The role of the student movement in the political development in Iran

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Abstract

This paper aimed to develop the role of student movement on the political process examine the performance indicators of student activities in the political culture, political participation, elections, political parties, press freedom, rule of law by using the descriptive-analytical method and answer to the question that how the student movement in Iran after the Islamic Revolution has been instrumental in advancing policy development. Concerning the student movement emerged in the form of new social movements from the 1960s onwards it is worth mentioning that these movements compared with the previous movements, because of the features such as precise ideologies, clear objectives, and a sustainable and well organized and larger extent, have some impact on the policy development process. Since the main demands of the student movement are the participatory political culture and civil society and on the other hand, the most important indicator of political development is also the political participation and political competition, the performance of student movement in each course had been different. In other words ,whatever the government gives more importance to the goals, demands, and student discourse, the intensity of political participation and political competition are added and also if the government emerges as an obstacle to them, the intensity of political development will be decreased.

Keywords: Student movement, political culture, political competition, political participation ,elections, political parties, press freedom, rule of law.

1. Introduction

Student movements including the new social movements have special importance in the modern era and that why and how these movements are occurred and to what they need are such important issues that require the necessary knowledge and can provide a necessary notification in this context for those interested in this topic. According to that the social movements in modern era, on the one hand the participatory political culture of people and students and on the other hand, the ideals of civil society have created, so the critical studies of political development is necessary to evaluate the tendency of students to participate in the movement.

The student movement has been influenced by the internal development communities and always has the impact on these developments; this is why the discourses of the student movement had not been unconnected with the social and political developments in Iran. Experts speak about three waves in the Iranian student movement that is influenced by the social and political environment in Iran. Special features of student life including young and idealist cause students to defend faster than other classes of society against the internal contradictions and the inefficiencies of the political system as well as the foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the country in other words, defending the poor and the underprivileged along side the arrogance and oppression are the characteristics of the student. That is why the student movement in all societies is the pioneer of social movements. From the beginning of forming the student movement (1330_s) to the threshold of conquering the Islamic Revolution in Iran (56 -1357) due to the dependence of the king of

Iran to the West, the capitalist world and the hatred of this dependence, the student movements were reigned by the "Marxist wave". By the religious and spiritual speeches of Imam Khomeini coincided with the Islamic Revolution, "Islam will wave" also contained the student movement. But the third wave was shown in the student movement by the end of war and the beginning of the construction. The spirit ruling the politics during constructing was development policies adopted by the theory of capitalism. As a result of these policies, luxury-oriented and nobility especially among some officials were popular and were far from the ideals of the Islamic Revolution. The student movement was no devoid this transformation. OCU was the only organization that had a significant presence in universities at this time. The organization which had been initially established with high goals, consistent with the ideals and values of the Islamic Revolution, Gradually and coincided with the politics of during constructing had been transformed and was dominated by liberal discourse. Thus the third wave was"liberal wave". In this way, the symptoms of a "wave of justice" in Iranian student movement are appeared. Justice and "justice "which has been one of the original and primary slogans and goals of the Islamic Revolution, the capacity and ability possessed that were leaded and guided by the student movement as a pioneer in this discourse. Justice as a fundamental debate concerning the student movement, supervise the implementation of the principles of justice, fighting injustice, rights activism and the quest for truth in all facets of society in the early 80s. Meanwhile, in the 90s ,despite overcoming political and intellectual tendencies of left and liberal in the set of country's student movement, the justice-based discussion was devised and hope became more prominent, although discourse had not been dominated.

2. Statement of the problem

The new social movements are the modern phenomena that unlike the traditional societies claim to have democracy and have provided the prerequisite for democracy and civil society by adopting the social movements. The student movement as an example of modern social movements, riding the wave of intellectual ideas emerged from the 1960s onwards and by designing the issues such as freedom of speech, civil rights and so on; it helped to promote the democracy and the civil society formation process in the modern societies. The student movement in Iran following the modern student movements abroad appeared in the years before the Revolution. The movement whether in the era of Pahlavi or after the revolution along with the intellectual ideas makes the changes which had undoubtedly influenced the process of minimal political development and the emergence of civil society in Iran. But if we look at the detail of the civil society formation process and the political development processes, we must admit that this process had been faced the problems as much as the student movement in Iran in comparison with their counterparts in more modern societies. Although features such as being idealistic slogans, lack of democratization, lack of intellectual ideas which influence the sovereignty has affected the optimal performance of the student movement in Iran, but it may be not simple to avoid their minimal impact on the policy development process. Especially as time passes, the student movements in Iran carry their demands in order to remain an independent entity and they are influenced by the groupings and the political developments less than past.

