follow up of the ideas or chosen course of development. Leaders are replicable, the ideology remains.

In Iran the leadership philosophy was closely linked to the monarchy. Family and monarch are parts of tradition or custom. Nowadays the monarch might be replaced by term “leader”. Fact of having a leader is not questionable. That is treated as something beyond anyone’s control (*force majeure*). But the leader can be questioned and evaluated. For that the assessment of his/her skills is used. Successful leader will have the ability to propose good policies and establish an optimal order. Koran has provided description of the mentioned characteristics of a good leader, that is the principle of how society functions and the better Koran is understood, the more successful the development will be. For that reason, knowing and following the religion is overall aim of every individual and society. Leader has to promote the implementation of Koran norms. If the “Prophet of God” has occurred, he/she has to be followed as that person has the absolute knowledge of what is the best.

In order to follow the research question and not only identify the differences of the leadership perceptions, but also provide the possible causes for them, I will structure the comparison according to 4 different dimensions or discourses where the differences occur:

- Indicators of leadership: Concept of followers in West and concept of skills in East

This dimension talks about measuring of leadership and determining the quality of it. In Western perception followers are an inevitable part of assessing leadership. They are the characteristic and indicator of success in academic research of leaders. There might be followers of an idea, but not a person, then it is not regarded as leadership situation. Idea is still regarded as idea, even if not followed. But a person can not be perceived as a leader in a case if he/she does not have followers. The authors of the tradition of “Great Man” (Robert Tucker, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Carlyle) talk about one person being followed because of his charisma, but others like Max Weber, James Masgregor Burns talk about different resources – authority, status, legitimacy, the idea followed, etc. Elgie as interactionist claims that the leadership environment and the personality of leader both matter; depending on situation one is more and other less relevant. But in all situations, the relationship of leaders – followers is present.

The situation is different in Iran – leadership is perceived as the person who according to certain reasons (being the son of the previous monarch, being the “Prophet of God” or being a skillful spiritual figure) and using all the skills and ideas to achieve certain goals (for example economic development or social development) hold the power. Khomeini is often criticized by his policies, but his diplomacy and manipulation skills are recognized as very helpful for him as a leader. Therefore Bani – Sadr, questioning his policies, does not disclaim his leadership due to the excellent skills to lead. He also claims that leadership is one of the 7 talents that person can have.

- Social mechanisms that determine the success of leadership: Rational explanations in Western Europe – social contract principles, methodology, scientific research vs. efficient explanation in Iran – Koran as the conduct or rule of law, Vital action

Freud studied leadership through science of psychology, later authors have tried to explain it through principles of rationality and “social contract” mechanisms. In Iran there

has never been such a systematic approach used. There was a wave of attempts to look at the leadership through governance perspective – Pahlavi way of using bureaucracy and creating mechanism to practice leadership. These attempts though might be perceived rather as structuration aimed at attracting public support or following according to Western standards, but it did not succeed as a form of leadership (neither in philosophical, nor practical level). In Iran rather new interpretations of Koran or acting according to feelings/emotions dominate.

- Ideals of the society that should be leader's motives: Religion in East and Democracy in West

All the scholars in Iran refer to Koran as the main source of all the paradigms that they base their ideas on. Leaders are perceived as “prophets of God”, Koran “obliges people to fight oppression” and all the other justifications are rather directly perceived from Koran or are interpreted from the religious norms. In the Western perspective there is no certain set of values binding in all times. The sense of truth and the just order of the world changes over the time. Rationality and democracy are the norms followed since first part of 20th century. Thus it is the belief of people being able to reason and determine their needs and goals as well as achieve them (democracy).

- Continuity of leadership: Relativity (Change of leaders) in West vs. Absolutism (Leader as a hero) in East

As in West leader's position is associated with certain rules, resources and practices, it is replaceable. People are likely to follow a legitimate leader (“following” in Western world means choosing one candidate over the other in elections and obeying the existing order), but they are likely to follow another legitimate leaders as well. Leader is perceived as personification of desired ideas and beliefs. In Iran the leader is perceived as the source of ideas and improvements. Therefore he/she can not be replaced.

I have explained four dimensions where the differences of perceptions of leadership can be found. Iran and Western Europe are used as cases that determine where differences in leadership perceptions might occur. In terms of the two regions the model of dimensions identified should change according to period in history. If historical development has lead to the current perceptions, the change of dimensions will be

consecutive resulting in the current combination of factors (mechanisms, indicators, ideals and continuity).

In the next chapter I will apply these four dimensions – indicators of success, social mechanisms, social ideals and continuity of leadership to test the continuity of historical development of leadership in these discourses. I will not focus on comparing the leadership perceptions in the two regions to each other in different times, but try to analyze the change of the leadership perceiving dimension over time. The result might be the same in both cases or might differ, but in this case it will not be of crucial importance – the two cases will only serve for showing how strong or significant the results are.

3. Historical Development

3.1. Introduction

In this part I will talk about the historical development of leadership experiences and relations of the “East” and the “West” assuming that it might have resulted in different perceptions of the leadership term.

To start with I would like to clarify what is understood by East and by West. In this case I will not focus on some countries due to their geographical trend, but rather to some countries that represent very characteristic approach to the leadership related matters and that are represented by scholars who pursue these ideas. To talk about geographical divisions mentioning every country it would become clear that not all of the countries, not even two scholars are similar in their opinions and perceptions. It is mostly the issue of the extent to which certain approach is relevant to which region. Because of that I talk about the “East” and the “West”, associating the regions with some of the brightest writings and academic thoughts.

For the reasons mentioned above I will consider the historical development of Iran as the representative of Eastern or Islamic approach and historical development of Western Europe as representative of the Western approach. Iran is relevant due to the large amount of scholars there and to the fact that in this case the approach represented is also closely linked to the Islam as a factor determining certain culture. Iran is rich in intellectuals also because historically it is perceived as the main heritage of the Persian culture and philosophy. Most of Islamic countries share the same cultural principles. Western Europe is taken as one region due to its relatively small territory that has lead to high level of interdependence of the countries and relatively similar development. Therefore it is inevitable that all the countries share quite similar approaches to social issues.

Looking at the historical development I will try to link it to the perceptions of the leadership. In the previous chapter I have considered the differences in perceptions of leadership and identified four dimensions that indicate discourses of differences. In this part I will look at the leadership experiences in history. To see the interrelation between differences in leadership and differences in historical development, I will analyze

historical development in the same four dimensions, where I have identified differences in leadership:

- Indicators of leadership: Concept of followers in West and concept of skills in East
- Social mechanisms that determine the success of leadership: Rational explanations in Western Europe – social contract principles, methodology, scientific research vs. efficient explanation in Iran – Koran as the conduct or rule of law, Vital action
- Ideals of the society that should be leader's motives: Religion in East and Democracy in West
- Continuity of leadership: Relativity (Change of leaders) in West vs. Absolutism (Leader as a hero) in East

In history there have been several areas that we associate with development: China, Egypt, Persia, Roman Empire and others. During the Middle ages, when more evidence about the actual events in the history were left, there were certain centers that we now associate with development of civilizations or cultures. Western Europe had remained as representative of the Roman Empire while Persia or Iran was the center of development of the Middle East. Each of them has had a different path of development and they have had limited contacts. That makes it interesting to explore the development of a society and state of two examples. They both are social structures developing at the same period of time, but with different unintended circumstances and events.