The student movement is one of new social movements emerged by the transformation process in politics in Iran as the modern societies Political and had been effective in political development process and civil society formation. So we try to investigate their functions after the Islamic Revolution in Iran . The student movement is one of the major problems that led to develop the social and political changes in Iran. For this purpose, the meaning of student movements is the movements, developments, events and protests of students toward the desired goals in politics and citizenship rights that had had effects on the process of political development. After the Cultural Revolution and the free political space in Iran, students were informed about the political issues and provided the context in order to implement

the process of policy development. Furthermore, it has been tried to review their role on the political components of civil society i. e. the political culture, political participation, elections, political parties, freedom of the press, the rule of law to the student movement; in recognizing the importance of expressing the problem we were going to answer this question that how does the student movement influence the political development process in Iran? Generally, an assumption considered to answer the question is that the student movement performance has strengthened the political development and the civil society's political components. With a brief review of the current student movement in Iran, we can receive that this movement will strengthen the political development through the characteristics of civil society and political participation. Furthermore, along the characteristics and components of civil society, the role of the student movement are also investigated on the participatory political culture that it seems the students have feelings with the highest awareness and according to the valuation, they will determine the type of political behavior. Therefore the presence of student development can be effective in the development and modernization especially political development and political culture growth.

3. Theoretical Framework

In this paper, reasoning theoretical approach in the new social movements and the political development has been used to analyze the content in the 20th century . Approach theory of collecting the resource is rooted in a liberal rationalism and individualism. The basic premise of this approach is that the social movements are formed by the conscious and organizational activity of movement carriers (Jalali Pour, 1381, 171). If the carriers accurately determine the goals and strategies due to the requirements of community, and if properly collect the spiritual and symbolic resources and material resources, the movement will start. In this perspective, the social movements are carried by counting cost-benefit (Moshir Zadeh, 1381: 215). Theoretical approach based on the values refers to the value structure

which lies in the value. Jürgen Habermas analyzes the new social movements in relation to the processes and developments occurred in the industrial capitalist societies. According to him, the main origins of the creation of such movements must be known in the context of the private sphere, due to the developments, the evolution of institutions and the available activities in the context of mentioned area (Nash, 1381: 220). It is important not to forget that in most available comments such as the description of Anthony Giddens, it has been emphasized on the principle that collective action of movements should be done outside the scope of formal institutions of society. Ronald Inglehart refers to the generation factor to explain the social movements. His theory suggests a quiet revolution in human values that shows the humans tend has been changed from the material values (economic growth) to the divine virtues (humanitarian) and this suggests that the current and old cultural patterns may be in conflict with the interests of the people. (Nash, 1381: 227) identity-based structural approach refers to the student movement as a mass movement. According to Alain Touraine, social movements are the subject matter of sociology. His theory is especially focused on the concept of action and historicity, so that the starting point of his theory is collective action. Thorne called the collective action as a social movement including conflicts such as the institutionalized ability of common cultural patterns. In other words, He knows the direction of movement shifted to the cultural patterns which dominate the society. (Larna Enrique et al., 1378: 174) Alberto Maluchy has sought many viewpoints and Thorne's approaches to explain the social movements. Like Captain Torne, he considers the social movements in the context of the cultural challenges of the post-industrial society which calls it a complex society. The community is extremely complex, differentiated and as diverse as multiple . (Jalali Pour, 1381: 115) The core theory of Manuel Castells as the most recent theorist of social movements is identity. He considers three independent processes as a factor of creating the new society: 1. the information technology revolution, 2. the economic crisis in two general models of capitalism and democratic government, 3. the rise of new social movements such as feminism and the environment. Three independent processes

leads to emerge a new social structure of the "network society", "new economy" called the global information economy and new culture (the culture of real virtual). (Jalali Pour, 1381: 200) Tom Batmour also believes that the success of social movements depends on several conditions in the long time: 1. It must have a formulated regulation so that enthusiasm, emotion and commitment of political activity are always in movement. (Jalali Pour, 1381: 200) Herbert Marcuse expresses an optimistic approach to their students and Believed that the students must be responsible for enlightenment role but in 1968, after the failure of movement, believed the student movement must act as a catalyzer i. e. it enters the politics with the aim of transformation and accelerates the reaction and returns to its original position after doing the duty (Jalali Pour, 1381: 298).

In the theoretical approach ☐of political development, Ronald Chikelvet believes that theories of political development can be divided into three parts: A) Those that recognize the political development is synonymy with democracy. B) Those that focus on the political development based on the research. C) Those that have tried to analyze the crisis and the political development continuum. (Ghavam, 1379: 86) Lucian Pye argues that if a country wants to achieve growth and development, it must deal with five crises of identity, participation, influence, legitimacy and distribution. And he believes that the distinctive feature of the industrial developed countries than the developing countries is that they deal with successfully the above crises especially identity and legitimacy crises in the past. (Ghavam, 1379: 86) Samuel Huntington evaluates the concept of political development based on the industrialization, stimulation, social mobilization, economic growth and political participation and believes that new demands appear as the participation and playing new roles in the process of political development. Therefore, the political system must have the capacity and ability to change position , Otherwise the system will face the instability, chaos, authoritarianism and political decline. (Ghavam, 1379: 87) Gabriel Almond in his famous book titled the comparative politics describes and expands their thoughts on the political development. In his view, the main root of creation and the major driving force

for the political development can be found either in the international environment or in the local community and or among the political elites in the international system. But if the process of political development is resulting from the domestic issues, the middle class will be emerged due to the expansion of trade and industrial progress and prosperity that this class calls for the reform and improvement of its condition, and meet new needs in the field of economics, politics and community and hence it become the driving force to create the political development for meeting the needs. If the process of development is due to the actions and decisions of the political elite, they will seek to gain their power and wealth recourses for continuing their sovereignty, so the political development are created to increase the capacity of the political system and its ability, so that they can consolidate the foundation of their dominance. Almond explains that the political system has 4 difficulties: A) The problem of political power influence and integration. B) Creating a sense of loyalty and commitment to the nation and national interests and political system among the masses. C) The issue of participation led to emerge the new demands particularly on sharing the political power and decision-making. D) Creating the material resources distribution procedure and the various opportunities of life, such as educational opportunities, earning money, and creating new ideas and so on. If the political system solves these problems, it will provide the possibility of political development. Eisenstat associates the political development with the specialized and differentiated political structure and distribution of political authority in all the sectors and areas of society. In his view, if the community has the structures with their own independent identity, the degree of political development will be added. For example, in a patriarchal traditional system, the leaders have not been able to take advantage of resources and facilities of society and have a limited capacity to respond to public demands. (Agha Bakhshi-Afshari Rad, 1379: 445) Bartaran Badie in ☐the political development book (p.161) has discussed the classical theory of oriented development ☐ and criticism of the theories and also the political comparison in European countries with political systems development in the Third World. Yervand Abrahamyan analyzes the

political insight as one of the reasons for the failure of democracy in Iran according to the historical reasons. Conspiring in □Iranian political culture shows how the suspicion to foreign powers presents itself as a theory in the interpretation of common people and the political interpretations of specific peoples . (Bashirieh, 1387: 5) R. D. Gastyl notes the major features of political culture and value systems among different segments of the middle class in Iran. According to his findings ,the political culture does not create a proper ground for the political collaboration and competition. . In this study, it is shown that Iranians have said humans are naturally evil and authoritarian. Everything is changing and unreliable . Man is pessimistic and mistrustful towards everyone. The government is an enemy for the people, etc . (Razzaghi, 1379: 93).

4. Describing the concepts and variables

"Movement" can be" fairly regular and durable movement or behavior in order to achieve a political-social goal or goals based on a specific plan" (Mtotahar Niya, 1388: 2-2). In this case, we can define "movement" as a suitable, continuous and yet focused effort of a group to reform, maintain or change a social system. Therefore, the student movement will be the regular and sustainable movement of students to achieve the political-social goal or goals based on the specific programs for maintaining, modifying or altering a particular social system. One of the main reasons for performing the movements can be the structural causes of social movements. . One another of the reasons for the emergence of social groups is paradigms of thought, or in other words the ideologies (Karimian, 1381: 18-25). The most important features of student movement are: idealism, inquiry, sensitivity to the values and dealing with the anti-values, sensitivity to the community, truth, purity, independence of the sectarian, political, and ….. affiliation, being impersonal, assimilating the rule of logic and thought with emotion and fervor, knowledge and Innovation, critical spirit, tend to radical thoughts. The student movement functions can be noted as follows:

1. For the awakened conscience, the voice of protest and social and political life pulse of a community 2. Mobilizing the forces and keeping alive the political open space 3. Ring intermediated between the political parties and system with people 4.Gap among the intellectuals (the intellectual elite) with the masses or other classes 5. Pursuing continually the demands of people from the community and defending the rights and civil liberties of citizens 6.Giving the potential to its members to enter the political and social area and participating in decision-making and decision-taking (Jalali Pour, 1381: 11-17).

"Development" is to improve, extend, and grow all spiritual and material aspects and conditions of social life." Development" literally means a gradual growth to more advance, power, and even large . By definition, development is an attempt to create a balance unrealized or a solution to eliminate the pressures and problems that always exist between the various parts of social and human life (Amin Zadeh, 1376: 18). The Political development of new intellectual framework formation in which the institutional process is created by moving forward in a balanced and additive manner with a political stability that in this process, a political human community steps toward a political active participation of its citizens voluntarily ,consciously and wisely so that they politically have a wise solution with sympathy and in term of nonviolent for all political, social and economic problems. (Seif Zadeh, 1375: 75) In conclusion, the political development can be defined as: Increasing the capacity and efficiency of a political system to resolve the conflicts of individual and collective interests, composition of the population, fundamental freedom and changes in society. Political development is synonymy of the growth of democracy. And as a political system is tended from rigidity to flexibility, from simplicity to complexity, from following to autonomy and from dispersion to unity, the political development is also increased in that system. Greater political modernization refers to the establishment of political luxuries, while the political development has more behavioral and fundamental aspects. In other words, while the political modernization is dealing with the superstructure aspects of development, the political development is concerned with the infrastructure transformation. Three factors :organization,