Middle East has been binding to the history scientists as the oldest area of explorable human development. "Fertile half-moon" is the territory where three important religions have come from: Jewish, Christian and Muslim. For that reason they share the main events in their sacred writings, but during the history the interpretations of them have gone different directions. Historically it has happened that Christianity has spread all over the world, not remaining powerful traditions in its original territory, Judaism has not become that wide-spread and has not remained in that territory either. Islam has become powerful and has also remained in its initial territory. People of Middle East have been most supportive of Islam as their religion. All the religions have been a strong factor to

determine the culture of people. The extent to which they are taken into account has often proved to be the determining factor of the development.³³

3.2. Europe and Modernity

During the last centuries Europe has become more developed than the regions in the East of it. Due to the Renaissance and Enlightenment not only the technical progress, but also the progress in the fields of science and social development was made. That was the reason why the Christianity as religion was questioned and at the end lost its leading role in decision making and managing the society. Christianity remained as a way of living or culture and became more flexible. Canons and customs were not used as matters for deciding. People started to compare rather than evaluate and judge, it was not that important any more if things are good or bad – they had to be beneficial, useful, appropriate, potential. **Rationality** was introduced as the main principle of living. The transfer in human societies to better life through reason and rational use of resources was the beginning of the **Modernity**.

In this chapter I will look at the historical development of Western Europe, especially focusing on the development of science and religion, their interaction, level to which it determines the governance of society and leadership issues. During the history there have been 3 ways of perceiving nature and explaining the world: deification (pagan way of explaining nature), rationalism (Greek and nowadays approach), de-deification (Used by Bible, especially in Middle Ages)³⁴.

Pre-Christianity

The development of Europe before the Christianity is usually seen as the Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. In terms of development, the Ancient Greeks have given a huge input.

By having many Gods Greeks tried to explain the nature and interaction of different forces. They perceived nature as a combination of rational events and it had to be logical

³³ W.B. Fisher and Editorial Board, *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 1: The Land of Iran*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 717-729

³⁴ M.C.Jacob, *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1988, pp.

as an entity. Everything had a logical reason, they called it a "Matter". All happenings were caused by a Necessity that was irresistible and similar to everything and everyone. According to Greek philosophers there was a world order that included three principles

- 1) fate (moira) – the principle that things have their way of happening and line of development. The modifications are not likely to be successful
- 2) necessity (ananke) – that is a principle which determines the order of things, happenings and matters of everything. Even gods can not violate it without being punished afterwards. There is no certain person or body determining this concept. It is an intrinsic phenomena of all the things.
- 3) justice (dike) – the principle that helps to maintain the balance, this is the element that makes things happen according to the necessity not any other reasons. If the principle of necessity is violated, the principle of justice will correct the situation

These were the mechanisms of universal morale and could be applied to all levels of existence – human life, events in the nature and even the atomic level of things. Nature was considered as the soul and intellect of the world. All the plants, animals, people and natural events formed the soul.³⁵

This way the social **mechanisms** involved not only a logical structure, but mutual interdependency. Certain hierarchy exists, but not even the higher levels (gods) can violate the rational matters. The gods are several, but responsible for a separate sphere. Even if not unique in sense of their status, they can not be replaced. They get punished for their mistakes, but whole mechanism (world) has to suffer. Therefore the principle of continuity in this period implied **continuity** in sense of dealing with the same leaders (gods) even if they have failed in certain situations. It was determined by the fate principle – belief that there is the rational system of happenings and actors. It can not be changed, but has to be studied in order to be successful. The **ideals** of the time are based rather on a higher power – the nature which determines order, necessity and matter. It is not an order determined by society or participants of the system (including Gods and leaders), but an independent party, which is not accessible by anyone. Therefore it would be as belief for ideal rather than value of democratic influencing of the system. It leads also to the weak **indication** of leadership. In a situation of strict system and universal

³⁵ R.Hooykaas, Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London, 1977, pp. 1-7

necessity it is hard to distinguish one leader and his/her followers. The one, who is most likely to understand the rational principles and has most skills of logic and using the system, is the best leader.

Middle Ages

Middle Ages in Europe was the period of time when religion was the base of all assumptions and explanations. Nature was not the soul or the intellect any more. It was the organism or system created and controlled by God. A point of reference of happening in the world was created. God had a sovereign will and did not need anything else to help or contribute to his creations. He had an independent and unquestionable knowledge. The world owed its existence to the God. That was the time, when the absolute power and authority was accepted. It was not explained through rational principles, nor its principles of action were tried to be understood.³⁶

Middle Ages was also a period when people started to feel the presence of other nations and interventions. Christianity was not the only religion, there were also pagans and orthodox version of Christianity. Church had to defend its positions as an institution. It used the principle of following and subordination as the tool of maintaining the power. People were likely to rely on the God and trust the mediator of God (church). The higher power was the factor that maintained the order – it could not be questioned or opposed, it had the unique right to be adored and followed. The traditional picture of the world was very strong. Already since the times of Greeks it was believed that tropical regions can not be inhabited because of the high temperature. In the Middle Ages there were already some people who went out of the Europe and discovered that there are people living even in the Southern hemisphere. They were discoveries made by mariners, engineers, pilots, not scholars and church clergy, therefore the reputation of scholars suffered. But considering the influence of church and social development of Europe in Middle Ages, the power and truth of church were never seriously criticized.³⁷

³⁶ R.Hooykaas, Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London, 1977, pp. 7-13

³⁷ R.Hooykaas, Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London, 1977, pp. 36-37

The Bible advocated a view that the development goes in a circle – what has been brought up by God, will be brought down and God decides when to do start and finish the circle. People of nature have no say in that.

Medieval times was a period of perception of people as a mass that has to be governed or ruled in some way. Religion was the way and people seemed to accept the order as intrinsic factor.

Keeping the role of religion in mind, the **ideals** of the society are clearly found in Bible. Also the **mechanisms** of how society works were derived from religion. Religion was used as the top set of values and overall goal while feudalism was the base of development underneath the church ideals. For that reason leadership was more practical than following the church. Most of the people were without education and very few had their independent thoughts. Mostly the feudals were the ones to have thoughts about role of power and leading. Science and discoveries were not welcome in Middle Ages – even if having discovered or learned something new, it was more useful not to spread the knowledge as reputation of scholars and innovators was very low. The leaders were the existing ones, they changed by generations, no need for changes was present. Things were not regarded as obsolete. Absolute **continuity** in leadership and values characteristic to Middle Ages in Western Europe. Due to the huge influence of church, religion was the only considerable tool and justification of power or leadership. No skills or options for exercising leadership were ever mentioned. Therefore leaders were blindly followed and followers were the only **indicator** of leadership.