efficiency, and practical intellection and ideological solidarity of the leaders and followers are determined for the political development. . The criteria and indicators of political development are: 1. The political culture, 2. The civil society, 3. The rule of law, 4. Pluralism (Jamshidi, 1385: 23) 5. Participation in the governance structure, 6. National unity based on constitutional law and territorial integrity, 7. Division of political power according to the civil rights, 8. Freedom of speech and press, 9. Multiple parties and institutionalized competition, 10. The possibility of social mobility (Samadi Rad, 1380: 4). Political development conditions are: Choice of political institutions _ monitoring on the political institutions. Obstacles of political development are including: the culture of political violence and conspiracy and deception, the authoritarian government, the centralization of power, the existence of irreconcilable, ethnic and cultural economic gaps, the tyranny culture, the individualist culture, the culture of paranoia and Lack of political tolerance, the culture of illegality and the rule of law, the culture of trust and distrust, the culture of pessimism, the insecurity culture (Akhavan Kazemi, 1377: 39).

5. Subject history

In this section, we will discuss the history of the development of student movements in Iran:

5.1 The History of student movements in Iran

The history of the student movement in Iran that has been expressed in the evolution of this movement since its formation, the following can be concluded:
Silent period (13201313): The most important event in this process dates back to the founding of Tehran University in 1313 however, the establishment of the university at the end of the Pahlavi regime at first gave the opportunity to middle and lower segments of the community to be entered the training process of country that was owned by the wealthy class almost before it and they formed a large range of academics in later years. The student movement in its first seven years, which can be referred to as the fetal period due to the violent dictatorship of Reza Shah against the anti-religion atmosphere in the

universities completely is silent and we had observed the specific activity of the movement in this period.

The dispersion and hybridization period (1320-1332): It was existed the chronic fragmentation by the collapse of the movement influenced by the institutional immaturity and political environment and influenced by Marxist thought, the desires of mass party was given to the Soviet leadership.

Silent and Decline period (1332-1341): Regardless of the bloody events of 16 December 1954, the student movement after the betrayal of the Party in the absence of association with the oil nationalization movement and fitness of nationalist parties after the American coup of August 28, suffered from the stagnation and despair of struggle that it can be mentioned as the decline period of the movement until the early 40s.

Consciousness period (1341-1355): By beginning the US reformation movements in the country by Ali Amini since 1339 that the form of land reform and white revolution were followed by insistence of Kennedy, the US president, new political movements were represented in the country that led to the religious movement by Imam Khomeini and the uprising of June fifteen was considered as its culminated point.

Jurisprudence Islam period (1356-1357): The expansion range of influence of pure Islamists to public areas of community, especially universities dated back to 15-June 1964 coincided with the rise of the Iran Muslim nation uprising led by Imam Khomeini, new life breathed into the body of the student movement and this movement, which was defeated by the failure of religious intellectuals, left hybridization and secularist, was taken to the stage by the discourse of Islamic jurisprudence. Thus, the student movement for the first time in its history was in the direction of the will of the Iranian Muslim masses and played an effective leading role on advancing the goals of the Islamic Revolution.

Consolidation period (1357-1358): Islamic Revolution as a turning point in the history of the student movement led to the strengthening of religious-affiliated institutions in universities such as

Students Islamic Association. Members of the student organization at the meeting with Imam Khomeini established a central office called Unity Consolidation in 1980, according to his guidelines "Go to consolidate the unity" that it dealt with the coordination among the Islamic associations of students. Thus, a new heading was created to follow the path of the student movement (Sahraian, 1390: 2-5).

Idealist and prosperity period (1358-1359): By forming an office called the unity consolidation, the student movement in direction of its mission of leading and pioneering after a short time (6 months) could create the second revolution against the US influence in our country by occupation of Espionage Den on 13 November 1980.

Pioneer period in practice (1360-1362): Staff recruitment in consolidation office managed to send the efficient and effective forces to the army and Jihad by the universities holiday so in practice, the student movement can serve to take responsibility of the slogans of the Islamic Revolution and the national goals of movements. Other noteworthy activities of the movement during the two-year school holidays were to hold the conference of liberation movements around the world which again were with a huge influence .Other sample of the positive effects of student activities was the communication among seminary, university and seminarian students particularly, the Leader at the time, had claimed responsibility for the representative of the Imam in the consolidation office.

Politics period (1362-1370): Although students in the field of parliamentary elections in 1984 were approved by Imam, somewhat slowed down the former prosperity of movement to be progressive in continuing the situational influences of entry into force particularly, factional issues power which was open in the second house house between the religious movement and revolutionary forces at that time. This process that culminated in the beginning of the third parliamentary elections (1988) caused to be entered to the consolidation office in the coalition of poor and deprived and be reached the pinnacle of his political career by three seats in parliament. But in this

condition, some of communities and students were protesting against the process with the arrival of the student movement that criticism of current policy is one of its properties.

Extremism period (1376-1370):
Despite all achievements that entry into force could lead to the student movement, the factional tendencies ruling the consolidating office faction caused to place normally against this movement after isolation of the religious left movement in the period of reconstruction, particularly the failure to access to the fourth parliament and take extremism in the criticism of the government. This approach caused the student movement or precisely unity consolidation office as the largest organization of student movement faced with lethargy and weakness rather than it damaged or admonished the government as it was unable to mobilize their supporters at rallies.

Transformation period (since 1376): By strengthening the religious left movement after the June 76, the unity consolidation office flourished and in the coalition of forces of Imam Khomeini was active but this office as the largest organization of student in country had been a fundamental transformation with what was expected of the student movement and even with the former consolidation office was not comparable. The negative evolution and policy return can easily be observed from the charter of unity consolidation which was published in the sixth parliamentary elections. As if, it called for the non-interference in the sovereignty of the people, defense of private television and radio channels, independence of agency of authority from the government, recognition of different interpretations of religion, dissolution of the SCCR, disclaimer legislative rating from the Expediency Council and National Security Council and etc during it. (Sahraian, 1390: 5-7).

5.3 History of political development in Iran
In Iran, before the revolution, the conditions of obstruction of political system were such that a group of political activists resorted to armed struggle and even justify their actions such that there is no choice except armed struggle ((Azkia, Ghaffari, 1388: 51).

In Iran, two issues of republican form of government and the continuity of the process that had turned the political development to a necessity, strengthens the necessity of it in Shah's regime. In this period the indicators will be also considered that creates the political development as the pre-revolution. The indexes, such as the growth of urbanization, the increase of education, the increase of social mobility, the growth of industry, the development of transportation are necessary. Iran was faced with a reinforcer of the necessity of political development such as Revolution in its historical procedure and the continuation of the process after the revolution is necessary to stop the political development so that it cannot be ignored (Khoramshad, 1382: 2).

6. -The role of the student movement on the political development

In this part, we discuss the role of student movement on the political development, the reinforcement of political development and the civil society. The student movements cannot be identified as a class movement because the students are from different classes and segments, such as the high ,middle and lower class. The student movement was a protest movement in Iran .Iranian student movement had continuously been a part of democratic and anti-imperialist liberation movement due to the social, economic and political conditions of the community and has always been an important part of the reformist movement. With the formation of the reformist movement, it was seemed that the student movement as part of the reformist movement may be revived but severe political conflicts and tensions between reformist and conservative factions of government, recent events and attacks on the dormitories and Influenced by the political events of a particular political space that created other political events and successive political crises, the student movement was stopped and reacted as part of the reform movement . The favorable background for the growth of the student movement was provided due to the open atmosphere for political participation, elections, political parties, press freedom, and legitimacy in Iran. The participation of students in the demonstrations and protests in the street were most significant .The political development was increased

by the development of higher education and the number of universities and students and the university became the most important focus of political campaigns, therefore, in this regard, we have examined the effective factors of the development that each of these factors are important in the civil society and the reinforcement of political development. These factors include:

Participatory political culture is set of values and visions and people's political behaviors and the student movement in the specific political and social system that lead to guide the society toward new valuable models. (Akhavan Kazemi: 1377: 41) the political culture is a specific distribution of attitudes, values, emotions, and political skills. As attitudes of people affect their actions, the political culture of a nation affects on the behavior of its citizens and leaders throughout the political system. The political culture is a system of experimental beliefs of expressive symbols and values which have been established which specifies the context of political action to achieve. The political culture is a system of controls related to people's faith. .And control is associated with the beliefs of individuals. (Chiklovet, 1377: 347) Students are considered the political culture participation according to three categories: science and recognition- feeling -behavior.

The civil society is said to the area of social relations that is free from the interference of government and political power in the private area causes the social relations to be institutionalized and it have been created a set of organizations, institutions and associations (Bashirieh, 1383: 167).

The first indicator of the political development is the political participation that undoubtedly its high level is including the important indicators of civil society development. Citizen participation in the governance structure is one of the basic components of civil society and democracy is based on a free vote of the people. Citizen participation in governance structure is true when the government grants to citizens the equal citizenship right. If not, citizen participation is meaningless. The student movements through political participation in the civil society and the political development will be influenced. The

movements institutionalize the civil society through the political participation. Student movements have the property of being idealistic and they ride on the wave of freedom and flow on the bed of democracy, thus struggle for the ideals necessarily help to develop the civil society and strengthen the political development in society in a natural route. In the process, the student movements realize the political participation as a means to pressure the political elites and use it as a means to advance their ideal goals. Another important point is that although the political participation is the most important and most basic demands of the student movement but the fact is that the student as a scientific community was participating in political life in the form of mass and political mobilization. This refers to the fact that unfortunately, the process of political participation of students in community is not transformed to the institutionalized participation in the form of civil society as well as their political participation have been hidden in the aura of emotions and feelings.