Rise of Modern Science

Kepler and Galileo are the scientists who are thought to be the ones to establish the modern science. In their way of thinking they returned to the assumption of Ancient Greeks. They accepted the rationality and logical system of the world. The difference was in the fact that Greeks had assumed that the world is based and determined by logic, while 17th century European philosophy placed God in the role of creator of logic that determined the world. They considered the matter and reason to be in the head of people, but experience only can be the cause for discovering and starting to use the logic

principles of matter. For that reason they are known as representatives of mathematical empiricism.³⁸

17th century is important also because of the increase of traveling. More and more countries and territories were visited by Europeans. There were interactions with other civilizations. That made the idea of different ways of life, different opinions and circumstances of living more obvious. It did not immediately lead to liberal opinions and understandings, but it contributed to the rational thinking and comparative vision of development.³⁹

The role of church, especially the dogmatic principles of church was questioned. Church was divided into Protestant and Catholic divisions. It was not a peaceful division, but fight over the influence. Both of the churches struggled to prove their priorities of Christianity. It ended up at the explanations and discussions about the Bible. The Christianity had become liberal. It became debatable. The canons could be questioned and they were not the means for argumentation, but other arguments were used to talk about them. Power became questionable and increasing part of society started to use reasoning rather than following in order to commit an action.⁴⁰

Rationality returned to be the **mechanism** of social existence, but religions still remained as **ideal** of society. Even if things had to be done in a rational way, God was the one who had come up with the idea of rationality and he was the one to have constructed the system or order. There was a belief that world is so logical and all the elements are complementing to each other so well that it has to be someone to provide the order – it could not have become so perfect by itself (incidentally).

The struggle of two several divisions of churches was a very clear process of division of power. The concept of followers became essential – it was not only that other factors did not matter, but competition of several leaders (divisions of Christian church) in similar positions for the resource that would determine or **indicate** the winner – the followers. As soon as public experiences a competition and acknowledge themselves as a resource, the idea of absolute leader becomes weak. The old leadership of Catholic

³⁸ R.Hooykaas, Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London, 1977, pp. 35

³⁹ M.C.Jacob, The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Rvolution, Temple University ress, Philadelphia, 1988, pp. 109

⁴⁰ M.C.Jacob, The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Rvolution, Temple University ress, Philadelphia, 1988, pp. 110

church was not sufficient any more, so it is exchanged to other one. **Continuity** of ideas existed, but in terms of relative continuity of representatives of ideas.

Colonization, industrialization and globalization

Development of science contributed to development of technologies and capabilities of human increased dramatically. The previous human (as some centuries ago) was much less competitive. It was to large extent the reason why Western Europe became so influential on global arena. Most of the world was colonized by European countries. The ideas of Christianity and Western culture became global.

It was not only the technological and geographical developments that are characteristic to the period after development of science to the Western Europe. The social development took place as well. By developed technologies, more people could benefit from the same amount of energy used. On one hand human workforce became less important, on the other hand due to the use of machines, every person became important (equally important – using the technologies everyone could achieve the same result). Theoretically people became equally important, practically ownership of resources by some people made them not only powerful, but independent – they did not need that much workforce anymore. The contradictions of potential and real role of masses of people lead to the struggles of power and importance of social issues. Also social sciences started to develop. Leadership became a topic to research.

20th century arrived with issues of international balance of power. Geopolitics is an issue that started in 20th century and has remained important until nowadays. Once individuals got their rights and influence through rights to vote and human rights, the leadership turned out to be an issue to be examined through social movements, interest groups and political ideologies, etc. It became an extremely complex and interdisciplinary topic. Democracy with its perception of equal rights and opportunities provides equal chances of success to everyone, but not everyone turns out to be the leader or achieve any other goal. People are not able to use the same opportunities equally well, the skills, knowledge and talent play a major role. But they are never fully acknowledged to be crucial for leadership or success. Because in that case democracy neither as political regime nor a liberal perception of social order would ensure the security of importance of

a person. Instead rationality became binding. It interpreted liberal norms as free competition and logical reasoning. Goal was the most important. In terms of leadership it was a simple calculation – in the situation of democracy the winner is the one who has more supporting votes. Number of **followers** became the indicator that would give possibility to measure the final success of a leader.

The principle of social support has become so important that leaders rarely compete directly against each other, they fight over the same resource – public support. It can give enormous influence to a leader or it can totally destroy any chances to provide change or determine the rules. Leaders can be changed by society and leadership is characterized by certain period of time. **Continues** the idea, not leadership. Communication and approach are main techniques of obtaining the support. Democracy determines that every person is free in his/her desires – therefore leaders have to create impression and belief that they would implement the same ideas as most of the society has. In 20th century democratic **ideals** have been the most popular. Whoever is more persuasive in attempts to provide them, has the most support. Welfare state and higher living standards are connected to the democracy as they are believed to be achieved through liberal market economy that is most rational and therefore the most likely to be the beneficial **mechanism** for providing economic conditions that society would like.

Globalization developed during the second part of 20th century. Globalization “refers to increasing global connectivity, integration and interdependence in the economic, social, technological, cultural, political, and ecological spheres. Globalization is an umbrella term and is perhaps best understood as a unitary process inclusive of many sub-processes (such as enhanced economic interdependence, increased cultural influence, rapid advances of information technology, and novel governance and geopolitical challenges) that are increasingly binding for people and the biosphere more tightly into one global system”⁴¹ It has been criticized due to the opinion that it provides standardization of a certain social models and everyday routines, not keeping in mind cultural differences and traditions.

At this point the contact of Western Europe with the rest of the world was re-established. It became essential because not only Western Europe was interacting with other regions in the world, also Iran, but there are interdependence relations. For that

⁴¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalisation>

reason globalization can not be abandoned , but it has also a negative influence because not every model of economic, social, technological, cultural, political, and ecological sphere fits every culture, mentality and development. Leadership style and perception might be one of the elements of globalization that might not fit every society. That is why I will examine the development of political leadership in Iran and try to compare the main differences in developments of both regions also looking at them through dimensions of leadership indicators, social order mechanisms, social ideals and continuity of leadership.

3.3. Iran

For explaining the history of Iran I will mainly use a book written by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, the beginning of 20th century. There are not many sources of literature about history of Middle East available in English. If they are, they are translations or textbooks rather than sources. In this case the interpretation of history is important, therefore I have chosen to observe the facts more carefully. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes has spent many years of his life in Middle East and Central Asia, collecting and testing the historical facts by himself. Therefore *A History of Persia*, issued by *Routledge and Kegan Paul* in London in 1915 for the first time can be treated as a source of information. It contains mostly factual information rather than analyses and interpretations. It has to be mentioned that the second volume, where the interaction of Europe and Iran is described might be less objective due to the fact that the author is originally European himself, but his long experience in Asia allows to place him among the authors with most appropriate sight of the events in clash of the two civilizations at the end of 19th century.