The second factor is the realization of political development in the healthy elections in which the behavior of students is the most important aspects that will explain their political life that undoubtedly the issues such as being free, competitive, fairness and effectiveness are significant in the process of elections by students, even informal and formal opposition is essential to increase the participation in elections for students and therefore the election is a means by which the students participate to form the political destiny and the exercise of political authority. The electoral behavior had an accelerated and comprehensive process of and student and in other words, it has been put along the horizontal axis and takes a less pervasive process that it can cause a serious damage to the body of civil society .

Another component is "political parties" that the effective political parties are one of the key features to realize the civil society and that there is a way to strengthen the political development and the students through the activity in the political parties and movement show their impact on the political developments. (Samadi, 1380: 5). Undoubtedly, political parties are the civil society organization for the students . The student movement is directly related to the parties. Because political parties are responsible for promoting the mechanisms of the political development of through the relationship with government and the student movement helps to advance the goals of political parties by the mobilization of forces and equipments in this direction. In Iran, the student movements had had some functions due to the conditions of time and government that power was in the hands of the parties after the revolution, functions rather than be on a independent path, they more show the association of student movements with the functions of political parties in Iran. As in the current situation, the relationship of the political parties with the student movement is important in this respect that the political parties governed by the circumstances, instead of trying to remove the heavy burden placed upon the student movement, itself cause big trouble for them .It can clearly be seen that the political groups usually compensate their frustration and failure in recruitment and formation of a strong body by the academic forces in Iran. According to that the student movements has always been one of the centers of reformation, social development, process of the civil society and reinforcement of the political development, so most groups and political parties for achieving its goals and plans have considered the students and they try to simplify their path ahead by influencing on the minds of student of social elites and the students are known to be affected in the political interactions and they must have their own associations with literature that is worthy for university and also strengthen those which are available.

Another component that focuses on strengthening the development of civil society is "freedom of the press ". Press in its broad sense refers to all the activities of the mass media, this means that the mass media are through dialogue and understanding among the masses .In developed countries, freedom of the press and media stresses that the students and intellectuals are permitted to comment, speak and write in the media. It was noted that press is one of the effective tools to monitor the public and political affairs and is considered as the eyes and ears of students. Thus, the press freedom throughout the world is a major cause of stability of the countries

that claim for the democracy or civil community. Because freedom of the press plays an important role on the balance of civil society and the strengthening of political development as far as the press is the fourth pillar of democracy and freedom in the world today. (Samadi, 1380: 5) One of the turning points of journalism is the promising role students in the field . The student movement in Iran for the process of your desired goals is well aware that freedom of the press and free press helps to consolidate the democratic process in society. Of course the student movement in Iran in the field of journalism when open political space is created, the press is able to play a significant role in the press development. But actually control policies of the government and the creation of the press legal bill in1980 in the various courses has made the students to use less the press as a means to achieve their goals but certainly they have always looked at press from this point of view that it provides the field of information and the knowledge to people and encourage them to participate in community, so the student movements, have been successful in reflecting the difficulties and problems of people through media and press when they observe the appropriate space, therefore, the freedom of press has been one of the indicators of democracy, civil society and political developments.

The rule of law is another component of political development. It has been sometimes interpreted as a principle of equality against the law, and sometimes it is applied as the rule of law, in contrast to dictatorships, kingdom and monarchy. But the common point for all these different interpretations can be summarized in one and it is that based on the principle, arbitrary use of power in government decision-making is rejected. The students who are always looking for lost rights know the rule of law seems necessary to violate the rights and freedoms. Student movements are well aware that the rule of law is closely related to the civil society and political development and the reality today is that the thoughts of student movement focus on the importance of civil society and strengthening the political development. Another significant point is that in the new world, the assumption of creating the unity of students is freedom and the rule of law and undoubtedly, freedom and the legalization is a prerequisite to

achieve this unity. Survival and durability of the rule of law requires the freedom and the activities of civil associations and the full participation of students. If there is a rule of law, freedom of press and its consistency will be achieved. Of course, it must be separated the rule of law and the fairness of rules. Since in a society that the rule of law is unfair, the protesters, especially students have a specific way to protest and it is an effort to change the law so that the fair law is replaced the unfair laws. Trying for the rule of law among the student movements is important in such way that the effort to the rule is severe and real so the civil society is strengthened and the political and social participation of students rises and democracy, freedom and political development are attained (Samadi, 1380: 5).

7. Civil and student movement and Discussed political discourse after the Islamic Revolution

After the Islamic Revolution, the student movements that were always protesting against the existing order supported the existing order and the rule after the Islamic Revolution became; it means that the Islamic associations became the groups to support the rule in the university and academic movements, as the performance of OCU was on the same basis at that time. (Ghouchani, 1381: 81) the development of student movement after the Islamic Revolution in Iran generally can be reviewed and explained into three dominant discourse of Islamism, liberal, Islamic justice and specifically in five eras of the cultural revolution, the strength, the constructing, the reformation, the Islamic justice (Immigrant, 1383: 216-215), wisdom and hope.