I will go through history more detailed than that of Europe as the readers of this paper are probably more acquainted with events in Europe than development of Iran. I will start with the Ancient Assyria, the common rise of religion, Greek influence, Arab influence and rise of Islam. I will look into the factors contributing to the development of sciences and factors preventing the development. At the end I will pay more attention to the 20th century, especially the revolution of 1979 (as the role of Pahlavi dynasty has been considered in the previous chapter)

Persian period

It is assumed that the civilization in the region of Middle East started in the river areas (Tigris and Euphrates), where the civilization of Babylon was located. Aryans, the predators of Persians settled in the land of Iran long time before the Christianity or Islam were introduced. They were pagans who believed in God and Evil, where a person could choose which one to follow. They believed also in the immortality of a soul and the principle that God will always win the Evil at the end (justice).⁴²

Assyrians, later Persians had contacts with ancient Greeks not only in terms of trade, but also the philosophical development. Soon after the democratic period of Athens, Persians conquest almost one third of Greek territories. That was not a long period of Persian Empire in Europe, but for the more than 100 years, cultures had enough time and possibility in interact⁴³ They had special attitude towards Greek heroes and virtues. Social structures of Persian Empire were different form Greece, for example, the status of women and polygamy developed due to the reasons of more female than male in the society.⁴⁴

King was the central person and subject in the country. "In no other country the national life centered more intensely round King than Persia"⁴⁵ The Emperor was the only leader and authority. He had even the status of a hero, the power of him was even regarded as a sovereign resource. "The sovereign was absolute master, the sole fountain of law and honor, blessed himself with infallibility, the one man on whose character and capacity the weal and woe of the entire country depended. At the same time there were some limitations to his power. He was expected to observe the customs of the country and was bound to consult his great nobles. He was equally bound by his own decisions."⁴⁶

The power in the state was implemented through power hierarchy. Often the monarchs had no education and needed expertise, therefore the subordinates were used. The possibility to serve in the office of the King was given to representatives of great families.⁴⁷

⁴² P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 95-114

⁴³ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 188

⁴⁴ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 170-171

⁴⁵ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 173

⁴⁶ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 173

⁴⁷ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 175

Christianity had a very liberal position in Persian Empire. It was never accepted as the only religion, but was admitted as one of the religions. Hermsdas, a King of Empire of Persia in 7th century says: “My throne stands on four supports rather than two – Jews and Christians as well as Zoroastrians”⁴⁸

It is made clear that until 7th century Iran was liberal in terms of religion, it did not determine the rules of society. But King was very powerful and unrestricted. He had the unrestricted power and was never questioned. Due to the use of power hierarchy and the limitations set to the leadership, it can be said that the rational **mechanisms** of governing the society were used. The **ideals** were rational and inclusive (acceptance of 3 religions) rather than based on certain religious norms. As King was absolutely superior and even treated as a hero, also the **continuity** of leadership was absolute. He had to follow some principles, but only for the sake of easier governing and overall development, not for maintaining the position. As there was no danger to lose the leadership position, the quality of leadership was not of central importance; and followers were not relevant either. The dimension of leadership **indicators** becomes clearer when the imperial part of Persia is considered. Force is the first tool used to conquer new territories, but it is clear that in that case the inhabitants would not be the followers of the new leader. But skills and knowledge is needed to be successful in war and maintaining the conquered territories. As Kings managed to make Persia an Empire and are always prized for that, on the indicators scale, leadership of Persian empire period would certainly be placed towards skills rather than followers as indicators of success.

Rise of Islam in Iran territory

Islam appeared in Persia in 7th century and has been the religion of Persia, nowadays Iran since then.

7th century was the time, when the Persian state was very weak due to the lack of one leader. From A.D. 629-634 there was so called “period of anarchy” when two sisters were placed on the throne. They mysteriously disappeared and in following years many pretenders came on the throne, but none of them could provide order of development of

⁴⁸ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 487

the country.⁴⁹ At the same time the Islam oriented Arabic nations were very strong. Their leader Khalid was a famous warrior and his troops consisted of Beduin Arabs who came from the Arabian Peninsula, but until that had not been famous, leaving any significant evidence in history.⁵⁰

The prosperity of Arabia had always depended on the trade through Medina and Mecca as noticed in the Jewish prophet that has been sent into captivity by the orders of Nebuchadnezzar.⁵¹ The roots of Islam are found in territories around these cities. It is assumed that the religions practiced in Mecca can be traced back to Yemen, the Sabeanism. Edwin Arnold (a British journalist and writer of the second half of 19th century) has described the appearance of Islam as: “Islam was born in desert, with Arab Sabeanism for its mother and Judaism for its father; its foster-nurse was Eastern Christianity”⁵²

Islam is delivered to the world through Koran, a holy book that contains the sacred content that Gabriel told to Mahmood, the first leader of Islamic Empire (Muhammadan Empire). Persia was the main part of it. “Politically Persia ceased for a while to enjoy a separate national existence, being merged in that great Muhammadan Empire which stretched from Gibraltar to the Jaxartes, but in the intellectual domain she soon began to assert the supremacy to which the ability and subtlety of her people entitled her”⁵³ at that time the principles of the Koran were treasured and Koran as the rule rather than a person was followed. Though some of the social phenomena, characteristic at that time, have to be mentioned⁵⁴:

- 1) Polygamy
- 2) Slavery
- 3) Narrowness of thought
- 4) Harsh treatment of non-Muslims

From A.D.632-1258 there was so called Period of the Caliphate. Islam was just introduced in the territory of Persia and had become extremely popular. There can be three periods of Caliphate distinguished:

⁴⁹ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 489

⁵⁰ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 490

⁵¹ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 505

⁵² P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 505-506

⁵³ Brownes, 216

⁵⁴ .Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 522

1) First Four Caliphs – until 661 – the period of theocracy of Islam – Time when Iran became part of Islam country. This period is remembered because of Mahmood and Ali as the greatest leaders of Islam.

2) The Omayyad Caliphs – until 749 – the period of Pagan Reactions

3) The Abbasid Caliphs – until 1258 – the period of Persian ascendancy

. Iran during this period became the dominant country among other Islamic nations because of its relatively high development in the past in contrary to the other Muslims living in desert and isolation.

Golden Age of Islam

This period is known because of development of science and spread of education in Islamic countries, especially Iran. The amount of people belonging to the common religion was very big and not homogenous. Therefore communication among people from different nations and cultures was necessary. Languages started to develop, grammar became important. The study of history became important to better explain the religion and communicate with others. Finally the geographic studies were important not only to promote the Koran, but also to manage the huge Empire.

That was the time in Europe when the first recalls of Greek philosophy and development of sciences appeared. In Persia they were perceived very rapidly and considered carefully. That led to the further studies and development of further sciences.⁵⁵

As Iran had become the leading part in the Huge Empire, the intellectual sphere was developing especially rapidly. Even if being conquered by Arabs and following the Islam, where the Koran was in Arabic, it turned back to the Persian language, providing more independence and more flexible development of ideological thought.⁵⁶

This period was very characteristic because of the science development. The religion became the main overall rule or **ideal** of society. It was decided though that not a person will be followed but the idea brought by Koran. Leader might be better or worse in implementing Islamic principles – the skills were **indicated** by personal abilities to mobilize people and achieve the goal. Development of science and rational assumption

⁵⁵ Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 6-13

⁵⁶ Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 57-69

about society lead to calling the social **mechanisms** as rational rather than based on vital action or set rules (even Koran). The golden age of Islam was too dynamic to be based on a non-analytical bases. The principle of following idea rather than a person leads to the relative **continuity** of leadership – personalities change, ideas stay.

After Caliphats

In 13th century Iran was invaded by Mongols, who were less educated and less developed in terms of political structures and state functioning. They destroyed many public institutions and territorial units of Iran. They went further toward Europe, the Europeans fought back and for the first time the ideas of organized Christianity appeared in Middle East⁵⁷.

After that there were different dynasties and monarchs ruling in Persia – Mongols, Russian Mongols, Tatars, Turkish, Uzbek and others.

In 15th-16th century the trading with Europe became important because of the European sailors who made their way around the Africa. The Gulf of Persia became strategically and also geopolitically important not only because of Europeans, but also because of preventing Turks from getting benefits from the trade with Europeans.⁵⁸

There were different monarchs in Iran since 15th century. There were fights for the power, the family and titles determined access to the benefits and development. The continuous wars and fights for the power did not provide stability and consistency of education, nor much of scientific development. The rich families living in strategically important places had access to the channels of international trade and were the elite of the society. But during 5 centuries most of the population of Iran remained unchanged. The territories were huge and density of people quite low, the lands of desert were not economically profitable for anyone.

Due to the constant changes of ruler in the Iran, the different leaders had become a normality and even routine. The theoretical perception of leaders did into change as was not studied particularly, because the personalities, nationalities and backgrounds of the leaders changed. **Continuity** existed only in Islam, not in leadership. Force was the main tool for exercising leadership, therefore following did not exist and could not serve as

⁵⁷ Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 71-99

⁵⁸ Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp. 185-197

indicator for leadership success. Because of constant change religion became very important because it was the only thing that provided some kind of unity and stability to the Iran, it was the **ideal** to follow, even if it was not very much enforced. The state was too changing and weak to provide sense of belonging, therefore Islam became the identity of society. It became also a **mechanism** of how people and institutions functioned and justified their roles.

Modern monarchy

At the end of 19th century the contacts with Europeans were well established – not only the channels of trade, but the land itself became valuable. The monarchy had been the only form of rule in Iran for more than 2000 years. The state of Iran started to develop internally and externally. The size of populations became bigger, the land became worth something. The concept of population was linked to the concept of territory. It became clear that people have to be considered in ruling a territory.

At the beginning of 20th century monarch had been the exclusive leader and authority in Iran: “fused the threefold functions of government, legislative, executive and judicial. He was pivot upon which turned the entire machinery of public life”⁵⁹ The territory was divided into provinces and governed by governor, determined by crown. Governors were responsible in front of the monarch, but in their territories they had almost unrestricted possibility to act. They used it to increase their own living conditions and property. Even force was used to make people to pay them. Corruption was present in courts and other aspects of the governance. Role of the monarch was not questioned, but he was never able to control his governors, nor the territories of the Empire.

The legislation was based on the principles of Koran or on the traditions or customs that had never been written down or formally agreed upon. Depending on the monarch, Koran or the traditional customs had more power and were used in decision making.⁶⁰

During the change of centuries, monarchs of Iran discovered Europe and other parts of the world. The view on education broadened and thus also the understanding about the state and its functions broadened. The idea about a state constitution became binding. The constitution was even introduced after several visits to Europe. Unfortunately it did not have much of the internal support and the new regime failed. The Russian-Turkish wars

⁵⁹ Curzon, pp 433

⁶⁰ Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp. 383-393

and later World War The Second threw Iran into the world events, where the superpowers were other countries, not Persia. Further development was not so much the issue of Persia, nor the monarch. Central Asia became the “Pivot of History”⁶¹, a geopolitical tool of external actors.⁶²

After the World War The First (WW1) the situation in whole world had changed and also in Iran it had brought some changes. The wave of military actions had gone over the country, but in this case, the leader form least successful part in the world turned out to be the most successful political leader. Dynasty of Pahlavi got the Throne in Iran. Riza Khan was a very successful and unconventional for Iran “One of the most distinguished and handsome Persian I had ever seen. His manner was reticent, but when I offered to show him round my technical transport lines, he was in his element. He fired question after question at me for over an hour, and I was amazed to find how quickly he grasped the most difficult points”⁶³ Riza Khan was determined to bring order to Iran, to provide control over all the territories and to unite the nation. Not only the territories. United States after the war were providing financial help to Iran⁶⁴

The new state order of Riza Khan can be perceived also as the Eastern version of Weber's bureaucracy in Western Europe. Rationality was tried to be used as the main **mechanism** for managing the society. People had become a value. Monarch tried to get as many supporters as possible, trying to base its leadership on masses of supporters or followers. In reality the new attempts to control and influence every sphere created a strong resistance. However at the failure to attract followers was regarded as a bad leadership strategy and leading skill for what Riza Khan was criticized. The Western style of governance and leadership **indicators** was not accepted in 20th century Iran. Society kept the **ideals** of Islam rather than the new order. Leader coming from the leading dynasty rather than sent from God was just another person placed to govern for certain period of time. The **continuity** was not associated with the person.

⁶¹⁶² Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, London, 1969, pp. 395-468⁶³ Checkmate, by F.A.C Forbes Leith., p 22⁶⁴ *A History of Persia*, Volume II, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, London, 1969, pp. 545-562

Revolution of 1979 and nowadays

In previous chapter I have already talked about Mojahedin – the movement against Pahlavi monarchy and the most significant personalities during the revolutions of 1979 in Iran. For that reason will not elaborate on Mojahedin any more. The most important facts about the revolution are that it was successful in ending the monarchy period in Iran and establishing the first republic. The economic and political interests of other countries in Iran had risen due to the political event in West rather than East. That has been one of the reasons for revolution. As described in the previous chapter, the republican ideas were not successful and in spite of academic and intellectual support to the democratic (Islamic) ideals, totalitarian regime was established in Iran again. „(..)we can more narrowly identify two competing discourses of Islam that were produced and used by oppositional political camps during the 1979 Iranian revolution, most famously by Ayatollah Khomeini (the revolution's leader) and A H Banisadr (the first president of the republic). These are, respectively, Islam as a discourse of power and Islam as a discourse of freedom. While there were diverse meanings and practices of 'Islam' circulating during the revolution, the democratic discourse dominated to such an extent that Khomeini had to identify with it in order to maintain his leadership position”⁶⁵ It is practically impossible to distinguish the perceptions of leadership in the four dimension I have chosen as there is a discussion taking place repeatedly.

According to Bani – Sadr leaders have to be evaluated according to talent and skills **indicators**. Historically following or not following has not played a role in determining the leader. Revolution itself suggest a rapid change of power. It is supported by the people as it happened in Iran as well. Social support was led by certain people, the movement was organized. On the other hand when the leader (Khomeini) got his position, the public support and following became irrelevant – he changed completely, taking the opposite side of the previously proclaimed ideals. The skills have been always a strong resource. Even if Khomeini is much criticized, his talent of maintaining power has never been questioned. Different authors have different opinions and approaches in evaluating

⁶⁵ Delkhasteh M., *De-essentialising culture in social research: an lternative perspective on the Iranian Revolution*, Newsletter of the London School of Economics and Political Science Sociology Department, LSE, 2004-2005

his success. But the fact that he determines the order in Iran since beginning of 80s is obvious.

Religion has always been manifested as the **ideal** of the society by all the competing actors. The understanding of the content of the religion has been different. It is very hard to assess, what kind of ideals the society is following at this point, especially if it has to be placed on the scale Democracy - Islam. It could be defined rather as Political regime – Religion. But even that would not help because then it would turn out to be Totalitarianism – Islam. One of the biggest debates going on at the moment is about extent to which Islam (Koran) is advocating democracy or totalitarianism, therefore a simple change of definitions would turn all the placement on the dimension of “ ideals” around.