7-1 In the period of dominant discourse of Islamism

1- Student movement during the Cultural Revolution: In this course, the student movement absolutely supports the political authority and in the term itself, it is the Line of Imam that had emphasized the justice in domestic politics and the fight against global arrogance (imperialist) led to America in foreign policy that it highlighted itself in the Den of Espionage in America conquered by the students following the Line of Imam on 13 November 1980.

November 13 event and the protest of committed students against imperialist expansionist policies in America are considered a milestone in the history of the development of the student movement in the country. These students were introduced later as "Students Following the Line of Imam". During the years after the revolution, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1361- 1359), which coincides with the Iraqi imposed war on Iran and the secessionist civil war by Marxist groups, the student movement was in the service of the ideals of the revolution and the Islamic system. In these periods, the primary cores of revolution institutions formation, such as the Iranian Revolutionary Guards of Islamic Revolution, constructing Jihad and etc. they recruit among the new students and the student movement is entirely at the service of the institutions which have emerged from the revolution . In other words, the student movement has devoted all their energies to preserve the Islamic Revolution, development, growth and its avoidance of historical backwardness. During these years, the student movement is in the form of the discourse of Islamism, revolutionary, idealist, justice ,anti-imperialist, anti-capitalism, pro-Islamic movements in the world, helper of the poor against the rich, independence and political Islam (Khoramshad, 1385: 8-12).

2- Student movement development during the war and resistance:

During the war, the presence of engineering and medical students in the war, the attention to the needs of the military defense of the values and the respect to martyrs student, were ruling on the society and university. In this era, the dominant political orientation of the university was the Islamic association. Although, since the middle of war, the political factions and boundaries have been created in such a way that in the third parliamentary elections, it was openly lead to the verbal debates and eventually it was split into two factions of the clergy, who then were called religious right and left faction. During this period, the orientation of students Islamic organizations was toward the political left and supported them from the left list and due to that some of the members of the association who were in the minority , were supporting the opposite list so they

were excluded from Islamic associations. But these two trends are not seen until the end of the war in the university, and only the Islamic associations that tend to be religious left, were dominant (WWW.HAWZAHNET, 1393: 2).

This era in the form of Islamist discourse insists on key words such as "combating the global arrogance" and "based-justice", and it advocates the centralized economy of government to establish better economic justice, the land confiscation of large and semi-large landowners for distribution among farmers and rurals, and the fronts; and it disagrees the private schools and the imposed peace; and it supports the Islamic Liberation Organizations in the world. On the other hand, it protects Mohammad pure Islam against US Islam (Khoramshad, 1385: 8-12).

3- Student movement development in the period of construction discourse:
In construction era (68-73), we observe two different periods of depression and transition and periods of consolidation of freedom in the student movement. And we also observe the changes of slogans of freedom to justice ,politicization, spread of liberal values, etc. so that between 76- 73, the depression period is changed to the period of liberalism consolidation that it manifests for the presidency. One of the remarkable notes in this era is that OCU as the leaders of this movement tends to the official political games and participating in the game of power as a quasi-political party that have not background on the history of student movement.

7-2 In the period of liberal discourse:

1- Development of the student movement in the reformation period 1376-80:

At this time we are seeing that in the liberal discourse it is changed the justice to the freedom, Mohammedan Pure Islamism to the religious pluralism; the defense of the rights of the oppressed people in Palestine to the release of Palestinians in the name of national security in Iran; defense of the state economy and the cooperatives took in the name of justice to the protection of liberal pure privatization. In 1387, the university events have specifically influenced the relations between the

university and sovereignty because of creating the irreversible damage on the body of the student movement that it seems that despite the expiration of the last years; it is visible as "contents" in the behavior of the student movement .Islamic Student Association were continuing his work by the past same criteria i. e. Islamic idealism and based on the justice in the 8-years periods of officials government, however, this activity was in relative passivity more than a decade. But it was on 2 June 1998 that should be the basis for a major change in the student movement; because after that, the students' Islamic Associations affiliated to the Consolidation Unity Office in universities had entered a new space to the student discourse in the country by changing the obvious approach to the past, as well as major changes in its ideals that previously had little experience. However, changing the discourse in the OCU was very slow, and it is difficult to determine a certain boundary for it so that as we witness that the OCU also congratulates the Lebanon's victory over the Zionist regime in the principled position on June 2001. At this time, the student movement has more autonomy to influence the outcome of the game and political space. The student movement has been in the collisions intersection point of the left Islamism and the liberal orientation. So that the OCU as the student movement leader now recommends the relationship with America and rejects and banns to fire the flag although once it were conquering the America's embassy and firing its flag annually. Once it advocated the poor and oppressed in Iran and world by using the name of justice, it now opposes to any form of idealism by using the national interest, realism and welfare.(WWW.HAWZAHNET, ۱۳۹۳: ۵-۷) Although at first we see the power of this movement but schism and divergence has been formed among members of the OCU since 1999.