There is more clarity about the concept of leadership **continuity**. Both sides promote absolute continuity of a leadership by one person. Banisadr's part promotes the “ prophets of God” side where someone has the absolute wisdom and never gets obsolete. Khomeini has proved that being so skillful can allow someone hold the leader's position even exercising different leadership styles and advocating diametrically different ideas. In both cases leadership is characteristic to a certain person and has no limitation to be practiced by someone.

Rational **mechanisms** used during the revolution to change the old regime and establish republic were completely discredited by overthrowing the republic and establishing a totalitarian regime. Some might have had belief in power of society through organized movements and common will which would lead to the desired result from the logical point of view, but it did not work out. The explanation is still not found, therefore rather religious or other types of mechanisms to explain the social happening are used.

3.4. Conclusion

Looking at the historical development of the leadership in regions I have considered the social development of the societies in general, the power relations and existing order. I have looked at the processes through the model proposed after the first chapter – the four dimensions of differences. Scheme 3 provides a summary of all the

dimensions during each period I have looked at. Terms that I use are derived from the part of leadership perceptions and also their full explanations can be found in the conclusion part of the second chapter. Shortly it can be summarized as use of four dimensions:

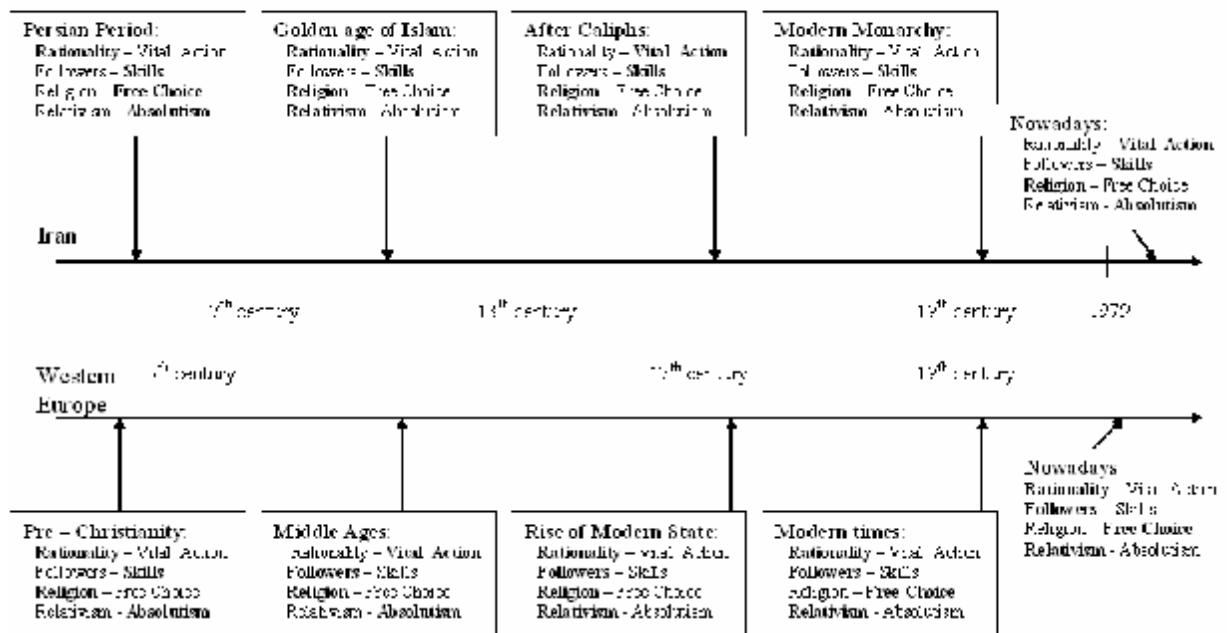
Rationality – Vital Action (Mechanisms) – how much the social mechanisms are based on rational assumption and logical reasoning or how much they are based on set values and fundamental beliefs

Followers – Skills (Indicators) – how much leaders are appreciated according to the results – people being influenced and helping the person to implement his/her goals or according to the processes that are used to achieve the change (exercise influence or power)

Religion – Free Choice (Ideals) – the extent to which social ideals and virtues are derived from beliefs or religions and to what extent non compliance or questioning of the overall virtues is considered to be constructive way to reach the social ideals

Relativism – Absolutism (Continuity) – to what extent personalities with certain status represent the power and to what extent certain personality is binding as a leader regardless the present status.

Scheme 4 Historical development of political leadership



In every case the dimension exists in a certain balance, for example, in no time religion can be purely the ideal of the society⁶⁶.

In case of Iran the rationality has been the **mechanism** of social order almost throughout the history; only during the Persian Ascendancy period the beliefs called as “Vital action” were considered more important. Nowadays, when most of the writings and perceptions about the leadership are developed, Vital Action is considered to be more important and often positioned against Western model of Rationality. In Western Europe rationality has been base for social mechanisms in all periods except Middle Ages when religious rules and church was the one to determine the virtues. Comparing both of the histories, it can be concluded that only during the periods of slower economic and social development societies have been more dependent of set units of values like religion and unreachable virtues. Exception is the current Iran that is likely to follow (intellectually) the norms of Vital Action.

Dimension of leadership **indicators** or criteria for evaluation are very clearly showing the differences between leadership perceptions by academics as well as leadership in historical development. In Islam skills have always been the most explicit indicator of a leader. All the monarchs, spiritual leaders and political leaders have been evaluated and referred to considering their abilities and potential for success. It leads to the assumption that Iranian perception of leaders has to do with process evaluation – skills indicate the potential. Also the intensions and knowledge of leader matter. Proven to be successful in handling certain situation or cases, leader is announced to be a good leader. The person is more capable than others; therefore the role of society in processes is of minor importance. In contrary the Western Europe has the case of major importance of society. Social support leads to the following. It is less important how clever or capable the leader is. Unless proven to have followers, a skillful authority will not be called a leader. In this case it is a goal oriented approach – the way followers are attracted (lies, manipulations, force) does not prevent a person being called a leader if he/she has a significant number of followers. It has been different only in the Pre-Christianity period, when the virtues of talent and wisdom were appreciated. By accepting a united religion

⁶⁶ In the summary the factor that is comparatively more explicit is indicated **bold**.

with strong institutional foundations the measurements became goal oriented and have remained so until nowadays.

Role of religion is also important in considering the **ideals** of societies. By this I mean the extent to which social values are pre-set (by Religion) and to what extent society consciously plays the dominating role of determining the values and ideals. In Iran Islam has always been the only ideal since appearing in territory of Persia. Before that people had a freedom to choose their beliefs and values (considering that there were several religions in the country that were politically accepted). Since arrival of Islam, there have been no variation what would set the framework of social ideals; the only space for changes has been interpretation and re-interpretation of Koran. The same situation has been also in Europe until the modern times. The ideals have changed together with declining role of church as not only technical sciences developed, but also social sciences and economies. People became more individualistic as living separated from overall social structure became more possible. For that reason individual opinions have become so important and valuable that they are even encouraged and set as the ideal for society and leadership relations.

Finally the **continuity** of leadership in Iran has been associated with a certain leader as absolute leading personality only during the Persian period, just like free choice of social values has been seen as the social ideal only in this time of history. The rest of the time has been characteristic with changing leaders and society has always perceived them as authorities for a certain period of time. Nowadays the Mojahedin intellectuals bring back the idea of absolute leadership, spreading the idea of "Prophets of God". These leaders would never get obsolete or exchanged for another. In history though, society has never seen leaders like that. In history of Western Europe absolute leadership idea ended with development of sciences. People not only got more control over their own lives, but also started to explain and influence leaders. Also this dimension involves the influential periods of religions – the more influence religion has, the more relative leadership is exercised by individuals in Iran and more absolute in Western Europe.

In order to see the sufficiency of historical development in explaining the current perceptions of leadership, it would make sense to see if dimensions (mechanisms, indicators, ideals and continuity) determining differences in leadership perceptions have

logical change or development over time. All together there are 5 periods of history considered for each region. It should be possible to identify some kind of incidence in continuous historical development of leadership relations in the society. That would lead to the conclusion that the current model of perceptions is consequent from the previous ones and the tendency of development of leadership perceptions could be identified. Therefore it would be possible to provide estimates for the future development of leadership.

While focusing on the historical development of political leadership, I considered also other social differences that have impact on leadership:

- External invasions in East vs. Internal changes in Europe
- Pursuit of Persian/Aryan line of development in East vs. Roman Empire as a new development
- Role of Church in West vs. role of Religion in East
- Order of “development” and “underdevelopment” periods
- Long experience of diversity of political regimes in West and monarchy in Iran
- Iran as resource provider and Western Europe as resource consumer
- Mass movements in Europe and religious movements in Iran
- Intrapersonal sciences in Iran and research of psychology in West

In next chapter I will pay more attention on these differences and try to answer the research question: *To what extent differences in leadership perceptions in Iran and Western Europe are historically rooted.* In order to do so it would make sense to see if dimensions (mechanisms, indicators, ideals and continuity) determining differences in leadership perceptions have consecutive continuity as explored during the historical development. For example, as one of the factors or weights changes in one of the dimensions, there should be a tendency that also other dimension changes in a certain way in the same or next period of time.

4. Conclusions

So far I have looked at academic writings on leadership in Western Europe and in Iran. There have been certain common and certain different aspects. In this chapter I will try to analyze the main fields of differences and propose reasons for them. In order to do so I will look at the historical development of leadership experiences through the model of factors which determine and characterize different perceptions of leadership. This research will examine the extent to which the history has determined current perceptions of leadership that happen to be different in Iran and Western Europe. In this final chapter I would like to sum up all the conclusions I have reached in previous chapters and point out some interrelations between the findings. I will also try to draw conclusions regarding the research questions (hypothesis).

In order to explore the interaction between the academic perceptions of leadership and historical development of leadership, I will use the four dimensions of differences of leadership. They have been defined after having reviewed the perceptions of leadership in writings of Western scholars and Iranian scholars. Each region presents the tendency in the balance of dimensions:

Scheme 5 Dimensions of differences of leadership perception

Mechanisms

Rationality Vital action

Indicators

Followers Skills

Ideals

Religion Democracy

Continuity

Relative Absolute

This model (see scheme 5) is derived from differences in leadership perceptions in Iran and Western Europe. Both regions have been taken as a case to build up this model. As a result four dimensions are identified which would provide characteristics for a certain leadership relations model by certain variation of four factors.

In the previous chapters I have explained the meaning of these dimension and what tendency each factor represents. I have used these dimensions to examine the historical development of leadership experiences in both countries. I have looked at the history in most significant periods according to the social changes. It all together adds up to four historical periods and one current period in each region. (In total that means that the model reflects leadership relations in 10 different cases which are grouped according to 2 regions – scheme 4).

If the historical development would have been the base for forming the current leadership perceptions according the dimensions of 4 factors, the result of analyses of dimensions in historical perspective would have to show consequent or logical order of variations of factors in each period. Or at least looking only on leadership relations models in history, it should have been possible to estimate, what the variation of factors should be in current situation.

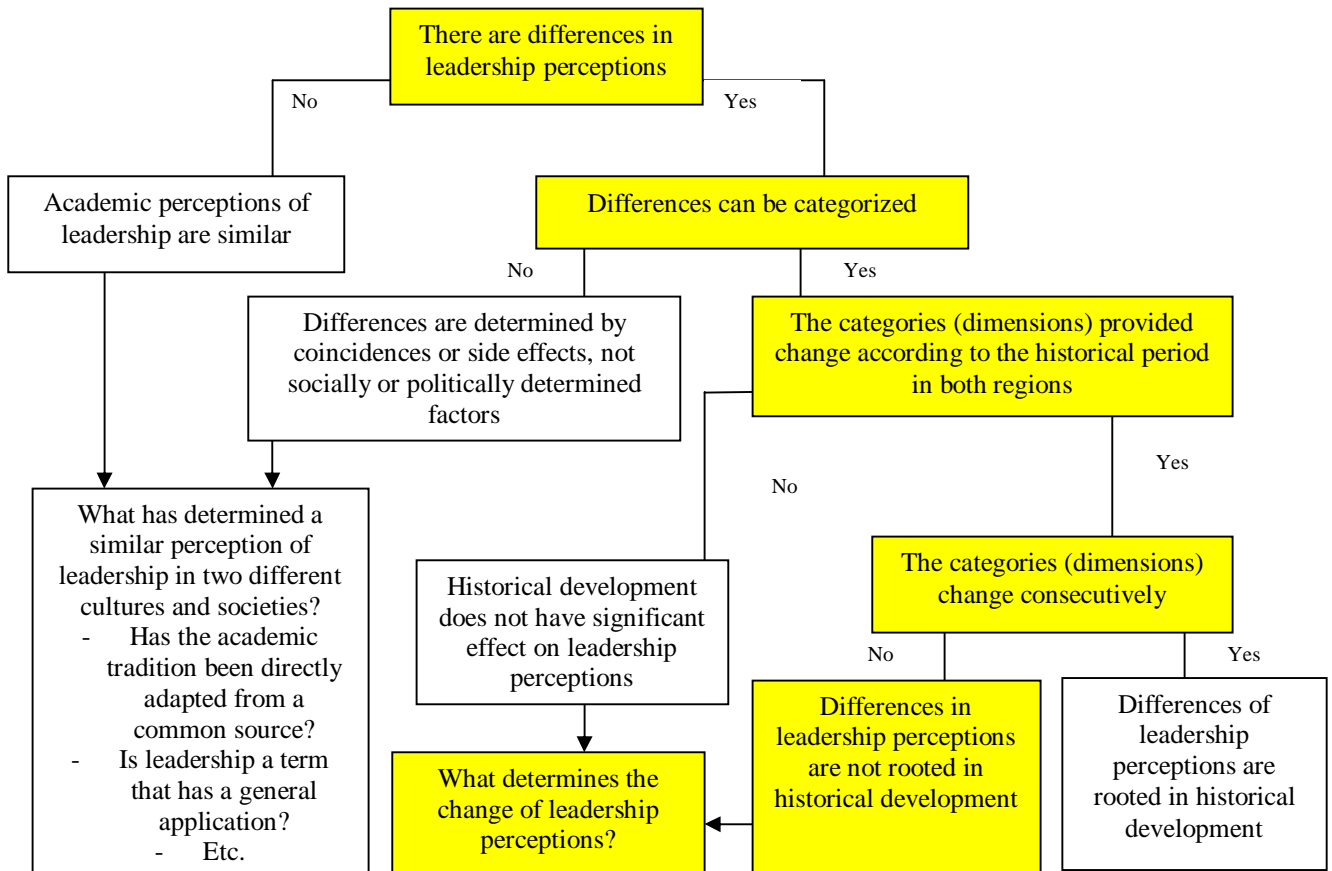
In the case of Western Europe there is no significant continuity between the four dimensions of differences during the historical periods. It is almost impossible to draw any tendency in connections of changes or consequences. It might be the reason that there are only 4 periods of time chosen and perhaps a more detailed review of history would allow identifying more correlations. The only conclusion that I have come to concerning the dimensions tested is that after the 19th century social perceptions of leadership relations in society have not changed much. People still see society functioning within the same mechanisms, with the same ideals and they see changing leaders through changing groups of followers.