7-3 In the discourse period of justice

1- Student Movement development in the course of justice and Islamic Fundamentalism :

The major part of the student movement gradually was frustrated due to the non-fulfillment of its objectives in the reform era, from May 2002 to the second city and village council elections; so that the student movement has lost his enthusiasm for participation in the political arena and it was not active anymore; so that it witnessed the fall of the reformists from power and the access of the conservative groups to the elective positions more as an indifferent observer. In fact, we can call the second council election period to ninth presidential election as the university complete passivity period. Student justice movements ,gradually were formed in the late 1992. The organization follows the line of Imam Khomeini and this organization has determined that the Islamic revolution leader, following the Line of Imam Khomeini and returning to the principles of the Islamic Revolution are necessary. The basic approaches of this movement are the demands from authorities in the issues such as poverty, administrative and economic corruption, anti-imperialist movement and return to the revolution. Horizon of these groups was that the Islamic Republic was removed from its original path and it must be developed the directions that the Islamic Republic must go to. Manifestation of Islamic justice discourse in 2006 and 2008 showed that liberal discourse on the body of the society and its demands in Iran are neglected and the positions and characteristics of the political system are criticized in Iran that it is considered the fundamental nature and position of the student movement and for many years they were not far from the dominant discourse (WWW.HAWZAHNET, 1393: 5-7).

2- Student movement development in the beginning of the ninth presidency:

In the beginning of the ninth presidency, the student movement once again entered the turbulence of the political and social activities and decisions. In the first phase of elections, the extreme and radical part of student movement that has always been in the minority, along with the illegal opposition (freedom movement) in the country and abroad, itself in the form of OCU Allameh, presented and organized for the university community, and it insists on boycotting the elections by the citizens, especially students, organizations and student groups. The OCU of "Allameh" that had boycotted the first stage of the elections , in the threshold of the second election, despite a statement claiming that its policy is still not

participating in the elections ,attacks severely against the elections and it stressed the need for electing the appropriate president for the representation of the will of the people. It was while that part of the student organization, the Islamic Society of university students, had an active participation in the presidential campaign. Among students organization, four Islamic society organizations, the students, students' preparation, student justice movement and Islamic association union of independent students at universities gave support full to the government as the first stage of the presidential elections.

The student movement on the eve of tenth elections, while most of its activities in the past four years have concentrated on the basis of the escape of political game, practically the role infantry role of political parties at universities had changed with the active participation in the community, such as fighting the poverty and deprivation, and holding the jihadist camps in the remote villages, at once with a new approach of the part of student organizations to the candidates faced. Four Islamic society organizations, the students ,students' preparation, student justice movement and Islamic association union of independent students at universities gave support full to the elections as in the past (Movahed Zadeh, 1388: 2-8).

Conclusion

The student movements have had a lot of ups and downs since the Islamic Revolution ,in an era of advancement reached their peak, and in another course, their activities have been plummeted so the growth and prosperity of the student movements have hidden in the development of civil society in each state and the development of civil society are not provided, but with the ingredients mentioned .In addition, the universities and the students have an important role in the political development of society by providing new movements. Therefore, an important issue in understanding the political behavior of the students is not a research in being political or non-political the students and the universities, but it is their political level and nature, in the other hand, the students are one of the main elements to achieve political development, as they have many development factors against the traditional groups. Therefore, this group can be considered to pursue the development and to achieve this aim it is essential to understand their behavioral dimensions. The available crises among students are not the crisis of intellect, spirituality, ideology, legitimation and power but it is the crisis of identity that they do not know how they are, what they are, and what they want to do. But the main root of the student's crisis must be anomaly caused by the pressures of modernization and development that in the long term, its main root is in legitimizing a part called the system. This development realized the democratic legal social status as the political participation and the political development. They are the supporter of legalism ,electoral participation, diversity and freedom of the press and civil society. Students are looking for their social status themselves and most of them were from the new middle classes. Hence, the performance of students in the society concerning the political parties, political participation, elections, rule of law and freedom of the press are the parameters that in the process of political development and increasing the capacity of the political system will have a major impact.

The student movement in Iran after the Islamic Revolution has been yet transformed that in this paper, these developments were reviewed, explained and stated in the form of three discourses, Islamism, liberal and Islamic justice; and in five periods of the Cultural Revolution, resistance, constructing, modification and justice. The student movement after the revolution has been the pal of civil society, political society partners and the follower of the line of Imams and revolutionary and in framework of absolute protection of political power is stepped.

There are the numerous reform and protest movements in Iran, the political and social aspects of the student movement, like other reform and protest movements are completely associated with the Iranian historical movement and it acts as a leading force. Leading the student movement is not meant to be the leadership ability of historical movement. But the leadership of social and political movement must be dealt with by the professional political activists, the parties and the other civil institutions .

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