In Iran there is a strong tendency to evaluate leaders according to their skills throughout the history. This dimension is very consistent as well as the dimension of continuity. Not considering the second half of 20th century, leaders have always been changing and have not been perceived as eternal. The only fact that provides refutation is that there has been no change in dimension. They have been very consequent in the sense

that they both haven't changed during the history. Therefore also in this case it is not a consecutive change. It might be interesting to explore what meaning the non-changing structure has. Is it relevant to research the reasons for changing leadership models in Western Europe and more constant experiences in Iran?

Keeping this in mind I would like to go back to the Scheme 1, which I proposed in introduction to be clearer of what the outcome of the research is. The results of the research will be indicated by shaded boxes in the scheme.

Scheme 6 Results of the research



I have used the scheme of algorithm like in exact sciences to structure my research. As in this case it is Master's theses in Public Governance – a social science- it is not possible to have clear answers and results. Each of the “yes/no” choice is based rather on a balance of arguments to support or refute the given statement than a strict answer. The scheme is used to give more clarity to the reader, but it has to be kept in mind that in social sciences every statement can have several interpretations and meanings.

The first part of the hypothesis has proven to be true – there are differences in perceptions of leadership in both regions. Going further to the other question posed, the answer has also been positive – it has been possible to categorize at least part of the differences (providing the dimensions of differences). There have also been different variations of the four factors determining the leadership relations in different historical periods in both of the regions. The final step or question before arriving to the answer of the second part of the hypothesis is the historical changes according to the dimensions of differences are have lead to the current perception of leadership. There has not been any significant continuity or consequence observed in the order of historical changes in dimensions of leadership relations. Therefore historical explanations of differences in leadership perceptions do not have the uppermost importance.

As historical arguments to explain leadership differences do not have the dominant role, the question of what has determined the differences of political leadership perceptions in the two regions aroused. It might be religion, mentality, political regimes during the period of development of academic writing and social sciences. While studying the topic of this research I have come across also other differences that might be relevant if other factors that determine differences in leadership are studied:

- *Geopolitical* differences of two regions
 - External invasions in East vs. Internal changes in Europe
 - Iran as resource provider and Western Europe as resource consumer – due to the development and historical co-incidences, Europe has been the most rapidly developing region, it has developed in terms of technology, social welfare and consumption. But it does not have its own resources, therefore market principles of restricted amount of resources and unrestricted will have become essential. Iran has always had more resources, but not that developed practices of consumption. It has been an issue of how to govern its resources and maintain the power over the other regions that are more powerful socially, but less powerful in terms of resources.
- Order and timing of *political* developments

- Pursuit of Persian/Aryan line of development in East vs. Roman Empire as a new development – Iran has had a continuous line of development all over the history – it has remained approximately in the same territory where their culture has occurred and the same values have developed over the time. Europe has rapidly switched to new religions and belief systems and back to the initial values (renaissance).
- Long experience of diversity of political regimes in West and monarchy in Iran – also in terms of political regimes, Iran has been very consistent throughout the history – up to the 1979 there has been a monarchy and it is perceived even as a part of tradition or value. In Europe there have been different regimes, every country has always been trying to choose the most beneficial one.
- Order of “ development” and “ underdevelopment” periods – in Europe the line of scientific development has been continuous. Since Copernicus the science has developed more and more, the development has had a progressive course. In Iran the “Golden age of Islam” did not have a continuity up to the nowadays. After that there have been periods of underdevelopment and the current development has been started from the beginning, not as a follow up
- Differences in role of *religion*
 - Role of Church in West vs. role of Religion in East – role of religion is more important in Iran than in Western Europe. The reasons could be many and different. There have been many researches done on this topic. To my mind the topic that requires a special attention is the perception of religion as set of beliefs and virtues in Iran and perception of religions as an institution (Church) in Western Europe. That provides two different normative settings of religion which lead to different practices and roles. Naturally providing more rational view of religion in

Western Europe and more philosophical view in Iran. I would not like to elaborate in the content of the religions, but provide the quote of the author of the historical literature I have used for the 3 chapter of the research:

“The introductions of Islam brought many benefits to the Arabs. It taught the unity of God, enjoyed brotherly love towards all fellow-believers, proscribed infanticide, secured rights of women and consideration of slaves. Alcohol was strictly forbidden. (...) in India Islam has raised millions of men in self-respect and other virtues (...) in the case of Mongols the change was less marked as may be seen by contrasting the savagery of Chengiz (...) In Africa too, when the negro adopts Islam he generally rises in humanity. While remaining an African, he is better dressed, better mannered, and altogether a better man. On the other hand, a negro when Christianized is sometimes unable to assimilate more complex civilization, and in such cases becomes a caricature of the European. These remarks apply to a certain extent to the Asiatic also, but in a lesser degree, because Semite and Aryan start from ancient civilizations of their own.”⁶⁷

/Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, the beginning of 20th century/

This research is very much concerned with sociology and philosophy, not only political science and public administration. It involves a lot of author's views how to approach certain phenomena and interpretations. The argumentation is provided for all the resolutions and conclusions. As concerning the comparison of two regions – Iran and Western Europe, it has to be noted, that analyses is done from the Western point of view rather than Iranian. On one hand it might be less objective in the case of Iran as there are certain prejudices and social assumptions about the Iranian culture in Western Europe, on the other hand it might be even less objective in the case of Western Europe, because the background of author is formed rather in Western Europe than in Iran. Considering the educational background in both environments – Eastern and European and the reasons explained above the objectivity might be equally influenced in both cases of the regions considered.

In theory every society should contain both of the principles of dimensions of leadership evaluations used in this thesis and balance between them would provide the optimal leadership model for the particular society. Coming back to the initially raised

⁶⁷ P.Sykes, A History of Persia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, pp 521-522

issue about the balance of rule of law and civil society values as determinants of leadership role in society nowadays, it has to be noted that for some reason Western societies are more likely to keep the rule of law as the base for their political and social activities while Iranians value the principle of civil society and participation more. But the situations might change in future and there is no reason to think that the difference between leadership perceptions in both regions must be considered as axiom – it is impossible to predict what model of leadership determining dimensions will follow next. It is not impossible that at a certain point both of the regions might even perceive leadership in a similar manner.

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